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The sacred music of John Weldon (1676-1736)

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The Sacred Music of
John Weldon (1676-1736)

An edition and introduction submitted to Bangor University for the
degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the College of Arts and Humanities

2015

Stephen D Bullamore

School of Music

Volume I of II

Abstract

John Weldon (1676-1736) was 'Composer to the Chapel Royal' from 1708/9 until his death. As such he was a highly regarded member of an elite musical institution in early eighteenth-century England. Over the last quarter century or so, musicological studies in this area have largely concentrated on the canonic figures of Purcell and Handel, leaving something of a *terra incognita* as regards the music of their contemporaries. Recent studies in the field of theatre music have begun to address this gap and there has been some limited renewed interest in the music of William Croft, Weldon's contemporary, also a Composer to the Chapel Royal.

This study further addresses this lacuna by providing the first complete critical edition of Weldon's sacred work, much of which is unpublished and is edited here for the first time. Of particular interest are several substantive verse anthems; not one example of these important contributions to the repertory of the Chapel Royal in the early eighteenth century has previously been printed.

The introduction to the edition comprises five chapters. Chapters 1 and 2 contextualise the music through a thorough re-examination of Weldon's biography and a consideration of the Chapel Royal in which the music was performed, respectively. Chapter 3 provides, for the first time, a proposed chronological catalogue of his sacred music followed by an in-depth stylistic assessment of that music. Chapter 4 provides two case studies of compositional practices that result in either new versions of extant anthems that exist alongside previous versions, or revisions by the composer that supersede the previous material. Performance issues themselves are explored not only through Notes on Performance (addressing issues such as tempo, ornamentation and voice type), but also through a detailed study in Chapter 5 of accompanimental practice as deduced from the extant primary source material.

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Preface

The late seventeenth century in England was a turbulent time in the upper echelons of political society, especially in the Royal Court. James II's Declarations of Indulgence (1687 and 1688), which granted religious liberty to his subjects, seemed to threaten the establishment of the Anglican Church; indeed few clergymen had acquiesced even to read out the indulgence in their churches.¹ The birth of a son to James II in 1688 changed the line of accession, displacing his daughter, the Protestant Mary, as heir to the throne. The threat of a continued line of Catholic monarchs provided the final impetus required to enact the so called "Glorious Revolution".² In early 1689 the Prince and Princess of Orange became William III and Mary II by means of a process variously considered as a revolution, an invasion-by-invitation and an election of the monarchy.³ Towards the end of the same year the Bill of Rights was passed settling the question of further accession to the throne.⁴ The throne was to pass to any children of the couple, to be followed by Mary's sister Anne. As Mary was childless and unlikely to produce progeny following several miscarriages over a decade earlier, this effectively ensured that Anne would be next in line. As well as curtailing the powers of the monarch, the Bill of Rights also barred Roman Catholics from the throne. The joint monarchy of William and Mary lasted only five years; Mary died of smallpox in 1694.⁵ Seven years later the Act of Settlement included eight articles providing for new limitations on royal power; it further ensured continuity of the succession to Protestant monarchs by naming Sophia of Hanover heiress presumptive to Anne.⁶ William III died on 8 March 1702 and (as had been provided for in the 1689 Bill of Rights) was duly succeeded by Anne.

Anne was crowned on 23 April 1702. Her twelve-year reign has been described as proving "to be the great watershed between the violence of the seventeenth century and the stability and prosperity of the eighteenth century."⁷ Perhaps the most significant achievement of Anne's reign was to unite England and Scotland into a single kingdom: Great Britain. The Acts of Union, on 1 May 1707, had been consistently and ardently supported by Anne. In

¹ Ronald H. Fritze, 'Seven Bishops, Trial of the (1688)', in Ronald H. Fritze and William B. Robinson (eds.), *Historical Dictionary of Stuart England, 1603-89* (London, 1996), p. 487.

² Barry Coward, *The Stuart Age: England, 1603-1714* (Harlow, 3/2003), pp. 298-302.

³ John Van der Kiste, *William and Mary* (Stroud, 2003), p. 106.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 108. For a good introduction to the Bill of Rights, see pp. 100-118: Chapter 5 – 'It is no small burden'.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

⁷ *Gregg*, p. 400.

spite of various efforts in the first decade of the eighteenth century, union with Ireland, though, was not to follow until 1801. Sophia of Hanover, heir to the throne, died unexpectedly in June 1714. Upon Anne's death in August of the same year, the throne therefore passed to George of Hanover, Sophia's eldest son.

The rapid changes, followed by a period of stability, were mirrored in the music of the Chapel Royal. As the Chapel Royal was a department of the Royal Household, it served to reinforce and reflect the theological ideologies and aspirations of the reigning monarch. All departments were subject to the changes of taste of the monarch, but the Chapel Royal was more susceptible than others to religious upheaval. John Blow (1649-1708) and Henry Purcell's (1659-1695) brief flowering of symphony anthems had been severely curtailed by Charles II's sudden death in 1685 and James II's subsequent accession. The symphony anthems came fully to an end six years later, on order of William III.⁸ Although the Anglican chapel had been retained for the use of Princess Anne during her (Catholic) father's short reign (1685-1688), the attendance of the instrumentalists was no longer a weekly tradition. William himself had proved an infrequent attendee at chapel services.

The premature death of Purcell, "the greatest Genius we ever had,"⁹ left a gaping chasm, though Blow continued as Organist and Composer in the Chapel Royal until his death. Purcell's successor as Organist in the Chapel Royal, Francis Pigott (1665/6-1704), seems to have composed little sacred music; however, the next generation of Chapel Royal composers — Jeremiah Clarke (c.1674-1707), William Croft (1678-1727) and John Weldon (1676-1736) — all wrote considerable bodies of music, especially verse anthems. Although Clarke committed suicide in 1707, the stability of an Anglican monarch and investment in the musical infrastructure of the Chapel Royal led to a comparative period of stability. This investment took the form of the commissioning of new organs for the royal chapels (at St James's Palace, Windsor and Hampton Court), and the introduction of first the lute and then a bass string as additional accompanimental instruments on a regular basis. Weldon's involvement with the Chapel Royal dates from his appointment as a "gentleman extraordinary"¹⁰ in 1701 and was cemented by his appointment as an Organist in 1708 on the death of Blow. The arrival of George Frederic Handel (1685-1759) in England, for the first

⁸ *HolmanFTF*, pp. 412-413.

⁹ Thomas Tudway's 1720 description of Purcell, written in his preface to the sixth volume of music he copied for Lord Harley (GB-Lbl Harl. 7342, f. 12r), transcribed in *SpinkRCM*, p. 447.

¹⁰ *CBCR*, i. p. 46.

time in 1710, and his subsequent emergence as a composer of note in London, undoubtedly put pressure on the resident composers of the Chapel Royal. Croft certainly took up the challenge. Whether Weldon's decline in composition was due to this factor or others will be examined in the course of the introduction to the editions.

The aim of these editions of Weldon's sacred music and the accompanying introduction is to enhance our understanding of sacred music in England following the death of Purcell. This is done by placing Weldon and his music at the focal point of study, rather than as a peripheral figure. Purcell and Handel's music have, rightly, received a great deal of scholarly attention and have enjoyed the benefits of dissemination through monumental editions.¹¹ The sacred music of William Croft is also beginning to enjoy something of a renaissance, with the publication of Musica Britannica's ninety-first volume: *William Croft: Canticles and anthems with orchestra* making a welcome contribution to the national corpus.¹² The time is thus ripe for a detailed study of Croft's colleague and fellow composer to the Chapel Royal, John Weldon.

Today Weldon is arguably best known for his theatre music and it is in this genre that more recent scholarship surrounding his music has concentrated. Several individual songs were published contemporaneously, extracted from his various stage works. *The Tempest* has been available for some time,¹³ though a new edition has not been forthcoming since Margaret Laurie demonstrated that (at least, the majority of) the music was by Weldon rather than Purcell.¹⁴ The publication in the late twentieth century of Weldon's *The Judgement of Paris* is of particular interest as most readily available biographies identify this work as that which brought him particular attention in London in his early career.¹⁵ This is contextualised through Kathryn Lowerre's study, of music and musicians on the London stage around the turn of the eighteenth century.¹⁶ Further scholarly attention was given to Weldon's stage

¹¹ *Hallische Händel-Ausgabe im Auftrage der Georg-Friedrich-Händel Gesellschaft* Serie I-V and Suppl. vols. (Leipzig and Kassel, 1955-); *The Works of Henry Purcell*, 32 vols. (Purcell Society: London, 1878-1965, rev. 1974-).

¹² William Croft, *Canticles and Anthems with Orchestra*, ed. Donald Burrows, Musica Britannica 91 (Stainer and Bell: London, 2011).

¹³ John Weldon (attrib. Henry Purcell), *The Tempest*, ed. Edward Dent (London: Novello, 1912; R/1964).

¹⁴ Margaret Laurie, 'Did Purcell Set "The Tempest?"', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 90 (1963-1964), pp. 43-57.

¹⁵ John Weldon, *The Judgement of Paris*, ed. David W. Music (A-R editions: Madison, WI, 1999).

¹⁶ *Music and Musicians on the London Stage, 1695-1705* (Aldershot, 2009).

works in Irena Cholij's 1995 thesis, 'Music in Eighteenth-Century London Shakespeare Productions'.¹⁷ Cholij includes a re-examination of Laurie's evidence concerning *The Tempest*.

Only a small number of Weldon's sacred works were published during his lifetime. First to be published were *O praise the Lord, for it is a good thing* (**JW24**) and *O praise God in his holiness* (**JW25**), two brief full anthems printed in Henry Playford's compendium, *The Divine Companion*.¹⁸ Subsequently, a collection of six solo anthems was published under the title *Divine Harmony* (1716).¹⁹ The two short psalm settings from Playford's collection were printed in four-part arrangements in *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* in the mid-nineteenth century;²⁰ an edition of the second psalm appears in Sally Drage's thesis concerning English provincial psalmody.²¹ The full-with-verse anthem, *In thee, O Lord, do I put my trust* (**JW20**) has been published several times, with editions by William Boyce (1773),²² Vincent Novello (1845),²³ and John E. West (1906).²⁴ Another full-with-verse anthem, *Hear my crying, O God* (**JW19**) has also been published by several times. First by Boyce (1773) and subsequently by Novello (1920),²⁵ followed by an edition by Henry Ley (1931), subsequently revised by Watkins Shaw (1991).²⁶ In 2007 Keri Dexter and Geoffrey Webber published an edition of the anthem in the second volume of their anthology of Restoration choral music.²⁷ The third full-with-verse anthem, *Who can tell how oft he offendeth* (**JW21**), was included with a solo anthem, *O God, thou hast cast us out* (**JW7**), in

¹⁷ 'Music in Eighteenth-Century London Shakespeare Productions' (PhD thesis, King's College, University of London, 1995).

¹⁸ Henry Playford, *The Divine Companion: or, David's Harp New Tun'd* (Henry Playford: London, 1701).

¹⁹ *WeldonDH*.

²⁰ *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, Vol. 4, No. 82 (1851), pp. 147-149; *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, Vol. 4, No. 96 (1852), pp. 379-380.

²¹ 'The Performance of English Provincial Psalmody c. 1690-c. 1840' (PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2009).

²² *BoyceCM*.

²³ Weldon, *In Thee, O Lord*, ed. Vincent Novello (London: Novello, [1845]).

²⁴ Weldon, *In Thee, O Lord*, ed. J. E. West (London: Bayley & Ferguson, 1909).

²⁵ *BoyceCM*; Weldon, *Hear my crying, O God*, ed. Vincent Novello (London: Novello, [R/1920]).

²⁶ Weldon, *Hear my crying, O God*, ed. Henry G. Ley (OUP: Oxford, 1931); Weldon, *Hear my crying, O God* ed. Henry G. Ley and Watkins Shaw (OUP: Oxford, [1994?]).

²⁷ *The Restoration Anthem Volume two, 1688-1714*, ed. Keri Dexter and Geoffrey Webber (OUP: Oxford, 2007).

Samuel Arnold's *Cathedral Music* (1790).²⁸ Weldon's settings of the *Sanctus* (**JW26**) and *Gloria* (**JW27**) were published in 1864 in the *Choir and Musical Record*.²⁹ A particular lacuna exists in that none of the verse anthems has appeared in print to date. Dexter and Webber's two-volume anthology provides a good introduction to modern editions of some of the music of the Restoration and post-Restoration period, but perforce, it only scratches the surface of the range and depth of material available in manuscript. By the editors' own admission the music selected is that most likely to appeal to modern choirs, and so those anthems with particularly extensive and demanding solo and verse sections are under-represented. It is in this area that Weldon's music is at his strongest.

With such a paucity of editions it is little wonder that Weldon's music is poorly represented in recorded formats. A small selection of his theatre songs is available (see Discography), but of his sacred music only the "Alleluia" from the Oxford version of *O Lord, rebuke me not* (**JW1b**) has been recorded, largely as a consequence of its misattribution to Henry Purcell and subsequent continuo realisation for piano by Benjamin Britten.

There are three major publications that deal with sacred music of the period. The first, providing an excellent overview study of the period (though coming to an end before Weldon's death) is Ian Spink's *Restoration Cathedral Music, 1660-1714*.³⁰ With regard to the Chapel Royal in the early part of the eighteenth century, Donald Burrows' *Handel and the English Chapel Royal* gives more detail about the workings of the Chapel Royal before Handel's arrival.³¹ Keri Dexter's monograph, "*A good Quire of voices*": *The provision of choral music at St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle and Eton College, c.1640-1733*, gives further details of how the Chapel Royal interacted with the chapel in Windsor.³² These publications, allied with biographies in various recent compendiums give glimpses of Weldon and his music without making him or his sacred music the centre of attention.³³

To address the lacuna in the availability of Weldon's sacred music, in particular editions of the verse anthems, this collection of editions presents all of his sacred

²⁸ Samuel Arnold (ed.), *Cathedral Music*, 4 vols (Printed for the Editor: London, 1790).

²⁹ Weldon, *Communion Service*, ed. Edward F. Rimbault in *Choir and Musical Record* (September 1864).

³⁰ *SpinkRCM*.

³¹ *BurrowsHECR*.

³² Keri Dexter, "*A good Quire of voices*": *The provision of choral music at St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle and Eton College, c. 1640-1733* (Aldershot, 2002).

³³ *GMO, BDECM, ODNB, and BDA*.

compositions. They are preceded by a five-chapter introduction. Chapter 1 considers what we know of Weldon's life, re-examining source material concerning his family life, drawing together details of his church appointments and considering in depth his rise to become Organist of the Chapel Royal and the decline in his compositional output in the mid 1710s. This chapter poses several important questions that have significant bearing on the composition and dissemination of Weldon's sacred music, for example: Did he have friends in high places, and did Queen Anne, directly or indirectly, passively or actively have a hand in his appointment? After all, "those obnoxious to her had difficulty in obtaining important positions."³⁴

The composition of Weldon's sacred music took place in institutions that, though still extant today, have undergone considerable changes in the intervening centuries. The majority of Weldon's sacred composition was undertaken as part of his duties as Composer to the Chapel Royal. With this institution playing such an important role in the development of Weldon's style, Chapter 2 seeks to explore the institutional contexts by considering the place of the Chapel Royal in the Royal household and by analysing court structure through the reigns of successive monarchs. This chapter offers an in-depth consideration of the organisation and workings of the Chapel Royal, as well as examining who the singers and organists were and conditions of work and rehearsal. It considers the services at which Weldon's music was performed and how other officers of the Chapel Royal interacted with the Gentlemen. The starting point for this work is the overview offered by David Baldwin *The Chapel Royal: Ancient and Modern*,³⁵ however this thesis also re-appraises the more recent findings of Donald Burrows in *Handel and the English Chapel Royal* (2008).³⁶

Having established the institutional contexts in which Weldon's sacred music was composed, Chapter 3 examines the issue of compositional style, considering (*inter alia*) how his sacred music relates to his secular works, and also where it stands in the context of the sacred music of Weldon's contemporaries in England. It also examines how Weldon's sacred works relate to those of his teacher, Henry Purcell. The chapter opens with a proposed chronological catalogue, attempted in full for the first time, drawing on such information as is available in manuscripts and printed books to pinpoint dates for each work where possible and to establish ranges of likely dates elsewhere. Building on this chronological and

³⁴ Gregg, p. 135.

³⁵ David Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal: Ancient and Modern* (London, 1990).

³⁶ Burrows *HECR*.

contextual framework, Chapter 4 considers competing 'versions' of anthems and Weldon's compositional process as demonstrated through the revisions made to the anthems. Both Rebecca Herissone and Robert Thompson argue convincingly against the idea that composers' revisions were always necessarily intended to supersede previous readings or that they should be always interpreted as improvements;³⁷ their work is taken as a starting point for two representative case studies. These case studies are used to illuminate Weldon's work in the two distinct but related areas of revision and versions, shedding light on the composer's working practices.

Chapter 5 considers in detail accompanimental practice at the Chapel Royal following the appointments of John Shore (c.1662-1752) as lutenist in 1706 and Francisco Goodsens (d. 1741) as cellist in 1711/12. Drawing on the findings of Rebecca Herissone's exegesis of organ accompaniment practices in *'To Fill, Forbear, or Adorne': The Organ Accompaniment of Restoration Sacred Music*,³⁸ the chapter offers a detailed examination of sources used by Weldon and explores the musical interaction of the three instrumentalists and the singers they accompanied. Furthermore it argues that the style of organ accompaniment varied according to genre.

Volume I concludes with a Note on the Handwriting of John Weldon, Source Descriptions, Notes on Performance, Editorial Procedures and Critical Commentaries. The editions have been included in a separate volume to facilitate consultation alongside the prose sections, as well as to facilitate ease of collation with the Critical Commentaries and Source Descriptions.

³⁷ Robert Thompson, 'Purcell's great autographs', in Curtis Price (ed.), *Purcell Studies* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 6-34; Rebecca Herissone, "'Fowle Originalls" and "Fayre Writeing": Reconsidering Purcell's Compositional Process', *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 23 No.4 (2006), pp. 570-572.

³⁸ Herissone *FFA*.

Abbreviations and Conventions

GENERAL


- b. born
- bap. baptised
- bur. buried
- c.* *circa* (about)
- d. died
- fl. flourished
- p(p). page(s)
- pl. plate
- v(v). verse(s)
- f(f). folio(s)
- fn footnote
- gent. Gentleman of the Chapel Royal

REFERENCES TO WELDON'S MUSIC

The editions in Volume II are referenced in Volume I using the initials **JW** followed by the number of the edition. Thus **JW5b** refers to the Oxford version of *I will lift up mine eyes*.

PITCH AND CLEF DESIGNATIONS

The Helmholtz system is used to indicate pitch: c' for middle C; c'' then c''' for the octaves above, c, C then C₁ for the octaves below. Clefs are indicated using the system where the letter name and line of the stave working up from the bottom are used; for example modern

treble, alto and bass clefs are given as g2, c3 and F4. No distinction is made between g clefs designated with a letter and those with a .

DATES

Until September 1752 the Julian calendar (Old Style) was used in Britain. The dating of years in official documents began on 25 March (Lady Day), not from 1 January (New Year's Day). Therefore in this thesis, dates in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century are given in dual format; the overlapping period receives two years (for example) 14 February 1701/02.


CURRENCY

The old system of British currency has been retained where applicable: pounds shillings and pence (£. s. d.). There were twelve pence to a shilling and twenty shillings to the pound.

VOICES & INSTRUMENTS

B	Bass
bc	Continuo
CT	Contratenor
l	Lute
org	Organ
T	Tenor
Tr	Treble
vc	cello
v(v)	voice(s)

MUSIC EXAMPLES

Music examples given in the text have been transcribed from the sources indicated; they retain original pitch, note-values, and time signatures, with original voice and instrument designations shown (in square brackets when editorially deduced). Clefs and accidentals have been modernised (except where specified); stem directions have been regularised. Texts have been modernised in punctuation and spelling. Performance instructions and other information have been transcribed in the varied forms found in the sources. Editorial amendments are shown by square brackets, footnotes and the use of . For a detailed outline of the editorial principles in the thesis as a whole (and in the editions specifically), the reader is referred to the Editorial Procedures section.

BIBLICAL REFERENCES

Psalms following the numbering in the *Book of Common Prayer*, other biblical references follow the numbering of chapters and verses from the *Authorised (King James) Version of the English Bible*.

SPELLING AND PUNCTUATION

Spelling, punctuation and capitalisation of archival sources has been retained in transcriptions of original written sources. Spelling, punctuation and capitalisation of texts from the *Book of Common Prayer* follow the conventions in that publication. Expansions of abbreviated words have been placed in square brackets.

SOURCE IDENTIFICATION

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LIBRARY SIGLA

(Following the *RISM* system as used in *GMO*)

GREAT BRITAIN

GB-Cjc	Cambridge, St John's College
GB-Cu	Cambridge, University Library
GB-Cfm	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
GB-DRc	Durham, Cathedral Church, Dean and Chapter Library
GB-EL	Ely, Cathedral Library [in Cu]
GB-GL	Gloucester, Cathedral Library
GB-LF	Lichfield, Cathedral Library
GB-LI	Lincoln, Cathedral Library
GB-Lbl	London, British Library
GB-Lcm	London, Royal College of Music, Library
GB-Lg	London, Guildhall Library
GB-Llp	London, Lambeth Palace Library
GB-LMA	London, Metropolitan Archives
GB-Lpro	London, Public Records Office
GB-Lsp	London, St Paul's Cathedral Library
GB-LWA	London, City of Westminster Archives Centre
GB-Ob	Oxford, Bodleian Library
GB-Och	Oxford, Christ Church Library
GB-Omc	Oxford, Magdalen College Library
GB-Onc	Oxford, New College Library
GB-Ouf	Oxford, Faculty of Music Library
GB-T	Tenbury Wells, St Michael's College Library [in Ob]
GB-WRec	Windsor, Eton College, College Library
GB-Y	York, Minster Library

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

- US-BEm Berkeley, University of California at Berkeley, Music Library
- US-Cn Chicago, Newberry Library
- US-NHUB New Haven (CT), Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library

FREQUENTLY CITED WORKS

- BDA* *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & other stage personnel in London, 1660-1800*, 16 vols, ed. Philip H. Highfill, Jr., Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans (Carbondale, IL, [1973]-c. 1993).
- BDECM* *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485-1714*, 2 vols, ed. Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki, assisted by Peter Holman and Fiona Kisby (Aldershot, 1998).
- BoyceCM* William Boyce (ed.), *Cathedral Music*, 3 vols (Printed for the Editor: London, 1760-73).
- BucholzAC*, Robert O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* (Stanford, CA, 1993).
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- CBCR* *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal: With Additional Material from the Manuscripts of William Lovegrove and Marmaduke Alford*, 2 vols, transcr. & ed. Andrew Ashbee and John Harley (Aldershot, 2000).
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- Gregg* Edward Gregg, *Queen Anne* (Bury St Edmunds, 2/2001).
- Hawkins* John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 5 vols (London, 1776).

- HerissoneFFA* Rebecca Herissone, *'To Fill, Forbear, or Adorne': The Organ Accompaniment of Restoration Sacred Music* (Aldershot, 2006).
- HerissoneMT* Rebecca Herissone *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 2000).
- HolmanFTF* Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court, 1540–1690* (Oxford, 2/1995).
- London Stage* Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume (compiled and edited), *The London Stage, 1660-1800. Part 2, 1700-1729. Draft of the calendar for volume I, 1700-1711*, 2 fascs. (Carbondale, IL, 1996).
- ODNB* *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Lawrence Goldman. (www.oxforddnb.com)
- OHMB:CO* Robert O. Bucholz, 'Chronological Survey 1660-1837: The Later Stuart Household, 1660-1714', *Office-Holders in Modern Britain: Volume 11 (revised): Court Officers, 1660-1837* (2006). (www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=43757)
- RECM* *Records of English Court Music*, 9 vols, ed. Andrew Ashbee (Aldershot, 1986-1996).
- RMARC* *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*
- SpinkRCM* Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music, 1660-1714* (Oxford, 1995).
- WeldonDH* John Weldon, *Divine Harmony. Six Select Anthems for a Voice Alone* (Walsh and Hare: London, 1716).
- Word1712* William Croft [and John Church], *Divine Harmony, or a New Collection of Select Anthems Anthems, Us'd at Her Majesty's Chappels Royal, Westminster Abby, St. Pauls, Windsor, both Universities, Eaton, and most Cathedrals in her Majesty's Dominions* (London, 1712; supplement [1714]). [Chapel Royal Wordbook]
- Word1724* *A collection of anthems, as the same are now performed in his Majesty's Chapels Royal* (London, 1724). [Chapel Royal Wordbook]
- Word1736* *A collection of anthems, as the same are now performed in his Majesty's Chapels Royal* (London, 1736). [Chapel Royal Wordbook]

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⁴¹ Musical Examples numbered 6.x are found in the Critical Apparatus

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JOHN WELDON: THE MAN AND HIS MUSIC



Illustration 1.1: *John Weldon*, Oil painting in the Faculty of Music, Oxford University

Chapter 1: John Weldon: A biographical sketch

Birth, education, first appointment and early successes

John Weldon was born at Chichester on 19 January 1675/6 or 1676/7; his parents' names are not known.¹ By 1692-3 he was a chorister at Eton College (as noted in the account books of the college, see below) under the organist, John Walter (*c.* 1660-1708). Walter was organist at Eton from 1681 to 1705; he may himself have been a chorister at the Chapel Royal under John Blow (1648/9-1708).² Weldon also received lessons from Henry Purcell (1659-1695) for a year or so from March 1693; it is likely that Weldon would therefore have been a chorister from *c.* 1687, some years before this advanced training. Purcell, it seems, was in need of extra income and had taken on pupils.³ Little is known of the content of the lessons: Franklin Zimmerman suggested that they probably included both composition and performance skills such as keyboard technique and figured bass realisation.⁴ However, a small clue as to the practical arrangements may be drawn from the account books of Eton college:⁵

1692-3	Allowed Mr. Walter by the College towards putting out Weldon the chorister for half a year at Michaelmas 1693	£5
1693	...Weldon for two quarters ending at Michaelmas 1693 ...paid for Weldon (as part of £15.11s.6d.) To Mr. Purcell	£5 £1.10.0
1694	Item, allowed by the College to Mr. H Pursell with Weldon the chorister for half a year, ended at Lady Day 1694	£5.0.0

¹ Short biographies of John Weldon can be found in standard reference works as follows: Margaret Laurie, 'Weldon, John', *GMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014) and *ODNB* (last accessed 7 January 2014); *BDECM*, ii. p. 1139; *BDA*, xv. pp. 338-339. Wherever possible source material has been re-examined for additional detail and scrutinised for accuracy. Neither *Hawkins* nor *Burney* give information on Weldon's birth date. *Hawkins* (iii. p. 784), states he was a "native of Chichester"; *Burney* (iii. p. 612) gives "born in Chichester"; *Bumpus* (p. 225) reads "Born at Chichester, 19 January, 1676 ...". The present writer has been unable to trace a record of Weldon's baptism or birth in Chichester.

² Bruce Wood, 'Walter [?Walters, ?Water, ?Waters], John', *GMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014).

³ Michael Burden, "'He Had the Honour to be Your Master": Lady Rhoda Cavendish's Music Lessons with Henry Purcell', *Music & Letters*, Vol. 76, No. 4 (1995), pp. 532-539.

⁴ Franklin Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell 1659-1695: His Life and Times* (London, 1967), pp. 237-238.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

As it seems that Queen Mary (and her court) remained in London through the summer of 1693, it is likely that Weldon travelled up to Westminster or Kensington for lessons each week (since the expense was allowed for "putting out"), with Purcell only occasionally making his way to Eton.

In 1694 Weldon was also appointed organist of New College, Oxford, in succession to Richard Goodson (1655-1718) who, two years earlier, had moved to Christ Church. Goodson had been organist at New College since 1683. He had also been Heather Professor of Music at the university since 19 July 1682.⁶ Immediately after Goodson's departure a person by the name of Perry was appointed to teach singing to the boys.⁷ Perry was also paid occasionally as a singer.⁸ In 1694 the college made an appointment of an organist named Read (no organist's salary was paid in 1693; it is possible that a voluntary or probationary arrangement was made).⁹ He died that same year on 18 April, having committed suicide; three days earlier he had "ripped up his own belly ... the College paid the expenses of his funeral".¹⁰ Read's battle bill (board and lodging) was also paid by the chapel account, together with other "sundrys" coming to £5. 18. 0.¹¹

Weldon remained in post at New College until 1702. He was paid £50 per annum, usually in termly instalments and often quite some way in arrears.¹² Small wonder that he himself was noted as "*Batill non sol*" – having not paid his battle bill on occasion (he was in arrears by £3. 0. 3. in the 1697-1698 accounts).¹³ On several occasions Weldon's salary seems to have been presented to people other than himself: Messrs "Jance", "Jopkins" and "Wise" are all accounted for receiving money owed to Weldon, and on several occasions the manciple acted as go-between.¹⁴ It is possible that this either indicates periods away from Oxford or people to whom he owed money. The manciple may have been called upon when

⁶ For Richard Goodson, see: Robert Thompson, 'Goodson, Richard (i)' *GMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014); idem, 'Goodson, Richard', *ODNB* (last accessed 7 January 2014).

⁷ Paul Hale, "Music and Musicians" in J. Buxton and P. Williams (eds.), *New College, Oxford, 1379-1979* (Oxford, 1979), p. 272.

⁸ New College Bursars' "Long Books", Vols. 4238-4242.

⁹ Hale, "Music and Musicians", p. 272.

¹⁰ Ibid.; A. Clark (ed.), *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, ii. 450.

¹¹ New College Bursars' "Long Book", Vol. 4242, p. 38.

¹² New College Bursars' "Long Books", Vols. 4242-4249.

¹³ New College Bursars' "Long Book", Vol. 4246, p. 1.

¹⁴ New College Bursars' "Long Books", Vol. 4243, p. 39; Vol. 4243, p. 39 and Vol. 4246, p. 35.

Weldon was not present to receive his money owed as well as being a possible contender as a creditor. The three persons named could be members of staff and monies may have been presented outside regular term when Weldon might not have been resident. On one occasion, in 1697, his salary was set against his battle bill.¹⁵

During Weldon's time at New College he wrote several solo anthems, some of which were subsequently published (partially revised) in *Divine Harmony* (1716) (see below and also Chapters 3 and 4, below).¹⁶ Six of these anthems feature in a score compiled between 1706 and 1716 by his successor at the college, Simon Child (c. 1680-1731).¹⁷ It seems likely that Child was working from manuscripts already at New College. The first mention of Simon Child is in early 1702, in the college accounts, for "pricking out some Musick books".¹⁸ Such a task was not accounted for at all during Weldon's tenure.

Weldon was also putting his energies into secular music; his earliest readily datable compositions are both from 1697, though it is possible that some or all of the aforementioned solo anthems predate these. One is an ode entitled, "A Song on the Peace of Ryswick",¹⁹ the other, "Orpheus's Song to the Waves", was the composer's contribution to a masque, *Orpheus and Euridice*. The latter was performed at Besselsleigh School near Oxford in October 1697; most of the music was composed by Weldon's predecessor at New College, Richard Goodson.²⁰ This song was published four years later in *Mercurius Musicus*,²¹ a monthly collection published by Henry Playford (1657-1709) from 1699 to 1702.²² The publication of "Orpheus's Song to the Waves" states "Sung by Mrs Lindsey". Mary Lindsey (fl. c. 1697-1723) may have sung the eponymous "trouser" role, though it may be that her London

¹⁵ New College Bursars' "Long Book", Vol. 4245.

¹⁶ *WeldonDH*.

¹⁷ John Emerson, *Catalog of pre-1900 vocal manuscripts in the Music Library, University of California at Berkeley* (California, 1988), pp. 235-236; see also Source Descriptions, below.

¹⁸ New College Bursars' "Long Book", Vol. 4249, p. 39.

¹⁹ GB-Cfm, MU Ms 120, pp. 60-75.

²⁰ Neal Zaslaw, 'An English "Orpheus and Euridice" of 1697', *The Musical Times*, Vol. 118, No. 1616 (1977), pp. 805-808.

²¹ *Mercurius Musicus or, the Monthly Collection of New Teaching Songs*, pp. 27-29, May/June 1701.

²² For an overview of Henry Playford, see Margaret Dean-Smith and Nicholas Temperley, 'Playford: (2) Henry Playford' *GMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014); for a more detailed view see D.R. Harvey, 'Henry Playford: a Bibliographical Study' (PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1985); see also, Donald W. Krummel, *English Music Printing 1553-1700* (London, 1975).

commitments were too onerous to allow this at its premiere.²³ Nonetheless it is apparent that she sang it soon afterwards.

The beginning of the eighteenth century saw a number of successes for Weldon. He managed to have a number of songs published, the earliest of which appears to have been "When charming Teraminta sings" (see Illustration 1.2).²⁴ Indeed this song (in two vocal parts) opens the collection of music from Oxford, *Musica Oxoniensis*; the remainder of which is taken up by three songs by Richard Goodson, all from his music for the Besselsleigh School *Orpheus and Euridice* masque.²⁵ *Musica Oxoniensis* is notable for being printed using moveable type; it was published simultaneously in Oxford by Francis Smith and Peter de Walpergen, and in London by John Walsh (with a slightly altered title-page) using Walpergen's second music type face.²⁶

"Orpheus's Song to the Waves" was not the only example of Weldon's songs to be published in *Mercurius Musicus*. His first offering for this periodical, in the September/October issue of 1700, was a duet entitled "Inspire me Love to raise thee...Sett by Mr. Weldon, Organest of New Colledge Oxon."²⁷ This was followed in the November/December issue with 'When perfect Beauty', "A SONG on a Lady in Imitation of Mr. Nicola's Manner." "Mr Nicola" refers to Nicola Matteis (c. late 1670s-1737), the younger of two Italian virtuoso violinists of that name (father and son).²⁸ Matteis had previously been published several times in *Mercurius Musicus*, the last time in the January/February issue, which includes the song "Ermiha, Hermilia conquers with such art...A song set by Mr Nicola, being the last he did before he took his voyage to France".²⁹ The suggestion by the publisher that Weldon was deliberately imitating the violinist's style is well-founded, as

²³ Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, 'Lindsey, Mary', *ODNB* (last accessed 7 January 2014); For Lindsey see also *BDA*, ix. p. 302-303

²⁴ John Weldon, "When charming Teraminta sings", *Musica Oxoniensis* (Smith, de Walpergen and Walsh: London, 1698), pp. 1-3.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6, p. 10 and p. 12.

²⁶ Aspects of the development of musical type shown in this periodical are discussed in Krummel: *English Music Printing*, pp. 134-138. It was *Musica Oxoniensis* (1698) that introduced the natural sign to England.

²⁷ *Mercurius Musicus*, September/October 1700, pp. 66-67.

²⁸ For Nicola Matteis, see Michael Tilmouth *et al.*, 'Matteis, Nicola (ii)', *GMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014); A. D. McCredie: 'Nicola Matteis the Younger: Caldara's Collaborator and Ballet Composer in the Service of the Emperor, Charles VI', in *Antonio Caldara: Essays on his Life and Times*, ed. B. W. Pritchard (London, 1987), pp. 152-182.

²⁹ *Mercurius Musicus* January/February 1701, pp. 2-3.

Controversies and appointments

In an effort to further his London career, Weldon responded to the following advertisement, placed in the *London Gazette* on 21 March 1699/1700:³²

Several Persons of Quality having, for the Encouragement of MUSICK advanced 200 Guineas, to be distributed in 4 Prizes, the First of 100, the Second of 50, the Third of 30, and the Fourth of 20 Guineas, to such Masters as shall be adjudged to Compose the best; This is therefore to give Notice, That those who intend to put in for the Prizes, are to repair to Jacob Tonson at Grays-Inn-Gate before Easter-Day next, where they may be further informed.

The resulting work, *The Judgement of Paris*, won out in a competition with John Eccles (1668-1735, Master of the Royal Musick, 1696-1735), Daniel Purcell (d. 1717) and Gottfried Finger (c. 1660-1730).³³ Another contemporaneous setting by Johann Wolfgang Franck, seems to have missed the entry deadline, but was performed the following year.³⁴ Weldon's submission is lavishly scored for two flutes (almost certainly recorders), two hautboys, curtal, bass curtal (predecessor of the modern bassoon), trumpet, timpani, two violins, viola, bass

³² *London Gazette*, 18-21 March, 1700 (Issue 3585). An excellent discussion of the politics of the setting and the nuances of the judgements can be found in Kenneth A. McLeod, 'Judgment and Choice: Politics and Ideology in Early Eighteenth-Century Masques' (PhD thesis, McGill University, Montreal 1996).

³³ John Weldon, *The Judgement of Paris*, ed. David W. Music (A-R editions: Madison, WI, 1999); John Eccles, *The Judgment of Paris: a Masque by William Congreve*, facsimile edition, Music for London Entertainment, 1660-1800, series C (Tunbridge Wells: Stainer and Bell, 1984), p. ix; Daniel Purcell, *The Judgment of Paris: A Pastoral* (John Walsh: London, 1702). The Finger score is lost. The competition was re-staged in the Albert Hall, London as part of the BBC Proms season in 1989 with the three extant settings. For the most comprehensive account of John Eccles, see Stoddard Lincoln, 'John Eccles: the Last of a Tradition' (PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 1963); see also, Margaret Laurie and Stoddard Lincoln, 'Eccles, John', *GMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014); David Golby, 'Eccles, John', *ODNB* (last accessed 7 January 2014); *BDECM*, i. p. 374; *BDA*, v. pp. 4-6; For the most comprehensive account of Daniel Purcell, see Mark Humphreys, 'Daniel Purcell: A Biography and Thematic Catalogue' (PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 2005); see also, idem 'Purcell, Daniel', *GMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014) and *ODNB* (last accessed 7 January 2014); *BDECM*, ii. p. 923; *BDA*, xii. pp. 202-204; For the most comprehensive account of Gottfried (Godfrey) Finger, see Robert Rawson, 'From Olomouc to London: the early music of Gottfried Finger (c. 1655–1730)' (PhD thesis, Royal Holloway, 2001); see also, idem, 'Finger, Gottfried', *ODNB* (last accessed 7 January 2014); Peter Holman and Robert Rawson, 'Finger, Gottfried', *GMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014); *BDECM*, i. p. 418; Peter Holman, 'The Sale Catalogue of Gottfreid Finger's Music Library: New Light on London Concert Life in the 1690s', *RMARC*, Vol. 43 (2010), pp. 23-38; *BDA*, v. pp. 268-270.

³⁴ Peter Holman, Review of "*John Eccles (c. 1668-1735) The Judgment of Paris; Three mad songs, Early Opera Company*", *Eighteenth-Century Music*, Vol. 7 (2010), pp. 145-147; the music of Franck's setting is lost.

viol, bass violin, and continuo. It was first performed at Dorset Garden Theatre on 6 May 1701; all four entries were performed in succession on 3 June. They were probably sung as concert performances, rather than staged.³⁵ There was a further performance of Weldon's setting in 1702 at Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre given at the Duke of Bedford's well-documented expense, under the supervision of the composer.³⁶ Further revival performances were enjoyed in the winter of 1704. David Music's welcome edition of 1999 has enabled wider circulation of this fine work.³⁷

The award of first prize to Weldon caused considerable controversy. He was the youngest of the four entrants and the least experienced in theatre music composition. Roger North tells us of the reaction of Gottfried Finger:³⁸

A contention sprung among the Quality in towne, who was the greatest master. Some were for one and some for others, and at last they agreed to make a subscription, and divers of the masters should have their nights. And the theater was fitted, and the tryalls being over, the subscribers judged by voting; but the sentences were not thought limpid and pure, and one [Finger] a forreiner, reputed a very good composer, having lost his cause, declared he was mistaken in his musick, for he thought he was to be judged by men, and not by boys, and thereupon left England, and hath not bin here since.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 146; Amanda Eubanks Winkler, 'O Ravishing Delight: The Politics of Pleasure in "The Judgment of Paris"', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (2003), p. 22, fn 31.

³⁶ Margaret Laurie, 'Music review. Weldon, John, *The Judgement of Paris*, ed. D. W. Music', *Music and Letters* Vol. 81 No. 1 (2000), pp. 165-167.

³⁷ John Weldon, *The Judgement of Paris*, ed. David W. Music (A-R editions: Madison, WI, 1999); However, in Margaret Laurie's review of the edition she notes with regret that the edition has some problems with regard to the lower string instruments used (fn 36, above). The editor modifies "Bass viol" to become a modern cello and "Bass violin" to become a double bass. Laurie argues that Weldon uses the two 8-foot pitch instruments to provide subtly different sonorities, rather than playing an octave apart; there are plenty of movements where they play on their own or with independent lines. Laurie also takes issue with David Music for ascribing the part of Mercury to a tenor, rather than a counter-tenor. Voice type allocation is particularly problematic in Weldon's music, as will be seen in Notes on Performance, below. In this particular instance, Weldon assigned the part to "Mr Bowman" (Michael Burden, 'The Independent Masque 1700-1800: A Catalogue', *RMARC*, No. 28 (1995), pp. 59-159). This was John Bowman who was often given parts variously described as "contratenor" and "tenor". As will be demonstrated below, the term "contratenor" can refer to either a high tenor or a falsettist. The range of Mercury's part is such that it seems likely that the singer may have been a high tenor who slipped into falsetto at the extreme upper end of the range (the uppermost note is a printed c"). Thus, the choice of the editor of *The Judgement of Paris* to allocate the part to a tenor in a performing edition seems to be reasonable.

³⁸ John Wilson, *Roger North on Music* (London, 1959), p. 312.

Whether or not Finger did leave the country in disgust, the Moravian was in Vienna in December of that year (1701) and had the attention of the English envoy, George Stepney. Writing on 3 December to the Earl of Halifax, Stepney reported that Finger felt that (after his own setting), "Mr. [Daniel] Purcell's Musick was the best" and that this was "not withstanding the partiality which was shown by the Duke of Somersett and others in favour of Welding [Weldon] and Eccles."³⁹ Robert Rawson suggests that Finger had planned a repeat of the contest in Vienna, as he had stated that he would "see it performed to the best advantage" after the Earl of Halifax had sent a copy of Eccles' setting to Vienna.⁴⁰

John Eccles' setting had, according to a letter from Congreve to Joseph Keally on 26 March 1701, been 'universally admired'.⁴¹ It won second prize. Both Eccles and Daniel Purcell (the third-placed contestant) had their scores of *The Judgement of Paris* published by Walsh in 1701. The same ornately engraved frontispiece of Venus receiving the prize of a golden apple from Paris was used for both publications. Eccles wrote a dedication to the Earl of Halifax in his publication noting that "at the publick performance, besides the kind Approbation which it received from the Greater part of the Audience, it had also had the fortune to have pleas'd them who came prepar'd to Dislike it."⁴² Purcell's dedication of his publication (to the writer Anthony Henley,⁴³ 1666/7-1711) is less upfront, but can also be read as a criticism of the proceedings:⁴⁴

There is a sort of Painting in musick, as well as Poetry, which if a master misses he may be fortunate with the unknowing, but never such judges as you S^r where Skill is too great to be imposed on by false Charms, or glaring defects or to neglect, or over look any real Beauty and perfection.

Some years later, writing in his 1728 *Musicall Grammarian*, Roger North had not forgotten the episode:⁴⁵

But nothing advanced musick more in this age than the patronage of the nobility, and men of fortunes...and this was made very public by a contribution amongst them, to be given as a

³⁹ William Congreve, *Letters and Documents*, ed. John C. Hodges (London, 1964), p. 21.

⁴⁰ Robert Rawson, 'From Olomouc to London: the early music of Gottfried Finger (c. 1655-1730)' (PhD thesis, Royal Holloway, 2001), p. 16.

⁴¹ William Congreve, *Letters and Documents*, ed. John C. Hodges, pp. 20-21.

⁴² Eccles' dedication of *Judgement of Paris* (John Walsh: London, 1702).

⁴³ For Anthony Henley see James Sambrook, 'Henley, Anthony', *ODNB* (last accessed 7 January 2014).

⁴⁴ Purcell's dedication of *Judgement of Paris* (John Walsh: London, 1702).

⁴⁵ Roger North, *The Musicall Grammarian: 1728* (transcr. and ed. Mary Chan and Jamie C. Kessler; Cambridge, 1990), p. 267. North goes on to repeat his statement concerning Finger.

premio [prize] to him that should best entertain them in a solemn consort; and divers of the masters enter'd the lists, and their performances were in the theaters successively heard, and the victorys decided by the judgment of the subscribers; but this method gave no satisfaction, for the Lords and the rest that subscribed, (as the good King Charles 2), had ears but not artificiall [skilful] ones, and those were necessary to warrant the authority of such a Court of Justice. I will not suppose, as some did, that making interest as for favour, and partiallity influenced these determinations; but it is certain, that the community of the masters were not of the same opinion of them.

Finger's determination that the Duke of Somerset favoured Weldon, Eccles veiled comment in print concerning "those who came to dislike it" and the insinuation by Purcell that the winner's "glaring defects" had been overlooked may all come with an element of sour grapes. It is notable that although Weldon's score was not published, "Let ambition fire thy mind" became extremely popular, appearing in various arrangements and even being borrowed in 1762 for the comic opera, *Love in a Village*, the music of which was composed and arranged by Thomas Arne (1710-1778).⁴⁶ It seems more likely that, regardless of the merits of the settings (Eccles' setting is often considered the more successful overall), Weldon caught the attention of the nobility through his work. Whether deserved or otherwise this seems the more likely explanation; until this point in Weldon's life there seems little to link him with influential patrons. "Partiality" may have had little to do with the decision, but the decision itself seems to have been highly influential in Weldon's future success.

The Duke of Somerset, maligned by Finger, was Charles Seymour (1662-1748). The year after the competition he was to become the Master of the Horse, a very senior role in the Royal Household (see Chapter 2). He was also to hold a post in cabinet from 1702 to 1710.⁴⁷ He had befriended the Queen (then Princess Anne) in 1692 and it might be speculated that this friendship, coupled with possible recommendations from other judges, secured Weldon his next appointment. Just three days after the competition, on 6 June 1701, Weldon was admitted to the Chapel Royal as "Gentleman Extraordinary".⁴⁸ This does not seem to have

⁴⁶ David Music, preface to John Weldon, *The Judgement of Paris* (A-R editions: Madison, WI, 1999); This was the first song to be heard by the audience after the overture, further indicating the popularity of Weldon's music; it would seem that there was a desire to give a strong start to the opera. The words were changed to "Hope thou nurse of young desire". There does not seem to have been any attempt to pass off as that of Thomas Arne: Weldon is acknowledged as composer of the song in successive editions of the libretto including [Isaac Bickerstaffe], *Love in a village : a comic opera: as it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Covent-Garden* (London, 1767).

⁴⁷ Gregg, p. 136.

⁴⁸ *CBCR*, i. p. 46.

entailed day-to-day duties, though may have involved some deputising;⁴⁹ it was nevertheless an endorsement of his prowess as a composer and organist. The following year he resigned his New College position.

While there appears to be no direct link between Weldon's appointment as Gentleman Extraordinary to the Chapel Royal and his resignation from New College, it seems that he felt that a move to London was appropriate (perhaps in financial terms as well as prestige) to engage with the burgeoning theatrical scene and the Chapel Royal. He may have also had reassurances of continued patronage. Indeed, the Duke of Bedford sponsored a revival performance of *The Judgement of Paris* in 1702. It is also possible that matters at New College had become increasingly frustrating. He had not enjoyed the benefit of a fully salaried choir. Only one singer, a Mr Bowyer, was paid during Weldon's time as organist at New College. Bowyer had been paid £6 per annum and seems to have left in 1701 (with a further *ex gratia* payment of £6).⁵⁰ A John Bowyer (d. 1709) became a Lay Vicar at Westminster Abbey in 1702 (or possibly November 1701);⁵¹ they are probably one and the same. Bowyer was not replaced at New College, at least not by a salaried singer. It is plausible that with his most accomplished musical ally in college gone (the evidence of the solo anthems suggests a high degree of competence on Bowyer's part), Weldon decided that musical enrichment and increased financial reward were more likely in the capital.

Weldon was appointed organist at St Bride's, Fleet Street, on 18 June 1702. A vestry meeting two weeks earlier had already decided that if the appointee were to appoint a deputy in their stead, then prior approval would be required:

such person who shall succeed and be in the place of M^r Henry Lighton Dollar dec^d late Organist of this parish shall execute and discharge the s^d place of Organist or by sufficient Deputy who before he doth act or performe as such shall be first approved of by a Vestry.⁵²

Little is known of the previous organist, save that he took up his post in 1696. The minutes of the earlier meeting also reveal that the candidates were to be "M^r Purcell, M^r Gorton, M^r Weldon and M^r Foster" and that auditions were to be held on 11 June. These candidates were presumably the aforementioned Daniel Purcell and William Gorton (d. 1711)

⁴⁹ *BurrowsHECR*, p. 592.

⁵⁰ New College Bursars' "Long Book", Vol. 4248, p. 38 margin note.

⁵¹ *BurrowsHECR*, p. 570.

⁵² GB-LMA P69/BRI/B/001/MS06554/002 [St Brides, Fleet Street vestry minutes] (entry 3 June 1702) [no page numbers].

a bass violist in the Royal Music.⁵³ Donovan Dawe plausibly suggests that the "M^r Foster" selected for audition was probably the same Foster who was Organist of St Dunstan in the West from 1699 and who was buried there in 1714.⁵⁴ The auditions were held a week later than initially scheduled by the Vestry. An additional candidate was allowed, "M^r Isaac", probably Bartholemew Isaack (1661-1709).⁵⁵ Of the five candidates, only three were heard: Weldon, Isaack and Gorton (see Illustration 1.3).⁵⁶ A vote was cast and "M^r Church-Warden Wakeling declared the choice fell on M^r Welden to be organist..."⁵⁷ The matter did not rest there, however.⁵⁸

some of the said Vestry desiring a poll ~~the~~ without either distinction or nomination for or between any the said Candidates in competition ~~and~~ the said M^r Churchwarden esteeming the said poll irregularly askt had noe regard to the same but [two words crossed out] ^{withdrew himself} from the vestry and thence departed.

If the identification of Isaack is correct, this could refer to a desire in some quarters to set aside any discussion surrounding his 1687 dismissal from St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin for neglect. It may be that Weldon's patrons had caused some unrest in the vestry. Either way, the controversy clearly lived on in the memory of the parish as after Weldon's death, when appointing a new organist, there was further discussion in the vestry referring back to the 1702 minutes.⁵⁹ The salary carried by the post is not known, but typical salaries for a London organist were around £20 per annum.⁶⁰

⁵³ For William Gorton, see Andrew Ashbee, 'Gorton, William', *GMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014); *BDECM*, i. p. 497; *BDA*, vi. p. 277.

⁵⁴ Donovan Dawe, *Organists of the City of London 1666-1850* (Padstow, 1983), p. 98.

⁵⁵ For Isaack see Peter Holman, 'Isaack, Bartholomew', *GMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014); for a discussion of the difficulties in identification and further information see also Jennifer Thorp "'So Great a Master as Mr Isaac": an exemplary dancing-master of late Stuart London', *Early Music*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (2007), pp. 435-446.

⁵⁶ GB-LMA P69/BRI/B/001/MS06554/002, [St Brides Fleet Street vestry minutes] (entry 18 June 1702) [no page numbers].

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ GB-LMA P69/BRI/B/001/MS06554/002, [St Brides Fleet Street vestry minutes] (entry 18 June 1702) [no page numbers].

⁵⁹ GB-LMA P69/BRI/B/001/MS06554/005, [St Brides Fleet Street vestry minutes] (entry 18 May 1736) [no page numbers].

⁶⁰ Dawe, *Organists of the City of London 1666-1850*, p. 2.

Voted that M^r. Isaac stand Candidate with the other
 Candidates for the place of Organist and that the Vestry
 into the Church forthwith to hear his Performances on the
 Organ who heard the said M^r. Isaacs Performances accordingly
 and also heard the Performances of M^r. Gorton and M^r. Weldon.
 the only Candidates who played for the said place of Organist
 And some debates arising concerning the good Performances
 of the said severall Candidates and of making the best choice
 for one of them and the said Candidates being severally put up to
 the vote for one of their being chosen Organist M^r. Church-
 warden Wakeling declared the choice fell on M^r. Weldon to be
 Organist for this parish who is thereupon Ordered Organist
 accordingly upon which some of the said Vestry
 desiring a poll ~~the~~ without either distinction or nomination
 for or between any the said Candidates in competition
 the said M^r. Churchwarden esteeming the said poll inequi-
 askt had no regard to the same but ~~askt~~
 from the Vestry and there departed.

Illustration 1.3: GB-LMA P69/BRI/B/001/MS06554/002 (entry 18 June 1702, detail): Vestry minutes of St Bride's Fleet Street. The appointment of Weldon as Organist at St Bride's does not seem to have run smoothly.

In the first four years of the eighteenth century Weldon was mostly pre-occupied with songs and music for the theatre, particularly the Patent Company, based in Drury Lane and Dorset Garden;⁶¹ he seems to have been recruited during the summer of 1702, about the same time as his Fleet Street appointment.⁶² Amongst the many concerts he gave, one, on 17 December 1702, was to presage an association with a tenor seemingly making his London concert debut: Richard Elford (1677-1714).⁶³

⁶¹ For a comprehensive account of music in London theatres in this period see Kathryn Lowerre, *Music and Musicians on the London Stage, 1695-1705* (Aldershot, 2009).

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 271.

⁶³ For Richard Elford see Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, 'Elford, Richard', *GMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014) and *ODNB* (last accessed 7 January 2014); *BDECM*, i. p. 384, *BurrowsHECR*, pp. 582-584; *BDA*, v. pp. 47-48. For further discussion, see Chapter 2, below.

The advertisement for the concert in the York Buildings, placed two days earlier in *The Post Boy* promised "a Consort of Vocal and Instrumental musick...several new Songs, Compos'd by Mr Clark and Mr Weldon, and perform'd by Mrs Hudson, Mr Elford; a Gentleman who, never but once Sung in Publick; and others."⁶⁴ "Mrs Hudson" was Mary Hodgson (née Dyer, 1673-1718), a leading soprano.⁶⁵

In 1702 Weldon published two collections of songs, the first is lost, the second is entitled *A Collection of New Songs*.⁶⁶ A third collection was published the following year.⁶⁷ The songs are mostly drawn from music for various plays. For example, "Take, oh take those lips away", published in the second collection, was probably from Charles Gildon's (1665-1724) 1701 adaptation of Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*,⁶⁸ "The young Mirtillo" was used in *The Fair Example* by Richard Estcourt (1668?-1712), first produced in April 1703.⁶⁹ "Mrs Champion" and "Mrs Linsey" feature heavily in the performers listed in Weldon's published songs. In spite of their titles neither seem to have married, but to have been given (or assumed) the title "Mrs" for the sake of respectability. Mary Anne Champion (c. 1687-1706) achieved fame as both a singer and as a dancer particularly in the Drury Lane theatre. She included songs by Weldon in her benefit concerts (it is not known which) and in 1702 she was paid a fee of 3 guineas for performing Weldon's *The Judgment of Paris* at Lincoln's Inn Fields for the Duke of Bedford. This was the highest fee of any of the cast; equalled only by Mary Lindsey, who also performed in the production. In 1704 Champion retired after becoming one of the mistresses of William Cavendish, first Duke of Devonshire, to whom

⁶⁴ *Post Boy*, 12-15 December 1702 (Issue 1184).

⁶⁵ For Mary Hodgson, see Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, 'Hodgson, Mary', *GMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014) and *ODNB* (last accessed 7 January 2014); eadem 'Purcell's stage singers: a documentary list', in *Performing the music of Henry Purcell* ed. Michael Burden (Oxford, 1996), pp. 275-281; *BDA*, vii. pp. 354-355.

⁶⁶ Weldon, *A Collection of new songs* (John Walsh: London, [1702]); the first is advertised alongside the second in *Post Man and the Historical Account*, 2-4 July 1702 (Issue 986).

⁶⁷ Weldon, *Mr. Weldon's third book of songs* (John Walsh: London, [1703]).

⁶⁸ Irena Cholić, 'Music in Eighteenth-Century London Shakespeare Productions' (PhD thesis, King's College, University of London, 1995), p. 38. Curiously, Gildon's work incorporated Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*, divided into four entertainments, performed professionally for the first time. For Charles Gildon, see James Sambrook, 'Gildon, Charles', *ODNB* (last accessed 7 January 2014).

⁶⁹ *London Stage* i. p. 96. For Richard Estcourt see, F. H. Mares, 'Estcourt, Richard', *ODNB* (last accessed 7 January 2014); *BDA*, v. pp. 97-102.

she bore a child before succumbing to death from a fever.⁷⁰ Hodgson, Lindsey and Campion appeared together in July 1702 in "a Consort of Vocal in Instrumental Musick, Compos'd by Mr Weldon Master of the Songs."⁷¹

22 February 1703/4 saw the first performance of Weldon's music "after the manner of an Opera" for Motteux's play *Britain's Happiness*.⁷² Curiously this play was staged at both Drury Lane (in February) and Lincoln's Inn Fields (in March). The former enjoyed music by Weldon and Dieupart (who composed the instrumental music), the latter had music by Leveridge. Motteux suggested it was an accident, but (as observed by Kathryn Lowerre) it has overtones of the competition for *The Judgement of Paris*.⁷³ Of Weldon's music for the play, one duet, "Happy Britains, seated here", and two solo songs, "Just Comeing from Sea, our Spouses and wee" and "The Welfare of All on blest Anna depends" survive.⁷⁴

In addition to the publications containing only Weldon's songs, he was a contributor to Walsh and Hare's regular collaboration, *Monthly Mask of Vocal Music*, between 1702 and 1708,⁷⁵ and to the *Wit and Mirth* collections of Henry Playford.⁷⁶ *Wit and Mirth* lived up to its subtitle, "Pills to purge melancholy", with a series of popular songs. Some are certainly charming, but the series did not have the same artistic segment of the market in mind as Playford's earlier *Mercurius musicus*.

⁷⁰ For more on Campion see Anita McConnell, 'Campion, Mary', *ODNB* (last accessed 7 January 2014); *BDA*, iii. pp. 31-32.

⁷¹ *London Stage*, i. p. 63.

⁷² *Daily Courant*, 21 February 1704 (Issue 577); *London Stage* i. p. 149.

⁷³ Lowerre, *Music and Musicians on the London Stage, 1695-1705*, p. 345.

⁷⁴ *The monthly mask of vocal music, 1702-1711*, facsimile edition, ed. Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 102, 106, 109; The libretto was also published: Peter Anthony Motteux, *Britain's Happiness, a musical interlude* (n.p.: London, 1704).

⁷⁵ *The monthly mask of vocal music, 1702-1711*, ed. Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson.

⁷⁶ *Wit and Mirth* (Henry Playford: London, 1706-14).

Interlude: Family Life

In the midst of all this musical activity, Weldon married on 11 November 1703.⁷⁷ His bride was Susanna Betton (bap. 15 July 1682), daughter of the Rector of Lavant, near Chichester. Many entries in this register specify that one of the parties to the marriage is "from Chichester" (or elsewhere), but Weldon ("Welldon") is not so denoted. This suggests that he may have either been born in East Lavant or enjoyed some form of residency there. The couple retained a continued connection with the parish as four of their seven children were baptised there (see Table 1.1).

It is likely that the Thomas Weldon baptised on 26 June 1712 became one of the Children of the Chapel Royal (a chorister), leaving on 31 March 1729.⁷⁸ Mary Weldon married Thomas Champness on 13 August 1731 at St Benet's Paul's Wharf,⁷⁹ two of their four children subsequently singing in the Chapel Royal: Samuel (also known as Thomas) Champness (left 30 August 1748, aged 17)⁸⁰ and Thomas (left 20 July 1753, aged 15).⁸¹ Both brothers and Weldon Champness (another son of Thomas Champness and Mary Weldon) enjoyed singing careers as adults to greater or lesser extents.⁸² Samuel Champness was a Gentleman in ordinary "in the room of William Savage" (i.e. taking the place of) from 30 November 1789 to his death, on 10 January 1803.⁸³

⁷⁷ The Parish Register Transcription Society CD-Rom – SXW 31 Sussex Parish Register Transcripts East Lavant.

⁷⁸ *BurrowsHECR*, p. 574; GB-Lpro LC 5/18, p. 107.

⁷⁹ *The Registers of St Bene't and St. Peter, Paul's Wharf, London* (London, 1909), iii, ed. Willoughby Littledale, p. 8.

⁸⁰ *BurrowsHECR*, p. 575; GB-Lpro LC 5/22, p. 394.

⁸¹ *BurrowsHECR*, p. 575.

⁸² *BDA*, iii. pp. 149-151; see also Winton Dean, 'Champness, Samuel Thomas', *GMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014).

⁸³ *CBCR*, i. p. 239 and p. 245.

Name	Place of Baptism	Date of Baptism	Date of Birth
Sussana [sic]	East Lavant	20 June 1706	?
Mary	East Lavant	14 September 1707	?
John	St Martin-in-the-Fields	10 March 1708/9	25 February 1708/9
Richard	St Martin-in-the-Fields	25 March 1710	16 March 1709/10
Thomas	East Lavant	26 June 1712	?
George	St Martin-in-the-Fields	2 July 1713	5 June 1713
Elizabeth	East Lavant	13 October 1714	?

Table 1.1: *Children of John and Susanna Weldon:* Information taken from *The Parish Register Transcription Society CD-Rom – SXW 31 Sussex Parish Register Transcripts East Lavant and St Martin-in-the-Fields Parish Register.*

Further appointments and a rival

After John Blow's death, on 1 October 1708, Weldon was appointed as one of the two Organists to the Chapel Royal.⁸⁴ Although there is no record of his title as "second composer" to the Chapel Royal until 8 August 1715 (Old Cheque book)⁸⁵ the Lord Steward's records show that on 3 February 1708/9 there was a "Warrant appointing John Weldon as an additional composer in the Chapel Royal".⁸⁶ It seems most likely that the difference between "second" and "additional" is just a matter of semantics rather than a change in title. The posts of Organist and Composer each carried a salary of £73 per year and travelling charges were paid in addition (see Chapter 2, below, for further discussion of emoluments).

On 2 February 1714 Weldon took up the post of Organist at St. Martin-in-the-Fields without giving up his Fleet Street post (see Illustration 1.4, below).⁸⁷ As will be discussed in Chapter 2, with regard to both organists and singers, no doubt some judicious timing of services and a system of deputies enabled these multiple appointments. A hint of controversy at St Martin-in-the-Fields arises not so much from his appointment *per se*, but from the

⁸⁴ *CBCR*, i. p. 49.

⁸⁵ *CBCR*, i. p. 51.

⁸⁶ *RECM*, v. p. 101.

⁸⁷ *Pace Bumpus* who states that this appointment was made in 1726 "out of compliment to King George I" (*Bumpus*, p. 226).

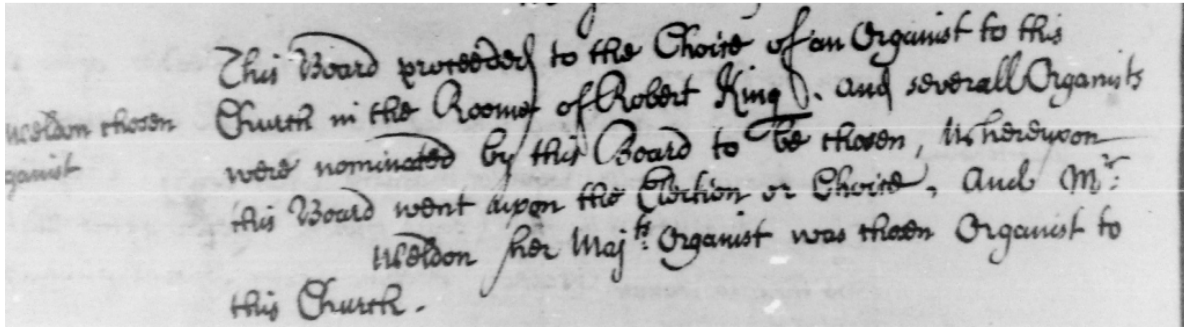


Illustration 1.4: GB-LWA STM/F/1/2006 (entry 2 February 1713/4, detail): Vestry minutes of St Martin-in-the-Fields.

dismissal of the previous organist, Robert King (c. 1660-1726).⁸⁸ King, a violinist in the Royal Private Musick, was dismissed as "several complaints having been made divers times" had been received. King and Weldon had given at least one concert together, on 12 May 1702 in Somerset-House Gardens.⁸⁹

The anthem word book for the Chapel Royal, published in 1712, reveals Weldon's high standing in the repertory of that institution.⁹⁰ The main part of the word book is divided into two sections: Full anthems (which includes full-with-verse anthems), and Verse anthems. Following this there is a supplement of "anthems omitted in the previous section or compos'd since the printing of it."⁹¹ This supplement again contains full anthems followed by verse anthems and was probably printed in early 1714/5 (see 'Chronology' in Chapter 2). The word book was printed to be bound in with the *Book of Common Prayer* and only the Anthems "most us'd are printed,"⁹²; it makes no claim to be a complete record of the repertory. Nevertheless it provides a usefully indicative snapshot of the number of anthems in the repertoire by different composers, and therefore perhaps the esteem in which they were held: Table 1.2 presents an analysis of the number of anthems printed in the word book by composer.

⁸⁸ Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 116; GB-LWA STM/F/1/2006 [St Martin-in-the-Fields vestry minutes], 13 January 1713/4; For Robert King see Peter Holman, 'King, Robert (i)', *GMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014); Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, 'King, Robert', *ODNB* (last accessed 7 January 2014); *BDECM*, ii. p. 649.

⁸⁹ *English Post with News Foreign and Domestick*, 6-8 May, 1702 (Issue 246).

⁹⁰ *Word1712*.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*; the supplement's pages are numbered separately in lower case roman numerals.

⁹² *Ibid.*, [iv; preface to main book].

Composer	Number of anthems in main section [Number listed in word book table] (Full + Verse)	Number of anthems in supplement (Full + Verse)
William Croft	26 (4+22)	5 (1+4)
John Blow	18 (4+14)	2 (0+2)
Henry Aldrich*	12 (5+7)	1 (0+1)
Henry Purcell	12 (2+10)	
Pelham Humphrey	10 [11] (0+10)	1 (1+0)
John Weldon	10 (0+10)	3 (1+2)
John Goldwin	9 [10] (4+5)	1 (1+0)
Anthony Wakely	11[10] (2+9)	
Jeremiah Clark	6 [7] (0+6)	
William Turner	6 [5] (1+5)	
Vaughan Richardson	8 (0+8)	
Benjamin Lamb	7 (0+7)	
William Child	7 (7+0)	
Michael Wise	6 (0+6)	
Daniel Henstridge	6 [5] (3+3)	
Thomas Tudway	6 (0+6)	
John Church	6 [5] (1+5)	
Richard Brind	6 [5] (0+6)	
William Davis	4 [5] (0+4)	
Henry Hall	4 [6] (1+3)	
Charles King	4 (1+3)	
Orlando Gibbons	4 (3+1)	
George Holmes	4 (0+4)	
Adrian Batten	4 (4+0)	
William Tucker	3 [5] (1+2)	
Christopher Gibbons	3 (0+3)	
William Morley	2 (0+2)	
John Walter	2 (0+2)	
John Isham	2 (0+2)	
Matthew Locke	2 (0+2)	
Benjamin Rogers	2 (2+0)	
James Hesletine	2 (0+2)	
William Byrd	2 [4] (2+0)	
Richard Farrant	2 (2+0)	
Thomas Tallis	2 (2+0)	
John [?] Arbuthnot	1 (0+1)	
Charles Quarles	1 (0+1)	
Thomas Williams	1 (0+1)	
Henry Loosemore	1 (1+0)	
Reading (Winchester)	1 (0+1)	
William Norris	1 (0+1)	
William Mundy	1 (1+0)	
Thomas Jackson	1 (0+1)	
Edmund Hooper	1 (1+0)	
William Lawes	1 (0+1)	
King Henry VIII	1 (1+0)	

*Most of Aldrich's anthems are adaptations of works by Palestrina or Carissimi, or of earlier English composers. In addition, the collection lists two joint anthems, one by Blow, Clark and Croft, the other by Humphrey, Blow and Turner

Table 1.2: Numerical analysis of contents of *Word1712* by composer.

From the works represented in the word book, it can be seen that Weldon was not only well regarded, but increasingly so with the additional anthems in the supplement. It seems that much of the work in compiling this volume was done by John Church (c. 1675-1741), as testified by Thomas Ford in 1710.⁹³ However, it is inconceivable that William Croft (1678-1727), as senior Organist and Master of the Choristers, did not have some input into the compilation.⁹⁴ It is equally inconceivable that the Sub-Dean did not give final approval. The word book is described as "Publish'd with the Approbation of the Sub-dean of Her Majesty's Chappel Royal, and several of the greatest Masters." The later word books for the Chapel Royal of 1724 and 1736 give a slightly different wording on their title pages;⁹⁵ both state, "Published by the Direction of the Reverend the Sub-Dean of his Majesty's said Chapels Royal." By the publication of the 1724 anthem word book six of Weldon's anthems had been removed, but ten were added.⁹⁶ Although some of those ten predate even the 1712 word book, it shows a continuing regard for his work.

Divine Harmony

The only publication of Weldon's sacred music during his lifetime came in 1716 when he published six solo anthems under the title *Divine Harmony*,⁹⁷ that had been "Performed by the late famous Mr Richard Elford" (see Illustration 1.5, below).⁹⁸ Although the words of just two of the six anthems are printed in the 1712 anthem word book,⁹⁹ it is entirely plausible that Elford sang the other anthems at some stage – the anthem word book does not claim to be a complete collection. There is no claim that the anthems were specifically written for

⁹³ *BurrowsHECR*, pp. 56-57; Thomas Ford, GB-Ob Ms Mus.e.17, 'History of Music' (1710); For John Church, see Margaret Laurie, 'Church, John', *GMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014); Peter Ward Jones, 'Church, John', *ONDB* (last accessed 7 January 2014); *BDECM*, i. pp. 252-253.

⁹⁴ For William Croft see Watkins Shaw and Graydon Beeks, 'Croft, William', *GMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014); Bennett Mitchell Zon, 'Croft, William', *ODNB* (last accessed 7 January 2014); and for his sacred music particularly R. L. Scandrett, 'The anthems of William Croft (1778-1727)' (PhD thesis, University of Washington, 1961).

⁹⁵ *Word1724*; *Word1736*.

⁹⁶ *Word1724*.

⁹⁷ *WeldonDH*.

⁹⁸ *WeldonDH* title-page. For more on Elford see Chapter 2, below.

⁹⁹ *Word1712*.

Richard Elford; it seems likely that at least four of the six had been written to be first performed at New College by John Bowyer (see above). *Divine Harmony* was published by Walsh and Hare,¹⁰⁰ advertised on 6-8 March 1716 in *The Post Man*.¹⁰¹ From about 1700 Walsh began to use pewter plates (less costly than copper) and also began using punches.¹⁰² Most of Walsh's imprints up to 1730 also bear the name of John Hare of Cornhill (d. 1725). Hare rarely published on his own, rather, he worked in collaboration with others, such as Henry Playford. This collaboration stretched to instrument-making; violins, to be precise, probably sold on to the Royal Court by Walsh. Walsh and Hare co-published many works. The publication of a set of sacred songs or anthems is somewhat unusual in their output; they generally concentrated on secular songs, operas and instrumental works.

This publication clearly met with some degree of success, as it seems that the 1716 plates were reused the following year. At the same time further anthems by other composers were published, under the title of *Divine Harmony The 2^d Collection*.¹⁰³ The opportunity to advertise the first collection was taken: this second publication states, "Note M^r Weldons Anthems for y^e Chappel Royal may be had where these are sold."¹⁰⁴ In the *Post Boy* advertisement for *Divine Harmony The 2^d Collection*, is also stated "There is lately publish'd, A New Edition of Mr. Welldons Anthems".¹⁰⁵ This was not a new edition as we might understand it today, but a reissue of the previous publication. In 1721 *Divine Harmony* appeared in Walsh's catalogue of the later year, priced 4s. 0d.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰ *WeldonDH*.

¹⁰¹ William Smith (compiled), *Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh, 1695-1720* (London, 1948), p. 143.

¹⁰² *Music printing and publishing*, ed. Donald William Krummel and Stanley Sadie (London, 1990), p. 466.

¹⁰³ Smith (compiled), *Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh, 1695-1720*, p. 153; *Divine Harmony. The 2d collection* (Walsh and Hare, London, 1717).

¹⁰⁴ *Divine Harmony. The 2d collection* (Walsh and Hare, London, 1717).

¹⁰⁵ Smith (compiled), *Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh, 1695-1720*, p. 153.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 143 and 153.

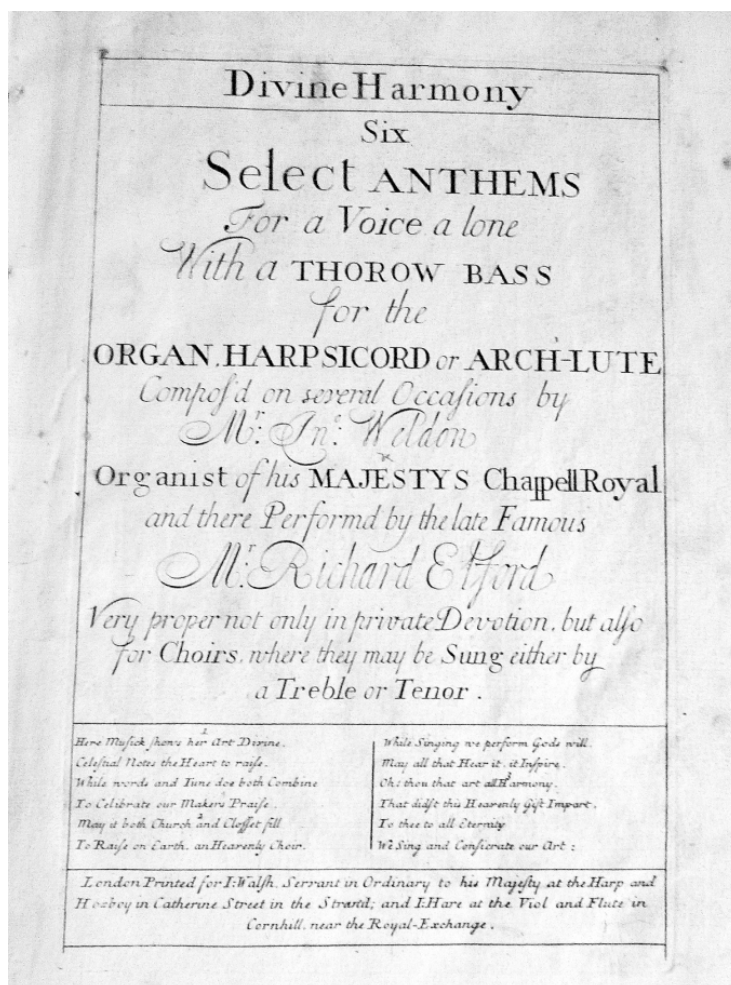


Illustration 1.5: Title page of *Divine Harmony* (Walsh and Hare: London, 1716)

Divine Harmony was again reissued in 1731 from plates for the 1716 edition with a printer's number (No. 206) added to the title page (see Illustration 1.6, below) and Walsh only in the imprint, being advertised in *Country Journal: or, The Craftsman* on 17 July of that year.¹⁰⁷ Later printings are less clear (though quite usable), further suggesting re-use of the plates. No changes to the musical text have been observed by the present writer. Walsh was

¹⁰⁷ William Smith and Charles Humphries (compiled), *A bibliography of the musical works published by the firm of John Walsh during the years 1721-1766* (London, 1968), p. 344.

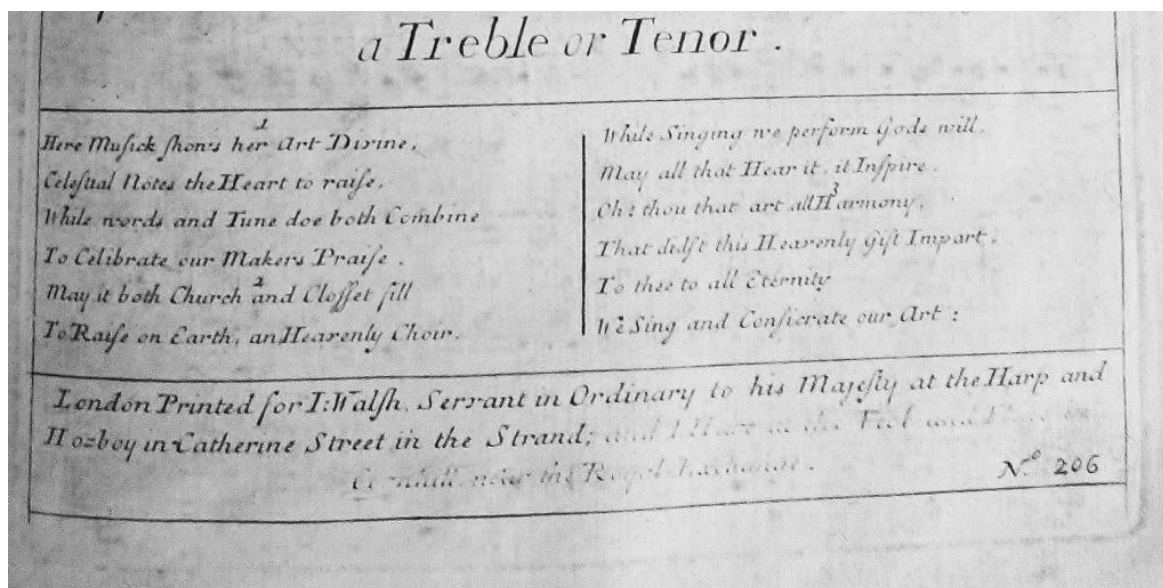


Illustration 1.6: Title page (detail) of *Divine Harmony* (Walsh: London, [2/]1731). Note the additional catalogue number and the partial removal of Hare's details.

still advertising *Divine Harmony* in his 1741 *A Catalogue of Musick*.¹⁰⁸ It also appeared in his successors' catalogues late into the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁹

Further information about the collection may be gleaned from the title page. There might be some element of prevarication in the suggestion that the anthems are "For a Voice alone" as all have chorus sections to a greater or lesser extent. These could however be readily dealt with in the absence of a chorus, either by omission, or by having the solo voice sing the uppermost part. The indication that all three instruments listed ("organ, harpsicord or arch-lute) are equally suitable does not stand up to scrutiny though. In three of the six anthems there melodic material is written for the accompanimental instrument, nearly always specified in the print as for "Organ" or "Loud Organ". It is clear in both this obfuscation and in the assertion that the anthems might be suitable for both "private devotion, but also for Choirs" that Walsh and Hare's primary aim is to maximise sales through suggesting as many performance possibilities as possible.

The publication itself is unusual. The printing of anthems in the early eighteenth century was rare and it seems likely that publication went ahead only because the anthems

¹⁰⁸ [John Walsh], *A Catalogue of Musick: containing all the vocal, and instrumental musick printed in England, for John Walsh* (London, 1741), p. 20.

¹⁰⁹ William Randall, *A Catalogue of Vocal and Instrumental Music, for the year 1776* (London, 1776); Elizabeth Randall, *A Catalogue of Vocal and Instrumental Music* (London, [c. 1782]).

were solo anthems that could therefore be scored mostly on two or three staves per system. It was not until Croft's 1724 *Musica Sacra* publication (see below) that larger scale anthems were printed in score. The publication of sacred songs, however, was more common (the distinction between anthems and sacred songs being that anthems were considered as settings of specifically biblical texts, often psalms, but sacred songs set non-biblical texts). Playford's *Harmonia Sacra*, in the third edition of the first volume and the second edition of the second volume, included some seven anthems: four by Purcell in the first volume and one each by Jeremiah Clarke (c. 1674-1707), John Blow and William Croft in the second.¹¹⁰ It is possible that this publication provided something of a model for *Divine Harmony*. Walsh and Hare's publication though was on a much smaller scale (the two volumes of *Harmonia Sacra* gave some 49 items, many substantial) and the music was by just one composer, Weldon as well as including only anthems.

Divine Harmony The 2^d Collection, published a year after the volume devoted to Weldon's solo anthems, showcases a wider range of composers. John Blow, Jeremiah Clarke, Dr P[epusch] (1667-1752), William Norris (c. 1669-1702) and John Goldwin (1667-1719) are all featured.¹¹¹ Furthermore, although there are plenty of solo verses in this second volume, there are also several 3-part verses. Jeremiah Clarke is represented by three anthems, each other composer by one each. Once again, the title page asserts that they were "perform'd at the Chappel Royal"; there is no reason to discount this assertion. Richard Elford is not mentioned on the title page, but two of the anthems include in their titles the information that the piece has been sung by him at the Chapel Royal. In terms of publication by Walsh, at least, Weldon can be viewed as the leading composer of the solo anthem in the early eighteenth century, given that he had an entire collection devoted to his work, whilst other

¹¹⁰ Henry Playford (ed.), *Harmonia Sacra: or, Divine Hymns and Dialogues*, 3rd edn., 2 vols (London: 1714). For Jeremiah Clarke, see particularly T. F. Taylor, 'The life and works of Jeremiah Clarke (c. 1673-1707)' (PhD thesis, Northwestern University, 1967); see also H. Diack Johnstone, 'Clarke, Jeremiah', *ODNB* (last accessed 7 January 2014); idem and Watkins Shaw and 'Clarke, Jeremiah', *OMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014).

¹¹¹ For Johann Christoph Pepusch see Malcolm Boyd *et al.*, 'Pepusch, Johann Christoph' *OMO* (last accessed 27 August 2014); Donald F. Cook, 'The Life and Works of Johann Christoph Pepusch, 1667–1752' (PhD thesis, University of London, 1982); For William Norris, see Robert Thompson, 'Norris, William', *OMO* (last accessed 11 January 2014); For John Goldwin's anthems, see in particular A. M. Jones, 'The anthems of John Golding, organist and master of the choristers of St George's Chapel in Windsor Castle' (MMus diss., University of London, 1985); see also Ian Spink, 'Goldwin, John', *GMO* (last accessed 11 January 2014); Keri Dexter, 'Goldwin [Golding], John', *ODNB* (last accessed 11 January 2014); idem, *A good Quire of voices* (Aldershot, 2002).

composers were obliged to intermingle in a secondary volume. It is curious though that no further work by Weldon was included in the second collection, particularly given the expansion from solo anthems to verse anthems. As will be seen in Chapter 3, below, Weldon had written several verse anthems by 1717 and these include some of his strongest work. Perhaps Walsh felt that Weldon was already well-represented in his catalogue in the anthem genre and that further publication of his work was less likely to yield further profits. The regular reprinting of the *Divine Harmony* collection would seem to point to continuing sales of Weldon's work.

Duties for the Chapel Royal

Weldon's duties as Organist at the Chapel Royal seem to have been shared fairly evenly with his organist colleagues William Croft and (later) Maurice Greene (1696-1755).¹¹² Each had their share of months in waiting for which there is no record of actual attendance (they may have deputised for each other), but the lists of travelling charges for the royal summer excursions to Hampton Court and Windsor, as shown in Table 1.3 (below), might be taken as representative of their attendance at other times.

Croft was also accounted and paid an extra *per diem* allowance for being in attendance with the choristers on every day of waiting as well as a considerable allowance for the board, lodging and teaching of the children. The numbers given for these days generally match the maximum number of days attended by other Gentlemen, and yet the total number of days given above sometimes exceeds this maximum. This perhaps suggests that for a few days a year both Croft and Weldon were in waiting as organists, unless a scribal error has been made and one, other or both benefitted financially.

¹¹² For Maurice Greene see H. Diack Johnstone, 'Greene, Maurice', *GMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014) and *ODNB* (last accessed 7 January 2014); for comprehensive biographical details see idem, 'The life and work of Maurice Greene (1696-1755)' (PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 1967); and for his sacred music particularly E. Janifer, 'The English church music of Maurice Greene and his contemporaries' (PhD thesis, University of London, 1959).

Year	Days attended by John Weldon	Days attended by William Croft (until 1724); Maurice Greene (from 1728)
1709	63	63
1711	61	63
1712	73	72
1713	115	93
1716	60	39
1717	64	58
1718	46	32
1724	20	32
1728	32	28
1730	63	67
1731	63	62
1732	48	60

Table 1.3: Chapel Royal Organists' number of days attendance on Royal Summer excursions. Weldon's attendance is given in *BDECM*, ii. p. 1140; Croft's attendance is given in *BDECM*, i. p. 320. Both have been checked against the relevant lists in GB-Lpro LC/5. Greene's attendance is recorded in GB-Lpro LC 5/18, pp. 74, 212, 289; LC 5/19, p. 60.

In the 1710s Weldon's interest in theatre seems to have been reawakened with a setting of *The Tempest* (revived in 1716, most likely dating from 1712)¹¹³, an ode (the now lost *A Dialogue between Honour, Faction and Peace* (1713)) and various other songs.¹¹⁴ It also seems that from the late 1710s, if not earlier in that decade, Weldon's compositional output for the Chapel Royal declined (for a detailed discussion of the reasons, see 'Chronology' in Chapter 2, below). Indeed, it may be that he was not keeping pace with the expectations of a composer to the Chapel Royal. A footnote in *The Memoirs of Dr William Boyce* by John Hawkins, published as the introduction to the second edition of Boyce's *Cathedral Music* in 1788, casts some light on these expectations:¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Margaret Laurie, 'Did Purcell Set "The Tempest?"', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 90 (1963-1964), p. 52; see also Chapter 3.

¹¹⁴ See catalogue by Laurie under 'Weldon, John' in *GMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014).

¹¹⁵ Gwilym Beechey, William Boyce and J. H. Source, 'Memoirs of Dr. William Boyce', *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 57, No. 1 (1971), pp. 87-106.

This establishment owes its rise to the zeal and bounty of Queen Mary, the consort of King William: the thought of it was suggested by Dr. Tillotson, when Dean of St. Paul's; it was intended by Her Majesty that there should be two composers; ... who should each produce a new anthem on the first Sunday of his month of waiting.

If this volume of work, equating to six anthems per year was indeed the expectation, then Weldon fell a long way short. Table 1.4 (below) shows the average monthly anthem output of Purcell, Blow, Croft, Weldon, Greene and Boyce. Admittedly is a rather crude measure as it does not take into account Croft's shared placed with Jeremiah Clarke for three years, nor does it take into account service music, nor yet any anthems written prior to appointment. Nonetheless it sets the relative paucity of Weldon's writing into stark relief.

It seems plausible that by as early as 1712 there was felt to be a gap between the needs of the Chapel Royal for fresh compositions of anthems and their supply. A report of the potential appointment of Thomas Tudway as a "Supernumerary Composer" appeared in April 1712.¹¹⁶ In 1714 a draft warrant was drawn up to appoint Tudway as a "3.^d Composer added to Our Chappel-Royal", complete with the usual salary of £73 per annum. Other than the year, the dates of commencement and completion are left blank and the warrant is neither signed nor sealed.¹¹⁷ It is not known whether there was a reconsideration before the warrant could be executed, or whether Queen Anne's death that year put the appointment on hold. The former seems most likely. As Edward Gregg has observed, the monarch took a close interest in those who were or were to become members of her household, noting that "those obnoxious to her had difficulty in obtaining important positions."¹¹⁸ One might assume that those close to the Queen, such as the Duke of Somerset, kept her well-informed. The Duke of Somerset, a Whig, was Chancellor of Cambridge University, where Tudway, a Tory, was Professor of Music.¹¹⁹ Tudway seems to have little time for him; Burney in his *History*

¹¹⁶ *Evening Post*, 10-12 April 1712 (Issue 417). No official record of such a warrant has been found. For details of Thomas Tudway's colourful character see in particular, Ian Spink, *Thomas Tudway* ([London]: Church Music Society, 2010); see also idem, 'Tudway, Thomas', *ODNB* (last accessed 8 January 2013); Watkins Shaw and Bruce Wood, 'Tudway, Thomas', *GMO* (last accessed 8 January 2013).

¹¹⁷ GB-Lbl Add. MS 70267, folder misc. 46.

¹¹⁸ *Gregg*, p. 135.

¹¹⁹ For further discussion of Tudway's politics, see William Weber, 'Thomas Tudway and the Harleian Collection of Ancient church music', *The Electronic British Library Journal* (<http://www.bl.uk/eblj/1989articles/article13.html>; last accessed 2 August 2013).

Composer	Number of anthems known (from <i>GMO</i> , except Weldon)	Years as Gentleman Ordinary	Anthems per year
Henry Purcell	68	13	5.23
John Blow	116	34	3.41
William Croft	88	23	3.82
John Weldon	30	28	1.07
Maurice Greene	103	28	3.68
William Boyce	68	21	3.24

Table 1.4: Anthems per year written by Weldon and his immediate predecessors, successors and contemporaries as Composer to the Chapel Royal

reported one of Tudway's more famous puns, "The Chancellor rides us all, *without a bit in our mouths*".¹²⁰ Tudway had been suspended from his various offices (he was also Organist of Kings College, Cambridge and the University church) from July 1706 to March 1706/7. His recantation gives the reason, "...viz That though her most sacred Majesty refus'd to receive an address from y^e hands of the Hortford[?] Burgess, had it been presented from Daniel Burgess,¹²¹ y^e Queen woud have received it."¹²² Tudway seems to have realised that this would have had a deleterious effect on his hopes of appointment to the Chapel Royal. He wrote to Robert Harley on 16 January 1713/14:¹²³

D^r Blow dying soon after; my freinds were in hopes to obtain one of his places for me, w^{ch} was all I beg'd; The Subdean D^r Battell, address'd y^e Queen in my behalf, Madam, D^r Tudway has been attending Severall years, D^r Blow is dying, or dead, will your Majesty be pleas'd to bestow one of his places upon him. He is very sorry, for haveing inadvertently offended your Majesty, in other respects, He is ev'ry way quallified to deserve your Majestys favour; The Queen was pleas'd to reply, wth wonderfull Goodness & Compassion, That She forgave me wth all her Heart, But She was not Poor Lady, able to bring me into her Service; As soon as y^e D^r was dead, both his places of Composer & Organist were giv'n to one that never before had any relation to y^e Chappell Royall, & had been a Domestick of y^e D^r of S^{ts} [Duke of Somerset], w^{ch} in all probabillity was y^e reason of his violence against me'.

Blow died in 1708; we have no way of knowing whether Ralph Battell (1649-1713) took the actions suggested, nor do we have the Queen's response, if any. Tudway is correct

¹²⁰ Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* (1789), ed. F. Mercer (London, 1935), ii. p. 361.

¹²¹ Daniel Burgess (1646-1713), Presbyterian minister; see Stephen Wright, 'Burgess, Daniel', *ODNB* (last accessed 7 January 2014).

¹²² GB-Cu, *Grace Book Theta*, 1668-1718, Liber Gratiarum Theta, p. 543.

¹²³ GB-Lbl Add. MS 70261.

that he was "quallified"; the quality of his compositions testify to that.¹²⁴ The reference to the "Domestick" can only refer to Weldon, as it was he who received the relevant posts. Tudway is, of course, incorrect in his assertion that his rival had "never before had any relation to y^e Chappell Royall" as Weldon had been a Gentleman Extraordinary for some years. "Domestick" is almost certainly meant as a derogatory term (Tudway is famed for both his sharp tongue and pen). Nevertheless it gives a clear indication of Tudway's perception of the Duke of Somerset's ongoing patronage of Weldon. Given the ongoing rumours of the Duke's patronage (see North's comments earlier in this chapter), it is quite likely, not only that Somerset pushed Weldon's appointment, but that he twice interfered to stop Tudway's appointment, first on the occasion of Blow's death, and then as a third composer to the Chapel. This may explain Tudway's apparent reluctance to include Weldon's music in his collection for Lord Harley (see Source Descriptions in Volume 2).

Decline or apathy?

As noted above, Weldon's overall output of anthems is quite small and it seems that all of them date from before 1722, if not earlier (see 'Chronology' in Chapter 2). The appointment of his successors, Boyce and Martin refers to Weldon's "long Indisposition",¹²⁵ but given that his will (see below) was not made until six months before his death; a fourteen-year "Indisposition" due to ill-health seems highly improbable. It might be surmised that the emergence of Handel, firstly in 1712-1714 as "the favoured composer for state and court occasions,"¹²⁶ and subsequently in the mid 1720s (his anthem *As pants the hart* appears in the 1724 word book) had the dual function of firstly satisfying the Chapel's thirst for new music and allowing Weldon's lack of contribution to be less apparent. It may be that Weldon felt he could not compete with such a talent or perhaps felt inhibited by the challenge of the Italian style though (see 'Style' in Chapter 2), his attempts to synthesise the new style into his own works were highly successful. Weldon's colleague, Croft, however, seemed determined to rise to the challenge posed by the outsider.

¹²⁴ Most of Tudway's anthems can be found in GB-Lbl Harl.7340-42. Recordings of three of them are available with the "Wimpole service": *The Choral Music of Thomas Tudway (c. 1650-1726)*. Ferdinand's Consort, dir. Stephen Bullamore. 2009. Compact disc. Priory. PRCD1034.

¹²⁵ *CBCR*, i. p. 145.

¹²⁶ *BurrowsHECR*, p. 138.

Weldon was not a member of the Academy of Vocal Music, founded on 7 January 1725/6 at St Clement Dane's, Strand.¹²⁷ Of names previously associated with the composer, Gates, Freeman, Croft and Weely all feature in the early subscription lists. Pepusch, Greene, Bononcini, Geminiani were also members of this club, which sought to celebrate and perform "Compositions of the Ancients" – those who "lived before y^e end of the ~~fifteenth~~ sixteenth century".¹²⁸ It seems most likely that Weldon simply did not support the club's aims. He was generally forward-looking in his compositional manner and perhaps had little time for music of the past.

The lack of engagement with the Academy of Vocal Music is one of the ways Weldon seems not to be fully part of the close knit group of Gentlemen of the Chapel. Although he held multiple appointments, the singers of the Chapel Royal were more closely interlinked through their appointments at Westminster Abbey and St Paul's Cathedral, as well as (to a lesser extent) St George's Windsor. Croft was Organist at Westminster Abbey from 1709 until his death in 1727; John Church was Master of the Choristers at Westminster Abbey from 1704 until 1740. Jeremiah Clarke had been Organist at St Paul's since 1699, and Master of the Choristers from 1703. Upon his suicide in 1707 the posts were split once more. The Organist became Richard Brind and the Master of the Choristers, Charles King.¹²⁹ Neither of these was associated with the Chapel Royal; Maurice Greene was appointed Organist in 1718. It seems highly likely that Weldon would have felt slighted that as an Organist of the Chapel Royal he was not appointed to either or both of these posts at St Paul's. He was the only musician associated with the Chapel Royal not to hold an appointment at either Westminster Abbey, St Paul's or at Windsor until the appointment of Handel as a composer in 1722/3 (though, as an alien resident, Handel was not appointed as a Gentleman to the Chapel).

Two further indications of withdrawal (possibly semi-retirement) came in 1727. First, in March 1726/7 St Martin-in-the-Fields appointed an Assistant Organist to share Weldon's duties. It had been proposed a month earlier to add £20 to his salary, "he providing an abler

¹²⁷ GB-Lbl Add. MS 11732, 'The Academy of Vocal Music, 1725-1730'.

¹²⁸ Ibid., f. 16r.

¹²⁹ For Richard Brind, see Watkins Shaw and Ian Spink, 'Brind, Richard', *GMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014); David S. Knight, 'Brind, Richard', *ODNB* (last accessed 7 January 2014); for Charles King, see H. Diack Johnstone 'King, Charles', *ODNB* (last accessed 7 January 2014); idem and Watkins Shaw, 'King, Charles', *GMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014).

Assistant".¹³⁰ However, instead a Joint Organist, one Theophilus Cole (d. 1730) was appointed.¹³¹ He and Weldon were to "alternately play this Parish Organ...on holydays and also on every third Sunday in each Month at the Charity-Sermons, after Evening Sermons."¹³² Second, after William Croft's death in August 1727, Weldon was not made First Organist and Composer of the Chapel Royal as might have been expected, Maurice Greene being instead preferred. Furthermore, Bernard Gates was appointed as Master of the Choristers to the Chapel Royal after the death of William Croft.

Weldon did not withdraw completely. In 1724 he was one of the subscribers to *Musica Sacra*, Croft's collection of thirty-one anthems and a funeral service.¹³³ The first such collection to be printed in score, Weldon, like several other Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, was no doubt keen to be involved in the innovative enterprise. In addition he may have desired to increase his standing with both his senior at Chapel Royal (Croft being the leading Organist and Composer) and the publisher. He was also, like most (though not all) of the Gentlemen of the Chapel, a subscriber to the pension fund of the Chapel Royal, paying in £2 each year from its inception in 1729 (see below).¹³⁴

A more likely explanation for the decline in the number of anthems Weldon composed is revealed in court case of 1725 in which he was named as a co-defendant.¹³⁵ Although nothing is known of Weldon's family financial circumstances in his early life, it might be surmised from his attendance at the leading public school, Eton College, that the family was not mired in poverty. His wife, Susannah (née Betton), was the only child of John and Susannah Betton. John Betton was the Rector of East Lavant; he and Susannah (carrying the surname Heron at the time, from her previous marriage) married in St Martin-in-the-Fields on 16 Jun 1679, when he was described as *c.* 38 years old and she *c.* 34 years old, a widow.¹³⁶ By the time of the court case, John Betton had died, making Susannah Betton a widow for a second time. The case was brought by (*inter alios*) Samuel Davis and his wife,

¹³⁰ GB-LWA STM/F/1/2006 [St Martin-in-the-Fields vestry minutes], 17 February 1726.

¹³¹ GB-LWA STM/F/1/2006 [St Martin-in-the-Fields vestry minutes], 7 March 1726. For Theophilus Cole, see Dawe, *Organists of the City of London 1666-1850*, p. 88.

¹³² GB-LWA STM/F/1/2006 [St Martin-in-the-Fields vestry minutes], 17 February 1726.

¹³³ William Croft, *Musica Sacra* (John Walsh: London, 1724).

¹³⁴ GB-Cfm, Mu. Mus. 1011, 'The Chapel Subscription Book for a perpetual Fund'.

¹³⁵ GB-Lpro C 11/2579/15, 'Davis v Hume'.

¹³⁶ *Allegations for marriage licences issued by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, 1558-1699*, ed. G. J. Armytage (London, 1886), p. 138.

Hannah. Hannah (we learn in the judgement) was the daughter of Richard Heron and Susannah Heron (later Betton). The case revolved around "two old houses or tenements with the appointments [rents] in the Strand in the Parish of St Martin in the [Fields], in the County of Middlesex and also two other houses standing behind the same with a large garden thereunto belong with the appointments"¹³⁷ as well as property in the parish of St Paul, Covent Garden. Hannah and her husband had claimed that the properties should have passed to her on the death of one John Ireland. The judges, William Wakeford and Thomas Taylor, found in favour of Susannah Betton and her co-defendants Susannah and John Weldon (*inter alios*). They decided the case was to be dismissed "w[i]th their reasonable costs (?) & charges in this behalf wrongfully sustained."¹³⁸ Susannah Betton had successfully demonstrated that the property was for the use of herself, Susannah and John Weldon and their heirs (Thomas Weldon was also named in the defence) and that it had been for some time.

So it would seem that the Weldon family was one of means or at least financial stability; this is without knowing what John Weldon himself owned. It is perhaps the case that Weldon was less than fulsome in fulfilling his obligations as composer to the Chapel Royal, but he seems to have continued to play his full part as organist. Perhaps he actively enjoyed this aspect of his work and the reflected glory of performing for the sovereign and was prepared to risk censure for his failure to continue writing anthems given the security offered by his wife's family.

Death and legacy

Weldon made his last will and testament on 17 November 1735, leaving his entire estate to his wife, who was also his executrix. The value of his estate is not known. His death was announced in *The General Evening Post* on 4 January 1735/6;¹³⁹ various other newspapers followed suit.¹⁴⁰ Reports of his demise, however, proved premature; as the *London Daily Post*

¹³⁷ GB-Lpro C11/2579/15, 'Davis v Hume', f.[2].

¹³⁸ Ibid., f.[5].

¹³⁹ Dawe, *Organists of the City of London 1666–1850*, p. 153. No copy of the *General Evening Post* from this date can be traced, though the staff of the British Library is acknowledged for their assistance in this matter.

¹⁴⁰ *Grub Street Journal* (London), 8 January 1736 (Issue 315); *Country Journal or The Craftsman* (London), 10 January 1736 (Issue 497).

and *General Advertiser* observed, it was "false and groundless."¹⁴¹ Weldon died on 7 May 1736; he was buried four days later in the churchyard of St Paul's, Covent Garden.¹⁴² In *The General Evening Post* it was reported that he "died at his home in Downing Street,"¹⁴³ though the register of St Paul's, Covent Garden describes him as "of St John the Evangelist [Westminster],"¹⁴⁴ and the *Daily Journal* placed his death in Tothil-fields according to the *Grub Street Journal*.¹⁴⁵

A search of the rate books for Downing Street reveals that "Mad^m Betton" was resident at the equivalent of today's 9 Downing Street from 1733 to 1736.¹⁴⁶ It would be easy to assume that this must be Susannah Weldon's mother and that John Weldon lived in this house, next door to Robert Walpole. However, further back in the rate books we learn that although in 1731 and 1732 one "Edw^d Young Esq" was resident in the house,¹⁴⁷ prior to those years (i.e. from 1724-1730) "Coll. Betton" paid the rates due.¹⁴⁸ The marriage of "Samuel Edwards, Esq...to Mrs. Betton Relict of Col. Betton, late of Downing-street, Westminster, a Lady of great Merit, and a considerable Fortune," suggests that the rate books refer to Lieutenant-Colonel Wriothlesly (or Wrottesley) Betton and then later his widow.¹⁴⁹ This announcement of October 1737 would explain why "Mad^m Betton" moved out of Downing Street in that year and did not pay that year's rates.¹⁵⁰ Lieutenant-Colonel Wriothlesly Betton seems to have been a distant kinsman of Susanna Betton (very tentatively, a third cousin), so it is possible that the John and Susanna Weldon rented the house, but given that Downing Street is in the Parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields rather than St John the Evangelist (as noted on the burial register) considerable doubt must be cast on the assertion that Weldon lived in Downing Street at the time of death. One additional curiosity arose from a search of the

¹⁴¹ *London Daily Post and General Advertiser* (London), 8 January 1736 (Issue 370).

¹⁴² William Henry Hunt (compiled and ed.), *The Registers of St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden, London* (London, 1906), iv. p. 350.

¹⁴³ Dawe, *Organists of the City of London 1666–1850*, p. 153. No copy of the *General Evening Post* from this date can be traced.

¹⁴⁴ William Henry Hunt, *The Registers of St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden, London* (London, 1906), iv. p. 350.

¹⁴⁵ *Grub Street Journal* (London), Thursday, 13 May 1736 (Issue 333)

¹⁴⁶ GB-LWA E354-356, St Martin-in-the-Fields rate books.

¹⁴⁷ GB-LWA E352-353, St Martin-in-the-Fields rate books.

¹⁴⁸ GB-LWA E345-351, St Martin-in-the-Fields rate books.

¹⁴⁹ *Daily Gazetteer (London Edition)* (London), 5 October 1737 (Issue 711).

¹⁵⁰ GB-LWA E358, St Martin-in-the-Fields rate book. They were paid by one D^f Forbes.

Downing Street rate books. A "D^r Turner" paid the rates in 1721 and 1722.¹⁵¹ One might speculate that this could have been William Turner (1651-1740), a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, vicar-choral of St Paul's Cathedral and lay vicar of Westminster Abbey. He gained his doctorate in 1696.¹⁵²

It is not clear for how long Weldon was ill before his death (in 1736), but it is clear from the appointment notice of his successors that alternative arrangements both had been in place for some time (perhaps about the six months since Weldon made his will, as making a will is often an indicator of illness) and that there was a recognition that the task of Organist was generally more onerous than that of Composer.¹⁵³

Whereas the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London Dean of His Majesty's Chapels Royal has appointed William Boyce to be Composer, and Jonathan Martin to be Organist of said Chapels; And Whereas the Place of Organist has much more Duty and Attendance belonging to it than the Place of Composer (both of which were enjoyed by M^r Weldon lately deceas'd; during whose long Indisposition the two Places were jointly supply'd by the two Persons aforesaid.) I the said William Boyce do promise and agree that so long as I shall continue in the Place of Composer, I will perform one Third part of the Duty and Attendance belonging to the Organist, provided that I am allow'd one Third part of the Travelling Charges belonging to the Place. And I Jonathan Martin promise to compose Anthems or Services for the use of His Majesty's Chapel, whenever required by the Subdean for the Time being.

His Chapel Royal posts were given to Boyce and Martin. According to newspapers reporting the candidates, those unsuccessful were John Robinson (c. 1682-1762; Organist of Westminster Abbey), Thomas Kelway (1695-1749; Organist of Chichester Cathedral, possibly a pupil of Weldon) and Talbot Young (1699-1758; Gentleman of the Chapel, Organist of All Saints, Bread Street, and a violinist in the Royal Musick).¹⁵⁴

The post of Organist at St Martin-in-the-Fields went to Thomas Kelway on 8 May 1736, the day after Weldon died.¹⁵⁵ The post at St Brides, Fleet Street went to Samuel

¹⁵¹ GB-LWA E341, E342, St Martin-in-the-Fields rate books.

¹⁵² For more on William Turner, see particularly Don Franklin, 'The Verse Anthems of William Turner' (PhD Thesis, Stanford University, 1967); see also idem, 'Turner, William (ii)', *GMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014); Keri Dexter, 'Turner, William', *ODNB* (last accessed 7 January 2014); *BDECM*, ii. p. 1103.

¹⁵³ *CBCR*, i. p. 145.

¹⁵⁴ *Daily Journal*, 15 May 1736 (Issue 5686); *Daily Gazetteer (London Edition)*, 15 May 1736 (Issue 276); *Daily Post*, 15 May 1736 (Issue 520); For John Robinson, see Watkins Shaw/H. Diack Johnstone, 'Robinson (i): (1) John Robinson', *GMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014); L. M. Middleton, rev. K. D. Reynolds, 'Robinson, John', *ODNB* (last accessed 7 January 2014); For Thomas Kelway, see L. M. Middleton, rev. David J. Golby, 'Kelway, Thomas' *ODNB* (last accessed 7 January 2014); For Talbot Young, see Peter Ward Jones, 'Young, John (i)', *GMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014); *BDA*, xvi. p. 358.

¹⁵⁵ GB-LWA STM/F/1/2006 [St Martin-in-the-Fields vestry minutes], 8 May 1736.

Howard (1710-1782),¹⁵⁶ chosen by ballot on 10 August 1736;¹⁵⁷ the unsuccessful candidates were one "M^r Lowe" and John Keeble (c. 1711-1786).¹⁵⁸

Weldon's wife, Susannah received £34. 11. 0¼. from the Chapel Royal pension fund.¹⁵⁹ It was paid in several instalments from 11 May 1736 to 10 January 1736/7.¹⁶⁰ One instalment of £3. 3. 0. was paid on 6 November 1736 to "M^{rs} Weldon's Daughter as from M^r Subdean".¹⁶¹ Weldon's son, Thomas, undertook a settlement examination on 8 August 1738.¹⁶² This shows that he lived in Denmark Court in "Tenements late in the possession of his mother" and ran away from an apprenticeship at a tavern. It also reveals that he was a widower, having married one Hannah in a 'Fleet' marriage, which took place at the Bull & Garter tavern. Fleet marriages were clandestine or irregular marriages performed by ordained clergymen (who were usually imprisoned in the Fleet – primarily a debtors prison), often in coffee taverns within the Liberty of the Fleet. The purpose of the examination appears to have been to establish Thomas's parish of settlement. This may have been because he wanted to move elsewhere and needed a settlement certificate to prove his settlement parish; because he wanted to claim poor relief, or simply because the parish officers had questioned his settlement parish.

Conclusions

Although little is known of Weldon's financial affairs it might be speculated that he enjoyed fairly comfortable status throughout his life. A student of Eton, patronised by the Duke of Somerset and able to enjoy the freedom to neglect part of his post, secure in his pecuniary position, he nonetheless attended to his duties as Organist at the Chapel Royal. Along the way he wrote a sizeable body of music, both sacred and secular. He also enjoyed success in

¹⁵⁶ For Samuel Howard, see Roger Fiske, 'Howard, Samuel', *GMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014); L. M. Middleton, rev. K. D. Reynolds, *ODNB* (last accessed 7 January 2014).

¹⁵⁷ GB-LMA P69/BRI/B/001/MS06554/005, [St Brides Fleet Street vestry minutes] 10 August 1736 [no page numbers].

¹⁵⁸ For John Keeble, see Stoddard Lincoln and Gerald Gifford, 'Keeble, John', *GMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014); H. Diack Johnstone, 'Keeble, John', *ODNB* (last accessed 7 January 2014).

¹⁵⁹ GB-Cfm, Mu. Mus. 1011, 'The Chapel Subscription Book for a perpetual Fund', f. 8v.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, ff. 7v-8v.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, f. 7v.

¹⁶² GB-LWA STM/F/5030, St Martin-in-the-Fields Settlement Examinations index, p. 137.

both domains as a performer, regularly appearing with the leading singers of the day in concert as well as attending to the monarch's daily services. In his first post, at New College, Oxford, Weldon wrote several solo anthems that were to both secure and undermine his reputation for subsequent generations. They secured that reputation through being published, ensuring that his work was preserved in a readily available format. They undermined that reputation because, in spite of attractive moments, they are not his most fluent work. His full anthems, which remained in repertoire for several generations and verse anthems, presented for the first time in print in Volume 2, show the more mature composer at work. His theatrical output also remained in repertoire, albeit in modified form, long after his death. At his death he was considered an important enough member of the establishment to merit notices in newspapers and much speculation concerning his successor as Organist at the Chapel Royal. Though he was not as prolific as some of his contemporaries and near-contemporaries, there is much that is attractive in his writing and many of his anthems are sizeable compositions. It is his verse anthems that have been most neglected in the intervening years since his death. These were written for the Chapel Royal and so the next chapter considers his work at that institution.

Chapter 2: Institutional contexts: The Chapel Royal in the early eighteenth century

The Royal Household

The royal household, as inherited by Queen Anne in 1702, was a complex organisation.¹ It was modelled on the administrative system of the pre-Commonwealth monarchs.² Essentially the household was divided into three main departments: first, the chamber, which was concerned with ceremony and aesthetics; second, the household below stairs, concerned with domestic and culinary duties; third, the stables, concerned with transportation.

Of these departments, the chamber was the largest.³ The head of this department was the Lord Chamberlain, or when he was absent, the Vice Chamberlain. Orders given by the monarch were communicated verbally through the Gentleman Usher to those in charge of the various sub-departments, for example the Dean of the Chapel or the Master of the Musick. Some departments (e.g. the great wardrobe) were financially independent and received their orders by Lord Chamberlain's warrant. The Lord Chamberlain was not, however, the senior financial officer for his department. The Treasurer of the Chamber was responsible for paying the wages and bills of a small portion of the servants who worked in that department, though these did include those of the Chapel Royal.⁴ Other bills were settled by the Treasurer, while the salaries of court officials, including musicians, were paid through the Exchequer.

The household below stairs and the stables were both smaller and more coherently organised departments than the chamber, but again with a mismatch between the

¹ For an excellent description see *BucholzAC*, pp. 37-52; Figure 2.1 is a modified copy of Figure 2.1 in this book; see also John M. Beattie, *The English Court in the Reign of George I* (Cambridge, 1967), p. 23; Gregg, pp. 138-140.

² The court of Charles I is subjected to detailed study in Gerald Aylmer, *The King's Servants: The Civil Service of Charles I, 1625-1642* (London, 2/1974). A parallel study shows the restoration of the household in 1660: Gerald Aylmer, *The Crown's Servants: Government and Civil Service under Charles II, 1660-1685* (Oxford, 2002). The court of Queen Anne is given similar scrutiny in *BucholzAC*, with the structure particularly well illuminated in pp. 37-52; Further continuity of structure is demonstrated in Beattie, *The English Court in the Reign of George I*.

³ *BucholzAC*, p. 39.

⁴ *BucholzAC*, p. 38 (Figure 2.2).

administrative and financial structures. Robert Bucholz traces this to the failure to reform the court structure over successive administrations, but instead recognises "the grafting of some form of treasury authority, often an officer or a procedure, onto the existing structure."⁵ Clearly the different parts of the household had to interact with each other, not least with Lord Steward's department (below stairs), which included the portering staff and the Harbingers, who found lodgings when the court moved out of town.⁶

The structure of Queen Anne's court (shown in Figure 2.1, below) differed little from that of her immediate predecessors – Charles II, James II and William III – notwithstanding the battle in the 1680s for the royal bedchamber and closet. These areas had been under the Lord Chamberlain's jurisdiction,⁷ but by 1689 the Groom of the Stole reported directly to the monarch.⁸ The new bedchamber ordinances of the same year remained in place under Anne. Periodic retrenchments had also led to the abolishment of some offices, for example William III had abolished the Esquire of the Body. Nonetheless the essential court structure remained constant, continuing under the reign of George I.⁹

Though the basic structure remained constant, the size of the household fluctuated. Charles II had, from the outset of his reign, lived well beyond his means, leading to chronic insolvency. There were retrenchments in 1663, 1668, 1676 and 1679 involving year-long suspensions of salaries and elimination of some places.¹⁰ Even so, by the time of his death in 1685 he owed £135,000 to his household servants. James II reduced the size of the royal household by some 470 places, a reduction of about a third.¹¹ In doing so he seems not to have built up arrears in the manner of his predecessor. William and Mary however, expanded the payroll; by the time of William III's death he owed his servants over £307,000.¹² Queen Anne was more frugal, her hand partly forced by the flawed civil list settlement of 1702, which left an average shortfall of over £100,000 per annum.¹³ She was also more careful to

⁵ BucholzAC, p. 42.

⁶ Aylmer, *The Crown's Servants*, p. 20; Beattie, *The English Court in the Reign of George I*, pp. 47-48.

⁷ Aylmer, *The Crown's Servants*, p. 70.

⁸ BucholzAC, p. 39.

⁹ Beattie, *The English Court in the Reign of George I*, p. 17.

¹⁰ OHMB:CO, pp. LXXVI-XCVIII.

¹¹ A detailed study of this economising is found in A.P. Barclay, 'The Impact of James II on the Departments of the Royal Household' (PhD thesis, Cambridge University, 1993).

¹² OHMB:CO, pp. LXXVI-XCVIII.

¹³ BucholzAC, p. 48.

avoid long term agreements with tradesmen, issuing annual contracts rather than swearing them into service for the duration of the reign (though in practice, these were nearly always renewed). She had learnt such efficiency as Princess at the court of her father, James II, the only solvent court of her predecessors since the restoration of the monarchy.¹⁴ Nonetheless, the shortfall was to become increasingly difficult to manage as her reign progressed. George I was given a more generous civil list settlement which recognised the flaws in the financial model during the previous reign, but still accumulated an annual debt of about £125,000.¹⁵

By 1700, in addition to the Chapel Royal, there were two other music-making bodies in the royal court: the Trumpeters and the Royal Musicians. The Queen's Musicians (under Anne), then the King's Musicians (under George), were under the charge of the Master of the Queen's (later King's) Musick. From 1700 until his death, this post was held by John Eccles (1668-1735), who served four successive monarchs.¹⁶ The Royal Musick had been established in the 1540s with four instrumental consorts: shawms and sackbuts; recorders; flutes; violins or viols.¹⁷ These groups were essentially separate, though came together on special occasions. The post of Master of the Musick was established after the accession of Charles I in 1625 and in 1630 there followed a reorganisation of the King's Musick, combining the three wind groups into one, made up of cornetts and sackbuts.¹⁸ Also in the early part of Charles I's reign the Lutes, Viols and Voices (after 1660 known as the Private Musick) were formed as an official part of the monarch's household, extending their earlier formation in the court of Charles when he was prince.¹⁹ After the Reformation in 1660, the King's Musick was reconstituted, but Charles II patronised and licensed two commercial theatres instead of paying for court masques, leading to a decline in importance of the Lutes, Viols and Voices. During the reign of Charles II the Twenty-Four Violins became the pre-eminent group, ousting the wind musicians.²⁰ Members of the violin band performed in court

¹⁴ *OHMB:CO*, pp. LXXVI-XCVIII.

¹⁵ Beattie, *The English Court in the Reign of George I*, p. 117.

¹⁶ For Eccles, see Chapter 1.

¹⁷ For a full account of the formation of The Royal Musick see *HolmanFTF*, Chapter 1.

¹⁸ For this reorganisation see David Lasocki, 'Professional Recorder Players in England, 1540-1740' (PhD dissertation, University of Iowa, 1983), i. pp. 105-12. Lasocki suggests that in practice the reorganisation may have taken place earlier.

¹⁹ John Cunningham, *The Consort Music of William Lawes, 1602-1645* (Woodbridge, 2010), p. vii.

²⁰ See *HolmanFTF* for a full discussion of the rise and decline of this group.

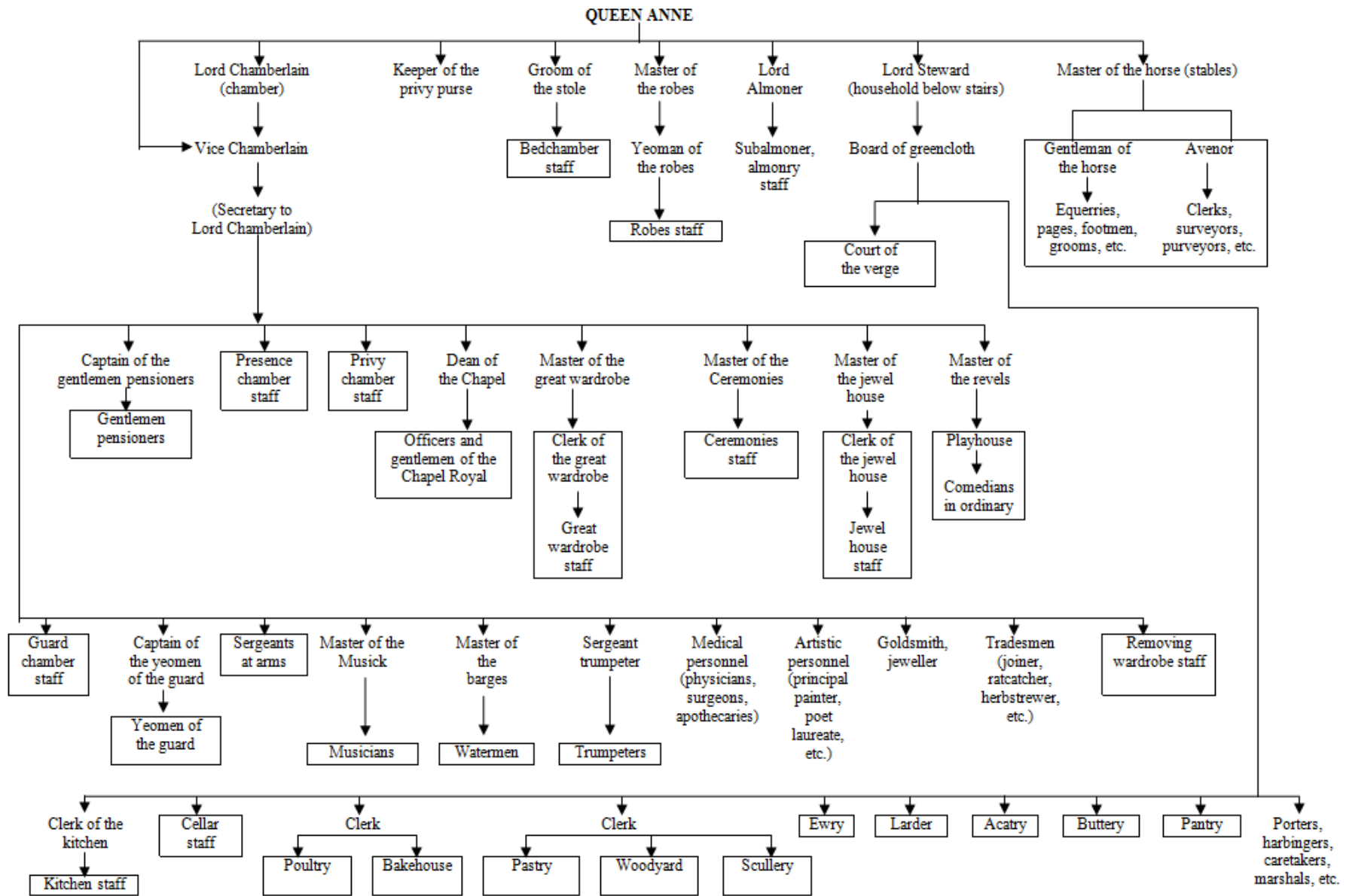


Figure 2.1: Household in the reign of Queen Anne (1707-1714) (after *BucholzAC*, Figure 2.1, p. 38).

odes, accompanied anthems each week in the Chapel Royal and were also involved in the music of the two theatres.²¹ For court odes they were joined by the Children and Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal as a source for singers: there was a high degree of cooperation between the two departments. James II reformed the existing groups into one Private Musick of thirty-five members after his accession in 1685. This group was reduced to twenty-four members (and an instrument keeper) on the orders of William II on 2 May 1690, part of a general retrenchment in several departments.²² Henry Purcell (1659-1695), the Composer to the group, continued to write odes for the birthdays of Queen Mary, but for the last five years of his life primarily composed for the theatre, also taking on students (including Weldon) in addition to his other duties (see Chapter 1, above).

Also under the authority of the Lord Chamberlain were the Trumpeters, supervised by the Serjeant-trumpeter, John Shore (d. 1752), appointed to that role in 1707.²³ They were called upon for ceremonial occasions such as funerals, coronations, installations and proclamations of both peace and war. At the Restoration in 1660 there were sixteen trumpeters (including the Serjeant-trumpeter), but in 1702 their number was reduced to eleven, before increasing in strength back to sixteen from 1727.²⁴ Notwithstanding the fact that John Shore was also lutenist to the Chapel Royal from 1706, the trumpeters' functions were more strongly demarcated than those of the Royal Musick and the Chapel Royal.²⁵

The Chapel Royal

The Chapel Royal itself is one of the oldest sections of the royal household, with a history dating back to the twelfth century. The term, Chapel Royal, refers not a single building, but a company of "Gentlemen", some in holy orders, others specialist singers (singing the contratenor, tenor and bass parts), whose role was to maintain divine service on behalf of and in the presence of the monarch. Those in holy orders are referred to here as "Priests". Those

²¹ See *ibid.*, pp. 331-388.

²² *RECM*, ii. p. 44; see also *HolmanFTF*, p. 431.

²³ For more on John Shore see Chapter 5.

²⁴ *OHMB:CO*, p. 200.

²⁵ *BurrowsHECR*, p. 3.

not in holy orders are referred to here as "Gentlemen". All of the "Priests of the Chapel" were also "Gentlemen of the Chapel", but not all "Gentlemen" were "Priests". The importance of the Chapel in the day-to-day life of Queen Anne was considerable; she attended Chapel daily.²⁶ Particularly in her illness towards the end of her reign it became a vital part of her day at court, as it was the sole opportunity for her to publicly show herself.²⁷

There is no clear-cut evidence describing how the Chapel Royal and its choir functioned in the early eighteenth century.²⁸ Such evidence as there is has to be drawn together as a patchwork from a variety of sources. Because there is so little informative material from the time that Weldon was Organist to the Chapel, it is necessary to draw on information from a wider time-frame. This gives an element of uncertainty to any findings. Evidence that a particular practice was common in both the late seventeenth and late eighteenth century may hint at a sense of continuity. Official documents seem to record changes in practice or codify changes that have already taken place. Therefore if no change in practice is recorded, it is likely to have been continued. If we are to gain an understanding of the context in which compositions were written and performed, it is imperative to try to piece together the liturgical and administrative framework into which they were woven.

Among the most important sources of data used to determine the work of the Chapel Royal are the two "Cheque books".²⁹ The function of the cheque books is best explained by two of the phrases found in the "old" cheque book. Here it is referred to as "our book of record" or "our book of remembrance".³⁰ In other words, they were to function as a reference document for all areas of the Chapel's activities. In particular, the books keep a record of admission to Chapel Royal appointments and record the rules and regulations for the Chapel as issued by the Dean. Until 1720, the Clerk of the cheque was elected by the Gentlemen of the Chapel. From that date, the Sergeant of the Vestry (initially Lovegrove) took on the role;

²⁶ *BucholzAC*, p. 153; *Gregg*, p. 137.

²⁷ Simon Thurley, *Hampton Court: a Social and Architectural History* (London, 2003), p. 217.

²⁸ David Baldwin's *The Chapel Royal: Ancient and Modern* (London, 1990) remains a useful introduction to the institution, in spite of the confusion between Weldon's *Divine Harmony* and the anthem word book of 1712 by the same title.

²⁹ *CBCR*. These have been transcribed, together with material from the manuscripts of William Lovegrove (d. 1777, Serjeant of the Vestry, 1752-1777) and Marmaduke Alford (d. 1715, Yeoman of the Chapel Royal, 1675-1714/15, Serjeant of the Vestry 1715) in a two-volume publication edited by Andrew Ashbee and John Harley.

³⁰ *CBCR*, i. p. xix.

he in turn was chosen by the Dean.³¹ The Clerk of the cheque was responsible for keeping the Chapel cheque books as well as marking attendance and collecting fines from absentees.

The "New Cheque Book" was begun in 1721. Pasted into the front of it are "Rules for due Attendance in the Chapel". This is a fair copy of the first part of Dean Edmund Gibson's (1669-1748, Dean from 1721) "Rules for Performing due Order and Government in his Majesty's Chapel Royal."³² dating from 1726. The rules for attendance state:³³

Every Priest, Gentleman and Officer belonging to His Majesty's Chapel, shall constantly attend Divine Service therein, during their respective Seasons of Waiting, that is to Say, the Priest and Gentlemen Six Months of the Year, Each according to the Appointment of the Sub-Dean, as hath been Accustomed, the Lutanist & Bass-Violins on all Sundays; & at other times, when any of the Royal Family shall be Present, and the Serjeant, Yeoman & Groom throughout the Year;

The lists of travelling charges for the royal summer excursions of 1709, 1711, 1712 and 1713 confirm that this practice had been in place for some time, as most Gentlemen are not in attendance for the full number of available days. The 1742 "Months in Waiting" list shows the expectation that Gentlemen and Organists were in attendance on alternate months, though some held double places and were always "in waiting".³⁴ This practice differs from the instructions laid down by a chapter held on 19 December 1663 which stipulated that all the gentlemen (whether in waiting or not) were required on Sunday and holy days with their eyes.³⁵ A comparable system of waiting was in place throughout most of the royal household, with periods of waiting divided into weeks, months or quarters depending on the post.³⁶

The Children of the Chapel Royal (who sang the treble parts) were nominally ten in number from 1690 to 1760. Although twelve had been in attendance in 1684,³⁷ between 1690 and 1760 the Master of the Children received payments each year for liveries for ten boys, although sometimes not all places were filled.³⁸ The travelling charges for the Master of the Children reveal that they must all have been permanently on duty. The lower male voice

³¹ *OHMB:CO*, p. 297.

³² GB-Llp, Fulham Papers, p. 124.

³³ *CBCR*, i, p. 202.

³⁴ Shown in *BurrowsHECR*, p. 454.

³⁵ *CBCR*, i, p. 124.

³⁶ *BuchholzAC*, p. 120.

³⁷ *RECM*, i, p. 212.

³⁸ *BurrowsHECR*, p. 446.

parts, in 1674, were equally divided between contratenors, tenors and basses, with six available on each part.³⁹ In 1674 these were all required to attend "to wayte and Constantly attend His Ma^{ties} Service at Windsor Dureing the tyme of His Ma^{ts} Residence there." This constant attendance seems to be unusual, as the regulations set out in 1663 refer to a Gentleman's "month of waiting".⁴⁰ For a normal day, with half of the Gentlemen in waiting at any given time, there were therefore three of each voice type available. Thus on any given day the choir would most likely consist of up to ten trebles and nine Gentlemen. In addition, there were ten Priests of the Chapel Royal, again with periods in and out of waiting (Priests of the Chapel Royal were also Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, but the term "Gentlemen" is used here to distinguish non-priests). Some of the Priests were highly skilled singers, for example John Gostling (1650-1733; Priest from 1678/9), that "stupendious base";⁴¹ Thomas Baker (1686-1745; Priest from 1714; named in GB-Lcm 2043), another bass; Leonard Woodson (1659-1717; Priest from 1681; named in GB-Lcm 2043), also a bass.⁴² The skill level of the other Priests is not known; it may be that some of them only sang in the simplest of chorus work and some may have not sung at all. If the number of (skilled) singers was kept at eighteen (nine on any given occasion), it must be the case that at least some of the Priests sang, as between 1715 and 1760 there were consistently sixteen Gentlemen who were not Priests and ten who were.

Donald Burrows suggests that soloists sometimes sang from the organ loft.⁴³ This then makes sense of having nine skilled adult singers in attendance, as in verse anthems that have verses for contratenor, tenor and bass trios (of which in Weldon's anthems there are many), one-per-part could then go to the organ loft, leaving one-per-part on each side of a

³⁹ *RECM*, i. p. 136.

⁴⁰ *CBCR*, i. p. 124.

⁴¹ Esmond Samuel de Beer (ed.), *Diary of John Evelyn* (Oxford, 2000), iv. p. 404.

⁴² For John Gostling, see especially Robert Ford, 'Minor Canons at Canterbury Cathedral: The Gostlings and their Colleagues' (PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1984); see also idem and Watkins Shaw, 'Gostling, John', *GMO* (last accessed 9 January 2013); Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, 'Gostling, John', *ODNB* (last accessed 9 January 2013); *BDECM*, i. pp. 498-502; *BDA*, vi. pp. 280-281; for Thomas Baker, see *BDECM*, i. pp. 54-55; *BurrowsHECR*, p. 577; for Leonard Woodson, see *BDA*, xvi. pp. 243-244; *BDECM*, ii. pp. 1170-1172. GB-Lcm 2043 is an incomplete set of partially autograph partbooks containing Weldon's Service in D (see Source Descriptions).

⁴³ *BurrowsHECR*, p. 507.

divided choir. James Hume observes that the verse partbooks used by the soloists in the eighteenth century are all physically smaller than the corresponding chorus partbooks, supporting their use in the confined space of the organ loft.⁴⁴ On the evidence available to him, he considered that this happened "at least after 1742". The emergence of GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.16 (another verse partbook, not available to Hume), adds weight to the consideration that this use of space had been in practice during the earlier part of the eighteenth century, as the partbook is the same size as the other extant verse partbook from the R.M.27.a series (R.M.27.a.9).⁴⁵

We have already seen that Gentlemen were to be in attendance in one month of two, but it is also clear that they were not expected to attend every day of the week even when "in waiting", unless the monarch was in residence at Hampton Court or Windsor. Occasionally one or other might be required to travel further afield in service. For example, Richard Elford was taken to Bath in 1702 when Queen Anne went to visit the ill Prince George.⁴⁶ "The Duty of the Serjeant of the Vestry" included amongst his "Occasional Dutys":⁴⁷

To provide clean Surplices for the Gentlemen once a fortnight, when they are in daily Waiting, & once a Month, when they wait only on Sundays & Holidays, and to provide for y^e Boys of the Chapel, clean Surplices every Sunday, when in daily Waiting, & Once a Month, when they wait only on Sundays & Holidays. When new Surplices are Orderd, he is to ... cause to be made two Surplices for every Gentleman of the Chapel, Each Mark'd with the Initial Letters of his Name...

Presumably daily waiting was not required when the monarch was not in attendance, for example on Queen Anne's trip to Bath noted above. We might wryly further observe the usual ability of the young to get dirty more quickly than the adults of the choir and the necessity of ensuring a good fit of surplice for Gentlemen of various shapes and sizes.

A rebuke was given by the Subdean in August 1693 that a vestry meeting had to be called "in the Deans absence [sic], which was occasion[e]d by a notorious neglect of the duty of the chapel at which the Queen was offended."⁴⁸ This seems not to have needed further

⁴⁴ James Hume, 'The Chapel Royal Partbooks in Eighteenth-Century England' (PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 2013), p. 173.

⁴⁵ See Source Descriptions in Volume 2.

⁴⁶ *BurrowsHECR*, p. 37, fn 78.

⁴⁷ *CBCR*, i. p. 205.

⁴⁸ *CBCR*, i. p. 137.

formal repetition, but it would seem that perhaps when not singing verses there was a tendency for the choir to become somewhat disengaged (as can still be the case!), as noted in the 1726 *Rules*:⁴⁹

And whereas it hath been sometimes Observ'd that One Part of the Quire favouring their Voices, & another Part not joining in at all in y^e choral Performances, scarce any Voices have been heard in that part of the Choral Service, which ought to be more Solemn & full, It is hereby Order'd, that y^e several Members of y^e Quire do joyn in Singing the Psalms, Services & Chorus's, wth a due Application, and with a proper & decent Strength and Extention of Voice.

As previously noted, on any given day the choir of the Chapel Royal should consist of ten trebles and over nine men, some Priests, some Gentlemen. Adult singers should have given up places in other choirs, at least according to the chapter of 19 December 1663.⁵⁰ However, given that the requirement for full attendance every week had been dispensed with (at least by 1709) and given that a number of singers clearly did hold concurrent appointments, it would seem that this rule had been disregarded by the time of Weldon's involvement. Nearly all of the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal held posts in other institutions which they would presumably have attended on the months when they were not in waiting.

A system of deputies seems to have been in operation in the early part of the century, using the Gentlemen Extraordinary for that purpose. Indeed, this seems likely to have been their primary function, though it was certainly common for them to proceed to full places, as Weldon himself did. In other departments of the royal household it was laid down in a warrant whether or not post holder could perform his duties by deputy,⁵¹ but no such warrant seems to have survived in the department of the Chapel Royal. It seems that in the eighteenth century, Gentlemen Extraordinary were increasingly appointed with pay, suggesting that there was a move from using Gentlemen Extraordinary as deputies (perhaps also acting as a probationary period) to using the Gentlemen Extraordinary as extra regular singers, perhaps filling in for Gentlemen Ordinary who were indisposed due to illness or old age.⁵² Indeed, of those Gentlemen Extraordinary appointed between 1700 and 1736 (the year of Weldon's

⁴⁹ *CBCR*, i. p. 203.

⁵⁰ *CBCR*, i. p. 131.

⁵¹ Aylmer, *The Crown's Servants*, pp. 96-98.

⁵² John Gostling seems to have been too infirm to travel from Canterbury to London for the last six years of his life (*CBCR*, i. p. 142 (1727)).

death), only one, William Spalden (dates unknown), did not proceed to a full place.⁵³ After 1706, the only Gentleman Extraordinary appointed without pay was William Battell, who may have been the brother of Ralph Battell (1649-1713), the sub-dean from 1689-1713,⁵⁴ (see Table 2.2, below). As Battell was a Priest, it would seem either that different conditions obtained, or that he was to be called upon only occasionally. It seems likely that further deputies would have been required, but no record of these has been found. The practice of allowing extraordinary service at full, half or no pay until an ordinary place become vacant was not limited to the Chapel Royal, but nor was it common. Of the seventeen supernumerary or extraordinary officers appointed during Queen Anne's reign, nine were Gentlemen of the Chapel.⁵⁵

Royal Chapels

As previously observed, the Chapel Royal was not a fixed place, but rather, it was a body of Gentlemen, a group that waited upon the monarch. Nonetheless, as the monarchs had particularly favoured places of residence, so there were a number of particular chapels where the daily office was sung. Most significant of these (at least in terms of the amount of time spent there) was in London. Most of Whitehall Palace, including the chapel, was destroyed by fire on the night of 4-5 January 1698.⁵⁶ As a temporary measure, the chapel at St James's Palace was used, before a return to Whitehall, to the Banqueting House chapel. This was opened on 9 December 1698. It was clearly viewed as the main venue for the choir at Queen Anne's accession: the list of members of the Chapel Royal for her coronation describes them as "Her Majesty's Chapel at Whitehall".⁵⁷ Anne had lived at St James's Palace when she was Princess as part of a reconciliation agreement with William III, her brother-in-law.⁵⁸ As

⁵³ Nothing else is known of this Gentleman Extraordinary (see *BDECM*, ii. p. 1034).

⁵⁴ For Ralph Battell, see David Baldwin, 'Battell, Ralph', *ODNB* (last accessed 9 January 2013); *BDECM*, i. pp. 129-132; For William Battell, see *BDECM*, i. pp. 132-133.

⁵⁵ *BucholzAC*, pp. 88, 301.

⁵⁶ Robert O. Bucholz and Joseph P. Ward, *London: A Social and Cultural History, 1550-1750* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 153.

⁵⁷ GB-Lpro LC5/153, p. 238; also noted in *BurrowsHECR*, p. 34.

⁵⁸ *Gregg*, p. 103.

Queen, she mainly resided at Kensington Palace, occasionally spending the night at St James's, often dining there when parliament was in session.⁵⁹ Accordingly, in 1703 the Chapel Royal's primary residence became St James's Chapel with a new organ commissioned from Bernard Smith.⁶⁰ Illustration 2.1 gives a good impression of the space prior to both the replacement of the Smith organ in 1819 and the major alterations of 1837. However, note that the organ was enlarged in 1785, possibly involving moving the instrument forward somewhat.⁶¹ Whilst the picture of "The Sacred Choire" that adorns *Divine Harmony* (1716) clearly contains elements of fantasy (see Illustration 2.2),⁶² it confirms that the music desks shown in these pictures were for the use of the Children of the Chapel (see lower left and right). The monarch sat at the west end at first floor level (i.e. above the perspective of Illustration 2.1). The chapel measured about 70 feet long by 24 feet wide.⁶³ This puts a particular perspective on the music composed for performance in this building: it is not a large cathedral space, but rather a more intimate room. The florid passagework in the anthems performed in the chapel needed not to be projected over a long distance to reach its primary audience, the monarch.

The Banqueting House chapel in Whitehall was still used on occasion, more so in the reign of George I than Anne, particularly for the distribution of the Royal Maundy each year.⁶⁴ It was used in 1733 for three concerts of church music given by the Chapel Royal in support of the Chapel Royal Fund, set up in 1729 to provide for widows and other dependants. The fund was largely administered by John Church (c. 1675-1741, gent. 1697-1741; see Chapter 1, above, for the benefits that Weldon's widow received from this fund). The programmes for the three concerts consisted of music primarily by Handel, Purcell and Greene (none was by Weldon).⁶⁵ It seems likely that as a subscriber to the pension fund Weldon would have taken part in the concerts. As can be seen in Illustration 2.3, the

⁵⁹ Gregg, p. 136.

⁶⁰ Narcissus Luttrell, *A brief historical relation* (Oxford, 1857), v. p. 350; for more on the organ see Chapter 5, below.

⁶¹ BurrowsHECR, p. 507.

⁶² WeldonDH.

⁶³ BurrowsHECR, p. 506.

⁶⁴ BurrowsHECR, pp. 528-529.

⁶⁵ Advertisement in *Daily Journal*, 24 February 1733 (Issue 3790).



Illustration. 2.1: Interior of the Chapel Royal, St James's Palace. Engraving by William Wise after Robert Schnebbelie. Published in Robert Wilkinson, *Londina Illustrata*, 2 vols. (London, 1819), i. pl. 37. The 1816 sketch upon which it is based can be found in *BurrowsHECR*, pl. IV.

Banqueting House Chapel is on a rather larger scale than St James's, approximately 120 feet long by 60 feet wide, with multiple galleries providing far more seating than other royal chapels.

The royal chapel at Hampton Court, where Weldon was in waiting in 1713, 1716, 1731 and 1732, had been refitted by Christopher Wren (1632-1723) in the reign of Queen Anne in 1710;⁶⁶ the organ was installed in 1711 by Christopher Shrider (c. 1680-1751).⁶⁷ The gilded cherubs on the walls of the chapel, the oak reredos and (probably) the organ case are

⁶⁶ Thurley, *Hampton Court*, pp. 217-218.

⁶⁷ See Chapter 5, below.



Illustration 2.2: *The Sacred Chaire*: Frontispiece to *Divine Harmony* (Walsh and Hare: London, 1716).

by Grinling Gibbons (1648-1720). The sumptuous decoration of the chapel, largely extant today, can be seen in Illustration 2.4. Though the organ here is on the south side, instead of the north as at St James's, choir stalls can again be seen one bay to the west. The chapel measures approximately 105 feet by 36 feet; larger than the chapel at St James's Palace, but smaller than the Banqueting House Chapel at Whitehall. Illustration 2.5 shows the view from where the monarch sat. The ceiling redecoration of 1847 can be seen in this picture (blue as



Illustration 2.3: Interior of the Banqueting House Chapel, Whitehall from Rudolph Ackermann *Microcosm of London* (London, 1811), p. 91.

the main colour of the panels instead of white).⁶⁸ If the soloists sometimes sang from the organ loft (see above) the effect would have been that of singing directly to the monarch, across the heads of those seated below.

The fourth chapel, visited many times by Weldon, was at Windsor. As Edward Gregg observes, Windsor Palace was held in great affection by Anne throughout her life.⁶⁹ It is not clear which building in Windsor was used by the Chapel Royal during Weldon's time. The evidence largely centres on the placement of the organ: this is discussed in Chapter 5. If Anne attended in the Choir of St. George's Chapel, this would have been on a similar scale to the Banqueting House Chapel at Whitehall, measuring approximately 110 feet long and 66 feet wide; if she attended in a private chapel, this was probably that modelled on the pre-1702 Royal Chapel at Whitehall and measured about 75 feet long and 31 feet wide. This private chapel would have therefore been only a little larger than that at St James's Palace.

⁶⁸ Thurley, *Hampton Court*, pp. 65, 288.

⁶⁹ Gregg, p. 107.



Illustration 2.4: "The Chapel, Hampton Court". Engraving by Thomas Sutherland after Charles Wild. Published in William Pyne, *The History of the Royal Residences*, 3 vols (London, 1819), ii. pl. 23.

The Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal were also occasional visitors to St Paul's Cathedral and (more rarely) Westminster Abbey as part of their duty as ministers to the sovereign. Eight services of thanksgiving were held at St Paul's during the reign of Queen Anne. Burrows lists all the music sung at Thanksgiving Services throughout the reign.⁷⁰ Weldon's music was performed twice: first on 17 February 1708/9 at a service of thanksgiving for "Protection from enemies, and successes of the campaign", *Rejoice in the*

⁷⁰ *BurrowsHECR*, Appendix E, pp. 598-599.



Illustration 2.5: James Digman Wingfield, *The Chapel Royal, Hampton Court* (detail); Oil on canvas, 1849; Government Art Collection 14928.

Lord was performed; second on 22 November 1709, thanks was given for "Victory at Blaregnies, near Mons", at which *O give thanks unto the Lord* was sung. However, whereas the eight services of thanksgiving between 1702 and 1708 had been at St Paul's, these two services were held at St James's.

Wages and perquisites

The wages of the Gentlemen of the Chapel amounted to £11. 8s. 2d. per annum, plus £61. 11s. 10d. in board wages, making a total of £73; this had been the case since the 1689 settlement.⁷¹ This combination of wages was common in the royal household, with the amount allocated to "board-wages", intended initially in lieu of board and lodgings, used to

⁷¹ *OHMB:CO*, p. 279.

bring wages into line as the perceived demands of each role changed.⁷² For a comparison with others in the royal household as well as an example of how the board-wages could be varied, we turn to Gerald Aylmer.⁷³

Ushers in the privy chamber received £150 a year and those in the presence £20 a year. But the addition of board-wages brought these offices closer together in value, as, by the eighteenth century, they were in honour. For the ushers in the privy chamber were given only £50 in board-wages, to make their salary £200 a year, while those in the presence chamber had £130 and an annual allowance therefore of £150.

For the Gentlemen (and other members of court who moved around with the monarch) there were also travelling charges to be paid. These amounted to "6 shillings per diem for the First week and 3 shillings per diem [thereafter]".⁷⁴ The amount paid in travelling charges to those who were in waiting varied according to the post held. Physicians travelling charges were 7s. 6d. a day, a gentleman pensioner received 6s. 8d., but musicians (i.e. those with the Royal Musick) just 1s. 6d. each day.⁷⁵ John Beattie gives 3s. a day as a normal level for a clerk, 1s. 6d for a "menial servant" in the reign of George I.⁷⁶

Weldon held posts as both Composer and Organist to the Chapel Royal, thus he was paid £73 per annum for each. This amount paid to Weldon might be compared favourably to the salary of a university organist. In 1704 Thomas Tudway's (c. 1650-1726) post of Organist to Cambridge University carried a fee of £20 per annum.⁷⁷ He was also Organist of King's College. An examination by the present writer of the King's College accounts of 1710 and 1711 suggests that the college paid him £14 per annum (listed as £1 per term under *Feoda et Regarda* and £2. 10. 0. under *Solutiones pro communis Septimas*). He was also paid as a copyist: he enhanced his income by £3. 2s. 6d. over the 1710-1711 academic year by transcribing various anthems and services into the organ book, including Purcell's *Te Deum & Jubilate*, for which he received £1.⁷⁸ Given the disparity in salary levels it is small wonder

⁷² Aylmer, *The Crown's Servants*, p. 183.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *RECM*, ii. p. 80; *RECM*, v. p. 150.

⁷⁵ Aylmer, *The Crown's Servants*, p. 187.

⁷⁶ Beattie, *The English Court in the Reign of George I*, p. 187.

⁷⁷ from 28 April 1704, GB-Cu, *Grace Book Theta*, 1668-1718, Liber Gratiarum Theta, p. 503.

⁷⁸ GB-Ckc KCAR/4/1/4, vol.117 & 118, *Bursar's Common or Particular Books*.

that Tudway had petitioned Queen Anne to become a Gentleman, given the pecuniary rewards associated with the post, not to mention the honour.⁷⁹

The pecuniary rewards at the Chapel Royal were, however, lent an element of uncertainty and instability. It was observed in Chapter 1 in relation to Weldon's time at New College, Oxford, that payment at that institution was often made in arrears; due to the difficulties the monarch had paying for the Civil List (see above), so it was in the Royal Household. The difficulties were such that the Queen was forced to take out a loan of £500,000, known as the civil-list lottery, in order to pay the arrears. From the record of this Act, we learn that by 6 July 1713, each of Weldon's posts lay some fifteen months in arrears (a total of £182. 10s.) as given by William Lowndes (1652-1724), Secretary to the Treasury, to the House of Commons.⁸⁰ The financial constraints under which Anne's court operated seem to have been a factor in the repertoire of the Chapel Royal. Whereas during the reign of her father, James II, Anne had insisted that anthems in the Anglican chapel royal continued to receive orchestral accompaniment, as they had under Charles II, as monarch she did not revive this practice.⁸¹

Members of the royal household also received perquisites. These varied from those in the kitchens being allowed remains, to the Lord Chamberlain's rights to furniture "unfit for the King's use".⁸² The officers of the scalding house were allowed to keep the skins of rabbits.⁸³ One perquisite available to the Gentlemen of the Chapel was an allowance of venison, generally commuted to an allowance of £2 per year in lieu (£20 shared between the Gentlemen).⁸⁴ In addition, the minutes of a 1720 vestry meeting tell us that they were allowed to take "One old Coṃ.ⁿ pray^r Book & one old Surplice" from the Chapel at St James on payment of one shilling and ten shillings respectively.⁸⁵

⁷⁹ See also Chapter 1, above.

⁸⁰ *House of Commons Journal*, Vol. 17 (London, 1714), pp. 433-435.

⁸¹ *BurrowsHECR*, p. 34.

⁸² GB-Lpro LC 3/13 (note at end of volume), quoted in Beattie, *The English Court in the Reign of George I*, p. 195.

⁸³ Beattie, *The English Court in the Reign of George I*, p. 95.

⁸⁴ *RECM*, ii. pp. 141-159.

⁸⁵ *CBCR*, i. p. 143.

Attendance and pluralism

The Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal in the early part of the eighteenth century were able to supplement their income through posts in other choirs. There had been an effort to limit this practice in December 1663 when a chapter meeting laid down that "no man shall be admitted a Gentleman of his Majesties Chapel Royall, but shall first quit all interest in other quires".⁸⁶ As Ian Spink has observed, this rule seems to have been largely ignored.⁸⁷ A significant number of Gentlemen held places at Westminster Abbey, St Paul's Cathedral and the Chapel Royal. With Anne's increased time at Windsor during her reign, several added simultaneous places at Windsor and Eton to those that they held with the Chapel Royal.⁸⁸ Richard Elford (1677-1714), was particularly adept at this practice (see below). This was achieved in two ways. First, each Gentleman was in waiting for only six months of the twelve, allowing them to be elsewhere for the rest of the time. Second, services were timed to allow singers to sing more than one service of the same type (e.g. two Evensongs) on the same day: the time of Evensong at Windsor (St George's) varied by the season and also according to whether or not it was a day when evensong was sung at Eton – starting quarter or half an hour later on those days.⁸⁹ Those with double places at the Chapel Royal did not have places at Windsor. In London, the service times were also staggered. Those at Westminster Abbey and St Paul's Cathedral were at 10am and 3 or 3.30pm, whilst Chapel Royal services were at 11am and 5pm.⁹⁰ Westminster Abbey operated monthly periods of waiting, with just four out of a total of ten Lay Vicars required to be in attendance.⁹¹ Two of the six minor canons were also expected to be in attendance (unless the court was out of London).⁹² It seems likely that the minor canons sang, making a total of six singers, presumably one per part on each side. It

⁸⁶ *CBCR*, i. p. 123.

⁸⁷ *SpinkRCM*, p. 103.

⁸⁸ See Keri Dexter, *A Good Quire of Voices* (Aldershot, 2002), Table 4.1, p. 116. Dexter also notes a decline in the number of pluralists combining Windsor and Chapel Royal duties after the death of Queen Anne who had enjoyed long summers in Windsor (p. 117). King George I's visits were sporadic; after 1730, under King George II, the monarch's visits ceased.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁹⁰ *BurrowsHECR*, p. 462 fn 88; *CBCR*, ii. pp. 54, 63.

⁹¹ *BurrowsHECR*, p. 463: orders of the Dean of Westminster (1731).

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 463.

seems that St Paul's had a similar system, but with a higher ratio of Minor Canons (twelve) to Vicars Choral (six), of whom one played the organ.⁹³ Overall it seems that the five institutions (Chapel Royal, St Paul's, Westminster Abbey, Eton and Windsor), drew on a relatively small pool of singers, but through having small choirs on any given day, flexibility on service timings and good diary management, the singers were able to hold places in at least a selection of the five.

With choirs such as that at Westminster Abbey operating with such a small number of singers they were extremely vulnerable to illness and other absences, though the larger forces at the Chapel Royal made it a little more secure. Whilst there are no recorded admonitions in the early eighteenth century, it may be that absenteeism could nonetheless be a problem. For example, in his anthem, *Sing unto God*, William Croft provided an alternative chorus allowing for such circumstances at the Chapel Royal: "Another Chorus to the same Anthem to be us[e]d when all the former are left out, when there is but a Small Choir."⁹⁴ Alternatively this may refer to an occasion when the choir sang in a smaller performing space and had reduced forces as a consequence.

The tenor, Richard Elford, was able to play the system particularly well, being associated with all five institutions above at various times, largely simultaneously.⁹⁵ He was clearly an exceptional singer: both Weldon and Croft used his name to promote their work after his death.⁹⁶ A chorister at Lincoln, he was then a tenor at Durham Cathedral from 1695-1699. He came to London in 1700, initially to St Paul's where he held a probationary place (though he did not proceed to a full place, presumably the chapter found he was absent too often). On 29 December 1701 he was admitted as a lay clerk at St George's, Windsor, on the recommendation of (then Princess) Anne. As such a skilled singer and with a royal recommendation, he insisted on receiving £40 per annum from Windsor (rather than usual £22). Clearly this had an impact on the overall finances of St George's as in November 1709 the Windsor chapter ordered that a place be kept vacant to fund this. He also gained an extra £100 per annum as an additional allowance from Queen Anne. He petitioned for this in the summer of 1706 and it was duly awarded and backdated to Christmas 1705. Elford was

⁹³ Ibid., pp. 464-465.

⁹⁴ GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.16, f. 29r.

⁹⁵ *BDECM*, p. 384.

⁹⁶ *WeldonDH* and William Croft, *Musica Sacra* (John Walsh: London, 1724).

associated as both a singer and a composer for a time at Lincoln's Inn Fields (see Illustration 2.6 below).⁹⁷ However it may be that he mainly sang services and concerts; according to Tudway, as related by Hawkins, he was "awkward and clumsy, and his action disgusting".⁹⁸ Of course, this may be Tudway's jealous and intemperate take on the matter. In addition to his brief time at St Paul's Cathedral, places at Windsor, Eton (taken up at the same time as Windsor) and the Chapel Royal (from 1702), Elford also was a lay vicar at Westminster Abbey for the last two or three years of his life.⁹⁹ He even held a "double place at the Chapel Royal, i.e. he was "in waiting" for all months of the year. On top of his regular payment of twice £73 he was awarded an additional £100 per year after he petitioned the Queen for an additional allowance. He was buried at Westminster Abbey in the west cloister on 1 November 1714, three days after his death. His funeral was attended by the "Gentlemen of his Majesty's Chapel and the Choir of Westminster" (though as we have seen the two groups overlapped considerably).¹⁰⁰ Elford's business acumen in selling his (high level) skills may have been particularly well-honed, but his example, though particularly egregious, serves to show how those singers in demand could make the most of their talents.

The first detailed list showing which Gentlemen of the Chapel were generally expected to be in waiting in which months did not appear until 1742, some seven years after Weldon's death.¹⁰¹ However, this seems to codify that which was already current practice; effectively the choir of the Chapel Royal had two sets of Gentlemen, each singing for about half the time, but with some singers holding double places, either officially or unofficially. Weldon's specified singers on some of his anthems and his D major service setting suggest some degree of certainty with regard to which Gentlemen of the Chapel were in waiting at any given time (see below).¹⁰² Without comprehensive registers of attendance any identification dividing the Gentlemen into two choirs must be tentative, but the lists of travelling charges offer some clues in showing the number of days that each Gentleman attended when the Royal Court was in Windsor or Hampton Court.

⁹⁷ Kathryn Lowerre, *Music and Musicians on the London Stage, 1695-1705* (Aldershot, 2009), p. 265.

⁹⁸ *Hawkins*, ii. p. 718.

⁹⁹ Possibly from January 1710/11, certainly from 1712.

¹⁰⁰ Obituary in *Post Boy*, 30 October - 2 November 1714 (Issue 3040).

¹⁰¹ *BurrowsHECR*, p. 454.

¹⁰² GB-Lbl Add. MS 41847 and GB-Lcm 2043.

A SONG, Set by M^r. Richard Elford, Sung by M^{rs}. Hodgson,
at the new **THEATRE** and exactly engrav'd by Tho: Crosse.

Ah! cruel, cruel Damon, cease, cease to tease me lo
... nger must you ty... ralyze: altho' your Charms altho' y
Charms will ever please; & you your Cælia, & you your Cælia, & you
Cælia will despise, and you your Cælia, & you your Cælia, and you your

Illustration 2.6: Richard Elford, "Ah! Cruel Damon" (Crosse: [London], c. 1700; detail)

From 1709 (the first year Weldon appears on the travelling charges) until 1714, it is difficult to divide the gentlemen into separate groups. Nonetheless, it seems likely that arrangements were made between the Gentlemen to ensure a constant number of singers were in attendance. Table 2.1 shows the number of days each Gentleman attended on royal summer excursions above or below a notional average in each year.¹⁰³ Excluded from this table are those claiming for a second role – e.g. William Croft is listed only as Organist, the role in which he alternated with Weldon, but not as Master of the Children, the role in which he was constantly in attendance. Also excluded are the Sub Dean, Lutenist, Children, Serjeant, Yeoman, Groom, Organ blower and Bellringer. In other words, only specialist singers and Priests (at least some of whom were singers as well) are included. It can be seen

¹⁰³ The information in Table 2.1 is derived from *RECM*, ii.; all entries have been checked against the manuscripts of the Lord Chamberlain's records.

in 1709 that Elford, Aspinwell and Weely each were in constant attendance. If their days above the notional average are excluded, this leaves 70 additional days, slightly more than one full place. It would seem that in addition to covering for each other's absence, a additional full place was covered between the Gentlemen. In 1711 it would seem that rather than the choir being short by a singer for 56 days, it is more likely that this is really an extra singer for five days. 1712 seems to show a return to the previous year; without the double place of Elford, 55 additional days were attended – not quite a full place in relation to the notional average of 71. The picture in 1713 is rather blurred. The Court made two excursions that year, one to Windsor and one to Hampton, but these are accounted for together in the travelling charges. One might speculate that there were again two double places: Elford and Battle (each falling 28 days short). In addition to the 56 days required to cover for these two, 63 extra days were found between the Gentlemen, but the combination of the two trips makes this tentative. It is clear that whatever system was in place was becoming increasingly complex to manage, and one might surmise that it was an effort to resolve this situation that led to the clarity found in the following years. One of the few persons in attendance on summer excursions in 1711 and 1713, but not mentioned above, was John Bowack. He seems to have "taught the Children of the Chapel Royal writing and accounts."¹⁰⁴

From 1716 onwards there seems to be a clearer division between groups of Gentlemen and the swapping of days is far more limited. Table 2.2 shows the number of days that travelling charges were paid for in the years 1716-1718, drawn from Lord Chamberlain's records at the National Archive. The Chapel Royal did not travel *en masse* in 1714 or 1715. Effectively, the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal formed two separate groups, one with Croft as Organist, one with Weldon as Organist. Table 2.3 shows speculative groupings for each year. It excludes those in attendance due to another role (e.g. Croft's role as Master of the Children is excluded); it assumes that Priests and Gentlemen did not swap days (at least as far as the records are concerned); it assumes that those with an equal number of days to each of the organists attended on the same days as those organists; it also assumes continuity in one group, rather than changes each year. Thus, if a Gentleman has an equal number of days to an organist in any one year, he is placed with that organist in another year. For example, John Church attended for an equal number of days as Croft in 1717, but in 1716 he attended for enough days to be put into either group as well as contributing to the other, without holding a

¹⁰⁴ *BurrowsHECR*, p. 452; GB-Lpro LC5/156, p. 106.

double place. He has been allocated to Croft's group on the basis of the later year. In 1718, although a core of Gentlemen in each group is clear, there is more of a patchwork feel further down the list and the present writer's attributions to one group or the other are necessarily more arbitrary. Francis Hughes (*c.* 1666-1743/4; *gent.* 1708-1743/4), who held a double place, has been allocated to both choirs.¹⁰⁵ James Chelsum (*d.* 1743; *gent.* 1718-1743) has been allocated to Weldon's group in 1718 as he seems to have been in that group in 1724, the next year in which the full Chapel Royal travelled with the monarch.¹⁰⁶

The singers named by Weldon on GB-Lcm 2043 might seem to undermine the notion of a fairly consistent grouping of Gentlemen. "M^r Leigh" is named on the cantoris contratenor part; "M^r Jenings" and "M^r Mason" are both named on the cantoris tenor part;¹⁰⁷ "M^r Baker" and "M^r Woodson" are both named on the cantoris bass part;¹⁰⁸ "M^r Freman" and "M^r Corlton" and both named on the decani bass part.¹⁰⁹ However, if, as suggested by Burrows, the *Te Deum* of this setting was sung at a special service in June 1716 or January 1716/17, this would seem to indicate that perhaps the two groups came together for such events.¹¹⁰ Alternatively it could be that the occasion of performance, whether a special event or otherwise, fell within Weldon's month of waiting and the regular group was with him, but with three deputies allocated from Croft's group – four of the seven singers named are from Weldon's group.

Further continuity of grouping is indicated by the named singers in the three anthems found in GB-Lbl Add. MS 41847 (see Source Descriptions). Laye, Woodson and Weely are

¹⁰⁵ For Francis Hughes see *BurrowsHECR*, p. 588; *BDECM*, i, pp. 603-606; *BDA*, viii, pp. 22-23.

¹⁰⁶ See *BurrowsHECR*, p. 459 for a transcription of this list. Biographical details of James Chelsum are scarce; see *BDA*, iii, p. 188. The fullest detail to date is given in Hume, 'The Chapel Royal Partbooks', pp. 74-79, in the context of his work as a Chapel Royal copyist.

¹⁰⁷ For George Laye [Leigh] (1685-1765; *gent.* 1708-1765), see *BurrowsHECR*, pp. 589-590; *BDECM*, ii, pp. 713-715. For Thomas Jennings (*d.* 1734; *gent.* 1697-1734), see *BDECM*, i, pp. 625-627. For John Mason (*d.* 1752; *gent.* 1708-1752), see *BDECM*, ii, pp. 778-779; *BDA*, x, p. 125.

¹⁰⁸ For Thomas Baker (1686-1745; Priest of the Chapel, 1714-1745), see *BDECM*, i, pp. 54-55, *BurrowsHECR*, p. 577; *BDA*, i, p. 229. For Leonard Woodson (1659-1717; *gent.* 1681-1717), see *BDECM*, ii, pp. 1170-1172; *BDA*, xvi, pp. 243-244.

¹⁰⁹ For John Freeman [Freman] (*c.* 1666-1736; *gent.* 1702-1736), see *BurrowsHECR*, pp. 584-585; *BDECM*, i, pp. 440-442; *BDA*, v, pp. 406-407. For George Carleton (*d.* 1746; Priest of the Chapel 1713-1746, Sub-Dean from 1732-1746), see *BDECM*, i, pp. 231-233.

¹¹⁰ *BurrowsHECR*, p. 603.

all in Weldon's 1716 group;¹¹¹ Elford seems to have held a double place. As noted above, John Church ("M^f C" in Add. MS 41847) seems to have often sung with Weldon's group, even though perhaps allocated more usually to Croft's group. Church was a particularly influential Gentleman of the Chapel Royal. He was Master of the Choristers at Westminster Abbey from 1704-1740; he worked as a copyist (see Source Descriptions for the GB-Lbl R.M.27.a series), and it would seem he was *de facto* librarian to both institutions. It was Church to whom Tudway turned when seeking out manuscripts of London composers,¹¹² and it was Church who compiled the word book for the Chapel Royal in 1712 (see chapter 1). Baker (see above) was both a priest and a singer. As the former he was often required to read prayers at St James in the absence of the choir.¹¹³ Woodson (see above), was also a priest as well as a singer at Westminster Abbey.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ For Samuel Weely [Weeley] (d. 1743; gent. 1709-1743), see *BurrowsHECR*, pp. 592-593; *BDECM*, ii. pp. 1137-1139; *BDA*, xv. p. 330.

¹¹² Many letters in GB Lbl Harl. 3782.

¹¹³ *BDECM*, i. pp. 54-55.

¹¹⁴ *BDECM*, ii. pp. 1170-1.

Year:	1709	1711	1712	1713			
Total days available:	126	122	143	199			
Days for a "single" place (rounded up):	63	61	72	100			
	+/- days	+/- days	+/- days	+/- days			
Richardson	1	Richardson	-15	Hart	1	Turner	-38
Crespion	30	Turner	2	Trebeck	-29	Hart	15
Gostling	23	Trebeck	5	Gostling	1	Trebeck	-50
Bentham	-2	Crespion	-24	Woodeson	1	Gostling	-41
Damascene	-32	Gostling	38	Bentham	-22	Woodeson	8
Linacre	-30	Bentham	-12	Linacre	-7	Bentham	-41
Church	30	Damascene	-36	Damascene	-20	Damascene	-26
Jennings	2	Linacre	-36	Church	1	Linacre	67
Washbourne	-30	Williams	61	Jennings	31	Williams	-14
Elford	63	Church	38	Edwards	31	Church	-17
Barnes	8	Edwards	2	Radcliffe	10	Jennings	38
Mason	1	Radcliffe	61	Washbourne	10	Edwards	20
Gates	7	Washbourne	3	Elford	71	Radcliffe	59
Laye	31	Elford	61	Mason	7	Washburne	-8
Battle	31	Mason	2	Gates	16	Elford	72
Aspinwell	63	Gates	2	Hughes	1	Freeman	-46
Weely	62	Hughes	9	Battle	-10	Mason	20
		Aspinwell	-36	Aspenwall	-1	Gates	-7
		Weldon	2	Laye	1	Hughes	28
				Wheely	1	Battle	72
				Morley	31	Aspinwall	-4
				Weldon	1	Laye	8
						Weeley	1
						Morley	45
						Carlton	-6
						Croft	-7
						Weldon	15
Total additional days	258	Total additional days	127	Total additional days	126	Total additional days	163
Additional days covered excluding Aspinwell, Weely and Elford	70	Additional days covered excluding Radcliffe, Williams and Elford	-56	Additional days covered excluding Elford	55	Additional days covered excluding Elford and Battle	19

Table 2.1: Additional days attended or (-) days not attended each year by Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal (1709-1713). Derived from lists of travelling charges.

	1716		1717		1718	
Sub Dean	Dolben	97	Dolben	120	Aspinwall	76
Priests	Aspinwall	60	Aspinwall	64	Aspinwall	46
	Baker	39	Baker	58	Baker	32
	Bentham	66	W. Battell	46	W. Battell	27
	Carleton	36	Bentham	76	Bentham	57
	Chittle	40	Carleton	63	Carleton	57
	Flintoft	31	Chittle	116	Chittle	51
	Gostling	70	Gostling	76	Flintoft	41
	J. Hart	60	J.Hart	64	Gostling	51
	Linacre	59	Linacre	59	Linacre	21
	Radcliffe	70	Washbourne	59	Washbourne	21
	Washbourne	9				
	Woodeson	60				
Gentlemen	Church	75	Church	58	Chelsum	60
	Damascene	39	Damascene	58	Church	51
	Edwards	47	Edwards	59	Edwards	21
	Freeman	39	Freeman	58	Freeman	32
	Gates	39	Gates	58	Gates	58
	Hughes	87	Gethin	46	Gethin	27
	Jennings	60	Hughes	120	Hughes	76
	Laye	60	Jennings	64	Jennings	46
	Mason	60	Laye	64	Laye	60
	Morley	91	Mason	76	Mason	51
	Turner	60	Morley	76	Morley	51
	Weely	60	Turner	64	Turner	46
	Williams	39	Randall	64	Randall	27
			Weely	64	Weely	46
			Williams	58	Williams	76
Master of the Children	Croft	97	Croft	120	Croft	76
					Bowack	76
	10 Children	97	10 Children	120	10 Children	76
Organists	Croft	39	Croft	58	Croft	32
	Weldon	60	Weldon	64	Weldon	46
Clerk of the Cheque	Williams	97	Williams	120	Williams	76
Lutenist	Shore	97	Shore	120	Shore	76
Violist	Goodsens	97	Goodsens	120	Goodsens	76
Serjeant	Smith	97	Smith	120	Smith	76
Yeoman	Hill	97	Hill	120	Hill	76
Groom	Lenton	97	Lenton	120	Lenton	76
Organ Blower	Claye	97	Claye	120	Claye	76
Bellringer	Brooks	97	Brooks	120	Brooks	76

Table 2.2: Number of days' attendance recorded in Travelling Charges for members of the Chapel Royal (1716-1718).

	1716				1717				1718			
Organist	Croft	39	Weldon	60	Croft	58	Weldon	64	Croft	32	Weldon	46
Priests	Baker	39	Aspinwall	60	Baker	58	Aspinwall	64	Baker	32	Aspinwall	46
	Carleton	36	Bentham	60(+6)	W. Battell	46	Bentham	64(+12)	W.Battell	27	Bentham	46(+11)
	Chittle	39(+1)	Gostling	60(+10)	Chittle	58	Gostling	64(+12)	Chittle	32(+19)	Carleton	46(+11)
	Flintoft	31	J. Hart	60	Linacre	58(+1)	J.Hart	64	Flintoft	32(+9)	Washbourne	21
	Linacre	39(+20)	Radcliffe	60(+10)	Washbourne	58(+1)			Linacre	21	Gostling	46(+5)
	Washbourne	9	Woodson	60								
Gentlemen	Church	39(+36)	Hughes	48	Church	58	Turner	64	Church	32(+19)	Chelsum	46(+14)
	Damascene	39	Jennings	60	Damascene	58	Carleton	63	Damascene	32	Hughes	44
	Edwards	39(+8)	Laye	60	Edwards	58(+1)	Hughes	62	Edwards	21	Jennings	46
	Freeman	39	Mason	60	Freeman	58	Jennings	64	Gates	32(+26)	Turner	46
	Gates	39	Morley	52(+39)	Gates	58	Laye	64	Gethin	27	Laye	46(+14)
	Hughes	39	Turner	60	Gethin	46	Mason	64(+12)	Freeman	32	Mason	46(+5)
	Williams	39	Weely	60	Hughes	58	Morley	64(+12)	Hughes	32	Morley	46(+5)
					Williams	58	Randall	64	Randall	27	Weely	46
							Weely	64	Williams	32	Williams	44

Table 2.3: Speculative groupings of Chapel Royal Gentlemen (1716-1718). Days surplus to the group are indicated in brackets. Hughes held a double place; his days are split between the groups by the present writer.

Rehearsal

Little is known of rehearsal practices in the early eighteenth century. However, some clues can be found in the early Restoration and it seems likely that the practice then was continued. In 1660/1, on his twenty-eighth birthday, Samuel Pepys wrote:¹¹⁵

After dinner to White-hall chappell with Mr. Childe; and there did hear Captain Cooke and his boy make a tryall of an Anthemne against tomorrow, which was rare Musique.

This seems likely to refer to a Saturday rehearsal. The custom of a rehearsal the day before the Sunday services was clearly still followed in 1693 as we can infer from a vestry meeting on 5 April which ordered:¹¹⁶

...that whatever gentleman of the chapell in waiting should absent himself from the practice of the Anthem on Saturdays, or other holiday eve's, when the King or Queen were to be present on the morrow, or upon any other occasions before the Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent, should besides the usual mulct, forfeit half a crown for every such absence.

It would seem that there were difficulties at this earlier time in persuading the Gentlemen to attend this rehearsal as they should. There seem to have been similar difficulties in the Royal Musick in March 1661. In reference to the Twenty-four Violins, the Lord Chamberlain wrote, in response to a "Complaint made to mee of divers neglects" that two of the senior members were to "give orders and direction from tyme to tyme to every particular person herein concerned for their practize and performance of Musick."¹¹⁷

There is no reason to suppose that the custom of rehearsal in the Chapel did not continue for the next few decades. There are newspaper references to rehearsals for Handel's works in the middle of the eighteenth century and there seems no element of surprise that such rehearsals took place.¹¹⁸ We should note that the service times for pluralists (above) largely precluded any meaningful rehearsal immediately prior to the service for the full choir.

¹¹⁵ Robert Latham and William Matthews (eds.), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (London, 1970-1983), ii. p. 41.

¹¹⁶ *CBCR*, i. p. 137.

¹¹⁷ *HolmanFTF*, p. 291, *RECM*, i. p. 14.

¹¹⁸ *BurrowsHECR*, pp. 550-553.

Some holiday time was scheduled for the choir, confirmed in a vestry meeting on 23 April 1720.¹¹⁹

A play week or week of Vacation from all Choir attendance having been always allow'd after the holydays of X^mas Easter & Whitsuntide tis determined for the removal of all doubts and disputes that the first week after y^e above three great solemn tides or feasts ... shall be reckoned y^e play week or week of Vacation above mentioned...

Of course, the Gentlemen may have had engagements in other institutions during those times, but it might be hoped that the Children of the Chapel enjoyed the benefits of their "play week".

Music and liturgy in the Chapel Royal

Morning Prayer (or Matins) and Evening Prayer (Evensong) were the most frequently used liturgies in the early eighteenth century. These two services follow a similar model; the main musical parts are the "service" – the limited choice of texts for canticles sung after readings from scripture and the "anthem". Each of these can be subdivided musically into "Full" and "Verse" genres. The anthem allowed a much freer choice of texts than the service, but in practice, a majority of texts were drawn from the psalms.¹²⁰ Full anthems (often with verses interspersed) were largely homophonic; verse anthems became the broadest canvas for the composer to paint on and thus the primary means of expression. This statement of 1742 in the New cheque book makes the situation as regards anthems in that year very clear:¹²¹

It has been Customary in The Royal Chapel on the Week Days to have full Anthems in the Morning & Verse Anthems in the Afternoon.
On Sundays to have always Verse Anthems both at Morning & Evening Service

There is an implication in the phrase "it has been customary" that this has been the situation for a number of years. The division of the repertoire into the two genres in the anthem word books would seem to support this, even to the extent of listing Full anthems before Verse anthems (morning repertoire coming before evening repertoire).¹²² The pre-eminence of the Verse anthem as the heightened form of worship is indicated by the desire for only verse

¹¹⁹ *CBCR*, i. p. 144.

¹²⁰ *SpinkRECM*, p. 28.

¹²¹ *CBCR*, i. p. 310.

¹²² *Word1712; Word1724; Word1736*.

anthems on the holy day of Sunday. This is further reinforced in the 1726 "Rules of attendance" in the imprecation that the Master of the Boys "shall not only Instruct them in y^e Grounds of Musick, but also qualify them in due time to bear their Part in the Verse Anthems."¹²³ This also recognises the heightened skill set required for these often complex and technically demanding pieces of music.

Unpacking exactly which parts of the service were sung and which were chanted or spoken is not as instinctive a task as might be expected, even for those brought up on a diet of Mattins and Evensong in a place where they sing. After the Restoration, efforts were made in various quarters to codify the practice which had been previously espoused in the Church of England; the first attempt to do this came in 1661 when Edward Lowe published *A Short Direction for the Performance of Cathedrall Service*.¹²⁴ This received minor revisions in 1664 following the introduction of the *Book of Common Prayer* (1662).¹²⁵ Together they primarily set down tones for chanting Morning Prayer and the Litany and give Responses in two versions, one chanted and one harmonised in short form. Lowe does not mention anthems (though an anthem is allowed for in the *Book of Common Prayer* after the third collect at Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer) and gives little detail for the "Second Service" or Communion service, save to give alternative settings of the response that heralds the Gospel. It allows for both singing and saying the (Nicene) Creed but gives no mention of Sanctus or Gloria.

The most comprehensive set of instructions for a more florid form of worship comes from James Clifford's publication, *The Divine Services and Anthems* (1663). Although, as will be seen, this must be treated with caution before transferring its practices to the Chapel Royal half a century later, it nevertheless gives a useful starting point and is worth reproducing in full:¹²⁶

¹²³ *CBCR*, i. p. 204.

¹²⁴ Edward Lowe, *A Short Direction for the Performance of Cathedrall Service* (Oxford, 1661).

¹²⁵ Edward Lowe, *A Review of some Short Directions for Performance of Cathedral Service Published for the Information of such, as may be called to Officiate in Cathedrall or Collegiate Churches* (Oxford, 1664).

¹²⁶ James Clifford, *The Divine Services and Anthems Usually Sung in the Cathedrals and Collegiate Choirs in the Church of England Collected by J. C.* (London, [1663]). In the transcription given in John. S. Bumpus, *A History of Cathedral Music 1549-1889* (London, 1889), i. pp. 117-118, the Deus Misereatur is offered as an alternative canticle to the Nunc Dimittis. The function of the bold text seems to be to indicate the opening texts of regularly sung parts of the service.

Brief DIRECTIONS for the understanding of that part of the *Divine Service* performed with the *Organ* in *S. Pauls Cathedrall* on Sundayes and Holy-dayes.

The first Service in the Morning

After the Psalms a *Voluntary* upon the Organ alone.

After the first Lesson is sung the *Te Deum*, i. **We Praise thee O God.**

After the second Lesson the *Benedictus*, i. **Blessed be the Lord God of Israel:** or the *Jubilate*, i. **O be joyfull in the Lord all ye lands.**

After the third Collect, *i. O Lord our heavenly Father, &c.* is sung the first *Anthem*.

After that the *Litany*, i. **O God the Father of heaven, have mercy &c.**

After the Blessing, *i. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.* a *Voluntary* alone upon the Organ.

The Second, or Communion Service.

After every Commandement, the Prayer, i. **Lord have mercy upon us, and &c.**

After the Epistle, this heavenly Ejaculation, **Glory be to thee O Lord.**

After the holy Gospel, the *Nicene Creed*, i. **I believe in one God, &c.**

After the sermon, the last *Anthem*.

At Evening Service

After the Psalms a *Voluntary* alone by the organ.

After the first Lesson, is sung the *Magnificat*, i. **My soul doth magnify the Lord.**

After the second Lesson, the *Nunc dimittis*, I **Lord now letteth thou thy servant depart in peace, &c.**

After the third Collect, *i. Lighten our darkness we beseech &c.* is sung the first *Anthem*.

After the Sermon, is sung the last *Anthem*.

The evening service differs only in a few respects from that sung in cathedrals, collegiate chapels and some parish churches today. The habit of playing an organ voluntary after the psalms continued well into the nineteenth century,¹²⁷ it was also a continuation of pre-Reformation practice.¹²⁸ Also of note is the second anthem, after the sermon; this is more commonly replaced with a hymn nowadays.

In the early 1660s Samuel Pepys was in the habit of visiting the Royal Chapel at Whitehall. On Sunday 8 March 1662/3 he records "the chapel in Lent being hung with black, and no Anthemne sung after sermon, as at other times".¹²⁹ This was a morning visit (this is clear from the context) and it clear that the practice of singing an anthem after the sermon was common to both St Paul's Cathedral and the Chapel Royal, though it was omitted in Lent in the latter institution (at least on that occasion). In the following decade, in his 1674 edition of *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*,¹³⁰ Henry Playford gives "The Order of Performing

¹²⁷ Edmund Fellowes (rev. J.A Westrup), *English Cathedral Music from Edward VI to Edward VII* (London, 1969), p. 32.

¹²⁸ Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 135.

¹²⁹ Latham and Matthews (eds.), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, iv. p. 69.

¹³⁰ Henry Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (London, 1674), iii. p. 1.

the Divine Service in Cathedrals and Collegiate Chappels". He is largely in agreement with (and may have derived his publication from) Clifford, but the following observations are of note:

- i) he offers the possibility of the Benedictus in place of the Jubilate
- ii) he gives six "Tunes" that "are sung in His Majesties Chappel with the Organ to the Psalms, Te Deum, &c. Composed by Mr. John Blow and Mr. William Turner, Gentlemen of His Majesties Chappel".¹³¹ Here we have the first specific reference in print to post-Restoration practice in the Chapel Royal. The "Tunes" are four part single chants with the words of the Venite given as exemplars
- iii) he gives the alternative of the Athanasius Creed to the Apostles Creed "upon festivals" and gives a chant for the use thereof (though the Apostles Creed is to be sung "in one continued solemn and grave Tone"). It is not clear whether he has a specific institution in mind for this practice; though it conforms to the Book of Common Prayer and so was most likely in regular use. He states that he will give 4 "Tunes" for singing it but these are not printed

In 1674, the Yeoman of the Vestry of the Chapel Royal, Marmaduke Alford, noted that "on wednesdayes and ffriday's the King being at Sermon are sung two Anthems one after the Litany, the other after the Sermon."¹³² Here lies some confusion. The reference to Wednesdays and Fridays is easily dispensed with: The *Book of Common Prayer* specifies "Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays" for this piece of liturgy (the Litany); it also pins down the time of day: morning. The reference to the Sermon probably indicates that a service of Communion followed (or at least ante-Communion, where the service ends after the Offertory and a Blessing), for there is no provision in the *Book of Common Prayer* for a sermon in Morning Prayer. The very fact that it is noted at all by the Yeoman of the Vestry gives credence to a departure from the prayer book; we must therefore take it at face value and assume that the anthem after the third collect at Morning Prayer was omitted and an anthem inserted after the Litany (between the second and third services effectively), in place of the organ voluntary suggested by Clifford. This anthem may have been a setting of the 'Sanctus': John S. Bumpus relates that soon after Clifford's 1664 publication, Westminster, St

¹³¹ Ibid, p. 4.

¹³² *CBCR*, ii, p. 284.

Paul's and Canterbury were among the first institutions to adopt the practice of singing the 'Sanctus' at this point, with a setting of the 'Gloria in Excelsis' often sung at the end of the Communion service. He goes on to state that this was still the case when he was writing (1891) in some institutions, though many were now singing the 'Sanctus' after the preface of the Eucharistic prayer.¹³³

The possibility of this placement of the 'Sanctus' before the Communion service must be balanced though with the evidence from William Lovegrove, writing after 1752.¹³⁴

In the Royal Chapel, it hath been time immemorial, to Custom to Sing to the Organ the Sanctus, The Dean leading the Choir, saying,—“Therefore w.th Angels, &c. &c. saying.” — Here the Dean stoppeth, and the Choir taketh up, “Holy, &c. and concludes the Hymn. [...]

Although not explicit in the placement of the Sanctus, in 1705 the Bishop of Carlisle wrote of his visit on 4 November of that year:¹³⁵

And the Organ and Voices assisted (before Consecration) at *Holy, Holy &c.* and (after the Administration) at the Gloria in excelsis.

The phrase "before Consecration" does not preclude the singing of the Sanctus before the start of the Communion service as a whole, but it seems to imply rather more strongly that this singing took place immediately before the consecration of the host – i.e. after the preface.

There are a few paired settings of the *Sanctus* and *Gloria in Excelsis* from the post-Restoration period, including a pair by Weldon.¹³⁶ Other paired settings include those by Blow (two), Aldrich, Croft and Clarke. All of them are relatively simple, full settings; the last two appear in Arnold's *Cathedral Music*. One pair, sometimes attributed to Croft, sometimes to Maurice Greene (more likely), is more ornate and complex than the norm.¹³⁷ Written in five parts, the *Gloria in Excelsis* of this setting is in three distinct movements. These particular settings seem likely to post-date Weldon and are atypical in any event. The revival in setting movements of the Communion service (not regularly set in England since the

¹³³ John S. Bumpus, *The Organists and Composers of S Paul's Cathedral* (London, 1891), pp.50-52; The major reordering of the communion service, restoring the Gloria in Excelsis to its place near the beginning of the service, as in the Roman Catholic liturgy, took place in 1967.

¹³⁴ *CBCR*, ii. p. 73.

¹³⁵ Clive Jones and Geoffrey Holmes (eds.), *The London diaries of William Nicolson, Bishop of Carlisle, 1702-1718* (Oxford, 1985), p. 298.

¹³⁶ Including a pair by William Croft in Samuel Arnold (ed.), *Cathedral Music*, 4 vols. (Printed for the Editor: London, 1790), i. pp. 181-185.

¹³⁷ GB-T 686.

Reformation) can be attributed to the increasing influence of the High Church Party in the early part of the reign of Queen Anne.¹³⁸

The choice of music was the responsibility of the Sub-Dean, though he might have delegated this task to the Organist or to the Master of the Children. It seems that, at least on occasion, the choice of music was left very late indeed; though it is more likely, particularly for pieces involving more work with the children, that some indication would have been given rather earlier than the deadlines implied in the "Rules" of 1726.¹³⁹

And to prevent the disturbance, which is necessarily occasion'd by sending Messages backward & forward in the Chapel, during the Performance of Divine Service, the Sub-Dean, or some other Appointed by him, shall on every Sunday & Holiday make known to the Quire, and also to the Organists, before Prayers begin what Service and Anthem shall be Perform'd for that time, & on all others days he shall make known the Same, during the Voluntary.

It would seem that the "Prayers" referred to must be the Litany on Sundays; while the "Voluntary" referred to on weekdays must be either the piece of organ music played before the commencement of the service, or possibly the voluntary played after the psalmody, though this latter would seem to create the "disturbance" which the rule seeks to avoid. If the choir did not know the anthem prior to the Litany it lends further weight to the assertion that no anthem was sung at the "First Service", Morning Prayer, in the Chapel Royal on a Sunday.

Conclusions

The Chapel Royal was one department amongst many in the complex structure of the royal court in the early eighteenth century. This body of "Gentlemen" waited on the monarch on a monthly basis; each individual was expected to attend six months of the year. Thus, the singing ensemble was divided into two groups for day-to-day purposes, though with overlaps between the two groups due to double places and covering for absences. Nonetheless it seems to have been a relatively stable body. The two groups came together for special services. Organisation of this group and the logistics of several members singing in a variety of choirs seem complex, but the lack of regular entries in the Cheque-books admonishing Gentleman for non-attendance seems to suggest that these difficulties were overcome – presumably the

¹³⁸ Fellowes, *English cathedral music*, p. 29.

¹³⁹ *CBCR*, ii. p. 204.

Chapel Royal was given priority amongst the engagements of the Gentlemen. The salaries, though often in arrears, were in excess of those offered for other singing or organist posts and through pluralism the Gentlemen were able to enhance their earnings.

The lack of consistent documentary evidence of regular changes to the performance and ordering of liturgy of the Chapel Royal suggests that there was a period of stability and continuity of liturgical practice. The singing of the daily office (Morning and Evening Prayer) followed largely the same practice as that followed today, but there is some difficulty in determining the placement of the sung 'Sanctus' during the Communion Service. It seems likely that when verse anthems were sung at Evening Prayer (Evensong), the highly skilled soloists sang from the organ loft, at least sometimes. This meant that the soloists were elevated above the floor, to more or less the same level as the monarch, who attended in a gallery at the (liturgical) west end of the chapels.

The stability and predictability of available personnel and the spatial arrangements and relatively small size of the chapels in which the Chapel Royal sang enabled Weldon (and others) to write particularly florid, complex and demanding solo and verse material for the singers. It is to Weldon's sacred music that we now turn in Chapter 3, to consider matters of chronology and style.

Chapter 3: Weldon's sacred music: A chronology and stylistic assessment

A proposed chronology

In order to determine any stylistic trends in the music of John Weldon, it is important that an attempt is made to establish a chronological sequence of his work. It is clear from the biography outlined in Chapter 1, above, that Weldon's career, with regard to his work with religious institutions, fell into two separate periods. The first was his tenure as Organist at New College from 1694 to 1702. The second was his time at the Chapel Royal, initially as a Gentleman Extraordinary (from 1701) and subsequently as a Gentleman of the Chapel (from 1708 until his death in 1736). It is possible to trace certain works to each of these periods, providing a starting point towards dating his work.

There is little definitive information in the sources and so difficulties arise in establishing precise dates for nearly all of Weldon's sacred music. Paucity of autograph manuscripts renders any attempt at handwriting analysis too speculative to be of significant use. From some thirty known anthems (of which the music is lost for five), a setting of the Communion Service and settings of canticles for Mattins and Evensong, only six autograph sources survive (of which one is only partially autograph). Of these, only one, *O sing unto the Lord* (JW12), is dated on the manuscript. Nonetheless, though it is not possible to date every work, enough information can be drawn and inferred from a variety of sources and other circumstantial evidence to put forward a tentative chronology. As will be seen below, it is possible to argue for different positions and if new information were to come to light, revision might be necessary.

O sing unto the Lord is signed and dated "January y^e 9th (1708)" (shown in figure 4.1 in Chapter 4).¹ It is not clear if this date refers to a performance, to the date that this fair copy was made, or to the date of composition. There is also some uncertainty surrounding the interpretation of the given year. It is unclear whether the year specified refers to the Julian calendar (Old Style) or the (modern) Gregorian calendar. Donald Burrows suggests that it

¹ GB-Lbl Add. MS 41847, ff. 9r-19v; See Chapter 4, below, for a detailed discussion of the revisions to this anthem shown on this manuscript.

equates to 1708/9,² however, in John Gostling's copy of the anthem he gives the date as "Jan: 9. 1707".³ One might speculate that as Weldon used the Gregorian calendar in dating the anthem, but Gostling used the Julian calendar.⁴ This would suggest a date of 9 January 1707/8. Two other anthems are given dates of first performance in the 1712 anthem word book of the Chapel Royal.⁵ First, *Rejoice in the Lord (JW13)* was "Compos'd for the thanksgiving on *Feb. 17th. 1708. For the successes of the Year by Mr. Weldon*".⁶ Assuming that the word book uses the Julian calendar, this would be 17 February 1708/9. Second, *O give thanks unto the Lord (JW34)* was "Compos'd for the thanksgiving Nov. 22. 1709, By Mr. Weldon."⁷ No performing material has survived for this anthem, but it was clearly written on a similar scale to the other two dated anthems.

Thus we have three large-scale verse anthems, all given first performances during a period lasting less than two years. This recognition may aid dating of other similar anthems, but does not assist in the dating of other works. Each requires rather more detailed enquiry and consideration. The investigation starts with the anthems printed in 1716, in *Divine Harmony*, the collection of six of Weldon's solo anthems published by John Walsh.⁸ Although these were published when Weldon's career and reputation were well established, they seem to have been composed, at least in their initial versions, early on in his working life.

Ian Spink observed that the six anthems at the start of US-BEm Ms.173, Simon Child's (c.1680-1731) score, may have been copied from sources at New College, where Weldon began his career as an organist.⁹ Four anthems are common to both *Divine Harmony* and US-BEm MS.173 : these are *O Lord, rebuke me not (JW1)*, *Blessed be the Lord my strength (JW2)*, *O Praise the Lord of Heaven (JW3)* and *I will lift up mine eyes (JW5)*. As

² *BurrowsHECR*, p. 133, fn 46.

³ US-Cn Case MS 7A/2, p. 126.

⁴ It was quite common for documents to be double-dated in this period when the date fell between 1 January and 25 March and even for the old-style, Julian year to be omitted. Multiple examples can be found in Samuel Pepys' diary: Robert Latham and William Matthews (eds.), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 11 vols. (London, 1970-1983). It is not possible to rule out a clerical error by either Weldon or Gostling.

⁵ *Word1712*.

⁶ *Word1712*, p. 28.

⁷ *Word1712*, p. 60.

⁸ *WeldonDH*.

⁹ *SpinkRCM*, p. 174.

we will see below (in Chapter 4), there seems to have been an Oxford-based circulation of some of Weldon's anthems, sometimes giving variant versions from those found in *Divine Harmony*. Allied with this is the knowledge that New College employed just one singer during Weldon's tenure as Organist.¹⁰ Each solo anthem should therefore be considered a candidate for possible composition and first performance at New College, prior to 1702; Weldon left the post in that year.

US-BEm MS.173 is inscribed "Simon Child | Ejus Liber 1716".¹¹ It contains an eclectic mix of repertoire, reaching as far back as *I will exalt thee, O Lord* by Christopher Tye (c. 1505-c. 1572), but concentrating mostly on post-Restoration repertoire.¹² There seems little reason not to take the inscription suggesting that US-BEm MS.173 was copied in 1716 at face value. It is reasonable to infer that some fifteen years after Weldon departed the college that any material he left behind would have been showing signs of wear. In the absence of further evidence we might speculate that Child copied Weldon's anthems in the order in which he found them in another manuscript, itself preserving the likely order of first performance. Of these, only Weldon's *O praise the Lord, laud ye the name of the Lord* (**JW9a**) is not a solo anthem. The possibility of transmission back from the Chapel Royal can almost certainly be ruled out though, as it is an entirely different version from that found in the Chapel Royal partbooks (**JW9b**).¹³ The first six items in Table 3.1 (below) are therefore the first six items in the Child manuscript. A *terminus ante quem* further reinforcing the likelihood of four of the anthems dating from Weldon's New College years is provided by the death of William Isaack (1650-1703), the copyist of the part of GB-WRec ECR 299/ii that contains anthems by Weldon. These four anthems are *O how pleasant* (**JW8**), *O praise the Lord, laud ye the name of the Lord* (**JW9a**), *Blessed be the Lord my strength* (**JW2**) and *O Lord, rebuke me not* (**JW1b**).

Given the strong association of solo anthems with New College, the next step must be to examine the remaining solo anthems to try to establish whether or not they were written at this time. *Thou art my portion* (**JW4**) appears in two eighteenth-century Oxford manuscripts. One is GB-Omc MCOR1/MS1/2 (formerly Ms. 455), a partbook at Magdalen College; the

¹⁰ See Chapter 1, above.

¹¹ US-BEm Ms.173, p. 1.

¹² See Source Descriptions, below.

¹³ GB-Lbl R.M.27.a series.

other is GB-Och Mus. 1233, an organ book at Christ Church.¹⁴ Although the anthem is entered in G major in the manuscripts but given in A major in the *Divine Harmony* print, there are no other significant differences (for example, in structure or harmony). The same transposition (up a tone) is observed between the US-BEm MS.173 copy of *Blessed be the Lord my Strength* (**JW2**; F major) and the (G major) *Divine Harmony* print of that anthem. Again, in other respects the two copies are largely concordant. Whilst this transposition does not apply to all the anthems, it is consistent in its direction when applied. This is consistent with the known pitch of the 1665 New College organ of Robert Dallam (a' 470).¹⁵ By the 1680s, organs were being built (and rebuilt) at slightly lower pitches, including the 1690 Renatus Harris work at Magdalen.¹⁶ The upward transposition was seemingly found to be necessary for some anthems to account for this. GB-Och Mus. 1233 was not copied until the mid-eighteenth century, with the copying of the two Weldon items it contains (*Thou art my portion* and *I will lift up mine eyes* (**JW5a**)) pre-dating 1745.¹⁷

The copy of *I will lift up mine eyes* in US-BEm MS.173 is important as it is a different version to that printed in *Divine Harmony*, matching instead the version found GB-Och Mus. 1233 and GB-OMC MCOR1/MS1/2 (see Chapter 4 for discussion of version and revisions). As already noted, the copies of *Thou art my portion* give little internal evidence of modes of transmission save for key. However, the concordance of distinct versions of *I will lift up mine eyes* suggests that GB-Och Mus. 1233 is either copied from, or shares a common source with US-BEm MS.173. The two anthems appear consecutively in GB-Och Mus. 1233, suggesting consecutive copying from a common source.

GB-OMC MCOR1/MS1/2, which seems likely to post-date 1713 because it accords William Croft (1678-1727) his doctorate in an item placed prior to the Weldon items (in the same hand as these items),¹⁸ preserves the same readings as US-BEm MS.173 for the first three anthems in US-BEm MS.173 (*O Lord, rebuke me not* (**JW1a**), *I will lift up mine eyes* (**JW5a**) and *O how pleasant* (**JW8**)). Furthermore, the three anthems are placed consecutively in the same order in both sources. This seems to suggest strongly that this part of GB-OMC MCOR1/MS1/2 was either copied from US-BEm MS.173 or that they were

¹⁴ GB-Omc MCOR1/MS1/2 (formerly Ms. 455); GB-Och Mus.1233.

¹⁵ Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch: The Story of 'A'* (Oxford, 2002), p. 91.

¹⁶ Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge, 1996), p.117.

¹⁷ "pd June 10th 1745" appears after item 16; the Weldon anthems are items 5 and 6.

¹⁸ GB-Omc MCOR1/MS1/2 (formerly Ms. 455), f. 75v.

both copied from a common source. *Thou art my portion* (**JW4**) is found later in GB-OMC MCOR1/MS1/2 than the first three items, suggesting it was copied at a slightly later date, probably from the same source as GB-Och Mus. 1233. Of course, it is possible that GB-Och Mus. 1233 was itself copied from GB-OMC MCOR1/MS1/2, but they share no other items in common; nor do the GB-Och Mus. 1233 and US-BEm MS.173 manuscripts.

Although it must be tentative, it seems that *Thou art my portion* can therefore be associated with Weldon's Oxford tenure, through the two sources at Magdalen and Christ Church. The Chapel Royal word books of 1712, 1724 and 1736 do not confirm that it ever entered the Chapel Royal repertoire (though, of course, it is possible that the anthem was in repertoire without being entered into those books).¹⁹ Similarly the R.M.27.a series partbooks of the Chapel Royal that contains several of Weldon's anthems do not contain *Thou art my portion*.²⁰ Again, it is possible that a now lost set of partbooks may have contained this anthem.²¹ The chances of this anthem being omitted from both the partbooks and word books may seem slim, if it was regular part of the Chapel Royal repertoire, however (as noted in Chapter 1, above) the title page of *Divine Harmony* indicates that the anthem was performed at the Chapel Royal. The publication of *Divine Harmony* in 1716 provides a *terminus ante quem* but the balance of probability seems to suggest a pre-1702 date for *Thou art my portion*.

The text of *Have mercy upon me* (**JW6**) is found in the 1712 Chapel Royal word book.²² It does not appear in the R.M.27.a series of Chapel Royal partbooks,²³ nor is it found in GB-Och Mus. 1233, discussed above. It does, however, appear in GB-OMC MCOR1/MS1/2. As noted, this manuscript itself post-dates 1713. *Have mercy upon me* is found much later in the manuscript than both the three items shared with the Child manuscript and *Thou art my portion*. It immediately precedes a copy of *O Praise the Lord of heaven* (**JW3**). The first phrase of this latter anthem reveals that it was probably copied from *Divine Harmony* rather than US-BEm MS.173 and given the lack of other evidence,²⁴ the dating of GB-OMC MCOR1/MS1/2 and the placement of *Have mercy upon* late in the

¹⁹ *Word1712, Word1724, Word1736*.

²⁰ GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.1-16.

²¹ Margaret Laurie suggests that a set may be missing; Margaret Laurie, 'The Chapel Royal Part-Books' in *Music and Bibliography: Essays in honour of Alec Hyatt King*, ed. O. Neighbour (London, 1980), p.37.

²² *Word1712*, pp. 21-22.

²³ This supports Laurie's suggestion that a set may be missing.

²⁴ See Example 4.2 in chapter 3

manuscript suggest that both items were copied from *Divine Harmony* rather than from an unknown earlier source. With no documentary evidence to place *Have mercy upon me* in Weldon's pre-1701 New College period, we are forced to consider a dating on stylistic grounds. As we will see below, it seems that Weldon may have continued to compose anthems for a solo voice after he left New College (probably with Richard Elford in mind). The sumptuous, sensuous and highly decorated writing at "Make me a clean heart" (bb. 82-108) suggests mature writing, but this must be balanced with the (frankly) rather weaker writing in the preceding chorus and organ ritornello (particularly) with their descending sequences that seem to carry on for longer than the material can really justify.²⁵ It seems safest to suggest a date of c.1700-1705, putting it in the same bracket as the next anthem, whilst acknowledging its strengths and weaknesses.

The final solo anthem to consider is *O God thou hast cast us out* (**JW7**). The earliest musical source is Samuel Arnold's *Cathedral Music* (1790).²⁶ The words appear in the Chapel Royal word book of 1724, with the subscription "Composed for a Publick Fast in the Reign of Q. Anne".²⁷ The reference to Queen Anne means that the anthem must have been composed between 1702 and 1714. As there is no evidence to support an earlier date from any Oxford manuscripts, this may be taken at face value. Its text is entered in the 1724 word book.²⁸ This need not necessarily preclude composition prior to the publication of the 1712 word book; after all, the preface to the 1712 book notes that "some regard has been had to brevity in this Collection".²⁹ The "Publick Fast" most likely refers to the fast of 19 January 1703/4, ordered in the wake of the November 1703 storms, still recognised as the most severe storm ever recorded to hit southern England, with the loss of thirteen Navy ships.³⁰ This fits the circumstantial evidence. Weldon was comfortable writing anthems for the solo voice after his period in Oxford, but right from the start of this anthem the solo writing is highly expressive and supplicatory, responding to both occasion and text with consummate artistry.

²⁵ See, for example Volume 2, **JW6**, bb. 58-81.

²⁶ Samuel Arnold (ed.), *Cathedral Music*, 4 vols. (Printed for the Editor: London, 1790), i. pp. 266-275.

²⁷ *Word1724*, p. 68.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Word1712*, [p. iv in the preface (the supplement also uses this numbering)].

³⁰ Mark Laird, "'Perpetual Spring' or Tempestuous Fall: The Greenhouse and the Great Storm of 1703 in the Life of John Evelyn and His Contemporaries", *Garden History*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (2006), p. 167.

Praise the Lord ye servants (JW14) and *Ponder my words* (JW15) both appear in the 1712 Chapel Royal word book.³¹ The first of these is included in John Gostling's Newberry Library manuscript (hereafter JGM).³² Ian Spink has noted that this manuscript takes up a more or less chronological sequence that follows on from the more famous "Gostling Manuscript" (US-AUS Pre-1700 85).³³ The work that precedes *Praise the Lord ye servants* in JGM, Croft's setting of *I will always give thanks unto the Lord*, is dated 19 August 1708. *Praise the Lord ye servants* is followed by Weldon's *Hear my crying, O God* (JW19; for which see below); neither are dated. Also undated are the next two items, both by Croft: *The Lord is my Strength* and *O Lord God of my salvation*, but the latter is ascribed to "D^f Crofts". Croft was awarded his doctorate in 1713, the year after the publication of the main body of the word book. Thus, we might suggest that *Praise the Lord ye servants* was probably composed (or at least, first performed) between 1708 and 1712. It is the first anthem of Weldon's to appear in R.M.27.a.13 (the Chapel Royal organ book), so might be assumed also to predate other anthems of Weldon in that book. An important source for *Ponder my words* (the R.M.27 material is incomplete) is the score in the library of St John's College, Cambridge.³⁴ The presence of Croft's *I will give thanks unto the Lord*, again carrying the date of 19 August 1708 and ascribed to "M^f Croft", before this work may be significant, the placement of *We will rejoice in thy salvation* ascribed to "D^f Croft" immediately after *Ponder my words* would be of use, if a *terminus ante quem* were not already set by the 1712 word book. The best evidence for the chronological sequence of these two anthems we have is that *Ponder my words* is presented before *Praise the Lord ye servants* in the Chapel Royal R.M.27.a series of partbooks, suggesting an earlier date for *Ponder my words* but again, probably post-dating 1708.

The current writer's decision to prefer use of the organ book in the R.M.27.a series for inferring dating information rather than the vocal partbooks is significant. The vocal partbooks (R.M.27.a.1-8) are useful for dating early Restoration repertoire, or at least for establishing a chronological map of its copying.³⁵ As James Hume has recently demonstrated, apart from the verse partbook (R.M.27.a.9), the vocal partbooks are partly constituted using

³¹ *Word1712*, pp. 93-4.

³² US-Cn Case MS 7A/2, pp. 147-152.

³³ *SpinkRCM*, 83; John Gostling (compiled), *The Gostling Manuscript*; facsimile edition, ed. Franklin B. Zimmerman (University of Texas Press: Austin TX, 1977).

³⁴ GB-Cjc Chapel Ms. R. 1, pp. 269-279.

³⁵ See Laurie, 'The Chapel Royal Part-Books', pp. 28-50.

earlier material, with short parts for anthems from later periods inserted according to space remaining.³⁶ Thus the short excerpts sung by the chorus singers, often as little as one line of music, are found in different orders in each partbook. The instrumental books were started by John Church (c. 1675-1741) in the first few years of the eighteenth century.³⁷ Some items are in the organ book, but not in the lute or cello books. The difficulty with relying on the organ book for a chronology is that (as shown by both Laurie and Hume) pieces were seemingly added to the book in groups or batches.³⁸ Thus "pieces can only be considered as part of smaller groups of repertory rather than falling within a partbook-length chronological order."³⁹ *Ponder my words* and *Praise the Lord ye servants* are entered consecutively in the organ part book. If they were entered as part of a batch of copying, as seems likely, there can be little confidence concerning which might have been composed or performed first. However there are no grounds on which to establish a chronological order of composition, so the order of entry will be taken as *prima facie* evidence.

The *Sanctus* (**JW26**) and *Gloria* (**JW27**) were entered consecutively in the Chapel Royal organ part book immediately before *Rejoice in the Lord* (**JW13**), thus suggesting a tentative *terminus ante quem* of 17 February 1708/9.⁴⁰ Given their proximity in the organ book, the pair can be cautiously ascribed a date of c. 1708. John Bumpus (1861-1913) stated that the pair were Weldon's first compositions for Chapel Royal.⁴¹ Given the difficulty in precisely dating Weldon's work this is not impossible, but Bumpus proffers no evidence for his assertion, and on balance the claim seems unlikely.

Blessed is the man that feareth (**JW35**) and *Blessed are those that are undefiled* (**JW36**) both appear in the 1712 word book as verse anthems.⁴² No performing materials have survived. We might leave them in this order and place them chronologically after *O give thanks unto the Lord* (**JW34**), purely on the grounds of the preface to the word book that

³⁶ James Hume, 'The Chapel Royal Partbooks in Eighteenth-Century England' (PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 2013), particularly p. 37 and pp. 115-116; another verse partbook, GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.16, was not available to Hume.

³⁷ For John Church, see Chapter 1.

³⁸ Laurie, 'The Chapel Royal Part-Books', p. 36; Hume, 'The Chapel Royal Partbooks in Eighteenth-Century England', p. 119.

³⁹ Laurie, 'The Chapel Royal Part-Books', p. 36.

⁴⁰ GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.13 ff. 27v-28r.

⁴¹ John S. Bumpus, *A History of Cathedral Music 1549-1889*, 2 vols. (London, 1889), i. pp. 225-226.

⁴² *Word1712*, p. 72 and p. 92 respectively.

states that "care has been taken to place them [the anthems] according to the time of their Composition".⁴³ Whilst this stands up in a broad sense, in as much as anthems by Thomas Tallis (1505-1585) precede those of Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625) and William Child (1606-1697) in turn, the assertion is deeply undermined in its detailed application by the interpolation of several anthems by Clarke (d. 1706) and the dating of an anthem by Croft as February 1708 after the dating of *O give thanks unto the Lord* as 22 November 1709.⁴⁴ Nonetheless in the absence of other evidence it may be allowed to stand.

The 1712 word book has a supplement of "ANTHEMS OMITTED in the Preceding COLLECTION Or Compos'd since the Printing of it."⁴⁵ It must have been added after 7 July 1713, the date of *This is the Day the Lord has made* by Croft.⁴⁶ This is the first time that Croft appears as "Dr. Croft" in the book. The supplement includes only four full anthems (two by Weldon) and nine verse anthems (one by Weldon), suggesting that the supplement was printed not too long after that date, perhaps even as a way of including Croft anthem in the overall collection, as it had been "Compos'd upon the Peace"; the peace with France was an important event and the printing of the supplement allowed Croft's doctorate to be acknowledged as well. The verse anthem by Weldon in the supplement is *O Praise the Lord, ye that fear him (JW16)*,⁴⁷ thus we might ascribe this piece a *terminus ante quem* of c. 1715. In the organ part books this comes immediately after *Rejoice in the Lord (JW13)*, and is immediately succeeded by *The King shall rejoice (JW17)*. As previously noted, the immediacy of the succession of anthems in the organ book need not indicate a particularly fertile period for Weldon (although it may not preclude that), but rather, that John Church, the copyist, was working his way through a batch of Weldon's material, possibly under the composer's supervision. This in itself does not invalidate the sequencing of this material using the organ book, but necessarily induces a note of caution. *The King shall rejoice* is not included in the 1712 word book nor its supplement, but it is included that of 1724.⁴⁸ Tentatively we might observe that before the death of Queen Anne it would have been a less appropriate text than after the accession of King George, purely on grounds of sex. This would give a probable dating of c. 1714-1715 for this anthem.

⁴³ *Word1712*, [p. iv in the preface (the supplement also uses this numbering)].

⁴⁴ *Word1712*, p. 70.

⁴⁵ *Word1712*, p. i (in the supplement).

⁴⁶ *Word1712*, p. v (in the supplement).

⁴⁷ *Word1712*, p. v-vi (in the supplement).

⁴⁸ *Word1724*, p. 65.

The first of the full anthems appearing by Weldon in the supplement is *In thee, O Lord* (JW20). Laurie suggests that the R.M.27.a series of partbooks were not added to in the period following *c.* 1715.⁴⁹ As this full anthem is entered into these partbooks, *In thee, O Lord*, must therefore predate *c.* 1715. It need not necessarily postdate 1712, the publication of the main body of the anthem word book. It should be considered in conjunction with *Hear my crying, O God* (JW19), as both follow such similar compositional models. *Hear my crying, O God* appears in neither the 1712 word book nor its supplement, but it is included in the 1724 word collection.⁵⁰ As noted above, *Hear my crying, O God* is included in the Newberry manuscript, in the hand of John Gostling. It follows *Praise the Lord ye servants*, therefore again suggesting a possible *terminus post quem* of 1708 and a *terminus ante quem* of 1713 (once again, this is based on the dating of Croft's doctorate; the 1712 anthem word book offers no evidence). *Hear my crying, O God* is entered in all the R.M.27 material before *In thee, O Lord*.⁵¹ We can therefore at this point place *Hear my crying, O God* in the period 1708-1713 and *In thee, O Lord* in the period, 1708-*c.* 1715, composed in that order. Having placed such emphasis on the organ part book, at this point we note that the two full anthems, *Hear my crying, O God* and *In thee, O Lord* are placed after all of Weldon's verse anthems in the organ book. Laurie also gives a probable copying date of pre-1713 for the former of these and between July 1713 and 1720 for the latter of these;⁵² however, this is on the basis of a change in Croft's title (from M^r to D^r) in the vocal partbooks. In the organ partbook, both anthems are placed after Croft's change of title. It is therefore possible that the copying of both *Hear my crying, O God* and *In thee, O Lord* came after July 1713 (but before *c.* 1715).

It is worth taking a wider view of the Chapel Royal organ book (GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.13) at this point and noting that many of the works in close proximity to these two full anthems by Weldon are by composers that were no longer living. Full anthems by Thomas Tallis (1505-1585; *With all our hearts*), Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625; *Almighty and everlasting God*) and Edmund Hooper (1553-1621; *Behold it is Christ*) are in close proximity to *Hear my crying, O God*. *In thee, O Lord* is followed by three anthems by John Blow (1649-1708),

⁴⁹ Margaret Laurie, 'Weldon, John', *GMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014).

⁵⁰ *Word1724*, p. 101.

⁵¹ The on-line, sortable, appendices to Hume, 'The Chapel Royal Partbooks in Eighteenth-Century England' are an excellent resource for establishing such data: <https://sites.google.com/site/rm27books/> (last accessed 10 January 2014).

⁵² Laurie, 'The Chapel Royal Part-Books', p. 39: "Only nine complete items were entered into the books between July 1713 and the first pair of works by Greene."

including two full-with-verse anthems, *Save me, O God*, and *O God, wherefore art thou absent* and a full anthem by William Turner (1651-1740), *O Lord God of hosts*. This section of the manuscript seems to have fulfilled a particular need or desire to have a less "theatrical"⁵³ side to the repertoire readily available (to borrow Thomas Tudway's term). Clearly the works by Hooper, Gibbons, Tallis and Blow were copied from earlier manuscripts; it seems likely that the Chapel Royal had some previous performing material for the Weldon anthems as well. Having established quite a wide range of possible dates for *Hear my crying, O God* and *In thee, O Lord* (1708-1715), one might observe that although neither was included in the main body of the 1712 word book, both were later considered to be worthy of inclusion in the word books (in the 1712 supplement and 1724). On that basis, the balance of probability seems to suggest that they post-date the publication of the 1712 word book.

The Weldon item in the supplement to the 1712 word book not yet considered is a full- with-verse anthem entitled *Turn thou us, O good Lord (JW22)*, the words of which are drawn from the Communion service.⁵⁴ It is less clearly modelled on Blow's full-with-verse anthems than either of the two full-with-verse anthems by Weldon already discussed, or *Who can tell how oft he offendeth (JW21)*, as the verse sections are extensive and start very early on in the anthem. Perhaps it was composed in the 1711-1713 period noted above for the copying of what might be termed *stile antico* anthems which would account for both its relatively austere style and its placement in the supplement. It was clearly considered of some value at the Chapel Royal as it is retained in the 1724 and 1736 word books.

There are five anthems included in the 1724 word book that do not appear in the 1712 book or its supplement. These are *O be joyful (JW10)*, *O Lord, let me hear thy loving kindness (JW11)*, *I will love thee (JW37)*, *The princes of the people (JW38)*, and *Who can tell how oft he offendeth*.⁵⁵ The word book tells us that the last of these was a full anthem, denoted in the index by a letter "F" (more accurately it is a full-with-verses anthem).⁵⁶ The other four anthems may therefore be assumed to be verse anthems. Laurie suggests that these may have been composed in the period 1715-1722.⁵⁷ There is no reason to disagree, save to

⁵³ Thomas Tudway, preface to GB-Lbl Harl. 7338, transcribed by Ian Spink in *SpinkRCM*, p. 437.

⁵⁴ *Word1712*, p. ii (in the supplement).

⁵⁵ *Word1724*, pp. 65, 67, 70, 69 and 101.

⁵⁶ *Word1724*, p. [v].

⁵⁷ Laurie, 'Weldon, John', *GMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014).

note that the full anthem, *Who can tell how oft he offendeth* is similar in construction to *Hear my crying, O God* and *In thee, O Lord*, each consisting essentially of choruses framing a central verse section. Music has survived for this anthem in a manuscript score in the hand of Charles Badham (see Source Descriptions, below).⁵⁸ Badham was a Minor Canon at St Paul's Cathedral from 1698 until his resignation in 1716. Assuming that this can be relied to provide a *terminus ante quem* (though it is possible that Badham somehow retained access to sources after his resignation), this provides quite a narrow window for the writing of this anthem. The other anthems of the group for which material has survived are *O Lord, let me hear thy loving kindness* and *O be joyful in God*. These have both survived in autograph scores.⁵⁹ The paper of the latter is not of the same type found in either *O sing unto the Lord (JW12)* or *Rejoice in the Lord (JW13)*, thus supporting the later dating. *The princes of the people* carries a note in the 1724 word book stating that it was "Composed for the Thanksgiving upon the Prospect of approaching Peace, in the Reign of Q. Anne."⁶⁰ The mostly likely candidate for a "Peace" in the reign of Queen Anne would be the Peace of Utrecht, sometimes described as the "Peace with France", which came in 1713. This gives a reason for its exclusion from the 1712 word book.

The remaining verse anthem to consider is *Let God arise (JW18)*. This does not appear in any of the extant Chapel Royal performing material, nor in the 1712, 1724 or 1736 word books. The writing is some way from Weldon's best, which may provide an explanation. It shares a text with an anthem by "Mr Brind", presumably Richard Brind (d. 1718, sometime organist of St Paul's Cathedral and teacher of Maurice Greene) in the 1712 word book.⁶¹ Several anthems in that book are given dual authorship; we might cautiously assume *Let God Arise* post-dates that book. By 1724 the Brind setting is displaced by one composed by Maurice Greene (1696-1755). This is a rather superior work to that of Weldon and so this may be reason for the continued exclusion of Weldon's attempt. Thus, albeit with extreme caution, we might also put *Let God arise* into the *c.* 1715-1722 category.

The four items that make up the "Service in D" (the *Te Deum (JW28)* and *Jubilate (JW29)* as morning canticles and the *Cantate Domino (JW31)* and *Deus Misereatur (JW32)* for evensong) are datable by the specification of various singers on the partially autograph

⁵⁸ GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. B. 7.

⁵⁹ GB-Ob MS. Mus. C.2; GB-Lbl Add. MS 41847.

⁶⁰ *Word1724*, p. 69.

⁶¹ For Richard Brind see Watkins Shaw and Ian Spink, 'Brind, Richard', *GMO* (last accessed 10 January 2014).

manuscript.⁶² These are: George Laye (1685-1765; Gentleman of the Chapel, 1708-1765), Thomas Jennings (d. 1734; Gentleman of the Chapel, 1697-1734), John Mason (d. 1752; Gentleman of the Chapel, 1708-1752), Thomas Baker (1686-1745; Priest of the Chapel, 1714-1745), Leonard Woodson (1659-1717; Gentleman of the Chapel, 1681-1717), (?)George Carleton (d. 1746, Priest/Sub-Dean of the Chapel; 1713-1746), John Freeman (1666-1736; Gentleman of the Chapel, 1700-1736) and Samuel Weeley (d. 1743; Gentleman of the Chapel, 1709-1743). This collection of canticles was therefore probably written between 1714 and 1717. Matthias Range has recently suggested that the *Te Deum* could have been used at the coronation of George I, on 20 October 1714.⁶³ As Thomas Baker had been admitted as a supernumerary Gentleman on 8 March 1713/14, this is a possibility, though Baker did not proceed to a full place until 8 August 1715. This casts doubt on the likelihood of this piece as coronation music. Furthermore, the inclusion of not just a further canticle for Morning Prayer in the partbooks, but also the evening canticles suggests that this set was conceived for everyday use, rather than for a special occasion.

O Saviour of the World is found only in a mid-nineteenth-century copy: GB-T 796. It includes the notes that it was copied "From an MS at Ely Cathedral". However, it is no longer to be found in the Ely Dean and Chapter Archives, nor is it listed in either the index of composers or the index of titles given in Dickson's *Catalogue*.⁶⁴ Short and largely homophonic, it is perhaps best placed in the c. 1711-c. 1713 when the Chapel Royal organ book reflects a more austere repertoire. It should be noted however, that it is a different hand that made the attribution to Weldon than the hand that copied the anthem in GB-T 796. Given the lack of other sources, and its dissimilarity with any of Weldon's other works, it must be considered a doubtful attribution. It sets a text taken from "The Visitation of the Sick" in the *Book of Common Prayer*. If it is by Weldon, it is possible to imagine that it was sung for Queen Anne, when ill towards the end of her life, but this is necessarily speculative.

Two remaining Full anthems, *O praise God in his holiness (JW24)* and *O praise the Lord for it is a good thing (JW25)* are readily dateable from their publication. They were published by Henry Playford in his 1701 anthology, *The Divine Companion*.⁶⁵ It is probable

⁶² GB-Lcm 2043, see Source Descriptions.

⁶³ Matthias Range, *Music and Ceremonial at British Coronations* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 127 fn 165.

⁶⁴ W. E. Dickson, *A Catalogue of Ancient Choral Services and Anthems, Preserved Among the Manuscript Scores and Part-books in the Cathedral Church of Ely* (Cambridge, 1861).

⁶⁵ Henry Playford, *The Divine Companion: or, David's Harp New Tun'd* (Henry Playford: London, 1701).

that some, or even all, of the anthems in the Simon Child manuscript predate this pair, but as their date can be given with a degree of certainty they shall appear first in our list, in the order in which they appear in *The Divine Companion*.

The findings outlined here are best summarised in a table form (Table 3.1), giving, for the first time, a proposed (though admittedly tentative) chronological catalogue of Weldon's sacred music. It will be noted that the datings of *Ponder my words* and *Praise the Lord ye servants*, based on Gostling's Newberry manuscript provide something of a clash with some of the items that follow. This may be due to items in the Newberry manuscript being not accurately in sequence or due to the batch processing by Church of Weldon's compositions observed above, or a combination of the two. The datings given are not mutually exclusive, but uncertainty remains.

It can be recognised that the larger-scale anthems fall into four periods. The first period consists of solo anthems. Most of these seem to have been written during Weldon's tenure as Organist at New College, Oxford. In the next period, 1707/8-1712, a series of verse anthems were written. The full anthems seem to suggest a third period, which may also have included the writing of some verse anthems, or may have been otherwise fallow. The fourth period, *c.* 1715-1722 sees a series of larger scale verse anthems again.

Title	Index number	Genre	Proposed date
<i>O praise God in his holiness</i>	JW24	Short Full Anthem	1701
<i>O praise the Lord for it is a good thing</i>	JW25	Short Full Anthem	1701
<i>O Lord, rebuke me not</i>	JW1	Solo Anthem	Pre-1702
<i>I will lift up mine eyes</i>	JW5	Solo Anthem	Pre-1702
<i>O how pleasant are thy dwellings</i>	JW8	Solo Anthem	Pre-1702
<i>Blessed be the Lord my strength</i>	JW2	Solo Anthem	Pre-1702
<i>O praise the Lord of heaven</i>	JW3	Solo Anthem	Pre-1702
<i>O praise the Lord, laud ye the name of the Lord</i> (Oxford version)	JW9a	Verse Anthem	Pre-1702
<i>Thou art my portion</i>	JW4	Solo Anthem	Probably pre-1702
<i>Have mercy upon me</i>	JW6	Solo Anthem	c.1700-1705
<i>O God thou hast cast us out</i>	JW7	Solo Anthem	1703/4
<i>O sing unto the Lord a new song</i>	JW12	Verse Anthem	9 January 1707/8
<i>Ponder my words</i>	JW15	Verse Anthem	1708-1712
<i>Praise the Lord ye servants</i>	JW14	Verse Anthem	1708-1712
<i>O praise the Lord, laud ye the name of the Lord</i> (Chapel Royal version)	JW9b	Verse Anthem	1708-1712
<i>Sanctus and Gloria</i>	JW26/27	Full Service (with verses)	c.1708
<i>Rejoice in the Lord</i>	JW13	Verse Anthem	17 February 1708/9
<i>O praise the Lord, ye that fear him</i>	JW16	Verse Anthem	After February 1708/9; before 1713/4
<i>O give thanks unto the Lord</i>	JW35	Verse Anthem	22 November 1709
<i>Blessed is the man that feareth</i>	JW34	Verse Anthem	?1708-1712
<i>Blessed are those that are undefiled</i>	JW33	Verse Anthem	?1708-1712
<i>The King shall rejoice</i>	JW17	Verse Anthem	c.1710-c.1715
<i>Hear my crying, O God</i>	JW19	Full-with-verses Anthem	?1712-c.1715
<i>In thee, O Lord</i>	JW20	Full-with-verses Anthem	?1712- c.1715
<i>Turn thou us, O good Lord</i>	JW22	Full-with-verses Anthem	?c.1711-c.1713
<i>The Princes of the People</i>	JW37	Verse Anthem	Pre-1714, probably 1713
<i>Service in D</i>	JW28/29/31/32	Full Service (with verses)	1714-1717
<i>O be joyful</i>	JW10	Verse Anthem	c.1715-1722
<i>O Lord, let me hear thy loving kindness</i>	JW11	Verse Anthem	c.1715-1722
<i>I will love thee, O Lord</i>	JW36	Verse Anthem	c.1715-1722
<i>Who can tell how oft he offendeth</i>	JW21	Full-with-verses Anthem	c.1715-1716
<i>Let God arise</i>	JW18	Verse Anthem	?c.1715-1722

Table 3.1: A proposed chronological catalogue of John Weldon's sacred music

Spurious Attributions

Readers familiar with the Myles Foster's (1851-1922), *Anthems and Anthem Composers*,⁶⁶ will note the absence of some of the works that he identified. Each of these is dealt with in turn:

Awake up my Glory

Foster gives the reference "Novello" but does not elaborate what this might mean in his list of abbreviations. It seems likely that this refers to a publication by Novello and this view is strengthened by an earlier footnote in Foster's book.⁶⁷ The only anthem of this title published by Novello prior to 1901 (when *Foster* was published) that the present writer has been able to trace is a setting by Michael Wise that Foster may have misattributed.⁶⁸ Alternatively Foster may have been mistaken in his reference and have intended to refer to an anthem by that title in the collection of John S. Bumpus, to which Foster had access. GB-T 788 has a pencil, handwritten index.⁶⁹ In this index, the compiler correctly attributes Weldon's anthem, *Hear my crying, O God*. The anthem listed below is titled *Awake up my Glory*; in the column for the composer's name a ditto mark is placed. Turning to the manuscript itself, the attribution is "in 6 parts by T: Wa".⁷⁰ The majuscule "T" is smudged and could be interpreted as having a curved tail, to produce a "J"; the miniscule "a" could easily be interpreted as either an "o" or an "e": it is not clearly formed. Turning to the end of the piece, initials are again given.⁷¹ Again, the first could be interpreted as either "T" or "J". The "W" is clear and no supplementary letters are given. Comparing the music itself with an anthem found in Thomas Tudway's collection, it becomes clear that the composer is Thomas Wanless (d. 1712).⁷²

⁶⁶ Myles B. Foster, *Anthems and Anthem Composers* (London, 1901), see p. 87 for his catalogue of Weldon's music.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁶⁸ Michael Wise, *Awake up, my Glory* (Novello: London, 1876).

⁶⁹ GB-T 788, p. ii.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁷² GB-Lbl Harl. 7342, ff. 129r-133r. For Wanless see Ian Spink, 'Wanless, Thomas', *GMO* (last accessed 11 January 2014).

Tudway tells us that it was "Compos'd by Tho. Wanless, Organist of York, for his Batchelour of Musicks degree, in Cambridge."⁷³ No anthem entitled *Awake up my Glory* by John Weldon can be traced by the present writer.

I waited patiently

Foster gives the reference "Ely", leading to the Hawkins collection for Ely cathedral.⁷⁴ W.E. Dickson conveyed his doubts about the attribution in his catalogue of the Ely collection.⁷⁵ Comparison of the only anthem in this collection with this title with that by Croft confirms the misattribution.⁷⁶

My help cometh

Foster gives the reference as "Rochester" which he does not elaborate. This title is the text of the chorus part from *I will lift up mine eyes* (JW5). It seems most likely that the title was taken from a partbook that did not include the solo part or a title.

O be thou our help

Foster gives the reference as "Lichfield" which he does not elaborate. This title is the text of the chorus part from *O God thou hast cast us out* (JW7). It seems most likely that the title was taken from a part book that did not include the solo part or a title. *O God thou hast cast us out* is from Arnold's collection,⁷⁷ not that of Boyce,⁷⁸ as specified by Foster.

O praise the Lord with one consent

Foster seems to be confusing this with the Chandos anthem by Handel of this title.⁷⁹ The setting by Handel includes the words "O be joyful", which is the title of one of Weldon's

⁷³ GB-Lbl Harl. 7342, f. 129r.

⁷⁴ See Source Description for "Cambridge, Ely Music Manuscripts in Cambridge University Library".

⁷⁵ Dickson, *A catalogue of ancient choral services and anthems... of Ely*, p. 43, "(doubtful)".

⁷⁶ GB-Lbl Add. MS 17847, ff. 47r-50r (autograph).

⁷⁷ Arnold, *Cathedral Music*.

⁷⁸ BoyceCM.

⁷⁹ G. F. Handel, *O praise the Lord with one consent*, HWV 254, ed. Gerald Hendrie, Halle Handel Edition, Series III, 6 (Bärenreiter: Kassel, 1991).

anthems (**JW10**). The texts of the two are conflated in William Marshall's word book of 1840;⁸⁰ this word book, or one like it, is the most likely source of confusion.

Righteous is the Lord

Foster gives the reference as "*Chap. Roy*" which he does not elaborate. No anthem of this title can be found amongst either the Chapel Royal anthem word books or the extant part books. The closest match seems to be *Righteous art thou*, an anthem by John Church which appears in the part books and in the 1724 word book.⁸¹ In this word book it is the next item in the index to Weldon's *Rejoice in the Lord* (**JW13**).

The Lord shall preserve thee

Foster recognises this as part of *I will lift up mine eyes*.

Those familiar with David Griffiths' work cataloguing the music manuscripts in the Cathedral library in York will note two further titles listed.⁸² Firstly GB-Y M 2/9 S, no. 51 is listed in the catalogue as *O lord I have promised to keep thy law*.⁸³ This is a copy (a manuscript copy of the *Divine Harmony* print) of *Thou art my portion* (**JW4**). The confusion seems to have arisen from the layout of the manuscript: the title is not placed on or above the top stave, but lower down the page. The layout of the page is such that the line of text which then appears on the top line is "O lord I have promised to keep thy law". Secondly GB-Y M 107 is listed in the catalogue as "Solo anthem. By Weldon / for a Tenor or Treble/ *My song shall be always &c*". This is an accurate transcription of the attribution given on the manuscript. However, closer examination shows that this a misattribution. The anthem presented in manuscript is by Purcell (Z 31). It seems to be a manuscript copy of the anthem as printed by Henry Playford (i.e. for treble rather than bass).⁸⁴ This copy has the opening Symphony and succeeding

⁸⁰ William Marshall, *A collection of anthems used in the cathedral and collegiate churches of England and Wales* ([Oxford], 1840), p. 155.

⁸¹ *Word1724*, p. 133.

⁸² David Griffiths, *A Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts in York Minster Library* (York, 1981).

⁸³ *Ibid*, p. 36.

⁸⁴ Henry Playford (ed.), *Harmonia Sacra: or, Divine Hymns and Dialogues*, 3rd edn., 2 vols (London: 1714). i., p. 121.

ritornellos removed and the whole is transposed a tone higher than the print (first published in 1703).

A Catalogue of Weldon's Sacred Music

The identification of spurious works enables the present writer now to present a catalogue of the Sacred Music of John Weldon given alphabetically in Table 3.2, below. The specification in the scoring column of "org" indicates that the organ part includes obbligato melodic material. Some anthems indicate the use of basso continuo as well as organ – these are the anthems for which contemporaneous Chapel Royal lute and cello parts have also survived.

JW	First line	Genre	Date	Scoring	Other information
33	<i>Blessed are those that are undefiled</i>	Verse Anthem	?1708-1712	unknown	music lost
2	<i>Blessed be the Lord my strength</i>	Solo Anthem	Pre-1702	1/4vv, bc	published in <i>WeldonDH</i>
34	<i>Blessed is the man that feareth</i>	Verse Anthem	?1708-1712	unknown	music lost
6	<i>Have mercy upon me</i>	Solo Anthem	c.1700-1705	1/4vv, org,	published in <i>WeldonDH</i>
19	<i>Hear my crying, O God</i>	Full-with-verses Anthem	?1712-c.1715	4/5/6vv, bc	
5	<i>I will lift up mine eyes</i>	Solo Anthem	Pre-1702	1/4vv, org	published in <i>WeldonDH</i>
36	<i>I will love thee, O Lord</i>	Verse Anthem	c.1715-1722	unknown	music lost
20	<i>In thee, O Lord</i>	Full-with-verses Anthem	?1712-c.1715	2/4vv, bc	
18	<i>Let God arise</i>	Verse Anthem	?c.1715-1722	3/8vv, bc	
10	<i>O be joyful</i>	Verse Anthem	c.1715-1722	1/3/7vv, org	
35	<i>O give thanks unto the Lord</i>	Verse Anthem	22 November 1709	unknown	music lost
7	<i>O God thou hast cast us out</i>	Solo Anthem	1703/4	1/4vv, org, bc	
8	<i>O how pleasant are thy dwellings</i>	Solo Anthem	Pre-1702	1/4vv, org, bc	
11	<i>O Lord, let me hear thy loving kindness</i>	Verse Anthem	c.1715-1722	2/4vv, org	
1	<i>O Lord, rebuke me not</i>	Solo Anthem	Pre-1702	1/4vv, bc	published in <i>WeldonDH</i>
24	<i>O praise God in his holiness</i>	Short Full Anthem	1701	3vv	published in Playford, <i>The Divine Companion</i>
25	<i>O praise the Lord for it is a good thing</i>	Short Full Anthem	1701	3vv	published in Playford, <i>The Divine Companion</i>
3	<i>O praise the Lord of heaven</i>	Solo Anthem	Pre-1702	1/4vv, bc	published in <i>WeldonDH</i>
9a	<i>O praise the Lord, laud ye the name of the Lord (Oxford version)</i>	Verse Anthem	Pre-1702	2/4vv, Trumpet, bc	
9b	<i>O praise the Lord, laud ye the name of the Lord (Chapel Royal version)</i>	Verse Anthem	1708-1712	2/4vv, org, bc	
16	<i>O praise the Lord, ye that fear him</i>	Verse Anthem	After February 1708/9; before 1713/4	1/2/3/7vv, org, bc	
12	<i>O sing unto the Lord a new song</i>	Verse Anthem	9 January 1707/8	1/3/4vv, org	
15	<i>Ponder my words</i>	Verse Anthem	1708-1712	1/2/4vv, org, bc	
14	<i>Praise the Lord ye servants</i>	Verse Anthem	1708-1712	1/2/3/4vv, org, bc	

13	<i>Rejoice in the Lord</i>	Verse Anthem	17 February 1708/9	1/2/3/5vv, org, bc	
26/27	<i>Sanctus and Gloria</i>	Full Service (with verses)	c.1708	3/4vv, bc	
28/29/ 31/32	<i>Service in D</i>	Full Service (with verses)	1714-1717	3/4/5/6/7vv, bc	
17	<i>The King shall rejoice</i>	Verse Anthem	c.1710- c.1715	1/3/4vv, org, bc	
37	<i>The Princes of the People</i>	Verse Anthem	Pre-1714, probably 1713	unknown	music lost
4	<i>Thou art my portion</i>	Solo Anthem	Probably pre-1702	1/4vv, org,	published in <i>WeldonDH</i>
22	<i>Turn thou us, O good Lord</i>	Full-with-verses Anthem	?c.1711- c.1713	3/5/7vv, bc	
21	<i>Who can tell how oft he offendeth</i>	Full-with-verses Anthem	c.1715- 1716	3/4/5/7vv, bc	

Table 3.2: A catalogue of John Weldon's sacred music

Style: Reception review

In considering the chronology of Weldon's anthems several different genres were noted. Chief among these are the solo anthems and verse anthems, although there is also a significant sub-set of full anthems with verses (see Table 3.3, below) as well as some service music. Before turning to consider various aspects of Weldon's writing in different contexts, a brief survey of the comments of other writers is appropriate. The compositions that have attracted most comment are the two full-with-verse anthems that were printed in Boyce's *Cathedral Music* (volume II, 1768), *Hear my crying, O God (JW19)* and *In thee, O Lord (JW20)*.⁸⁵

John Hawkins (1719-1789), writing in his *General History* (1776), described Weldon as "a very sweet and elegant composer of church music".⁸⁶ In commenting on the two full anthems published in Boyce's collection,⁸⁷ Hawkins is positively effusive, eulogising, "it is hard to say whether the melody or the harmony of each be its greatest excellence."⁸⁸ He is

⁸⁵ *BoyceCM*, ii. pp. 202-208; pp. 209-218.

⁸⁶ *Hawkins*, ii. p. 786.

⁸⁷ *BoyceCM*, ii.

⁸⁸ *Hawkins*, ii. p. 786.

Solo anthems	Verse anthems	Full-with-verse anthems	Full anthems	Services
<i>O Lord, rebuke me not</i>	<i>Praise the Lord ye servants</i>	<i>Hear my crying, O God</i>	<i>O praise God in his holiness</i>	<i>Sanctus and Gloria</i>
<i>Blessed be the Lord my Strength</i>	<i>O praise the Lord, laud ye the name</i>	<i>In Thee, O Lord</i>	<i>O praise the Lord for it is a good thing</i>	<i>Te Deum, Jubilate, Cantate Domino and Deus Misereatur</i>
<i>O praise the Lord of heaven</i>	<i>O be joyful in God</i>	<i>Who can tell how oft he offendeth</i>		
<i>Thou art my portion</i>	<i>O Lord, let me hear thy loving kindness</i>	<i>Turn thou us, Good Lord</i>		
<i>I will lift up mine eyes</i>	<i>O sing unto the Lord</i>			
<i>Have mercy upon me</i>	<i>Rejoice in the Lord</i>			
<i>O God, thou hast cast us out</i>	<i>Ponder my words</i>			
<i>O how pleasant</i>	<i>O praise the Lord, ye that fear him</i>			
	<i>The King shall rejoice</i>			
	<i>Let God arise</i>			

Table 3.3: The anthems of John Weldon, divided by genre.

less taken with the solo anthems,⁸⁹ suggesting that "these have their merit, but fall very far short of the full anthems." In contrast, Charles Burney (1726-1814), in the third volume of his *General History* (1789), also comments on the two anthems in Boyce's *Cathedral Music*.⁹⁰ He dismisses *In thee, O Lord* as "rather too familiar and common," but describes *Hear my crying, O God* as "a very pleasing and masterly composition." However, he goes on to write that "The passages of the third and fourth movements seem much worn by forty or fifty years use". After this rather unenthusiastic reception for Weldon's full-with-verses anthems Burney moves on to the six solo anthems of *Divine Harmony* (1716; **JW1-6**). He dates the collection to 1730, though admits to some difficulty in establishing their date, while chastising the publisher, John Walsh, for omitting the information, thus rendering their "time of birth ... as carefully concealed as the age of stale virgins."⁹¹

The only anthem of the collection that attracts even faint praise from Burney is *O Lord, rebuke me not* (**JW1**), which he compares to a "secular song or rondeau [to be] remembered with pleasure by the musical part of a congregation".⁹² *O Lord, rebuke me not*

⁸⁹ Presumably those in *WeldonDH*; Hawkins states, "six of which he published".

⁹⁰ Burney, iii. pp. 612-613.

⁹¹ Burney, iii. p. 613.

⁹² Ibid.

seems to have been one of Weldon's most popular anthems (at least in terms of its wide use around the country) and the return to the triple metre "Turn thee, O Lord" is one of its most attractive features, lending it a sense of form and cohesion. As a whole, though, Burney dismisses the solo anthems as "feeble and old-fashioned". He goes on, "the fund of original conception or science...was never very considerable in Weldon's productions." The particular passage he cites, the long descending sequence in *Have mercy upon me, O God*, is some way from Weldon's most successful writing. In order to leave the reader in no doubt as to his thoughts on Weldon's music, Burney compares a series of eighteenth-century composers, clearly ranking Weldon at the bottom of the heap (fairly typically, Handel is placed at the top):⁹³

The productions of Weldon appear flimsy after those of Crofts; and Dr. Green's after Handel's; yet Green compared with Weldon is a giant: that is, a Handel.

It is notable that neither of the two eighteenth-century historians gave any comment on Weldon's verse anthems, the genre in which Weldon wrote most often and (in the present writer's view) most successfully. It is understandable that in undertaking their writings Hawkins and Burney should concentrate on the works of Weldon that were most readily available to them, but unfortunate that they were writing at a time when the arioso type of writing that is so prevalent in the solo anthems had fallen out of fashion and at a time when Handel's writing was so popular (Burney was seemingly coerced away from negative criticism of Handel's writing in his *Account of the Commemoration of Handel* by those he could ill afford to offend).⁹⁴ Concentrating only on these eight anthems (six solo and two full-with-verse) does not give a complete picture of Weldon's considerable successes.

William H. Husk, the librarian to the Sacred Harmonic Society also recognised the quality of the two full-with-verse anthems published in Boyce's *Cathedral Music*. Writing for the late nineteenth-century edition of Sir George Grove's *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Husk described the pair as "admirable compositions, combining pure melody, fine harmony, and just expression. They have a certain anticipation of the sweet natural melody of Sterndale Bennett."⁹⁵ This latter assertion is quite a difficult one with which to agree. It seems to be more of a means of Husk honouring a co-contributor to the *Dictionary* by mentioning

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Kerry S. Grant, 'Burney, Charles', *GMO* (last accessed 11 January 2014).

⁹⁵ William H. Husk, 'Weldon, John', *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 4 vols. ed. George Grove (1st edition: London, 1898), iv. p. 435.

him by name than a comment on the music of either composer. The comparison was expunged by the time the article was reproduced in the 1928 edition; it perhaps tells us rather more about the author than his subject.⁹⁶ Myles Foster, *Anthems and Anthem Composers* (1901), had little to add beyond further appreciation of the full anthem *In thee, O Lord*.⁹⁷

In the early twentieth century John Bumpus (an avid collector of music manuscripts as honorary librarian at St Michael's College, Tenbury) considered Weldon to be "one of the most delightful composers of the Purcell-Croft school."⁹⁸ He too focused on the full-with-verse anthems, citing "Draw me out of the net" from *In thee, O Lord* as "an exquisite piece of four-part writing".⁹⁹ He recognised the forward-looking nature of some of Weldon's writing, stating that the concluding cadence of that anthem (see Example 3.1) reached ahead as a "favourite termination of Mozart and Spohr".¹⁰⁰ Bumpus also cites the close of *Hear my crying, O God* as one of Weldon's "happy experiments in harmony" (see Example 3.2). This chromaticism is also given as an example by Mark R. Ellis in *A Chord in Time* (2010).¹⁰¹ This "German" sixth is also noted by Ian Spink as a "splash of harmonic colour".¹⁰² Regrettably it seems probable that this "experiment" was not one of Weldon's as the weight of evidence suggests that this particular chord should have a c[♯] in the second treble part, rather than a c[♭]. In his edition of this piece (2006), Geoffrey Webber correctly notes that c[♭] is not present in US-Cn Case 7A/2 (a score copied by John Gostling) though is present in GB-Lbl Harl. 7341 (a score copied by Thomas Tudway).¹⁰³ As Webber further recognises, the c[♭] is also not in GB-Lbl Add. MS 30931 (a contemporary organ book). Webber does not collate the Chapel Royal organ book in his edition,¹⁰⁴ only the partbooks.¹⁰⁵ In the organ

⁹⁶ Husk, 'Weldon, John', *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5 vols. ed. H. C. Colles (3rd edition: London, 1928), v. pp. 685-686.

⁹⁷ Foster, *Anthems and Anthem Composers*, p. 59.

⁹⁸ Bumpus, *A History of English Cathedral Music*, p. 225. See William J. Gatens, 'Bumpus, John', *GMO* (last accessed 11 January 2014).

⁹⁹ Bumpus, *A History of English Cathedral Music*, pp. 226-227.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

¹⁰¹ Mark R. Ellis, *A Chord in Time: The Evolution of the Augmented Sixth from Monteverdi to Mahler* (Farnham, 2010), pp. 84-85.

¹⁰² *SpinkRCM*, p. 175.

¹⁰³ Geoffrey Webber, 'Critical Commentary' in *The Restoration Anthem, Volume two, 1688-1714*, ed. Dexter & Webber (Church Music Society: Oxford, 2007), p. 8.

¹⁰⁴ GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.13.

¹⁰⁵ GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.1-8.

book the note in question is given as $c\flat$ ", but on the manuscript it can be seen that the accidental sign seems to have been subject to some alteration (the paper is damaged) and may be a later addition. The present editor has also preferred the Gostling reading over that of Tudway, but absolute certainty over this particular matter of detail is at some distance. It is all too easy to conjecture that the $c\flat$ " could have been added by Boyce in both the organ part book and in his edition to give a melodically parallel passage mirroring the rising semitones in bar 98 of the piece. It is unlikely that Gostling would have made an error in transcribing what would have been an unusual chord, as first he would probably have been involved in performances of the anthem at the Chapel Royal and would thus have made particular note of it and second, Gostling seems to have been content to return to scores he had copied to make alterations reflecting any change in practice (see Chapter 5, below). No other examples of this chord are found in Weldon's known work; it seems all too likely that Weldon has gained credit for some rather interesting harmonic writing that was not his.

For much of the twentieth century Weldon's music was little commented upon and rarely performed. The handful of editions noted in the Preface seem not to have embedded his music firmly in cathedral repertoires and scholarly attention to his sacred work was rare. Laurie ensured some recognition for Weldon's stage work in recognising him as the principle composer of *The Tempest*.¹⁰⁶ She subsequently wrote the article that appears in the current form of Grove's *Dictionary*, now *Grove Music Online*. In it she recognises a wide melodic range, from sprightly tunes to the "intense declamation" of *O Lord, rebuke me not*.¹⁰⁷ Nonetheless she is critical of his indulgence in "lengthy roulades" and condemns his writing for over-reliance on "sequence and repetitive patterns". She further notes a restricted range of modulation and harmonic invention. Laurie detects Italian influence but notes that Weldon's use of formal constructions such as ground, da capo and binary form are scarce and that he prefers "unusual designs."

Ian Spink, writing in the last decade of the twentieth century, sounds a more positive note and gives the most in-depth consideration of the style of Weldon's church music to date.¹⁰⁸ He picks out "highly affective declamatory writing for solo voice" in the early solo

¹⁰⁶ Margaret Laurie, 'Did Purcell Set "The Tempest?"' *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 90th Sess. (1963-1964), pp. 43-57.

¹⁰⁷ Margaret Laurie, 'Weldon, John', *GMO* (last accessed 7 January 2014).

¹⁰⁸ *SpinkRCM*, pp. 173-176.

82

O Lord thou God of truth.

O Lord thou God of truth, O Lord thou God of truth.

O Lord thou God of truth, O Lord thou God of truth.

O Lord thou God of truth, thou God of truth.

Example 3.1: Weldon, *In thee, O Lord* (JW20; organ part omitted), b. 82-end.

102 [VERSE] CHORUS

name, un-to those that fear thy name. A-men, a-men.

name, un-to those that fear thy name. A-men, a-men.

un-to those that fear that fear thy name. A-men, a-men.

un-to those that fear that fear thy name. A-men, a-men.

name, un-to those that fear thy name. A-men, a-men.

un-to those that fear, un-to those that fear thy name. A-men, a-men.

Example 3.2: Weldon, *Hear my crying, O God* (JW19; organ part omitted), b. 102-end. The debated "German" sixth is highlighted.

anthems, noting the Purcellian influence. He notes the loose structure of these solo anthems as alternating declamatory sections and triple-time airs with "a melodiousness and regularity of phrase more characteristic of secular than sacred music". In Weldon's full writing, Spink recognises the open texture that is rather akin to multi-part verse-writing, but senses that his choral writing "lacks Croft's strength, and there is little sense of grandeur". On the other hand Spink's assessment of the tuneful sections of Weldon's verse anthems suggests "a melodic elegance and lyric quality that Croft rarely attains".¹⁰⁹

A stylistic overview

In attempting to provide a fuller appreciation of the style of Weldon's sacred music it is important to consider it in a wider context. For example, how does his church music compare with that of both the previous generation of Chapel Royal composers and with that of his contemporaries? How does Weldon's church music compare with his theatrical music?

The compositions for the Chapel Royal in the late seventeenth century were dominated by the figures of Henry Purcell (1659-1695) and John Blow (1648/9-1708), with William Turner (1651-1740), who outlived Weldon, also a significant composer of over forty anthems and four services. As well as Turner, contemporaneous with Weldon were William Croft (1678-1727), the other composer to the Chapel Royal, and Thomas Tudway (*c.* 1650-1726), who nearly became the third composer to the Chapel (see Chapter 1). Each of these provide models in both verse anthems and full anthems. The latter were ostensibly in an older style, exhibiting counterpoint reminiscent of the pre-Commonwealth, but this was allied with a more modern, chromatic, harmonic language; Blow and Purcell were, after all, "essentially modernist."¹¹⁰ The older style found particular expression in the early eighteenth century in not just full anthems, but in full-with-verse anthems.¹¹¹ A new form, the solo anthem, emerged towards the end of the seventeenth century though, naturally this tended to be based around specific individuals and institutions. Purcell and Blow wrote some solo anthems (Spink suggests the term "cantata anthem" after then Italian model) for the famous bass

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 175.

¹¹⁰ *SpinkRCM*, p. 31.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

singer, John Gostling. The model was taken up by the next generation; some examples were printed in a collection that followed Weldon's *Divine Harmony* publication: *Divine Harmony, The 2^d Collection* (1717, see Chapter 1, above).¹¹² As the discussion of Weldon's work in the centuries between his life and the present day has revolved largely around two of his full-with-verse anthems, let us consider this genre these first.

Full-with-verse anthems

A typical structure for a full-with-verse anthem in the early eighteenth century is as follows: full sections frame the anthem, generally in a conservative, contrapuntal style. The central section may comprise one or more contrasted verse sections, sometimes with occasional full choir interjections, usually homophonic, but sometimes developing points of imitation. Examples by Blow include *O God, wherefore art thou absent* and *God is our hope and strength*.¹¹³ Those by Purcell include *O Lord God of hosts* and *Lord, how long wilt thou be angry*.¹¹⁴ William Croft wrote ten such anthems including *Hear my prayer, O Lord*, which Spink identifies as recalling Purcell's setting of the same text, but which owes at least as much in its eerie tonal uncertainties to the first of the Blow anthems mentioned.¹¹⁵ Weldon largely follows the typical structure, in three of his four examples, as shown in Table 3.4, below.

As we have seen, much has been written about the two full-with-verse anthems that were published by Boyce (presumably as their publication rendered them readily accessible to the commentators). In Laurie's *Grove* article, she comments on Weldon's habit of adapting forms. It is worthwhile noting therefore, that the final part of *Hear my crying, O God* is rather akin to a form within a form. Instead of a final chorus, this third section is itself subdivided, rather like a full anthem in miniature. The middle section of *In thee, O Lord*, instead of a largely homophonic verse, is partly contrapuntal, whilst the last full section, rather than

¹¹² *Divine Harmony, The 2^d Collection* (John Walsh: London, 1717).

¹¹³ Blow, *O God, wherefore art thou absent*, ed. Clifford Bartlett (King's Music: Wyton, 1994); Blow, *God is our hope and strength*, ed. Geoffrey Webber in *The Restoration anthem, Volume one, 1660-1689* (Church Music Society: Oxford, 2003), pp. 23-31.

¹¹⁴ Henry Purcell, *O Lord God of hosts* (Z.37), ed. Geoffrey Webber in *The Restoration anthem, Volume one, 1660-1689*, pp. 53-63; Purcell, *Lord, how long wilt thou be angry* (Z.25), ed. Bruce Wood in *A Purcell anthology: 12 Anthems* (OUP: Oxford, 1995), pp. 43-52.

¹¹⁵ William Croft, *Hear my prayer, O Lord*, ed. Keri Dexter in *The Restoration Anthem, Volume two, 1688-1714* (Church Music Society: Oxford, 2007), pp. 26-36.

developing contrapuntal activity, is homophonic. A particular sense of lift is gained in this anthem by the move in the last section from G minor to B \flat major. These two anthems, though the work of a mature composer, were, as far as we know, Weldon's first essays into the genre. His third attempt, *Who can tell how oft he offendeth* (JW21), follows the typical model rather more closely, with imitative outer sections framing a chordal verse section. The first section is grand in outlook, even if it seems a trifle curtailed after its expansive opening. The mid-section is charmingly melodic and derives its harmonic interest from genuine harmonic structure and modulation rather than mere splashes of colour. The final section is a magnificent working out of various points of imitation with a real Handelian flavour. This is imparted not only through the manner in which the contrapuntal lines are brought together to become chordal textures after each voice has entered in turn, but through the pedal points and the early entries of the tenor and contratenor parts in bars 50 and 66 respectively on the sharpened 2nd of the chord. This is Weldon's full writing at its best; this is not verse writing that happens to be allocated to a larger group, but rich choral painting on a vivaciously coloured canvas. The ending of the work once again gives an upper pedal note in the treble with changing harmonies underneath, but here it is given added gravitas through a simultaneous tonic pedal in the bass (see Example 3.3, below). Such grandeur is rarely achieved by Croft, though his symphony anthem, *Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous* is notable for its success in the final chorus.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ William Croft, *Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous*, in *Canticles and Anthems with Orchestra*, ed. Donald Burrows, Musica Britannica 91 (London: Stainer and Bell, 2011), pp. 156-188.

<i>Hear my crying, O God</i>	<i>In thee, O Lord</i>	<i>Who can tell how oft he offendeth</i>	<i>Turn thou us</i>
E♭ major: Various points of imitation in succession, none fully developed	B♭ major: 4-part chorus, successive points of imitation each dissolve into chordal writing	D minor: 7-part chorus, opening with points of imitation and then some short antiphonal phrases	C minor, with forays into E♭ major: Homophonic chorus and verse sections with antiphonal effects and rare points of imitation developed
E♭ major: 4-part verse with successive points of imitation	B♭ major: CtB duo. A mixture of imitation and interwoven lines.	D major: CtTB trio, largely chordal	
E♭ major: 6-part verse, largely antiphonal with some points of imitation	G minor to B♭ major: 4-part chorus, chordal texture	D minor, 4-part chorus. Several imitative sections, each dissolving in turn, with other entries integrated to give interesting harmonic twists	
E♭ major: A form within a form: A 5-part, well-worked imitative chorus gives way to 6-part antiphonal trios, before two homophonic Amens			

Table 3.4: The structures of the full-with-verse anthems of Weldon

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in thy sight O Lord my strength and my re-deem-er.

in thy sight, O Lord my strength and my re-deem-er, O Lord my strength and my re-deem-er.

thy sight, O Lord, O Lord my strength and my re-deem-er, O Lord my strength and my re-deem-er.

Lord my strength, O Lord, O Lord my strength and my re-deem-er.

Example 3.3: Weldon, *Who can tell how oft he offendeth?* (JW21; organ part omitted), b. 81-end.

Weldon's fourth full-with-verse anthem, *Turn thou us, good Lord* (JW22), is entirely different in its conception. Here the writing, save the development of one point of imitation following a dominant pedal (see Example 3.4(a), below), is largely homophonic. Variety is

given through alternating chorus and verse sections and through some antiphonal writing. Part of the text reads "Spare thy people, good Lord, Spare them", echoing the sentence from the *Book of Common Prayer* "Order for the Burial of the Dead" for use "while the corpse is made ready to be laid into the earth":¹¹⁷

Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of our hearts; shut not thy merciful ears to our prayer; but spare us, Lord most holy, O God most mighty, O holy and merciful Saviour, thou most worthy Judge eternal, suffer us not, at our last hour, for any pains of death, to fall from thee.

Weldon would have been familiar with Purcell's much-praised setting of these words (Z.58c). Purcell's *Burial Service* as a whole may have been a point of departure and inspiration for Weldon's setting of the prayer from the Communion service.¹¹⁸ The choice of C minor as key and the largely homophonic setting undoubtedly suit the highly penitential liturgical context but also echo the simplicity of Purcell's 1694 setting of the burial words. The point of imitation that Weldon develops at "and after the multitude of thy great mercy" calls to mind his former teacher's setting of the words "in the midst of life" from his *Burial Service* to a rising scale; the preceding pedal point is reminiscent of that of Purcell at the words "for any pains of death" (see Examples 3.4 (a) and (b)). As a whole, *Turn thou us, O good Lord* affects a touching simplicity (if a little overworked in places), far removed from the floridity of his verse anthems, as we shall see.

Before leaving the full-with-verse genre, brief mention here might be made of Weldon's *Service in D* (written in the period 1714-1717, see above). This setting of morning and evening canticles, rather like the full-with-verse anthems Weldon was writing in the 1710s, takes as its model neither the contrapuntal extravaganzas of Blow's G major service or Purcell's B♭ major service,¹¹⁹ nor the florid verse setting of evening canticles by Thomas Tudway in B♭ major.¹²⁰ Rather it takes on a rich hue in its chorus work, interspersed with

¹¹⁷ The *Book of Common Prayer* is now published online by the Church of England. The Communion Service can be found at:

www.churchofengland.org/prayer-worship/worship/book-of-common-prayer/a-communion.aspx (last accessed 11 January 2014).

¹¹⁸ Purcell, *Funeral sentences with March and Canzona for the funeral of Queen Mary*, ed. Christopher Hogwood (OUP: Oxford, 1995).

¹¹⁹ John Blow, *Evening Service in G*, ed. G.W. Shaw (Stainer and Bell: London, 1941); Purcell *Evening Service in B♭* (Z. 230), eds. Margaret Laurie and Bruce Wood, Purcell Society Edition, 23 (Stainer and Bell: London, 2013), pp. 39-53.

¹²⁰ Thomas Tudway, *Evening Service in B♭* ("Wimpole"), GB-Lbl Harl. 7341, ff. 28r-35r.

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great, thy mer - cy is great, thy mer - cy is great, thy mer - cy is great, and
 great, thy mer - cy is great, thy mer - cy is great, thy mer - cy is great, and
 great, thy mer - cy is great, thy mer - cy is great, thy mer - cy is great, and
 great, thy mer - cy is great, thy mer - cy is great, thy mer - cy is great, and

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and af - ter the mul - ti -
 af - ter the mul - ti-tude of thy mer - cy look up - on —
 And af - ter the mul - ti-tude of thy mer -

Example 3.4(a): Weldon, *Turn thou us, O good Lord* (JW22), bb. 83-95.

lighter-textured verse sections, that seems to owe much to William Turner's impressively spacious evening canticles in A major (probably written c. 1700).¹²¹

¹²¹ William Turner, *Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in A*, ed. Geoffrey Webber (OUP: Oxford, 2008).

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not at our last _ hour for a - ny pains of death, for a - ny pains of death to

not at our last hour for a - ny pains of death, for a - ny pains of death to

not at our last _ hour for a - ny pains of death, of death, to

not at our last _ hour for a - ny pains of death _____ to

Organ
Bass

6 6 7 # 7 5 # 6 5 6
4 # 3#

Example 3.4(b): Purcell, "Thou knowest Lord" (Z.58b) from *Burial Service*, bb. 20-24.

Verse anthems

The verse anthems of Weldon are at least as impressive on their own terms as his full-with-verse anthems. They often exhibit organ ritornellos framing each verse, or in dialogue with a soloist. These ritornellos find their functional origins in some of the writing of Purcell and Blow, originally for strings, which featured in abbreviated or arranged versions of the string parts for organ (e.g. Blow's arrangement of Purcell's *Praise the Lord, O my soul*).¹²² In Weldon's work they are idiomatically conceived for organ; often setting the emotional tone for the text before the words themselves are heard. The sheer exuberance of the opening sections of *O be joyful* (JW10) and *Rejoice in the Lord* (JW13) is sparked in each by the infectiously enthusiastic and highly florid initial organ ritornellos. Contrasted with this is the plaintive beginning of *Ponder my words* (JW15) inviting the listener into a contemplative, meditative frame of mind.

O be joyful was also set as a verse anthem by William Croft, Weldon's contemporary at the Chapel Royal. It is difficult to overtly criticise Croft's opening (see Example 3.5, below): it sets the scene in an appropriate key, the voice part picks up on the material (here the bass voice picks up on the opening bass line), but the quaver motion in the rising scales of

¹²² GB-Cfm 116.

BASS SOLO

Org. Cornet stop

O, O, be joy - - ful, be joy - - - - ful in

Example 3.5 William Croft, *O be joyful*, published in *Musica sacra* (John Walsh: London, 1724), p. 125, bb. 1-8.

the voice part against the static minims feels rather staid after the more sprightly opening. However, it simply lacks the conviction and ebullience of the Weldon setting.

Typical of Weldon's duo and trio writing is his habit of presenting each voice in turn and then combining them, either in pairs before coming together in ensemble, or as three. This not only gives each verse an internal structural integrity through repetition of material, but the variety of tessitura, key and vocal texture allows an expansive engagement with the text without resorting to mere repetition. This method of presenting each voice in turn before combination finds its roots in the verse anthems of Humphrey and was frequently espoused by Purcell, but such examples tend to work with shorter sections of material. Tudway and Croft each developed the technique a little, with perhaps one voice enjoying a brief solo before the others join in. Examples of this in Tudway's work include *Is it true that God will dwell with men?* and *Arise, shine for thy light is come*.¹²³ Croft's opening to *I will always give thanks* develops the system a little further, with slightly overlapping entries, but Weldon is often far more systematic.¹²⁴ The start of each sub-verse in the first verse of *Ponder my words* is taken by contratenor and bass in turn before their combination; In *O be joyful*, the

¹²³ GB-Lbl Harl. 7341, ff. 35r-39r; GB-Lbl Harl. 7342, ff. 74v-79r.

¹²⁴ Croft *Musica Sacra* ii. p. 12.

technique is partially developed at the opening, then more fully at "make his praise to be glorious" (bb. 17-20); in *O sing unto the Lord a new song* (JW12) each voice takes its turn at "Glory and worship" (bb. 153-159).

Further Purcellian influence may be found in Weldon's use of the ground bass. In spite of Laurie's observation that such use is scarce, there are enough examples to be worthy of comment. Weldon employs the technique to spectacular and distinctive effect in *Rejoice in the Lord* in the second verse "Praise the Lord" (bb. 25-97). Set in B minor, this strong writing is given additional impetus through the modulation of the ground to D major some 35 bars in as the text changes. The new text, "sing praises unto him", reinforces the opening clause whilst retaining continuity of purpose. This is reflected in the new key, but the retention of the shape of the ground. Elsewhere in Weldon's anthems his use of the technique is less strict. Several times in the verse "For one day in thy courts" (bb. 116-160) from *O how pleasant are thy dwellings* he repeats bass lines a couple of times, imparting a sense of structural integrity, but without fully developing the technique, perhaps best described as a pseudo-ground.¹²⁵ The solo "He ruleth with his power for ever" (bb. 158-227) from *O be joyful* uses repetitive bass lines as a strategy for cohesion, but it is not a true ground.

This use of ground bass can also be found in Weldon's secular writing. The second section of *My cruel fair one has the Art*, gives a slow triple metre chromatically descending ground, rather like that found in Purcell's "Dido's lament" from *Dido and Aeneas*, though commonplace in the period.¹²⁶ The seventh iteration is curtailed and it modulates to the relative major. The second section of *Pity ye Gods* and the opening of *Why will Clemene* is controlled in similar manner, as are the outer sections of *Peace, peace babbling* [sic] *muse*.

Returning to Weldon's setting of *O be joyful* one can observe that it once more exhibits a final cadence closing with long final tonic, with changing chords (see Example 3.6, below). All of the anthems that have this feature seem to post-date 1712. Handel's *Utrecht Te Deum* and *Jubilate* were first performed in July 1713; Donald Burrows suggests that the composition could have taken place a little earlier, possibly after hearing Purcell's settings in 1710 or 1712.¹²⁷ The *Jubilate* closes with a long tonic pedal over which are elaborated changes in chord, including a flattened seventh (see Example 3.7, below). Whether it was this

¹²⁵ This term was coined by Peter Holman in *Henry Purcell* (Oxford, 1994), p.172

¹²⁶ The similarity with "Dido's Lament" is noted in Richard Goodall, 'Eighteenth-century English secular cantatas' (PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 1989), p. 81.

¹²⁷ *BurrowsHECR*, p. 89.

353

Tr
voice of his praise to be heard, make the voice of his praise to be heard.

Ct
voice of his praise to be heard, make the voice of his praise to be heard, make the

T
voice of his praise to be heard, make the voice of his praise to be heard, make the

B
make the voice of his praise, of his praise to be heard.

359

Tr
voice of his praise to be heard, make the voice of his praise to be heard.

Ct
voice of his praise to be heard, make the voice of his praise to be heard.

T
voice of his praise to be heard, make the voice of his praise to be heard.

B
voice of his praise to be heard, make the voice of his praise to be heard.

Example 3.6: Weldon, *O be joyful* (JW10), b. 353-end.

piece, or some other by Handel, it seems likely that this is the influence that Weldon was working under in the closures to his larger choruses.

Perhaps the weakest of Weldon's verse anthems is *Let God arise* (JW18) in which, after the initial rising arpeggio, he allows several opportunities for interesting word-painting pass by in a swinging triple metre, before a brief, antiphonal "Alleluia". This last section is charming enough of itself, and the last chorus is a rare example of Weldon exploiting a choir singing across two sides, but as a whole it lacks depth.

Solo anthems

The solo verses in the verse anthems are all arias, some dramatic, others graceful and mellifluous in their melodic construction. These are contrasted with the ensemble and chorus writing. In Weldon's solo anthems contrast is given by juxtaposing a similar range of arias

with more recitative-like arioso sections that owe much to the Italian influences exerted on the theatre. For example, "Thou hast given us the victory" (bb. 79-87) from *Blessed be the Lord my strength* (JW2), based on ascending arpeggio figures in successive inversions over a tonic pedal calls to mind passages such as "What ho, thou Genius of the clime" from Purcell's *King Arthur* or "Come all ye songsters" from the same composer's setting of *The Fairy Queen* (see Examples 3.8(a) and (b)).¹²⁸ Weldon's figure is further developed though; indeed in all his solo anthems the recitative sections are really arioso movements, rather than simply vehicles for imparting text to music.

Most of the *Divine Harmony* anthems contain at least one such arioso movement. Particularly affective are those in the pathetic mood, such as the pair from *Have mercy upon me* (JW6): "Have mercy upon me" (bb. 1-13) and "Make me a clean heart" (bb. 82-109). Perhaps the finest example is found at the opening of *O God, thou hast cast us out* (JW7). As noted earlier in this chapter, this seems to have been written a little later than the other solo anthems, probably post-dating Weldon's arrival in London. Examples of this type of arioso writing in sacred music can be found in the works of composers such as Blow, for example, *Turn thee unto me O Lord*,¹²⁹ but it was more common in writing for the theatre. Although Weldon was by no means the only composer writing solo anthems, his work seems to find a particular root in the songs of Purcell. "Sweeter than Roses" gives a particularly apposite example.¹³⁰ It starts with an arioso movement with florid ornamentation. Indeed, it is difficult not to hear echoes of Purcell's setting of this song in Weldon's setting of the words "O how sweet are thy words" in *Thou art my portion* (JW4; see Example 3.9, below). The combination of the descending bass line (though Purcell's is more sophisticated) and the descending scale on the word "sweet" contribute to this effect. The songs of *Orpheus Britannicus* (in which *Sweeter than Roses* was printed) were published whilst Weldon was at New College, Oxford. In any event, Weldon most likely knew the songs from

¹²⁸ Purcell, *King Arthur* (Z.628), ed. Margaret Laurie, Purcell Society Edition, 26 (Novello: London 1971), p. 83; Purcell, *The Fairy Queen* (Z.629), ed. Bruce Wood and Andrew Pinnock, Purcell Society Edition, 12 (Stainer and Bell: London, 2009), pp. 35-37.

¹²⁹ Blow, *Turn thee unto me O Lord*, ed. Fredrick Tarrant, in *Selected verse anthems* (A-R Editions: Middleton, WI, 2009), pp. 14-21.

¹³⁰ from *Pausanias*, ed. Margaret Laurie, in Purcell Society Edition, 21 (Stainer and Bell: London, 2010), pp. 43-46.

Musical score for Purcell's "Sweeter than Roses". The score is in G minor (one flat) and common time. The vocal line (treble clef) features a melodic phrase starting on a half note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, a quarter note Bb4, and a quarter note C5. This is followed by a half note Bb4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note G4. The bass line (bass clef) consists of a half note G3, a half note F3, and a half note E3. The lyrics are "Sweet - - er than ro - - ses, or".

Example 3.9(a): Purcell, "Sweeter than Roses", *Pausanius* (Z.585a), bb. 1-2.

Musical score for Weldon's "O how sweet are thy words". The score is in G major (one sharp) and common time. The tempo is marked "Slow". The vocal line (treble clef) begins with a half note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5. This is followed by a half note B4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note G4. The bass line (bass clef) consists of a half note G3, a half note F3, and a half note E3. The lyrics are "O how _____ sweet _____ are _____ thy _____ words, _____".

Example 3.9(b): Weldon, "O how sweet are thy words", *Thou art my portion* (JW4), bb. 98-99.

the victory" from Weldon's solo anthem *Blessed by the Lord my strength*.¹³⁴ Another particular feature common to Purcell's operas, Weldon's solo anthems and also found in *Judgement of Paris* is the structural device whereby a soloist's material is repeated by the chorus. Purcell's examples are numerous, but one might cite "Come if you dare" from *King Arthur*, "Come away fellow sailors" from *Dido and Aeneas* and "Hush, no more" from *Fairy Queen* as amongst the better known.¹³⁵ Weldon follows this model at "When shall I teach thy ways unto the wicked" in *Have mercy upon my O God* and in the early (Oxford) version of *I will lift up mine eyes* ("So that the sun shall not burn thee"). Its success is replicated in *Judgement of Paris* in Juno's song, "Let ambition fire thy mind", in which verses are alternated between Juno and the chorus using the same melodic material.¹³⁶

One notable feature of Weldon's earlier writing and therefore of his solo anthems, is that of his work in the minor mode: rarely does the music stay in the minor for more than a few bars, even in works where the home key is in the minor. It is a regular trait of his music

¹³⁴ Weldon, *The Judgement of Paris*, ed. Music, p.12; Purcell, *Dido and Aeneas*, ed. Clifford Bartlett (King's Music, Wyton, 1986), p. 10.

¹³⁵ Purcell, *King Arthur* ed. Laurie, pp. 40-50; Purcell, *Dido and Aeneas*, ed. Clifford Bartlett, pp. 47-49; Purcell, *The Fairy Queen* ed. Wood and Pinnock, pp. 56-59.

¹³⁶ Weldon, *The Judgement of Paris*, ed. Music, pp. 47-48.

that the minor key is established and then the musical material is immediately repeated in the relative major. Often this is to positive effect, but in some instances it can become wearing. A more successful example can be found in *Have mercy upon me O Lord (JW6)*. Weldon remains in the minor key in the early solo passages, finally allowing the relative major to blossom after the chorus begins (b. 55), perhaps illustrating the words "turn thy face". When the solo part returns with "Make me a clean heart", the same modulation is repeated with a sinuous melody, to beautiful effect (b. 84). This effect would not be so strong had the earlier writing in the piece used the same effect. When the same modulation is repeated later in the work at "Then shall I teach" (b. 193), regrettably it starts to feel commonplace. The overwrought sequence previously commented on also serves as a counterbalance in an overall assessment of the work's quality. The anthem has much that is truly beautiful, but there are flaws in this early work.

O Lord rebuke me not (JW1) exhibits similar harmonic traits. The shift from G minor to B flat major after twelve bars is plausible enough, but the second verse repeats the effect after three bars and the third verse after five. The imprecation "Turn me, O Lord" is repeated between each section is largely in the major key, returning to the minor only for the last four (repeated) bars. This would have been a little more affective were it not for the seeming lack of tonal discipline in the other verses.

The two sections of *O praise the Lord of heaven (JW3)* written in D minor, within an overall D major setting, both find refuge in F major at the second iteration of their opening phrases. In the first section, "The Lord healeth", the minor mode does predominate (though there is slightly too much repetition to be fully successful), but in the second, "The Lord's delight", the tonality returns whence it came in only the last few bars. In that second section in D minor there is also rather a lot of repetition and over spun sequence.

Weldon's slightly later solo anthem, *O God thou hast cast us out (JW7)* shows far more control over the sequential writing. The passage from bar 35 to 41 gives a good example. Not only does Weldon provide textural variety at the start of the harmonic sequence by dropping the voice in and out, just as the descending sequence is starting to reach its limits he changes direction (b. 38). The rising sequence increases the tension and the whole passage feels far more sophisticated than earlier examples. In the verse that follows, "O remember not our old sins", he opens in A minor and the repetition of the text follows in C major (perhaps this is self-referential!). The chorus that follows has a similar pattern, condensed to two bars

between keys. Somehow though, it feels more like a controlled response to the text in this slightly later work, rather than a mere musical device to extend the use of material.

Weldon's stylistic habit of moving quickly from minor to relative major trait is more controlled in later works, but still appears from time to time. For example, the second section (bb. 33-104) of *O be joyful* starts in the relative minor of the home key, but this is sustained for just four bars before a return to D major is made. On this broader canvas though (and as a more mature composer), Weldon is able to balance the key structure rather better, with a more extended passage in B minor (bb. 72-93), approached via F#. The D minor section "O come hither" (bb. 112-146) is also more successful with well-judged sequential writing as well.

Thus far the present writer has avoided references to *The Tempest*; Margaret Laurie demonstrated half a century ago that the composer of the bulk of its text was not Purcell, but Weldon.¹³⁷ Laurie tentatively posits the first performance of this work, assuming it is by Weldon, as coming in either 1710 or 1712, noting also the possibility of between 1713 and 1720.¹³⁸ A glance at the chronology of Weldon's anthems listed above perhaps initially gives weight to a date in the later of these possibilities. It is apparent from this chronology that there was probably a drop in output in the first decade of the 1700s, most likely coinciding with productions of *The Judgement of Paris* and performances of his music for *Britain's Happiness* (first performed 22 February 1704). We can see that between about 1707/8 and 1714 he wrote in the region of fourteen large-scale anthems; just over two per year. In between 1715 and 1722 he seems to have written just five anthems, of which *Let God arise* is on a more modest scale than the earlier works: fewer than one per year. It may well be that it is in this period that *The Tempest* came to be written, leading to a drop in output for the Chapel Royal. Balanced against this though must be the scale and the Handelian nature of the choral writing in the two extant anthems of this last group, *O be joyful* and *Who can tell how oft he offendeth*, neither of which are featured in *The Tempest*. Nor is featured the sort of cadential figure noted above with treble and/or bass pedal points. Furthermore, Laurie has already noted the similarity between "Arise ye subterranean winds" in *The Tempest* and "Distracted I turn", from *Judgement of Paris*. At this point one might turn to the C minor Arioso of Neptune in *The Tempest*, "My dear, my amphritite". This exhibits similar stylistic

¹³⁷ Margaret Laurie, 'Did Purcell Set "The Tempest?"', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 90 (1963-1964), pp. 43-57.

¹³⁸ Laurie, 'Did Purcell Set "The Tempest?"', p. 51.

harmonic traits to some of Weldon's earlier work in firstly its immediate reversion to E flat major in the third bar and then the number of phrases that start in C minor and end in E flat major (see Example 3.10). This feature is not common enough through the whole work to become grating, indeed it is rather effective when it arrives at "peace and love" in "no stars again shall hurt you". Another reading of the chronology might suggest that Weldon was composing particularly fluently in the 1708-1712 period and that therefore this supports a date of either 1710 or 1712 for *The Tempest*. Sizeable though the anthems are, they do not constitute such a major body of work that a modestly scaled opera could not be undertaken as well. *The Tempest* stylistically, probably belongs in this earlier period, before the Handelian influence, and thus it can be seen as the time when Weldon was at his most active professionally. It also fits in with the continued influence of the Duke of Somerset at court (see Chapter 1, above).

Conclusions

John Weldon's church music has, until now, been primarily judged on the basis of the six solo anthems published during his lifetime and the two anthems published in Boyce's *Cathedral Music*. The six solo anthems have much to commend them, but also weaknesses in sequential and (to a lesser degree) tonal control. The seventh, *O God, thou hast cast us out* is rather more sophisticated and as such gained a place in Arnold's *Cathedral Music*. Also gaining a place in this collection was the full-with-verse anthem, *Who can tell how oft he offendeth*, again, rather less discussed than the pair of full-with-verse anthems from the Boyce collection, but without doubt the example where Weldon excels in a synthesis of Blow/Purcellian structure and Handelian harmony. The most successful of Weldon's writing, though, is found in the verse anthems. In these he conveys a wide range of emotions and develops ensemble writing techniques in systematic ways. Particularly successful are the anthems conveying joy and praise with unbounded elation. The solo and ensemble writing in these verse anthems is particularly strong, with real virtuosity required on the part of the singers. These works from the 1707/8-1712 and *c.* 1715-1722 periods, though not all fully successful, when set against Weldon's earlier solo anthem output and his full-with-verse anthems provide a more balanced view of his work than has hitherto been explored. Weldon may often have been more imitator than innovator, taking models early on from his teacher Purcell, then his contemporaries Blow and Turner and later learning about final cadences

NEPTUNE

My dear, my Am-phi - tri - te, My dear, my Am-phi-tri - te, All I

Example 3.10: Weldon, "My dear, my Amphritite", *The Tempest*, bb. 1-4.

from Handel. His writing though is none the worse for that, and at times his writing (such as the ground bass in *Rejoice in the Lord*) is highly distinctive. Taken as a whole, Weldon's sacred music presents an attractive body of work where strengths outweigh weaknesses to a considerable degree and some examples, particularly the verse anthems and the full-with-verse anthems, are highly engaging.

Chapter 4: Compositional practice: Versions and revisions

It is increasingly recognised that for repertoires, musical and literary, which were primarily circulated in manuscript rather than in print, the creative process did not necessarily have a defined end point. Rather, on the creation of a new copy, alterations and improvements might be made.¹ Amongst the sources of John Weldon's music can be found various discrepancies which seem to show that this process of continued creativity with regard to the musical text of the piece often took place. Some of this can be put down to scribal variation, but some anthems show variations that affect more seriously the detail of their musical content or their structure. In this chapter, in addition to the manuscript sources, the *Divine Harmony* (1716) print has been considered as part of this process.² It seems that all six of the anthems published in *Divine Harmony* were pre-existing compositions; publication was not the impetus behind the initial creative act (though publication may have had an impact on the decisions made by the composer in producing revisions or new versions for printing). The anthems contained in that volume existed in manuscript sources revealing an ongoing creative process for approximately two decades prior to publication. It seems that some of Weldon's works were adapted for new situations following their initial composition, allowing the earlier versions to continue in existence. However, in other cases revisions were made with previously existing material withdrawn. In this chapter particularly illuminating examples of each will be examined.

First, a note on terminology. Through the chapter the term "version" is used to categorise copies (or groups of copies) of anthems that exhibit structural differences: for example, in the inclusion or omission of a verse, without the withdrawal of previously existing material. The term "revision" is used to denote smaller melodic and harmonic changes that do not affect the overall structure, as well as to denote instances where the

¹ See in particular Chapters 3 and 4 of Rebecca Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge, 2013); see also Herissone, 'The Revision Process in William Turner's Anthem "O Praise the Lord"', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 123, No. 1 (1998), pp. 1-38; Alan Howard, "Understanding Creativity" in Herissone (ed.), *Ashgate Research Companion to Purcell* (Farnham, 2012), pp. 65-114; Harold Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-century England* (Oxford, 1993).

² *WeldonDH*.

intention is clear that material has been withdrawn from the composer's intentions for the work.

Across the twenty-five anthems by Weldon for which music is extant, there is evidence to suggest that the composer produced new versions of at least three anthems: *O Lord, rebuke me not* (**JW1**), *I will lift up mine eyes* (**JW5**) and *O praise the Lord, laud ye the name of the Lord* (**JW9**). At least one anthem was subject to major revisions: *O sing unto the Lord* (**JW12**). It seems likely that if further autographs were to come to light (autographs for only five anthems are known) that further examples of such revisions might be found. The two case studies that follow detail the different versions of *O Lord, rebuke me not* (also highlighting some of the revisions made to other anthems from the *Divine Harmony* collection prior to publication) and the revisions made to *O sing unto the Lord*.

Three versions of *O Lord, rebuke me not*

The most representative example of what has been termed "versions" is *O Lord, rebuke me not* (**JW1**). There are a large number of eighteenth-century manuscript sources of this anthem, which was also included in *Divine Harmony* (1716).³ The majority of the manuscript sources are clearly directly derived from the print; however, there are several sources that deviate from the printed version (**JW1a**), not just in matters of detail but in terms of the anthem's formal structure. These deviations are sufficiently cogent and significant to suggest different versions, rather than errors in transmission. The deviations can themselves be divided into two groups, from which the present writer has derived terms to denote the versions. The first group convey an "Oxford" version of the anthem (**JW1b**), most likely the original composition, dating from before 1700; the second group convey a "Chapel Royal" version (**JW1c**) that seems to have entered the Chapel Royal repertoire in the first decade of the eighteenth century.

³ *WeldonDH*.

The Oxford Version

The "Oxford" version of the anthem is found in six sources:⁴

- 1) US-BEm MS 173
- 2) GB-Omc MCOR1/MS1/2 (formerly Ms. 455)
- 3) GB-WRec ECR 299/ii
- 4) GB-Lbl Add. MS 30932
- 5) GB-Och Mus. 1285
- 6) GB-Cjc Chapel Ms. T. 4; Ms. T. 9; Ms. O. 12

This version is immediately recognisable by inclusion of a "Hallelujah" section, not present in either the "Chapel Royal" version or the *Divine Harmony* version. The precise form of this section varies between sources. In the first three listed sources, this section is a florid solo verse, followed by the chorus singing a single homophonic "Hallelujah" at the end (though all but the last bar of the florid section is missing in GB-WRec ECR 299/ii due to a missing page). In the fourth, GB-Och Mus. 1285, the florid "Hallelujah" is omitted and there is only the short (four-note) homophonic chorus. The manuscripts from the GB-Cjc Chapel series give the florid solo "Hallelujah" followed by a 21-bar chorus based on a bass line similar to that of the solo. As only the bass and treble parts are extant for this chorus it is difficult to determine the extent of any points of imitation. However, with the exception of one bar, on the available evidence it seems that the chorus was largely chordal. This fits uneasily with most of Weldon's other chorus work. Extensive passages of counterpoint are not common features to Weldon, but in most of his chorus work there is a degree of imitative work across the vocal parts. It therefore seems likely that this particular chorus "Hallelujah" was composed locally by someone other than Weldon. Elsewhere, these five sources themselves exhibit a level of variation that seems to indicate that some minor revisions may have taken place, though again it is not possible to be confident whether or not these were undertaken by Weldon or undertaken on his authority. Other than the additional chorus "Hallelujah" in the GB-Cjc Chapel series, the other structural conundrum centres on the status of the verse "The Lord hath heard".

The "The Lord hath heard" verse appears in four of the six sources in question; it is not present in the GB-Cjc Chapel series and it is not clear whether it was entered into GB-WRec ECR 299/ii (due to the missing page). In US-BEm MS 173 it is not part of Simon Child's (Weldon's successor at New College) main text; rather, it is a loose leaf insert (half

⁴ See Source Descriptions for further details on each source.

the height of the main manuscript with just six staves) in another hand (possibly the same as that of GB-Omc MCOR1/MS1/2). Child's score and the GB-Cjc Chapel series are strongly concordant until the insert in the Child score and in the solo "Hallelujah" section. The loose leaf insert in Child's score suggests three competing possibilities. First: Child erred in copying the anthem and specified a repetition of "Turn thee, O Lord" in place of copying out "The Lord hath heard"; this error was subsequently corrected by the insertion of the extra slip of manuscript. Second: Weldon composed this verse after the main sequence had been completed, but it was not in the source from which Child made his copy, suggesting that the revision post-dated that same source (it is, of course, possible though unlikely that Child simply decided against copying the verse). Third: the verse was composed by someone other than Weldon; the text of the anthem is indubitably enhanced by its inclusion as it provides a good reason to give thanks with an "Hallelujah". Without this verse the sense of the text moves directly from a penitential mode to one of praise without any literary link.

The style of writing in this verse is such that if the composer was not Weldon, it was someone familiar with his writing and trying to imitate it. However, this verse is not included in either the "Chapel Royal" or *Divine Harmony* versions, casting doubt on its authorship. In both the later versions it is the "Hallelujah" that is rejected, leaving only penitential material and therefore no cause for these additional words. This also makes the anthem suitable for Lent during which season it is common to avoid the word "Hallelujah". If "The Lord hath heard" is by Weldon (which is probable on stylistic grounds), it seems most likely that Child was in error in copying the anthem and omitting the verse: the verse appears in four other sources of this anthem, and the point made concerning the literary sense of the text would probably have been clear to the composer at the time of initial composition.

As stated above, GB-Och Mus. 1285 omits the florid "Hallelujah", but retains the homophonic chorus setting of this word. This manuscript seems to have been subject to later alteration by someone who had access to a copy of the *Divine Harmony* print because in places where the two versions differ, the *Divine Harmony* version has been written over the top of the original. Occasionally the original has been scraped off, but mostly the newer version is simply written on the same staff with stems pointing in opposite directions and the original scribbled out, or with rhythmic alterations made to the existing text through additional beams, dots, tails and notes. In this manuscript "The Lord hath heard" has a repeat indicated for the last eight bars, which gives it the same length and form as the "Turn thee, O Lord" that it replaces. This repetition is not indicated in any other source for this verse.

It has not been possible to date the copy of the *O Lord rebuke me not* found in GB-Lbl Add. MS 30932. This volume was assembled in the late eighteenth century by William Flackton.⁵ Although it contains some manuscripts from the late seventeenth century, it seems likely that the copy of the Weldon anthem was made at a later date. In particular it seems that revisions to the florid "Hallelujah" itself seem to have taken place during copying. For example, bar 109 of the present edition has had slight rhythmic alteration to turn straight quavers into a dotted rhythm (see Example 4.1(a)). A rather more substantive alteration is made to the characterful rhythmic figure in bb. 111-113, perhaps hinting at a more Italianate stylistic outlook (see Example 4.1(b)).

Flackton's collection (GB-Lbl Add. MS 30932) indicates this is a version that was in continued circulation after the reworking of the anthem for the Chapel Royal and after the publication of *Divine Harmony*. The alterations to GB-Och Mus. 1285 seem to indicate that this "Oxford" version was not simply in circulation but in continued use in performance. Without these alterations it might have been surmised that the later versions superseded the "Oxford" version, but their presence shows that this was not the case.

Chapel Royal version

The "Chapel Royal" version of *O Lord, rebuke me not* is distinguished by two elements: (1) the additional chorus material, comprising a repetition of the phrase "O save me for thy mercy's sake" at the end of each repetition of "Turn thee, O Lord" and (2) a choral repetition of the entire "Turn thee, O Lord" section at the close of the anthem. This version is found in the R.M.27.a series of partbooks (though not in the organ book); material in the R.M.27.b.14 lute book and R.M.27.c.8 and 15 solo and organ books indicates the continued use of this version of the anthem (as distinct from the *Divine Harmony* version; it was not superseded by this printed version) by the Chapel Royal through the eighteenth century. Most importantly, *O Lord, rebuke me not* is entered into GB-Cfm 116 (formerly 30.G.9), an organ book that belonged to John Blow, though this particular anthem is not copied in his hand: it was entered into the book by Weldon himself.⁶ This organ book is dated 1707 on p. 235; the anthem is entered on pp. 96-97, suggesting that this version was the second of the three, chronologically. This would also seem to indicate that the anthem entered the Chapel Royal repertory quite soon after Weldon's appointment as a Gentleman Extraordinary in 1701. It

⁵ Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge, 2000), p.139.

⁶ See Source Descriptions and Herissonne *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, p. 249, fn 101.

would not have been a major task for Weldon to add the chorus parts to the pre-existing material. The chorus work is not prolific; it mostly provides harmonised versions of the repetitions of the melodic material. The vocal bass line that provides a point of imitation was already present in the accompaniment of the solo version. It is curious that the solo part in GM-Lbl R.M.27.a.16 is entered in G minor whilst all other early performing material is in A minor. James Hume notes that transpositions of a tone are common across Chapel Royal performing material, with second copies of organ parts often appearing towards the end of GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.14. He suggests that these would enable performance with a lute with a lower tuning pitch or at a venue where the organ was at a higher pitch.⁷ Later performances using GB-Lbl R.M.27.c.8 seem to have transposed down a further tone to F minor. A later entry inside the back cover of GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.12 is also in F minor and is in an unidentified hand, seemingly writing in haste. It is no great surprise that this version should have persisted in use at the Chapel Royal after the *Divine Harmony* publication. After all, the country's leading choral establishment was better placed than most to provide a choir.

⁷ James Hume, 'The Chapel Royal Partbooks in Eighteenth-Century England' (PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 2013), p. 166.

"proper dress" refers to the art of gracing (or ornamentation, discussed below in Notes on Performance) as it is in this respect that parallel passages in the anthems differ most significantly. Whether Richard Elford or any other soloist at the Chapel Royal would have graced the solo part exactly as specified in *Divine Harmony* on any given occasion is, of course, a somewhat moot point.

Structural changes were also made to *I will lift up mine eyes* and in other anthems the opportunity was taken to make smaller revisions. For example, in *O Praise the Lord of heaven*, the *Divine Harmony* print shows revisions such as the opening melodic figure, changed (it would seem) to better illustrate the text (see Example 4.2, below). Other revisions point to a more free-flowing view, possibly in imitation of the Italic style popular in England at the time, for example the removal of the "walking bass" at "Great is the Lord" (see Example 4.3).

The suggestion that the anthems had been "Imperfectly Copied" seems to be a mechanism to distance the composer from the various versions already extant and to give the opportunity to make various other changes in some other anthems. After all, imperfect copying may lead to some incorrect notes and rhythms, but such whole-scale structural changes are unlikely. The preface is also, to a degree, an effort towards marketing the publication, casting doubt upon any manuscript copies in circulation and encouraging potential purchasers towards buying the definitive text.

It seems almost certain that the earliest, "Oxford" version of *O Lord, rebuke me not* remained in repertoire in various institutions regardless of the existence of the print whether or not this was Weldon's intention. The case for the "Chapel Royal" version of this anthem coexisting with the other versions is rather stronger. It is clear from the copying of the later partbooks, not only that the anthem remained in repertoire throughout the eighteenth century, after the printing of *Divine Harmony* and indeed after Weldon's death, but more importantly, that it was this specific version that remained in repertoire. *I will lift up mine eyes* was also a popular anthem that remained in circulation and use (in several cathedrals and collegiate foundations) in both an "Oxford" version and the version printed *Divine Harmony* through the eighteenth century.

US-BEm MS 173

O praise the Lord of heaven, praise him in the height,

Divine Harmony

O praise the Lord of heaven, praise him in the height,

6 4 3

Example 4.2: Weldon, *O praise the Lord of heaven* (JW3), bb. 1-4, showing a revised melody for publication.

50

US-BEm MS 173

Great, great. great is the Lord, and great is his pow'r,

Divine Harmony

Great, great. great is the Lord, and great is his pow'r,

6 6

Example 4.3: Weldon, "Great is the Lord", *O praise the Lord of heaven* (JW3), bb. 50-53, showing a revised bass line for publication.

US-BEm MS 173, GB-WRec ECR 299/ii and GB-Omc MCOR1/MS1/2	GB-Cjc Chapel series	GB-Och Ms 1285	GB-Lbl Add. MS 30932	Chapel Royal material	Divine Harmony
"O Lord rebuke me not"	"O Lord rebuke me not"	"O Lord rebuke me not"	"O Lord rebuke me not"	"O Lord rebuke me not"	"O Lord rebuke me not"
"Turn thee, O Lord"	"Turn thee, O Lord"	"Turn thee, O Lord"	"Turn thee, O Lord"	"Turn thee, O Lord" [4-bar repeat given to Chorus]	"Turn thee, O Lord"
"Have mercy upon me, O Lord"	"Have mercy upon me, O Lord"	"Have mercy upon me, O Lord"	"Have mercy upon me, O Lord"	"Have mercy upon me, O Lord"	"Have mercy upon me, O Lord"
"Turn thee, O Lord"	"Turn thee, O Lord"	"Turn thee, O Lord"	"Turn thee, O Lord"	"Turn thee, O Lord" [4-bar repeat given to Chorus]	"Turn thee, O Lord"
"My soul also is sore troubled"	"My soul also is sore troubled "	"My soul also is sore troubled "	"My soul also is sore troubled "	"My soul also is sore troubled "	"My soul also is sore troubled "
"The Lord hath heard" [probably omitted in GB-WRec ECR 299/ii]	"Turn thee, O Lord"	"The Lord hath heard"		"Turn thee, O Lord"	"Turn thee, O Lord"
					Chorus: "Amen"
				Chorus: "Turn thee, O Lord"	
"Hallelujah"	"Hallelujah"				
	Chorus: extended "Hallelujah"				
Chorus: brief "Hallelujah"		Chorus: brief "Hallelujah"			

Table 4.1: Varied structures of *O Lord, rebuke me not* (JW1).

An anthem revised: *O sing unto the Lord*

The verse anthem, *O sing unto the Lord* (**JW12**), survives in two sources, both scores. The first is now housed in the British Library, GB-Lbl Add. MS 41847. Within this guardbook are bound together three manuscripts in Weldon's handwriting. *O sing unto the Lord* is dated and signed by the composer (see Illustration 4.1, below). The second source, US-Cn Case MS 7A/2, is in the hand of John Gostling (for a description of both manuscripts, see Source Descriptions).

The autograph source

The anthem following *O sing unto the Lord* in GB-Lbl Add. MS 41847, taking up ff. 20r-25r (originally pp. 231-241), is Weldon's setting of *Rejoice in the Lord* (**JW13**) also holograph, as noted above. There is a close proximity between the date on the manuscript of *O sing unto the Lord*, 9 January 1708, and the known date of performance of the *Rejoice in the Lord*, 17 February 1708.⁹ Arms of Amsterdam watermarks are found in the paper of both anthems: *O sing unto the Lord* on ff. 10, 13, 15, and 16, and *Rejoice in the Lord* on ff. 18, 21, and 23, however these are not identical: the second features a rather narrower central trio of St Andrew's crosses. The paper of the second anthem is ruled with fourteen staves per page, but the paper of the first anthem is ruled with twelve staves per page. In *Rejoice in the Lord*, Weldon specifies "M^r. Lay" on the first page (f. 20r), "M^r Elford" on the next (f. 20v) and "M^r Waly" on the fourth (f. 21v).¹⁰ *O sing unto the Lord* has staves labelled "M^r L", "M^r E" and "M^r W" (f. 9r); it seems likely that these initials refer to the same singers. Furthermore one solo is ascribed to "M^r Elford" (f. 11r), though this is written over at a later date with "Vers:". On the evidence of the singers named and the dates noted above, it seems that the anthems were composed at a fairly close remove. However, the codicological evidence does not offer any evidence as to whether or not they were composed consecutively.

O sing unto the Lord bears considerable evidence of revision, with various crossings-out and insertions. The structure of the document goes some way towards aiding the understanding of these revisions. *O sing unto the Lord* covers five bifolia. In addition, a single leaf of paper giving two pages of music was added between the first and the second folios. The rastrum seems to be the same on this sheet and the bifolia; but there is no

⁹ *Word1712*.

¹⁰ See Chapter 2, above, for George Laye, Richard Elford and Samuel Weel(e)y.

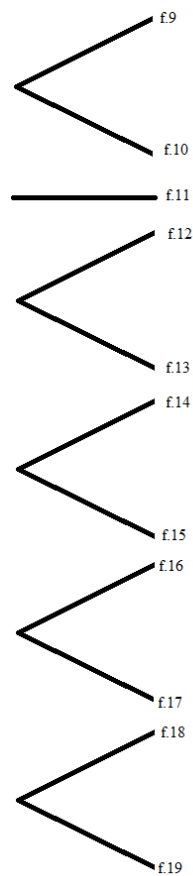


Figure 4.1: The page structure of GB-Lbl Add. MS 41847, ff. 9-19 (containing *O sing unto the Lord*, JW12).

Three separate pens (here labelled as Pens A, B, C) and a pencil are present: Pen A is the most prevalent and is used for the main text of both words and music as well as the date and signature at the end. It appears as a fairly dark brown. Pen B is thicker and darker than Pen A. Most of the work is applied to the single leaf insert (f.11). In Illustration 4.2, below, it can be seen that it was used to cross through an organ ritornello. This pen was also used to supply a 3i time signature to the second system and to write over "M^r Elford" the word "Vers:". The two crosses appearing on the reverse of the page seem (tentatively) to be in this pen (see Illustration 4.3, below). These could indicate a possible cut from bars 83 to 92, though this would be a rather clumsy endeavour for little gain if the aim is to shorten performance. It is perhaps more likely that they are in Pen A – some crosses appear on the first page of this inserted folio (f. 11) as well – their function is not known; perhaps they indicate some sort of ornament (a backfall, perhaps, though unlikely), or perhaps it is as



Illustration 4.2: GB-Lbl Add. MS 41847, f. 11r (detail): The start of the replacement second verse of Weldon, *O sing unto the Lord* (JW12).

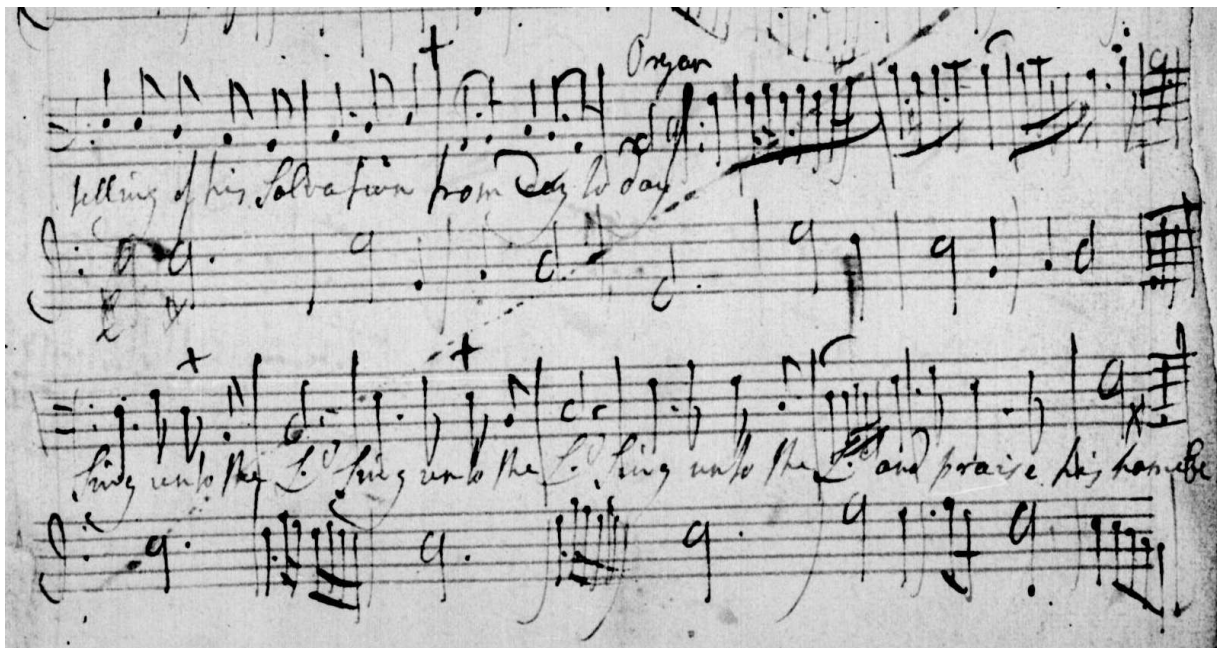


Illustration 4.3: GB-Lbl Add. MS 41847, f. 11r (detail): Crosses of unknown function in Weldon, *O sing unto the Lord* (JW12).

simple as the writer clearing his nib. This thicker pen may be the same one used for the first 8 pages of *O be joyful* (JW10; f. 1r-8v).

Although there is but one word of four letters in this sample of Pen B, the shape of the capital V is notable and the rest of the word is consistent with appearances on f. 9r, f. 18v and on f. 23 of this manuscript, indicating that it was Weldon himself using the pen and not a later hand. Comparisons of this word on these pages can be made in Illustration 4.4. The same pen (B) appears to have been used to clarify the last note of the treble part on f. 10v, which has been the subject of a minor alteration: there is a small hole in the page at this point, probably made by over-zealous scraping to remove previously entered ink. It also gives the somewhat unusual semiquaver readings in the organ part of bars 16 and 18. Pen B also appears on f. 14v indicating a repeat mark (presumably of the last vocal phrase as interpreted in the edition (bb. 145-148). No further markings from this pen have been identified.

Pen C uses a light brown ink and a fairly thick nib. It is used to cross out the earlier setting of "Sing unto the Lord" and the setting of "As for all the Gods of the heathen", given in Appendix A and B of this edition respectively. This is done with one large cross per system, thus enabling the music underneath to still be read, perhaps indicating that Weldon envisaged re-using the material at a later date. The ink of the large cross was still wet as the single folio (f. 11) was inserted between f. 10 and f. 12; there is considerable smudging onto opposite pages (see Illustration 4.5, below).

The smudging indicates that the single folio must have been inserted prior to the crossing out of its replacement verse. It is most likely that the crossing out of the later verse ("As for all the Gods") took place at the same time. Pen C is of a similar thickness to Pen B and it is tempting to assume they are one and the same with the difference in colour intensity given by the swiftness of the action. However, it seems that they were not used at the same time as there is no ink smudging from the top of f. 11r to the top of f. 10v. Thus it might be surmised that the organ ritornello at the start of the verse, "Sing unto the Lord", was removed at a later point.

The pencil in Add. MS 41847 is found in just three bars. At the end of f. 11v Weldon's hand becomes increasingly cramped as he endeavoured to complete the verse on a single double-sided page of manuscript. The first chord of the pencilled bar can be seen at the end of f. 11v in a handwritten extension to the pre-prepared stave; the rest of this bar can be made out underneath the current binding. This material matches the first of the pencilled bars. A further pencil note next to these bars reads "(? JW Windsors pencil)". This note was probably added by Ralph Griffin (1854-1941), who in his typewritten notes of 1929 bound at the front of the guardbook, identifies various remarks in the hand of J. W. Windsor, a former

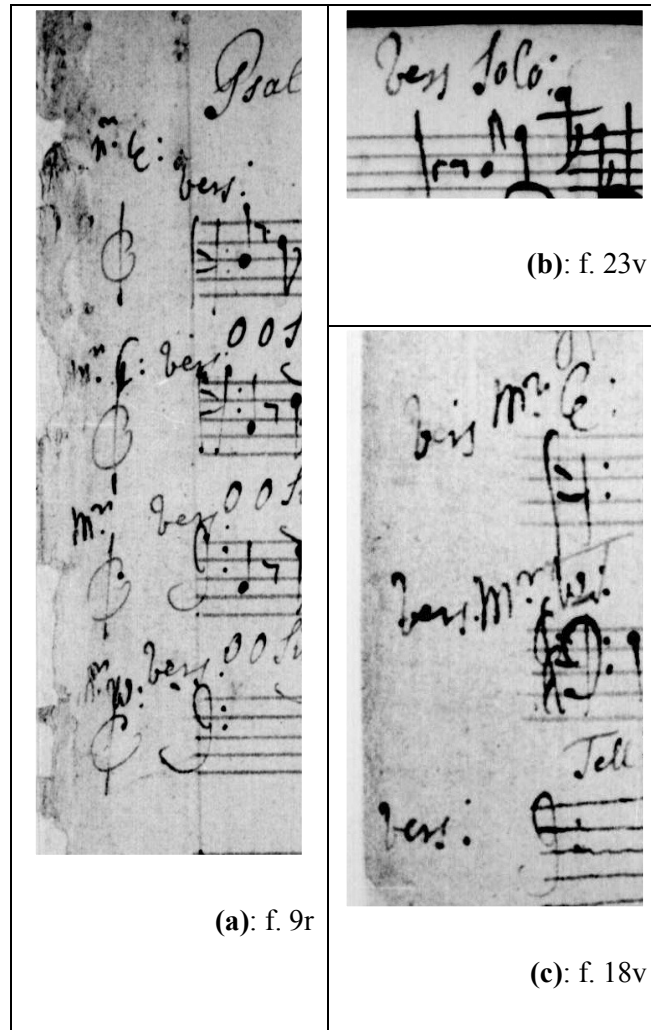
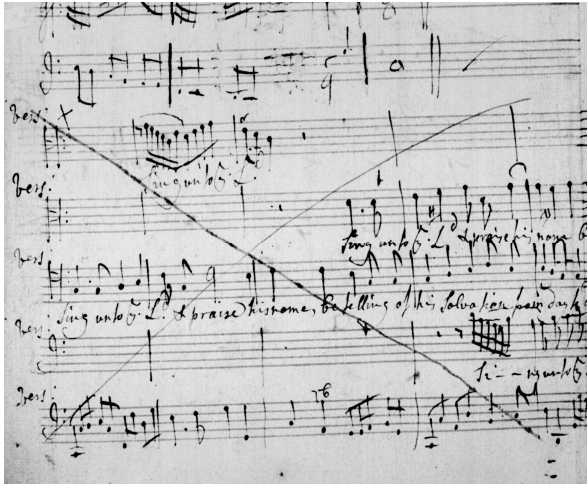


Illustration 4.4: GB-Lbl Add. MS 41847: Examples of the word "Vers".

owner of the manuscript.¹¹ It is clear that Windsor's completion (or whoever it was) was conjectural as it does not match the end of this ritornello as found in the John Gostling's copy, US-Cn Case MS 7A/2, to which we now turn.

¹¹ Ralph Griffin, *Note on the provenance* (1929); for Griffin, see Alec Hyatt King, *Some British Collectors of Music, c. 1600-1960* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 83.



(a)



(b)

Illustration 4.5: GB-Lbl Add. MS 41847 (details): the lower parts of (a) f. 10v and (b) f. 11r . The cross on the left page has smudged onto the facing page.

The copy in Gostling's "second scorebook"

US-Cn Case MS 7A/2 is in the hand of John Gostling; it is suitably described as Gostling's "second scorebook" by Robert Shay and Robert Thompson.¹² There are features in this manuscript that make it clear that Gostling had access to both Weldon's manuscript and performing material, probably that associated with the Chapel Royal. The most telling of these features occurs on p. 118. The passage in question is the ritornello at the end of the first chorus, bb. 29-33 of the present edition. In the autograph score it is clear that this passage was subject to some revision, particularly in the placement of the barlines. The paper is thinned where the ink has been scraped off and the new bar lines are thicker, drawn with pen B. It is also clear where Weldon has repaired the damage done to the intervening staves which deviate from their straight horizontal lines. The original version of this passage can be found in US-Cn Case MS 7A/2, shown in parallel with the GB-Lbl Add. MS 41847 reading in Example 4.4 (below). However, in Gostling's manuscript this passage is crossed out with the note "left out in y^e organ part". It is clear from the aforementioned changes to this passage in the autograph manuscript that this passage did not satisfy Weldon. However Gostling's note tells us that this dissatisfaction led to its omission from the performing material. Its presence in Gostling's copy and the note suggest both that Gostling had access to Weldon's autograph score before the alteration was made and also that he had access to the Chapel Royal performing material.

¹² Shay and Robert, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources*, p. 65.

Example 4.4: Weldon, *O sing unto the Lord* (JW12), bb. 28-33: a revision.

Gostling's copy does not contain the crossed-out verse setting of "Sing unto the Lord". The crossed-out organ ritornello leads straight into the contratenor solo setting of these words, on the same system. This indicates that Gostling had access to Weldon's score only after this revision had been made. Furthermore, Gostling does not enter the crossed-out organ ritornello shown in Illustration 4.2, above. In Gostling's score the crossing-out is continued in a heavy fashion to include the first solo phrase and subsequent organ ritornello (bb. 34-52 of the present edition; see Illustration 4.6, below). This may indicate that this passage was also either omitted or erased in the Chapel Royal performing material.

It is not possible to firmly establish the date of the changes represented by Pens B and C in GB-Lbl Add. MS 41847, but they must post-date an initial gathering of the manuscript as the five bifolia are consecutively numbered in Pen A. The exclusion of the folio insert from this numbering seems to indicate that it took place before the second verse was recomposed. It seems likely that this solo, triple metre, version of the second verse was made without the original score to hand, otherwise Weldon himself could have easily adopted Windor's solution of using the two unused staves on the next page when running out of space in the final ritornello. However, it seems that the gap between the composition of the five quartos and the single leaf was not all that great as the single leaf seems to be in the same pen and ink and (as noted above), may be on the same paper (exhibiting the same chain lines pattern of 24mm distance and same rastrum pattern of size and spacing). It is likely that the removal of the original attempt at the second verse and the removal of "As for all the Gods" happened simultaneously (crossed-through by Pen C) and that this happened as the triple metre version of the second verse was inserted: the patterns of the smudge marks indicate that this was done quickly and the score reassembled without waiting for the ink to dry. Furthermore, the fifth verse of this setting of Psalm 96 does not appear in the 1712 wordbook

of the Chapel Royal indicating that these changes took place between 1707 and 1712.¹³ There is little doubt that the anthem in question is the one referred to in the wordbook: It is clearly attributed to "Mr. *Weldon*" and no other anthem by Weldon of this text is known. The wordbook also confirms the reprise of the first verse.

The minor alterations with Pen B require a little more untangling. If the revisions were done immediately after the recomposition of the second verse but prior to its insertion, then the marks of Pen B on later folios could not have been made – as already discussed, the two parts of the document were probably separated at the time this new setting was written. Pen B and Pen C must also have been used at different times as there is no smudging on the opposite page of alterations made in Pen B. Pen B seems to be used by Weldon – the handwriting of "Vers" establishes this. It is difficult to establish the chronological distance between the use of the different pens, but the key piece of evidence is the name overwritten by "Vers" in Pen B. Richard Elford died in October 1714; prior to his death he held a double place at the Chapel Royal and therefore would almost always have sung this solo. In making the alteration to remove the organ ritornello, Weldon seemingly noticed Elford's name below and wrote over it, though he did not go through the manuscript systematically to revise other instances of Elford's name (or indeed those of any of the other performers). It seems that these slight revisions of post-1714 were made for a particular performance of the anthem. This is suggested by the additional semiquavers in bars 16 and 18 and the additional repeat mark: perhaps the semiquavers are hints towards a cellist or a lutenist, or a means of giving further organ support to the singers. Either way, they are unusual features and again clarification from a partbook would have been welcomed.

On balance of the evidence, it would seem that initial composition took place by 9 January 1707/8. The fifth verse was removed and the second recomposed by 1712. The organ ritornello at the start of the second verse was removed after 1714, when the anthem took on its final form. Gostling's copy would seem to post-date this change and have been made directly from Weldon's score, but then been adapted subsequently to take into account Chapel Royal performing material.

¹³ *Word1712*, p. 80.

Handwritten musical score for Illustration 4.6 (a). The score consists of five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "all all all of whole earth." The second staff is an organ part with lyrics: "who. Earth" and "left out in of organ part". The third staff has lyrics: "all of whole Earth". The fourth staff has lyrics: "all all all of whole Earth". The fifth staff is a bass line. The score is written in a cursive, handwritten style with various musical notations including notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Illustration 4.6 (a)

Handwritten musical score for Illustration 4.6 (b). The score consists of three systems of staves. The first system has two staves, the second has two staves, and the third has two staves. The score is heavily crossed out with dense, overlapping black lines, obscuring much of the original notation. Some lyrics are visible: "Sing me to of 20 & praise". The word "Organ" is written above the second system. The score is written in a cursive, handwritten style.

Illustration 4.6 (b)

Illustration 4.6: US-Cn Case MS 7A/2, pp. 118 (Illustration 4.6 (a)) and 119 (Illustration 4.6 (b)), details, showing differing grades of crossing-out.

Conclusions

Extensive and multi-layered revisions of the type exhibited in *O sing unto the Lord* do not seem to be common in Weldon's work, though without a full collection of authorial holographs (or even a wide selection of other copies) it is impossible to be certain. However, in some of the anthems printed in *Divine Harmony* changes are made to the structure. As other (manuscript) copies (notably in the Chapel Royal) seem to have continued to enjoy authorial endorsement through performance, these changes can be classified as different versions. In one anthem, not discussed as yet, there can be little doubt that there are two separate versions. *O praise the Lord, laud ye the Name*, is found in three sources: US-BEm Ms. 173, GB-WRec ECR 299/ii and the GB-Lbl R.M.27 partbooks. The first two sources convey a different version of this anthem to the third; the two versions share little in common beyond the musical material on which the opening verse is based. It seems likely that in this particular instance, Weldon recomposed the anthem for the Chapel Royal, perhaps without a copy of the original to hand. In doing so he did not so much tinker with melodic or harmonic details, as restart the creative process again using similar musical material. It is curious though that it is the Windsor and New College copies are strongly concordant, as one would expect transmission to have been via the Chapel Royal.

The habit of post-Restoration composers Purcell and Blow of continuing the creative process in the years following initial composition is well-documented. This habit seems to have been continued by the next generation of Chapel Royal composers, Weldon and Croft. Though Croft's verse and full anthems for use at the Chapel Royal have not yet been subjected to full scholarly analysis, evidence of this continuing process can be found in (not least) his D major *Te Deum* and *Jubilate*.¹⁴

Having considered the status of some of the different version and revisions, we now turn to the Source Descriptions and finally the editions themselves.

¹⁴ See Donald Burrows' introduction to *Canticles and Anthems with Orchestra* ed. Donald Burrows, *Musica Britannica* 91 (Stainer and Bell: London, 2011); also Alan Howard, "Constructing Croft", *Early Music*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (2013), pp. 344-347.

Chapter 5: Accompanimental practice after 1711

The aim of this chapter is to consider the use of the organ, cello and lute in accompanying the singers of the Chapel Royal in Weldon's anthems, in particular comparing the manuscript music with what they most likely played. Before considering the manuscripts and their evidence in detail, let us consider the circumstance surrounding the building up of the instrumental ensemble and the instruments themselves.

Building the ensemble

In cathedrals and colleges outside the Chapel Royal the only accompanimental instrument regularly used in worship was the organ.¹ Within the Chapel Royal matters were changing during the period of Weldon's tenure (Gentleman Extraordinary from 1701, Organist from 1708; see Chapter 1, above). Queen Mary had given an order on 23 February 1689 banning instruments from the Royal Chapel.² The order of William III in 1691 that "King's Chappell shall be all the year through kept both morning and evening with solemn musick like a collegiate church" suggests removing the strings of Purcell and Blow's famous Symphony anthem compositions from regular usage,³ leaving the organ as the sole accompanimental instrument. However, part-way through the first decade of the eighteenth century an addition was made to the accompanimental ensemble. On 7 March 1706/7 there was a warrant appointing John Shore (c. 1662-1752), as lutenist in the Chapel Royal.⁴ The order noted that Shore "hath for some time duely performed upon y^e Lute in Our Royall Chappells at St. James's and Windsor without any Consideration for ye same".⁵ The amount of time would seem to be over a year, given that Shore had travelled on the summer excursion to Windsor in 1705.⁶ The money for his fee of £41. 10. 0. was found by reallocating that paid to the Closet

¹ *SpinkRCM*, p. 97.

² GB-LPro RG8/110, ff. 24r-25v; Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 136, fn 14.

³ *HolmanFTF*, pp. 413-414.

⁴ For John Shore, see Don Smithers and Edward Tarr, 'Shore, John', *GMO* (last accessed 15 January 2014); Watkins Shaw, 'Shore, John', *ODNB* (last accessed 15 January 2014), *BDECM*, ii. pp. 1003-1005; *BDA*, xvi. pp. 365-366.

⁵ *RECM*, v. p. 99.

⁶ *RECM*, ii. pp. 84-85.

Keeper "... beginning at 1 April 1706."⁷ Six years later, a bass string player, Francis Goodsens (d. 1741), was appointed.⁸ On 8 March 1711/12 there was a warrant appointing Francis Goodsens to play upon the bass violin in the Chapel Royal, noting "he hath in consort with y^e Organ performed upon y^e Base Violin in Our Royall Chapells to Our satisfaction; fee of £40 a year, from 1 October 1711."⁹ Although there is more than half a decade's gap between the appointments, the implication of the warrant is that the bass string player had already been accustomed, for at least a short period of time, to playing with the Chapel Royal. Goodsens also held a place in the Private Musick from later that same month.¹⁰ The period that Goodsens had been playing is unlikely to have been many months, as he does not appear on the lists of travelling charges for 1711 (see Table 5.1, below).

Weldon, Shore and Goodsens are linked further, for on 8 August 1715, when Weldon was appointed as "second Composer in Ordinary",¹¹ the other two Gentlemen had their status further confirmed:¹²

...vizt a second Composer in Ordinary, which place m^f John Welden was sworn & admitted into.
 A Lutanist which place M^f John Shore was sworn & admitted into.
 A Violist which Place m^f Francisco Goodsens was sworne & admitted into.
 All these Three were sworn & admitted into their Respective places by me
 J Dolben Subdean. Witness Daniel Williams

Whilst all three had been active in the Chapel Royal for some time, John Dolben (1684-1756; Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal 1713-1718), the Sub-Dean, had been appointed in April 1713.¹³ There is a sense of completing forgotten or delayed administrative matters. The linking of these three names in the Old Cheque Book could be construed as adding weight to the practice of using organ, lute and a bass string instrument together on a regular basis:

⁷ *RECM*, v. p. 99.

⁸ For Goodsens, see *BDECM*, i. pp. 495-496; *BDA* vi. pp. 266-267; Lowell Lindgren, "Italian Violoncellists and Some Violoncello Solos Published in Eighteenth-Century Britain," in David Wyn Jones (ed.), *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot, 2000), p. 138.

⁹ *RECM*, v. p. 102.

¹⁰ *BDECM*, i. p. 495.

¹¹ *CBCR*, i. p. 51.

¹² *CBCR*, i. p. 51.

¹³ For John Dolben, see Donald Burrows, "Sir John Dolben, Musical Patron", *The Musical Times*, Vol. 120, No. 1631 (1979), pp. 65-67; Idem, "Sir John Dolben's Music Collection", *The Musical Times*, Vol. 120, No. 1632 (1979), pp. 149-151; "Sir John Dolben", *The Musical Times*, Vol. 120, No. 1634 (1979), p. 292. *BDECM*, i. pp. 347-349.

Year	John Shore (drawn from <i>BDECM</i> , ii. p. 1004)	Francis Goodsens (drawn from <i>BDECM</i> , i. p. 495)	Master of the Children (Blow in 1705-1708 (<i>RECM</i> , ii. pp. 85, 89, 95); Croft from 1709 (<i>BDECM</i> , i. p. 320))
1705	118	n/a	118
1706	127	n/a	127
1707	105	n/a	105
1708	95	n/a	95
1709	126	n/a	126
1711	122	n/a	122
1712	143	129	143
1713	199	178	199
1716	97	97	97
1717	120	120	120
1718	76	76	76
1724	51	51	51

Table 5.1: Number of days' attendance by Shore, Goodsens and the Master of the Children on Royal summer excursions from the start of Shore's attendance to the death of Croft.

perhaps they were viewed as particularly suited to Weldon's music, especially for the accompaniment of his solo anthems and the better realisation of ritornellos. The lists of travelling charges (see Table 5.1, above) reveal that by 1709 John Shore, the lutenist, was in attendance on every occasion that the Chapel met on the royal summer excursions,¹⁴ whilst in Goodsens was not in full attendance for his first two years.¹⁵ This slight disparity in attendance, with the lutenist permanently on hand, but the bass string player omitted for a few days (with no evidence for a deputy) may suggest that the lutenist was initially regarded as more important the bass string player. On the other hand the reason may be as prosaic as periods of illness to Goodsens.

Instrumentation

Before examining the evidence of the partbooks, consideration must first be given to the limitations imposed by and the opportunities given by the instruments themselves and, indeed, what type of instrument provided the string bass sonority.

¹⁴ *BDECM*, ii. p. 1004.

¹⁵ *BDECM*, i. p. 495.

1) *The organ(s)*

During Weldon's lifetime the scope of the organs being built changed drastically. Thomas Tudway discusses this in his preface to a volume of music compiled for Lord Harley in 1720:¹⁶

And as Organs have been infinitely improv'd, since 50 or 60 years, by additional Stops... Besides those Stops, properly call'd Organical, our Modern Artists, have invented Stops, which imitate the Cornet, Trumpet, flute, Vox humane, Ecchos, Bassones, Violins &c...

Given this development it is inevitable that playing style, particularly where the organ is closer to the foreground of the texture, varied, not just from place to place, but over time as well. Furthermore, given a wider registrational palette available to organists, it is reasonable to assume that they used the wider variety of tone colours. As we have seen in Chapter 2, the Chapel Royal was, to an extent, a peripatetic group. During the period under consideration, the choir sang at St James's Palace, but Weldon also travelled with the court to Hampton Court and Windsor. It would be as well, therefore to consider the organs in all three buildings. In the first few months of Queen Anne's reign an instrument, built by Bernard Smith (c. 1630-1708), was taken to Windsor and St James's Palace as needed, to accommodate the new Queen's removal of the Chapel Royal establishment to St James's. The evidence for this comes in 1711, after the death of the builder:¹⁷

To Mrs. Stockwell, Adm[inistrati]x of Bernard Smith, late organ builder, in y^e Abby at Bath when Her Majesty was there in y^e year 1702, and for ye use of an Organ at Windsor at St. James's Chappell y^e same year: £100. 0s. 0d.

This was clearly a temporary measure, for a "new small organ for St. James's" was ordered on 2 July 1703.¹⁸ Smith, often known as "Father Smith", had been organ maker to the crown since 1681.¹⁹

An organ for Windsor was built at around about the same time, as recorded by the inspection of the two instruments in July 1704:²⁰

¹⁶ Thomas Tudway, preface to GB-Lbl Harl. 7342, transcr. Ian Spink in *SpinkRCM*, p. 448.

¹⁷ *RECM*, ii. p. 148.

¹⁸ *RECM*, ii. p. 76.

¹⁹ For Bernard Smith, see Andrew Freeman (1926), updated John Rowntree (1977), *Father Smith* (Oxford, 1977), which remains the best overall guide to Smith's work in spite of recent discoveries; see also, Nicholas Thistlethwaite, "Rediscovering 'Father' Smith", *The Musical Times*, Vol. 128, No. 1733 (1987), pp. 401-404; Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 123-151.

Same dated [23 July] Windsor to Treasurer Godolphin to pay 3180*l.* to Bernard Smith for organs by him set up in the Royal Chapels at Whitehall, St. James's and Windsor : it being certified by Dr. Ralph Battle, Sub-dean of the Chapel Royal, Peter Hume and Dr. John Blow, our principal organist, that they have carefully viewed and considered the said organs and compared them as well with those made by other artists as with several made by said Smith and sold to other persons and that they value the organ at Whitehall at 1500*l.* that at Windsor at 990*l.* and that at St. James's (when completed by putting in the trumpet stop and that called Cremona and the pipes gilt) at 690*l.*

It is not clear whether the organ at Windsor stood in St George's Chapel or a separate private chapel. Donald Burrows argues for the former, suggesting that St George's Chapel may have housed two organs, one the Royal organ, the other for the Dean and Chapter. He cites evidence that in 1717 (when the organ was removed), the Dean and Chapter were required to repair (and substantially rebuild) their own instrument.²¹ However, Keri Dexter has argued that the organ was in a separate private chapel used by Charles II, remarkably similar in size to the (pre-1702) Royal Chapel at Whitehall and that the inspection report, quoted above, refers to the "*royal*" chapel specifically.²² The confusion is exacerbated by the Lord Chamberlain's letter to Bernard Smith, of 10 August 1702 (my italics).²³

Her Majesty having signify'd her pleasure to me, it [that] an Organ should be provided for *St. George's Chappell* at Windsor. These are therefore to require [you] with all convenient speed to provide & set up an Organ there Accordingly.

Though there is some disagreement over where this organ stood, that it now stands in St Mary's, Finedon, seems to be fairly clear.²⁴

Initially the "organ at St. James's [was] incapable of containing the Trumpet stop".²⁵ A reduction of £100 was made on the £690 suggested by the inspection committee, partly for this reason and also because the "gilding and painting" was completed "at her Majesty's

²⁰ William A. Shaw, *Calendar 1669-1718*, xix. on <http://www.british-history.ac.uk> (last accessed 15 January 2014). The "Whitehall" organ is that of the Banqueting house, a much larger instrument. The Windsor organ is discussed below.

²¹ Burrows, "Sir John Dolben, Musical Patron", p. 66.

²² Keri Dexter, *A good Quire of voices* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 133-4.

²³ *RECM*, ii. p. 74

²⁴ First suggested by Burrows in "Sir John Dolben, Musical Patron" (cited above), recognising that "the central pipe carries a royal coat of arms in the form used by Queen Anne before the Act of Union with Scotland in 1707". I am grateful to Dominic Gwynne for sharing with me a pre-publication copy of his forthcoming monograph *The 1704? Bernard Smith? Organ At St Mary Finedon, Northamptonshire* in which he gives further evidence pointing to this instrument being the instrument from Windsor.

²⁵ Shaw, *Calendar*, xxi. on <http://www.british-history.ac.uk> (last accessed 15 January 2014).

charge in the Office of her Works".²⁶ On Smith's death in February 1707/8, his post as Organ Builder to the court was passed to Christopher Shrider (c. 1680-1751) (sometimes Schrider or Schreider), usually considered to be Smith's foreman and son-in-law.²⁷ It seems likely that either Smith or Shrider rectified the lack of the Trumpet stop, inserting a short compass stop, starting at c'.²⁸ Although the organ book we are most concerned with in this chapter (R.M.27.a.13) does not specify any registration markings (beyond "Loud Organ" and occasionally "Soft Organ"), it does contain Weldon's second version of *O praise the Lord, laud ye the name of the Lord* (**JW9b**). Although much of the anthem is effectively recomposed,²⁹ the opening verse in particular shares much material with the earlier Oxford version (**JW9a**), where it is specified as "An Anthem for 2 voices wth a Trumpett". Weldon's organ at New College (though not in good repair), built by Robert Dallam (1602-1665) in c. 1663, had a trumpet stop,³⁰ but it seems more likely that the version of the anthem for New College was written with natural trumpet in mind, given the pitches used. However, it seems likely that in the Chapel Royal version these sections were played as an organ ritornello. Furthermore, it is likely that the anthem was only included in the collection because it could be idiomatically played on the instruments used by that institution: it is notable that in the Chapel Royal version the ritornellos do not go below c' (the lowest note on the trumpet stop at on the organ at St James's Palace. We might safely presume that this stop was in place by 1712 (the likely last date of the organ book).

Hampton Court lacked its own organ since Queen Mary had the instrument removed to the Roman Catholic Chapel in Whitehall in 1691.³¹ This instrument was subsequently destroyed in the fire of 4 January 1698.³² Christopher Schrider built a new instrument for £800, paid in two instalments. The first instalment was ordered to be paid on 25 April 1711,

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, p. 152. For Christopher Schrider, see *ibid.*, pp. 151-154;

²⁸ *BurrowsHECR*, p. 511, fn 30.

²⁹ See Critical Commentary.

³⁰ Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, pp. 110-113; Paul Hale, "Music and Musicians" in J. Buxton and P. Williams (eds.), *New College, Oxford, 1379-1979* (Oxford, 1979), p. 270.

³¹ Freeman, updated Rowntree, *Father Smith*, p. 203.

³² Robert O. Bucholz and Joseph P. Ward, *London: A Social and Cultural History, 1550-1750* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 153.

for £322. 10s. 0d.;³³ the second ordered on 12 Sept for £537. 10s. 0d.³⁴ The discrepancy in the totals arises in payments "for fees".³⁵ These seem likely to be the fees allowed to various officers for the disbursement of money (see Chapter 2, above).

The three instruments reveal a striking level of similarity in their specifications (see Table 5.2, below). All have a full chorus, including Twelfth, with a full compass Sesquialtera (a mixture stop including a Tierce rank) on the Great organ, with a smaller Chaire organ of four stops. The two earlier organs both have a reed stop on the Chaire organ as well as accompanimental stops. It is possible therefore, that the later Schrider organ originally included a Cremona as the pipework for the Fifteenth on the Chaire organ of the Hampton Court instrument is lost, supposedly replaced by that of William Hill.³⁶ Any speculation that the Echo organ in the Windsor instrument might have been an addition on its removal to Finedon, is set aside by the difference in valuations of the Windsor and St James's Palace organs noted above. The compass of the St James's Palace organ is notable. Whilst modern organs' manuals generally reach down to C (at nominal 8' pitch), many early eighteenth-century organs had compasses of G, A, C, D-c''' on their primary choruses.³⁷ It seems that the tightness of space at St James's Palace meant that the largest pipes for the lowest notes were omitted. It is possible that a smaller scale of the pipework for the lower notes led to the introduction of the bass string instrument discussed below. Smith's organs were, however, generally known as being bolder in tone than his chief rival, Renuus Harris (c. 1652-1724), though acceptance of this as fact must be with a great deal of caution.³⁸ The high pitch of the organ seems to have been a matter of habit for Smith,³⁹ rather than a means of saving space (though it may have helped a little in this regard). The provision of a Trumpet from only middle C upwards was possibly more of a boon in this small organ than a full compass stop

³³ William Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books, Volume 26: 1712* on <http://www.british-history.ac.uk> (last accessed 15 January 2014).

³⁴ William Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books, Volume 28: 1714* on <http://www.british-history.ac.uk> (last accessed 15 January 2014).

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ James Boeringer, *Organa Britannica: Organs in Great Britain 1660-1860*, 3 vols. (London, 1989), ii. pp. 275-276.

³⁷ Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, p. 172.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 129. The whole chapter of this book, "The Glorious Revolution 1660-1715" is an excellent introduction to organs of the period and the relative qualities of Harris and Smith.

³⁹ Smith's rival, Harris generally pitched his organs lower, at about a'=428. Dominic Gwynn, "Organ Pitch in Seventeenth Century England", *Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies*, Vol. 9 (1985), pp. 65-78.

as it enabled that stop to be accompanied on the same manual. The Windsor Castle instrument further reveals its luxury in the five-rank Cornet. This compound solo stop would have needed the addition of the Stopped Diapason and Nason in its three-rank cousin on the later Hampton Court instrument to provide its lower two ranks.

2) *The bass string instrument*

There is disagreement between Donald Burrows and Peter Holman concerning whether the instrument used by Goodsens was a bass viol or a cello; Burrows suggesting the former, Holman arguing strongly for the latter.⁴⁰ In the context of accompanimental practice it is worth reviewing the evidence thus far brought to light. Both the bass viol and the cello were in use in London at the time. In 1721 and 1725 the "Great and small Viol used in the Chappell" were repaired,⁴¹ but in 1734/5 the "Violist" was paid for a "Case to Violincello".⁴² Burrows suggests that this change in language indicates that "a changeover from viol to cello may have taken place during the 1720s."⁴³ Such a changeover could have been attributed to the appointment of Maurice Greene (1696-1755) as organist in 1727. This would provide a relatively short period of sixteen years between the introduction of the viol back into use at the Chapel Royal and the changeover to use of the cello. However, Holman points out that the relevant player, Goodsens, was described in his appointment warrant to the Chapel Royal as "having performed upon the Base Violin"⁴⁴ in 1711 and the part book (GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.10) that he presumably used is still in an eighteenth century binding, stamped "VIOLONCELLO / CHAPEL ROYAL".⁴⁵ Holman suggests that the term "viol" was used as a vernacular form of violoncello and that the references to the viol in 1717, 1721, 1728 and 1742 are really talking about the member of the violin family.⁴⁶ This latter reference is particularly important as it reaches well after Burrow's suggested period of transition and yet the term "viol" is still used. The same is true of the 1735 payment to Goodsens for a "Case to Violoncello".

⁴⁰ Burrows *HECR*, p. 475; Peter Holman, *Life After Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge, 2010), p. 98.

⁴¹ GB-Lpro LC5/158, pp. 17, 387.

⁴² GB-Lpro LC5/159 p. 12.

⁴³ Burrows *HECR*, p. 475.

⁴⁴ *RECM*, v. p. 102; Holman, *Life After Death*, p. 98.

⁴⁵ James Hume, 'The Chapel Royal Partbooks in Eighteenth-Century England' (PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 2013), p. 44.

⁴⁶ Holman, *Life After Death*, p. 98.

Venue	Chapel Royal, St James's Palace ⁴⁷	St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle ⁴⁸	Chapel Royal, Hampton Court ⁴⁹
Builder/date of instrument	Bernard Smith 1703-7	Bernard Smith 1703-1704	Christopher Shrider 1711 (variously given as 1710 and 1712)
Pitch	a' c. 474 ⁵⁰	a' c. 450 ⁵¹	a' c. 442 ⁵²
Great	C-c" Open Diapason [8'] Stopped Diapason [8'] Principal [4'] Twelfth [2 ² / ₃ '] Fifteenth [2'] Sesquialtera III Trumpet [8'] from c'	C, A, D-c" ⁵³ Open Diapason [8'] Stopped Diapason [8'] Principal [4'] Twelfth [2 ² / ₃ '] Fifteenth [2'] Sesquialtera IV Cornet V Trumpet [8']	[unknown] Open Diapason [8'] Stopped Diapason [8'] Principal [4'] Nason [4'] Twelfth [2 ² / ₃ '] Fifteenth [2'] Sesquialtera III Cornet III Trumpet [8']
Chaire	C-c" Stopped Diapason [8'] Principal [4'] Flute [4'] Cremona [8']	C, A, D-c" Stopped Diapason [8'] Principal [4'] Fifteenth [2'] Cremona [8']	[unknown] Stopped Diapason [8'] Principal [4'] Flute [4'] Fifteenth [2'] [or possibly Cremona, 8']
Echo		c'-c" Open Diapason [8'] Principal [4'] Cornet [V?] Trumpet [8']	

Table 5.2: Three organs in Royal Chapels on which Weldon accompanied the choir of the Chapel Royal.

⁴⁷ Specification from *BurrowsHECR*, p.513

⁴⁸ This organ now stands in St. Mary the Virgin, Finedon.

⁴⁹ Derived from Boeringer *Organa Britannica*, ii. pp. 275-276. Boeringer gives the 1844 Hill specification, with comments on how it related to the previous instrument. The compass is not known.

⁵⁰ Alexander Ellis and Arthur Mendel, *Studies in the History of Musical Pitch* (Amsterdam, 1968) p. 37. The organ was examined by Alexander Ellis in 1880.

⁵¹ Burrows gives the current pitch of the instrument as "about a quarter of a tone sharp to a' 440", noting "the large pipes in the case front (the lowest of which is C) do not seem to have been altered dramatically. *BurrowsHECR*, p. 514, fn 42.

⁵² Haynes *A History of Performing Pitch: The Story of 'A'*. Haynes attributes this organ to Smith in 1690, but the instrument in question is the c. 1711 Schrider organ.

⁵³ This pitch description indicates that the lowest three notes of the keyboard play C, A, and D respectively, rather than C, C#, D. Confirmed by Dominic Gwynne in *The 1704? Bernard Smith? Organ At St Mary Finedon, Northamptonshire* [unpublished].

Furthermore an order in 1726 concerning the "Lutenist & Base Violin's" attendance comes in only the year after the 1725 repairs to the "Great and small Viol", again suggesting that "viol" is being used as a shorthand for violoncello. For Holman, most crucial (in relation to performance practice at the Chapel Royal in the years after Goodsens' appointment) is Johann Mattheson's 1713 observation that the Chapel Royal choir was accompanied by "the organ and sometimes a violoncello or Theorbo".⁵⁴ One additional piece of evidence may be added by the present author: in the travelling charges of 1712, Goodsens is listed as "M^r Fran^o Goodsens, viol^m" (see Illustration 5.1, below).⁵⁵ It is easy to see how the superscript "^m" could be omitted from time to time. Whilst a glimmer of doubt remains concerning the type of instrument used, the balance of probability seems to swing in favour of the cello.

The 1725 repairs to the "Great and small Viol" and 1727 repairs to the "Double Bass and Bass Violin used in the Chapple" raise the question of how many instruments played and at which octave. There was only one cellist available, Goodsens, so why might the Chapel Royal need two instruments? Burrows suggest that the "ever-versatile" John Shore, the lutenist, may have sometimes have played one of these instruments in place of playing the lute.⁵⁶ To this suggestion, two other explanations (not necessarily mutually exclusive) might be added. First, the Chapel Royal, whilst generally based at St James Palace, spent extended periods in Hampton Court and Windsor. It is possible that a larger instrument was used at St James, but a smaller instrument was used when travelling for ease of transport (though it seems counter-intuitive that a smaller cello might be used at the slightly lower pitch of the Hampton Court organ). Second, is that the performance of Handel's music after his appointment on 25 February 1722/3, notably the performance of his orchestral anthems,⁵⁷ required the double bass.⁵⁸ All three suggestions could coexist: if the subtle sonority of the lute was considered obsolete in the larger ensemble and John Shore was not required to play the trumpet, he could have played the double bass.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Quoted in Holman, *Life After Death*, p. 99; Mattheson also refers to St Paul's Cathedral, but this would most likely be when the Chapel Royal was in attendance there.

⁵⁵ *RECM*, ii. p. 115.

⁵⁶ *BurrowsHECR*, p. 475.

⁵⁷ Listed in *BurrowsHECR*, p. 182-183.

⁵⁸ *BurrowsHECR*, p. 185.

⁵⁹ Handel's anthems from the 1720s require strings, including violas and oboe, with bassoon and/or flute sometimes also added.

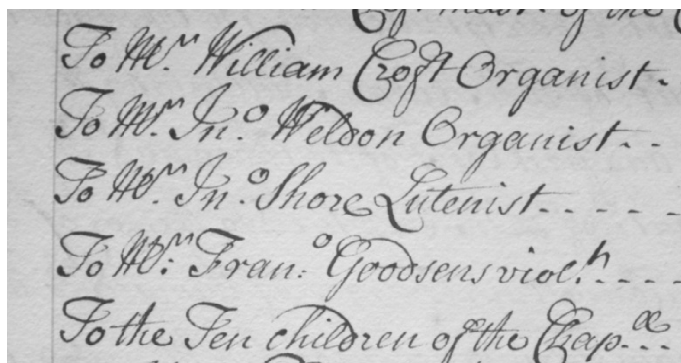


Illustration 5.1: GB-Lpro 5/155, f. 131r (detail).

As regards the question of the octave of the string instrument, there is no suggestion of a pre-1722 introduction of the double bass into the Chapel Royal. It seems most likely that rather than providing alternative instruments (one for Whitehall, one for travelling), a single instrument was employed. As we have seen, this is most likely a cello and therefore would have played at the notated pitch, rather than an octave lower. Further support to this position is given in Illustration 5.2 (below): the instrument seen just to the left of the Chaire organ case is closer in size to a cello than a double bass in relation to its player.

In Example 5.1, below, it can be seen that the cello and lute parts are allied with the tenor and upper bass parts successively, but no indication of this is given through changes of clef, such as are found in later repertoire. The implication that this is a partbook to be played at notated pitch is reinforced – it would give a very unusual effect to have these parts played at a lower octave and then abandoned in favour of the next. John Church (c. 1675-1740/1), the main copyist of the Chapel Royal does not avoid using a c3 clef elsewhere (for example in *O praise the Lord, ye that fear him* (JW16), b. 226), but this seems to be more closely allied with a desire to avoid multiple ledger lines than a suggestion that these are cued notes. Presumably, given Weldon's association with performance using these partbooks as well as as composer, this was with his approval.

Tuning the cello to the sharp pitch of the organ at St James would not have been a major problem for Goodsens, but in any event it may be that an instrument was reserved at this high pitch for use in the Chapel. Various references to repairs to an instrument specifically for the chapel have been noted above. The payment for a "new Base to accompany the Organ"⁶⁰, on 27 June 1718, further suggests this – the instrument was built to match the organ, rather than using a generic instrument. Perhaps Goodsens had previously

⁶⁰ GB-Lpro LC5/157, p. 134.

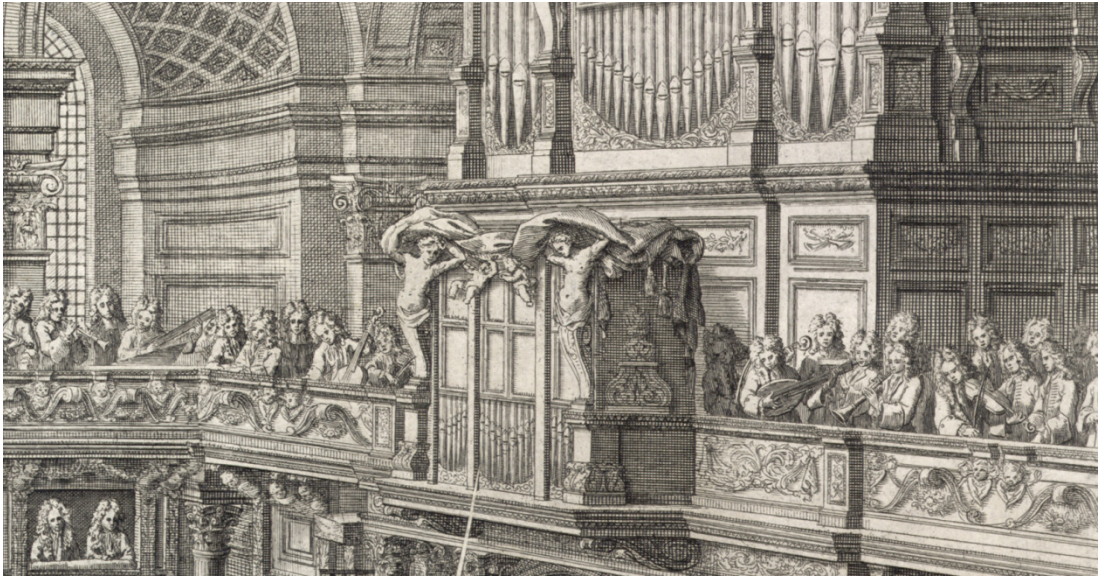


Illustration 5.2: Robert Trevitt, "A prospect of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, on the General Thanksgiving the 31st of Decemr. 1706", GB-Lg 68694 (detail).

used a single cello for his work in Chapel and the Private Musick and had found the changes in pitch problematic for the maintenance of the instrument.

3) *The lute*

As we have seen, John Shore was admitted as the Chapel Royal's lutenist from 1 April 1706, appearing in the Travelling Charges from the year before.⁶¹ He had been a royal trumpeter since 1688, and may have been a member of the royal violins for a time.⁶² He was the last regular official lutenist to play regularly for the royal establishment.⁶³ After his death in 1752, it seems that the court position was retained in name only.⁶⁴ The instrument played was probably quite a large one as depicted in a St Paul's Cathedral thanksgiving service of 1706 (probably depicting Shore himself as the Chapel Royal attended such thanksgivings).

⁶¹ *BDECM*, ii. pp. 1003-1005.

⁶² *Ibid.*; *RECM*, ii. pp. 19, 85.

⁶³ Matthew Spring, *The Lute in Britain: a History of the Instrument and its Music* (Oxford, 2001). p. 407.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

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Let all the earth, let all the earth fear the Lord,

Let all the earth, all, all, all, all the earth fear the Lord,

Let all the earth, all, all the earth fear the Lord,

Let all the earth, all, all the earth fear the Lord,

Let all the earth fear the Lord,

Cello

Lute

Example 5.1: Weldon, *Rejoice in the Lord* (JW13), bb. 233-238: The start of the final chorus: chorus parts, cello and lute. The clefs used are as in the sources (see Critical Commentary for sources).

On the basis of the measurements of James Talbot (1664-1708),⁶⁵ Matthew Spring identified Shore's instrument as an archlute.⁶⁶ The total length of the instrument was just under 6 feet with the length of the bass strings at 60 inches and the open length of the strings on the fingerboard 27 inches long.⁶⁷ Although Spring suggests that Shore's lute had 12 courses, all doubled except the top, Michael Prynne transcribes Talbot's manuscript giving these pitches: G₂, A₂, C₂, D₂, E₂, F₂, / GG, cc, ff, aa, d'd', g',⁶⁸ implying that the bottom six bass strings were not doubled, the following five courses were doubled and the top string was not doubled.

⁶⁵ For more on James Talbot, see in particular Robert Unwin, "An English Writer on Music: James Talbot 1664-1708", *The Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. 40 (1987), pp. 53-72; Anthony Baines and Darryl Martin, "Talbot, James", *GMO* (last accessed 3 February 2014).

⁶⁶ Matthew Spring, *The lute in Britain* (Oxford, 2001), p. 407; Michael Prynne, "James Talbot's Manuscript", *The Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. 14 (1961), p. 60.

⁶⁷ Robert Spencer "Chitarrone, Theorbo and Archlute", *Early Music*, Vol. 4 No. 4 (1976), p. 417.

⁶⁸ Prynne, "James Talbot's Manuscript", p. 60.

Use of the partbooks

In examining the Chapel Royal partbooks for evidence of accompanimental practice it is important to recognise that Weldon's own practical experience of performing his anthems may have differed from his conception when composing the anthems. It has been argued, in Chapter 2, above, that the solo anthems, or at least the majority of them, were composed when Weldon was organist at New College. At least two of the verse anthems (most likely more) fall within the period that post-dates the appointment of the lutenist, but predates that of the bass string player: *O sing unto the Lord* (**JW12**) and *Rejoice in the Lord* (**JW13**) (see Chapters 2 and 4, above). However there is no evidence that any of Weldon's composition was intended for use only outside the Chapel Royal. It is clear that he imported some of his pre-existing work into the Chapel Royal repertoire and it would seem that some of his compositions for the Chapel Royal spread to other institutions. As a consequence it is clear that different accompanimental solutions were sought for the same repertoire.

As regards the anthems of Weldon, most of them appear in both the lute and cello partbooks, indicating that for this repertory in the 1710s, Shore would have played the lute and Goodsens the cello. The lute partbook is in staff notation, with figures. A couple of the anthems are replicated in later instrumental partbooks (*O Lord, rebuke me not* (**JW1c**) and *Ponder my words* (**JW15**)) but this need not indicate a change in performance practice for other anthems. Rather, it more likely indicates that these anthems continued to be performed in the Chapel, whilst others perhaps dropped out of the repertoire.

The instrumental partbooks studied here are GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.10, GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.12 and GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.13. All three were copied by John Church.⁶⁹ Together they contain all the material necessary for the instrumental accompaniment of seven of Weldon's verse anthems (see Source Descriptions). In addition, GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.13 contains the organ accompaniments for Weldon's *Sanctus* (**JW26**) and *Gloria* (**JW27**) in E \flat , *Hear my crying, O God* (**JW19**) and *In thee, O Lord* (**JW20**). As well as strong circumstantial evidence that Weldon himself used the books as Organist of the Chapel Royal, it is possible to tentatively identify his handwriting, giving further *aides memoires* in the form of "Loud Organ" and "L^d organ" instructions on the copy made by Church.

⁶⁹ Margaret Laurie, 'The Chapel Royal Part-Books' in *Music and Bibliography: Essays in honour of Alec Hyatt King*, ed. O. Neighbour (London, 1980), p. 33; Hume, 'The Chapel Royal Partbooks'.

As can be seen in Illustrations 5.3(a) and 5.3(b) (below), Weldon has a florid start to his majuscule "L". This is replicated in Illustrations 5.3(g) and 5.3(h), both drawn from *O praise the Lord, ye that fear him* (JW16) as found in Church's organ book (GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.13, f. 31r). Based on this limited sample it is possible to conjecture that Weldon used this book and annotated when necessary. See Source Descriptions (A Note on the Handwriting of John Weldon) for further analysis of Weldon's hand.

Clearly the partbooks were used for performance, but a further important use of the books was for rehearsal. Although little is known about rehearsal (see Chapter 2, above), there are features in the partbooks which seem primarily aimed at facilitating the preparation of performance, as well as aimed at the performance itself. For example, in the lute and cello partbooks, information is included by the copyist (sometimes supplemented by another hand) giving details of whether the proceeding section of music is to be chorus, verse (including the number of voices), solo or organ (ritornello). In the organ part the text of the singer(s) at the starts of new sections is nearly always given, though this is rare in the lute and cello parts. With no bar numbers, rehearsal numbers or rehearsal letters in the manuscripts, these features would have been invaluable in identifying rehearsal points.

For sacred music to be published in score was rare in this period. Weldon's colleague, Croft, wrote in his preface to *Musica Sacra* (1724):⁷⁰

This being the first Essay of publishing *Church-Musick* in *England*, after the Manner of Printing, wherein this Performance is done, it may not be improper to take Notice of some of the Advantages that may accrue to the *Science* in General from this Method of Publishing the same, as also the Benefit and Ease that *Performers* in this Way may receive, in Order to their Improvement in *Musick*, by having it laid before them in a complete and correct Score;

The standard *modus operandi* in the early part of the eighteenth century was to rehearse and perform from partbooks rather than scores; it seems that Croft had a particular desire to publish in score borne of the less satisfactory experience of performing and rehearsing from partbooks.

In rehearsal it is vital that at least one person is able to assess the current level of success in order to be able to improve performance. During Weldon's time at the Chapel Royal, the person most likely to have been in this role was William Croft, as he was both

⁷⁰ William Croft, *Musica Sacra* (John Walsh: London, 1724), p. i. Croft does note the publication of Purcell's *Te Deum*: "Mr. Purcel's *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* were printed in *Score*, but in a Manner quite different from that of the following Performance"; in any event this piece might be more thought of as ceremonial music, rather than church music *per se*.

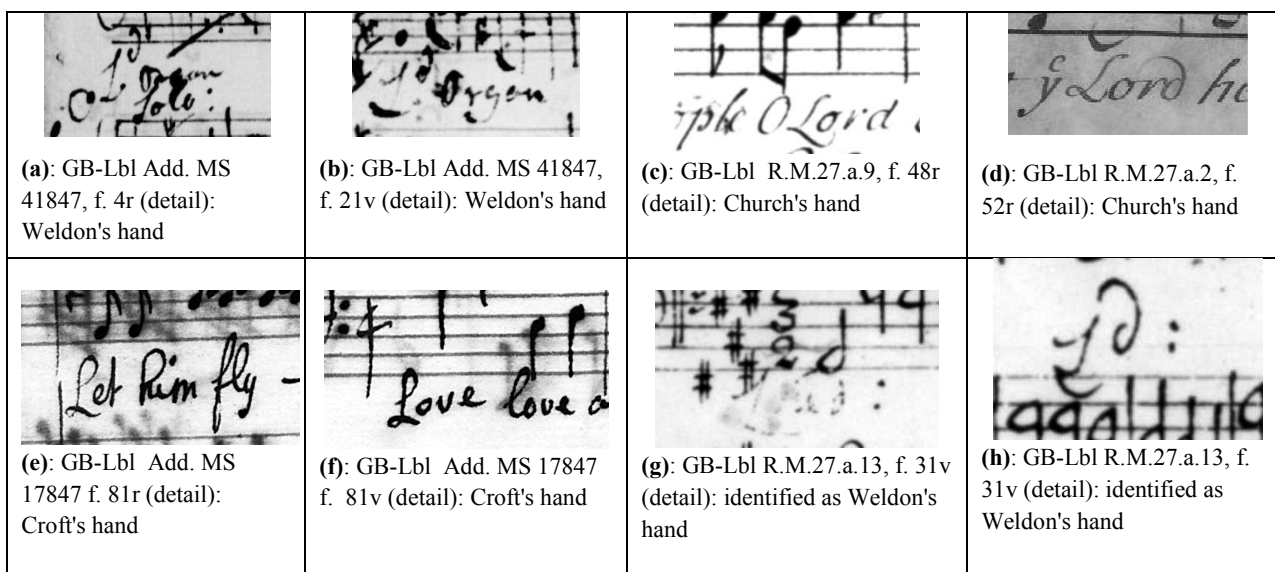


Illustration 5.3: Majuscule letter "L"s in the hands of Weldon, Croft and Church.

Organist and Master of the Children; the children would have required more rehearsal generally than the adults. It is not unreasonable to assume that Croft probably performed less of Weldon's music than did Weldon himself. Weldon also most likely supervised some rehearsals (particularly, one might conjecture, of the virtuosic verse sections allocated to adult singers). The additional information (the extra words) in the organ book is presumably there because the organist took charge of the rehearsal and needed to identify restart points. Therefore the rehearsal information was there for the benefit of Weldon himself. Care is taken in the lute and cello partbooks to identify the precise placing of changes between (for example) verse and chorus sections. Where this is not made immediately obvious by a double bar, a line is drawn showing the exact note on which it starts, for example in Illustration 5.4(a). Where Church has omitted these markings, often they have been added in later, sometimes just with a shorthand cross to indicate a change (see Illustration 5.4(b)).

Bearing in mind the dual function (rehearsal and performance) of the partbooks, attention is now given to the books themselves and the indications they give for performance. Rebecca Herissone's 2006 monograph, *'To Fill, Forbear, or Adorne': the Organ Accompaniment of Restoration Sacred Music*, challenges musicologists, editors and performers to consider, in relation to the sources, accompanimental practices of the period. Using examples primarily from the Restoration anthems of Humfrey, Blow, Purcell, Turner, Rogers and Locke, Herissone compares organ partbooks with contemporaneous full scores (as opposed to scores produced editorially from partbooks), concentrating primarily on

"whether or not vocal parts doubled in the organ part above the bass line should be played".⁷¹ The music is divided into different vocal textures and an approach devised for each one based on the relationship of the organ partbook(s) with the full score(s). The conclusions reached differ slightly for each vocal texture. They do not differ between genres, except to note that some vocal textures are more prevalent in some genres than others. For a full choral texture, an organ part of three to four voice is recommended. This should double at least the upper and lower voice parts consistently, though with melodic lines simplified. This is suggested in the extant organ books through both melodic notation and through figuring as "some passages of figuring, indeed, reproduce entire melodic lines from the vocal parts"⁷². The evidence of simplification of the vocal parts and octave transpositions of vocal doublings to bring passages within the compass of a hand span is offered, suggesting that the organ partbooks for these sections were not descriptive of the choral parts, but rather prescriptive of that which the organist should play. In an ensemble verse texture (a texture with two or more voices), a similar approach is suggested. The accompaniment of solo voices through doubling is recognised as "contentious".⁷³ Herissone suggests that the part was generally doubled, but with notes improvised above the solo part (especially when the voice part is low) to allow for a consistent right hand tessitura, but with doubling abandoned when the voice was particularly close to the organ bass part. A worked example is given from Purcell's 'The way of God' showing how this might be achieved.⁷⁴

The examples given in Herissone's monograph, of course, belong to the generation of composers and performers before that of John Weldon and his contemporaries. As she observes, "a good many [pieces in GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.13-15, Chapel Royal organ books] ... suggest a new approach to realization: figuring is much denser and often creates an almost complete harmonic framework for the player; figures often duplicate voice parts in the right hand, making the notated parts largely superfluous."⁷⁵ Let us consider then the extent to which "new approach" might apply to the music of Weldon. An additional dimension to be considered is the roles of the cello and lute; how the three instruments interacted both with each other and also with the singers after the ensemble was completed in 1711.

⁷¹ HerissoneFFA, p. 111.

⁷² HerissoneFFA, p. 112.

⁷³ HerissoneFFA, p. 113.

⁷⁴ HerissoneFFA, p. 66.

⁷⁵ HerissoneFFA, p. 73.

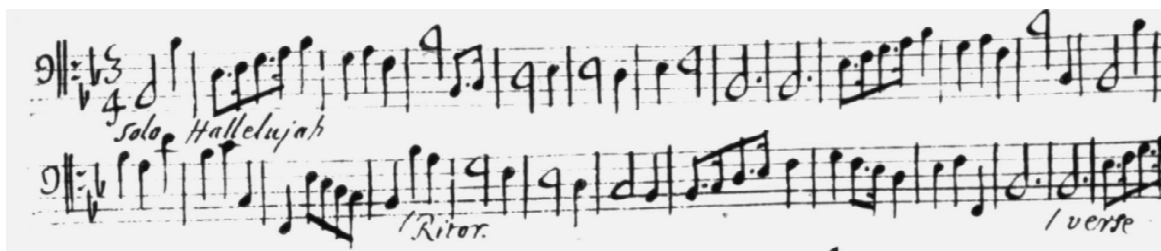


Illustration 5.4(a): GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.10, p. 105 (detail): markings showing change of scoring in cello partbook.

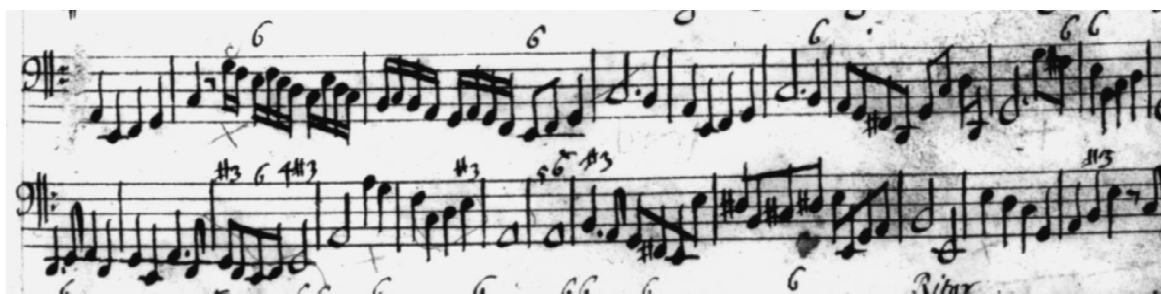


Illustration 5.4(b): GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.12, p. 183 (detail): a pencilled "verse" marking in the fourth bar of the extract (below the staff) shows where the voice part begins; crosses indicating a change of voicing in lute partbook.

Much of Weldon's sacred music seems to have been performed by, indeed often written for, the Chapel Royal. It seems axiomatic therefore to examine the Chapel Royal performing material with which Weldon would have been intimately familiar as an organist and with which the other members of the Chapel would have been familiar as a case study of accompanimental practice. This gives a body of nine anthems to consider,⁷⁶ of which only one appears in *Divine Harmony* (*O Lord, rebuke me not*), and this in a different version (see Chapter 4, above). Of course, the set of partbooks is incomplete and in this set there are no full scores with which to compare organ parts. It is therefore not possible to follow the exact same methodology as that undertaken in Herissone's study. However, it is possible to supply vocal parts from other sources to provide an editorial score in most cases, and one of the anthems is in score (a fowle original) in the hand of Weldon, *Rejoice in the Lord*.⁷⁷ As the parts themselves were most likely drawn from a score in the first place, this methodology retains validity. A further link is made in the autograph score of *Rejoice in the Lord* in so much as the names and initials given indicate an intention for performance by the Chapel

⁷⁶ These are *O Lord, rebuke me not* (JW1c), *Praise the Lord ye servants* (JW14), *O praise the Lord, laud ye the name of the Lord* (JW9b), *Rejoice in the Lord* (JW13), *Ponder my words* (JW15), *O praise the Lord, ye that fear him* (JW16), *The King shall rejoice* (JW17), *Hear my crying, O God* (JW19) and *In thee, O Lord* (JW20).

⁷⁷ GB-Lbl Add. MS 41847.

Royal singers. Taken together these documents provide a substantial body of music to consider, covering all of the different vocal textures for which Weldon composed.⁷⁸ Nonetheless care must be taken not to provide a circular argument in the case of the organ books, by using scores that have been completed editorially using material only found in the organ book and not in any further source. Examples from those pieces can be used though, when the material is not derived from an editorial completion, for example in some of the solo contratenor verses.

The cello accompaniment

The cello partbook, GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.10, is closely concordant with the bass lines given in the organ and lute books. The only brief passage of rhythmic disagreement comes in bars 35-50 of *O praise the Lord ye that fear him* (**JW16**). It seems most likely that Church, the copyist, was working from a full score and for a few bars copied the verse bass part (something of an aid to the editor of this piece in this particular instance, as that partbook is missing and there is no other source). The parts can certainly be used together. An interesting case arises in *Rejoice in the Lord* (**JW13**).⁷⁹ This has detailed pencil figures throughout the piece, a feature peculiar not only to Weldon's anthems in this volume, but to the entire volume (see Illustration 5.5, below).

This raises the fascinating possibility of the cellist actually realising the harmony as well as playing the bass line, rather in the manner of practice in some centres later in the century.⁸⁰ The brisk nature of most the music makes this rather problematic in this piece and the lack of other examples also suggest that it is unlikely. It is more plausible that the book was borrowed (or shared) for a particular performance by either a lutenist or an organist. The latter would have been hampered considerably by the absence of ritornellos for the right hand, making the lutenist the most likely candidate to borrow the book.

⁷⁸ See Source Descriptions for further details of the partbooks and autograph score.

⁷⁹ GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.10, pp. 98-99.

⁸⁰ See Valerie Walden *One hundred years of violoncello: a history of technique and performance practice, 1740-1840* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 257-269.

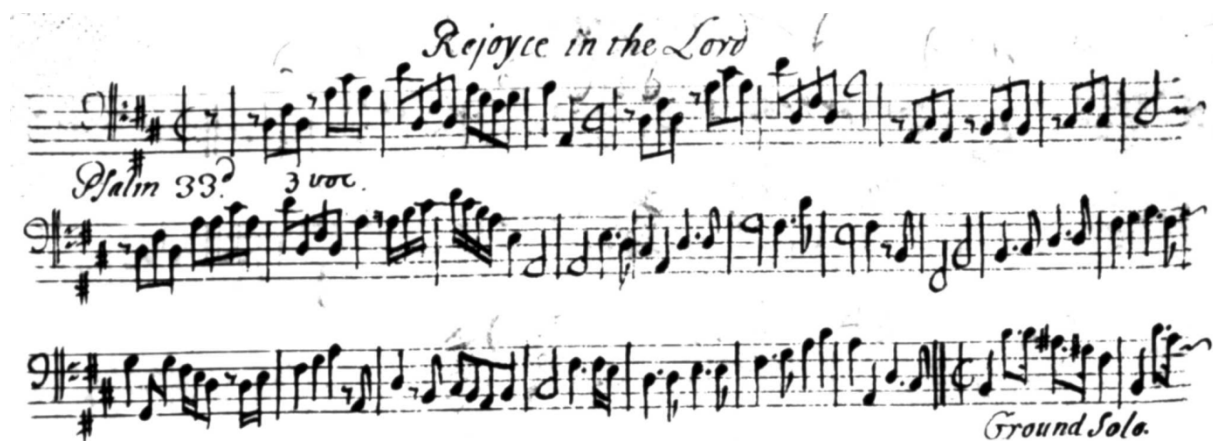


Illustration 5.5: GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.10, p. 98 (detail): Chapel Royal cello partbook with later figuring.

With regard to the central question posed by Herissone, there can be little doubt that the cellist, Goodsens, played the part as notated, including all of the permutations of verse, solo, organ ritornello and chorus. Other than the figured bass considered above, the part book gives no reason to suggest otherwise. Goodsens' occasional absences (as noted above) may have meant the occasional omission of the part, but this would not have seriously undermined the integrity of the music. *Hear my crying, O God* (JW19) and *In thee, O Lord* (JW20) are notable by their omission from this partbook (and also the lute partbook). Their cases will be considered below.

The lute accompaniment

The lute partbook (GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.12) contains material for all the anthems of Weldon that appear in the cello part book considered above, including *Rejoyce in the Lord*.⁸¹ Again, *In thee O Lord* and *Hear my crying, O God* are omitted. As with the cello book, the bass line displays a remarkable concordance with the organ bass line. Some implications about how the lutenist, Shore, realised his bass line can be derived from the part itself. This can be derived from examples where figures are omitted, are more fully stated than in the organ part or where they imply a richer harmonic extension.

First of all, let us consider chorus writing. With the exception of the two full-with-verse anthems omitted from this partbook, Weldon's chorus writing is not extensive in the

⁸¹ See Source Descriptions.

selection of anthems under consideration. It is largely homorhythmic. Example 5.2, below, shows the last thirteen bars of *O praise the Lord, laud ye the name of the Lord (JW9b)* in score as found in the Chapel Royal partbooks. With the bass line played by both cellist and organist and sung by the chorus basses, it is not strictly necessary for the lutenist to reinforce this line. However, there is no indication to the contrary and in all probability the lutenist would have included these bass notes and harmonised chords above it.

It is immediately obvious in the first bar of Example 5.2 that the figures in the lute part (4 3) conflict with the Tenor part, whilst similar figuring (in both organ and lute) in bars 268 and 272 conflict with the upper part of the organ (and therefore, presumably the treble) and the tenor respectively. Taken in isolation, the lute part at these points gives perfectly normal, common cadences, as do the voice parts. Together, they provide an enrichment and piquancy to the harmony. Many of the other figures are fairly superfluous; one would expect to play a first inversion chord over an e in C major, for example, but the habit seems to have been towards fuller figuring in the lute part than in the organ. Of note in b. 267 is the figuring that outlines the treble part. This is not strictly necessary to a satisfactory realisation, but is describing the upper part for the lutenist.

We turn now to the texture of an ensemble verse section. The verse "Be glad, O ye righteous" (beginning at b. 131) from *Rejoice in the Lord (JW13)*, like the opening of that piece, features an organ ritornello followed by short phrases of what might, in this accompanimental context, be properly considered as solo verses. However, the parts subsequently come together to form an ensemble. Bars 176 onwards show a confluence of features of note (Example 5.3, below). In bar 177, the figuring in the lute part is not descriptive of the vocal parts. It either assumes a very slowly spread chord, which seems unlikely given the context, or a deliberate clash between the chord played by the lute and the singers. This is, admittedly, swiftly resolved, but again it adds a certain piquancy to the harmony and adds to the notion that this lute part describes the bass line and harmonies that the lutenist should play, rather using the figures to simply describe what is happening in the vocal parts. Of course, it cannot be ruled out that having heard the dissonance in rehearsal the lutenist would have noted the dissonance and altered their part to include the suspension on subsequent attempts and in performance (without necessarily going to the trouble of marking the change). Once again, in bar 179, the lack of definition of the third as minor or major, whilst strictly unessential at this point, would have been a useful cautionary if it were to be

261

C
O praise the Lord, laud ye the *name* of the Lord, Praise it O ye

T
O praise the Lord, laud ye the name of the Lord, Praise it O ye

B
O praise the Lord, laud ye the name of the Lord, Praise it O ye

Organ

Lute
4 3 6 6 6 6 6

267

ser - vants of the Lord. Praise it O ye ser - vants of the Lord.

ser - vants of the Lord. Praise it O ye ser - vants of the Lord.

ser - vants of the Lord. Praise it O ye ser - vants of the Lord.

6 5 4 3 6 3 4 6 6 5 4 3

3 4 6 6 4 3 6 3 4 6 6 5 4 3

Example 5.2: Weldon, *O praise the Lord, laud ye the name of the Lord (JW9b)*, b. 261-end. The treble part is not included, but (as will be seen in the edition) it can be derived from the upper part of the organ part. The cello part is identical to the lute part, save that it is not figured. Highlighted are dissonances created between figures and other parts.

played simultaneously with the root. As it stands, a spread chord allows the player a final aural confirmation.

176

C
joy - ful, — all — ye — that — are true of — heart.

T
joy ful, — all ye — that are true — of heart.

B
joy - ful, all ye — that — are true of heart.

Organ

Cello/
Lute

6 #3 4 #3

Example 5.3: Weldon, *Rejoice in the Lord* (JW13), bb. 176-179.

Let us turn now to lutenist's role in relation to solo voice work. In Example 5.4 it is the absence of figures that is notable until the cadential figure. Indeed the figures at the cadence seem almost superfluous as such a suspension seems entirely clear from the context. It would seem that the nimble nature of the bass line militates against too much harmonisation. Of course, the pertinent observation here is that this is not so much a feature of accompanying solo work as a feature of dealing with a more florid bass line. The purpose of the figures that follow at the cadence seems to be not so much to indicate the (predictable) harmonies to be played, so much as to indicate that the lutenist should start harmonising again. Elsewhere, the features exhibited in the part book do not differ greatly from those already seen in the chorus and ensemble writing.

Finally, we turn to the lutenist's role when there are no singers and the music is carried by the three instrumentalists alone (Examples 5.5(a) and (b)). In these examples florid bass lines are both designated as "Loud organ", an instruction that seems to pertain to the left hand part, the right hand being improvised at this point (see discussion of the organist's playing, below). The figuring in both these examples seems to imply that some harmonisation from the lutenist was expected. Given the reinforced bass line from both the cellist and the "Loud organ", it seems that the lutenist's role is to primarily reinforce the harmony at this point, possibly at the expense of playing the florid bass line. As we have seen above, the lack of

120

Bass
are in heaven and earth, to be-hold the things that are in heaven and earth?

Organ
4 3

Cello/
Lute
4 3

Example 5.4: Weldon, *Praise the Lord ye servants* (JW14), bb. 120-123.

figures in a florid bass line seems to imply that the player should not attempt to harmonise. If this is the case, then the presence of figures would seem to imply the converse; the lutenist should harmonise the part as instructed, even if this means omitting some of the bass line.

The florid organ solo at the start of *Rejoice in the Lord* serves as an ideal example of the lutenist's role when accompanying this type of material (see Example 5.6). As will be seen below, if a solo colour is to be used in the right hand of the organ part, then it is often difficult to envisage a satisfactory method of realising the bass and figures with just the left hand. Here the lutenist's role is to fill out the gap between the high and quite penetrative melodic material and the bass line (reinforced by the cello) beneath. A number of possibilities for performance present themselves. In all, the melodic material is played in the right hand of the organ; it does not appear in the lute part book. Also in all, the bass line is played by the cellist.

The question arises as to what the organist plays in the left hand and what the lutenist plays. The first possibility is that both organist and lutenist played the bass line, the latter player filling out chords above as well. Another possibility is that the organist abandoned the bass line, filling out harmony with the left hand, leaving the bass line to the cellist and lutenist. A third possibility is that the lutenist only played harmony, leaving the bass line to the cellist and organist. Peter Leech, in his review of Burrows' *Handel and the English Chapel Royal*, suggests a fourth possibility (really a modification of the first two given here): the string player (Leech accepts Burrows' allocation of this part to a viol) "may have enabled the organist to improvise an octave higher."⁸² Given the evidence of the lute partbook

⁸² Peter Leech, "Regal Handel", *Early Music*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (2006), pp. 143-146.

elsewhere, the first approach seems most likely. We have seen that the lute partbook prescribes what the player should play, with the only caveat being the accompaniment of a florid bass line delivered by the "loud organ" when figures are present. It is also possible for the organist to provide a few extra notes in the left hand in the passages to clarify any harmonic ambiguities. This particular example also gives an opportunity for the lutenist to shine. In the final cadence, the busy organ part suddenly gives way to rather longer note values. This, perhaps, even given the ornament in the organ part, seems to invite a decorative and decorated 4-3 or 3-4-4-3 cadential improvisation from the lutenist.

There seem to be no examples in Weldon's output of the lutenist having material in his part that is independent of the organist and/or cellist. Blow's famous examples of this texture in *Awake, awake utter a song* and *Let the righteous be glad* seem not to have become prevalent,⁸³ though a decision to perform with this texture of lute and solo voice alone in an anthem is not entirely ruled out by the Chapel Royal part books.

The organ accompaniment

To a large extent the role of the organ in the ritornellos has already been considered (see above), though some consideration might be given to their registration. There is no indication of stops in any of the three pieces in any of Weldon's autograph manuscripts, but manuscripts of Tudway and Hawkins all show that instrumental colour in the form of reed stops or compound mutations were considered appropriate for solo lines.⁸⁴ As can be seen in Table 5.2 (above), all of these features were available on the three instruments on which Weldon played as part of his Chapel Royal duties. Indications of "Loud organ", without specified right hand material, probably indicate a left hand on the Great organ and the right harmonising on the Chaire. It is the bass line that provides the character and impetus in these sections. As regards registration when accompanying solo and verse sections, matters of balance would, no doubt, have prevailed, but it seems likely that when accompanying the verses and solos, the lighter

⁸³ John Blow, *Selected verse anthems* ed. Fredrick Tarrant (A-R Editions: Middleton, WI, 2009), pp. 64-84, 85-102.

⁸⁴ Examples include Benjamin Lamb, *O worship the Lord*, GB-Lbl Harl. 7341, ff. 179r-183r (in the hand of Thomas Tudway); James Hawkins, *O be joyfull in God*, GB-EL 10/7/19, p. 143 (autograph).

60

Organ

Loud Organ

Lute

Organ

9

9

9

9

63

My praise

9

9

4 3

9

9

4 3

solo base

Example 5.5(a): Weldon, *O praise the Lord, ye that fear him (JW16)*, bb. 60-65: transcription of organ book (GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.13) and lute book (GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.12; the cello partbook matches the lute partbook but without figures). The markings "Loud Organ", "Organ", and "solo base" are taken from the relevant performing material.

115

Organ

Loud Organ

Lute

6

6

6

6

6

6

6

for thou

Example 5.5(b): Weldon, *The King shall rejoice (JW17)*, bb. 114-116: transcription of organ book (GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.13) and lute book (GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.12; the cello book matches the lute book but without figures).

Chaire organ would have been used more extensively than the Great. But what of the crux of the matter – how did the organist use his partbook?

Let us first consider a solo written for Richard Elford in *Rejoice in the Lord* (Example 5.7). Here we can see many of the cues giving the singer's text referred to earlier in the organ part, but we can also see that every note of the solo part is replicated in the organ part. It

Example 5.6: Weldon, *Rejoice in the Lord* (JW13), bb. 1-4: transcription of organ book (GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.13) and lute book (GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.12; the cello book matches the lute book but without figures). The markings "Ld Organ", "Rejoice 3 voices" are taken from the organ book.

would be perfectly feasible for the organist to double the solo part given the material in the organ book in this passage. Of course, Elford may have ornamented further (graced, in the parlance of the time), creating some additional dissonance, but (as we have seen with the lute part above), this may not necessarily have been a major concern. The earlier model shown by Herissone could apply here. Elsewhere, however, matters are different.

Later, in the same verse, we find that the level of detail given in the organ part is decreased. The first notes in b. 83 are replaced by a direct and the rhythmic definition of the solo part lost. Melodic details are lost in bb. 84 and 85. The concordance between the Chapel Royal performing material and Weldon's autograph score (GB-Lbl Add. MS 41847) strongly suggests that the performing material was derived from this holograph, so, although this verse does not appear in the extant solo part books, it seems most likely that Church (the copyist) was simplifying the organ part, rather than decorating the solo part when copying. Assuming this to be so, it implies that Church's expectation (and by extension, Weldon's) was that the organist would not attempt to play every detail of the solo part, but rather, that he would realise the bass line using a mixture of figures and the harmonic implications of the melodic material. The lack of figures in Example 5.8 is not a concern as it is a non-modulating ground. There is, however enough melodic material to be useful in a rehearsal situation or if the soloist came adrift whilst performing. An outline can be maintained despite the discrepancies.

32 Vers Solo M^r Elford

GB-Lbl Add.41847

Praise _____ the _____ Lord, praise _____ the Lord.

Ground

6 6

GB-Lbl R.M.27a13

[Loud organ] Praise soft praise the Lord.

6 6

36

praise _____ the Lord, praise the Lord, praise _____ the Lord with harp.

praise the Lord,

Example 5.7: Weldon, *Rejoice in the Lord* (JW13), bb. 32-41: transcriptions of autograph score (GB-Lbl Add. MS 41847) and organ book (GB-Lbl R.M. 27.a.13). Clefs retained from sources.

This is further reinforced in another contratenor solo (Example 5.9). This lends weight to the assertion that the outline organ part is a simplified copy of the contratenor part, rather than one being a revision, as these parts were produced to be used together as part of a set. Notable here are not just the rhythmic and melodic simplifications highlighted, but also that the entire organ part is an octave higher than the solo part. This verse includes several organ ritornellos. It seems that Church, usually content to employ multiple changes of clef, in this instance decided to use the treble clef throughout, but employ an octave transposition in order to avoid excessive use of ledger lines. Again, the implication is that the solo line is there for the purposes of rehearsal and perhaps emergency assistance. The possibility that the organist played a simplified version of the melodic line does, admittedly, remain, but given both the octave transposition and the simplification, this seems increasingly unlikely.

82

GB-Lbl
Add.41847

[strings] Sing - prais - es, sing - prais - es un - to him with the lute,

GB-Lbl
R.M.27a13

Example 5.8: Weldon, *Rejoice in the Lord (JW13)*, bb. 82-85: transcriptions of autograph score (GB-Lbl Add. MS 41847) and organ book (GB-Lbl R.M. 27.a.13). Clefs retained from sources.

48

GB-Lbl
R.M.27.a.9

Thou hast giv'n him his heart's de - sire, thou hast giv'n him his

GB-Lbl
R.M.27.a.13

thou hast

6 7 8 6 5

54

heart's de - sire and hast not de - nied him, hast not de - nied him

6 6

Example 5.9: Weldon, *The King shall rejoice (JW17)*, bb. 48-58: transcriptions of contratenor partbook (GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.9) and organ book (GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.13). Clefs retained from sources. Discrepancies are highlighted.

Herissone draws a distinction between higher-voiced solos and bass solos. It therefore behoves the present writer to make a similar comparison. The bass solo shown in Example 5.10 shows many of the features already encountered in the contratenor solos, with all the detail of the bluster in bb. 200, 207 and 208 omitted in the organ book. It is interesting that the sharpened-six chord at the end of b. 200 is defined in both figure and notation. This further implies the dual rehearsal/performance role of the organ partbook, the implication being that the organist would generally read the bass line and figures in performance with the notated part there primarily for rehearsal purposes.

199 Vers Solo:

GB-Lbl Add. 41847

The Lord look - ed down, look - ed down from heav'n, and be - held all the

GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.13

Solo The Lord looked down

6

202

child - ren of men From the ha - bi - ta - tion of his

7 6 76

from the habitation

76

206

dwel - ling he con - si - de - reth all them. that dwell [on the earth.]

6

Example 5.10: Weldon, *Rejoice in the Lord* (JW13), bb. 199-209: transcriptions of autograph score (GB-Lbl Add. MS 41847) and organ book (GB-Lbl R.M. 27.a.13).

Moving on from solo writing to ensemble writing, we find the organ part becoming increasingly less reliable as a guide to the vocal parts. In the organ part of Example 5.11(a) we find the bass solo part largely omitted. The exception is the considerable detail given in b. 155. It is easy to imagine this particular corner requiring rehearsal and therefore the organist is given the prompt in additional detail. However, this means that the pitch of the organ bass

line is duplicated in the upper stave; it would be rather clumsy to attempt to play this as notated.

As earlier noted, Herissone recognised that in eighteenth century repertoire in the organ book in question (GB Lbl R.M.27.a.13), "figuring is much denser...figures often duplicate voice parts in the right hand, making the notated parts largely superfluous."⁸⁵ Illustration 5.6 gives good examples of these features. The chosen extract starts at b. 20 in the edition of *O Praise the Lord, Laud ye the Name* (Chapel Royal version (**JW9b**)).⁸⁶ This duet has (perforce) been editorially completed in the edition, but it is nevertheless pertinent to recognise precisely the features that Herissone noted. The notated parts are indeed largely superfluous in performance, duplicated to the degree that they are by the figures. It might safely be assumed that they have serve some purpose however; it seems most likely that that purpose was to aid rehearsal. Admittedly, elsewhere in the organ book, in Weldon's anthems, the figuring system can be somewhat haphazard. However it should not be forgotten that the most likely person to be realising the part at the organ was Weldon himself. The composer would presumably have needed little more than an *aide memoire* of his own music.

Example 5.11(b) shows some trio writing. As noted above, Weldon's three-voice verses often present each voice on its own, effectively a series of short solo sections, before bringing the whole together. In this example we see some duet writing prior to the ensemble element. This might be considered one of the less taxing passages for the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal; only the upper part at any given time is given in the organ partbook. Note that in the second and third bars of this second example the melody line crosses the bass part: Although would be possible for the organist to double the vocal part here the effect would be rather confused. As noted above, for the earlier generation of composers, Herissone suggests that with low lying vocal lines doubling should be abandoned. However, elsewhere, the level of detail given in the organ part is highly variable. It would be feasible to for the organist to play the upper part as notated for much of Example 5.11(b), but to attempt to coordinate the level of detail given in Example 5.11(a) would be likely to give rise to considerable anxiety in ensemble. The aim of these vocal cues in the organ partbook seems to be primarily as an aid to rehearsal. It seems most likely that in performance the organist would realise the bass line

⁸⁵ Herissone *FFA*, p. 73.

⁸⁶ See Volume II.



Illustration 5.6: GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.13, f. 14r (detail): extract of the organ part for Weldon, *O Praise the Lord, Laud ye the Name of the Lord* (JW9b), showing bb. 27-73.

and not regularly attempt to double even the upper vocal part. Further credence is given to this view by Roger North, writing in 1728:⁸⁷

The old masters would not allow the liberty of playing from a thro-base figured...but they formed the organ part express; because the holding out the sound required the exact concord, else the consort would suffer; or perhaps the organists had not then the skill as since, for now they desire onely figures.

It is possible that at times the older tradition of doubling the vocal parts was loosely followed, but on balance, it seems rather more likely that this was not the regular practice.

It is worth noting at this point the rather onerous duty placed upon Church, the copyist. It seems that he will have had to decide when copying out how much detail was required in the organ based on knowledge of both the singers and the organist, predicting

⁸⁷ John Wilson, *Roger North on Music* (London, 1959), p. 351 .

150

GB-Lbl
R.M.27.a.9

GB-Cjc
Chapel Ms. R. 1

GB-Lbl
R.M.27.a.13

But as for me, I will come, I will come in-to thy

But as for me, I will come in-to thy

2 voc. But as for me

#3 6

154

house, even up-on the mul-ti tude of thy mer-cy, up-on the mul-ti-tude

house even up-on the mul-ti-tude, up-on the mul-ti-tude

#3 b3

Example 5.11(a): Weldon, *Ponder my words* (JW15), bb. 150-157: transcriptions of contratenor partbook (GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.9), bass part from score (GB-Cjc Chapel Ms. R.1) and organ book (GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.13). Clefs retained from sources.

which parts would require more assistance from the organ in either rehearsal or, when in dire need, performance. The term "copyist" seems to understate rather his role as a middle man in the performance process as a whole.

159

heart. Be glad O ye right-eous and re

GB-Lbl
Add. 41847

heart. Be glad O ye right-eous and re-joice in the Lord, re-joice

heart.

GB-Lbl
R.M.27.a.13

be glad O ye be glad

6 7 δ 6

166

joice in the Lord, re-joice in the Lord. And be joy-ful,

in the Lord. and be

Be glad O ye right-eous and re-joice in the Lord. and be

& be joyful

7 6 4 3 6 7 δ

173

and be joy-ful, and be joy-ful all ye that are true of heart.

joy-ful, and be joy-ful, and be joy-ful all ye that are true of heart.

joy-ful, and be joy-ful, and be joy-ful all ye that are true of heart.

Example 5.11(b): Weldon, *Rejoice in the Lord* (JW13), bb. 159-179: transcriptions of voice parts from autograph score (GB-Lbl 41847), and organ book (GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.13). Clefs retained from sources.

The chorus work in Examples 5.12(a) and (b) shows a rather skeletal score in the organ partbooks. The uppermost and lowest parts are always maintained, with a mixture of figures and directs giving further harmonic detail, particular in the second, more contrapuntal, example. It is possible that the organist maintained the treble part (or whichever happened to be uppermost) throughout, but again, it is equally possible that this part is maintained primarily for rehearsal. On balance, an approach that essentially doubles the chorus parts (i.e. maintaining the outer voices and filling out the harmony with inner parts seems to be both successful and credible.

Thus far, the only full chorus writing considered has been the short passages that occur in Weldon's large-scale verse anthems. What, then, of the more extended chorus writing exhibited Weldon's full-with-verse anthems? As noted above, none have material in the Chapel Royal partbooks for cello or lute. As argued in Chapter 2, three of these anthems show the influence of John Blow's full-with-verse anthems in their use of imitative outer choruses with ensemble verses interspersed. It is appropriate, therefore, to consider if the accompanimental practice might also have looked back, preserving the skills of the earlier generation. Illustration 5.7 (from the Chapel Royal organ book), showing the opening of *Hear my crying, O God* shows a dual possibility. The extensive figuring at the end of this first line replicates the melodic content allowing the organist the choice of reading either the notation or of reading the figures. As we look more carefully though, the picture changes. Example 5.13 shows that the organ is given material that is not present in the other parts, material that can only be considered as *obligato*. Indeed, for all the use of directs, the organ parts of these two pieces give far more detail than they do in the verse anthems, both in full sections and verse sections. The verses in the full anthems are also less florid than the verses in the verse anthems. Although extensively figured, the figures largely replicate the information given in the notation and directs. Indeed, were it not for the figures, this would strongly resemble the organ part books described by Herissone for the earlier generation.

72

Such as be fool - ish shall not stand in thy sight, — for thou hat - est all them that work

Such as be fool - ish shall not stand in thy sight, — for thou hat - est all them that work

Such as be fool - ish shall not stand in thy sight, — for thou hat - est all them that work

Such as be fool - ish shall not stand in thy sight, — for thou hat - est all them that work

Such as be fool - ish shall not stand in thy sight, — for thou hat - est all them that work

83

Example 5.12(a): Weldon, *Ponder my words* (JW15), bb. 72-75: treble part transcription from score (GB-Cjc Chapel Ms. R.1), other parts from Chapel Royal performing material (GB-Lbl R.M.27.a series).

Illustration 5.7: The opening of *Hear my crying, O God* (JW19): GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.13, f. 37v (detail).

The works also exhibit occasional passages of octave transposition (e.g. *Hear my crying, O God* bb. 41-42), in the manner outlined by Herissone. The difference here is that these octave transpositions are, strictly speaking, unnecessary as regards compass (assuming a maximum of an octave hand-span). It seems that they were, at this later date, considered to be part of the style. Given that there is no indication in the part itself which notes are *obligato* and which play the role of a sketched score, it would have been imperative to play the part at least as it appears on page. In other words, it could be added to (as is hinted at by some of the figuring), but not taken away from.

The primary source for *Who can tell how oft he offendeth* (JW21) is a manuscript score in the hand of Charles Badham (fl. 1698-1716; see Source Descriptions): GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. B. 7. This is a highly unusual score in that it includes a two-stave organ part

22 Verse 2 voc

CT

B

Org

Bow down thine ear to me, make haste to deliver

Example 5.13: Weldon, *In thee, O Lord* (JW20), bb. 22-25: transcriptions of Chapel Royal performing material (GB-Lbl R.M.27.a series).

throughout. This feature is not found in the sources in score of any of Weldon's other anthems, nor in any other known scores in either the hand of Badham or Gostling. It is not known whether Badham copied his score from another score or from partbooks. The implication of this written-out organ part may be that Badham understood the importance of the organist playing the part as written. A note of caution should be sounded, however, as deviations from the vocal parts in this organ part are extremely scarce; it could be an early example of short score for the convenience of an organist who struggled to score-read, whilst retaining the vocal parts in score. Nonetheless, two passages hint that particular importance was attached to the organ part. On the lowest systems of pp. 130-131 (a continuous passage, corresponding to bb. 47-56 in the edition) Badham seems to have miscalculated the space needed. He entered the vocal parts on the lowest four staves of the page, leaving no room for the organ part. Rather than leave this passage without an organ part, he entered them onto inserts, which seem to have been stuck to the bottom of those pages at one time (they are now moved). Although this score cannot be relied upon to give full confirmation of that the older approach to accompaniment is required from the organist, taken with the evidence from the other two anthems, there seems to be a similarity of purpose.

Conclusions

A fair degree of information concerning the instrumental accompaniment of Weldon's anthems in the Chapel Royal after 1711 can be gleaned from the extant instrumental partbooks. It is clear that the cellist played the part as notated throughout; there is no strong evidence that any harmonisation was attempted on this instrument. The lutenist seems to have taken a more flexible approach, generally harmonising the bass line as given from the figures. At cadences the figures sometimes conflict with the vocal parts (the same is true of the organ part). It seems that this added piquancy to the harmony was at least tolerated if not enjoyed. When, in ritornellos, there are particularly florid bass lines that are figured, it seems likely that the lutenist filled out the harmonies using the figures, probably omitting some of the detail, covered in any event by the other instruments. In the verse anthems, the organ book seems to have served a dual function as a resource for both rehearsal and performance. The sketched in verse and solo parts with a variable level of detail suggest that rather than doubling the voice parts, the organist used primarily the figured bass line to improvise their part in performance, perhaps supplemented by information from the sketched vocal parts. The main function of the vocal parts in the organ book was to aid rehearsal. This method of performance applies to solo, ensemble and full sections and shows a change in practice from that of the previous generation, recognised by the contemporaneous writer, Roger North (see above). However, it would seem that in the Chapel Royal, the "new masters" were not only adept at "playing from a thro-base figured" but also kept the older skill of forming "the organ part express" alive. For, in the full-with-verse anthems it seems that, for Weldon's music at least, the older skills were still implemented.

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THE SACRED MUSIC OF JOHN WELDON: CRITICAL APPARATUS

A Note on the Handwriting of John Weldon

Reference has already been made to some of the autographs of John Weldon (see especially Chapter 4). Only one is signed: *O sing unto the Lord* (JW12; shown in figure 4.1 in Chapter 4) in GB-Lbl Add. 41847. Another manuscript, largely autograph, is initialled three times (GB-Lcm 2043; see Source Descriptions). It is therefore incumbent upon the present writer to identify those features of Weldon's writing that aid its identification.

Firstly some observations on features of Weldon's musical handwriting. Naturally these are by no means unique to the composer, but can aid in building up a picture of identifying features. Weldon's clefs are in simple, utilitarian forms. The g-clef is in the form of a miniscule "g", with the body of the letter on the appropriate line of the stave. This is followed by a flourish reaching to approximately the top of the stave (sometimes further, sometimes just to the penultimate line) and looping round itself with a vertical downstroke descending below the stave. The c-clef consists of two vertical strokes, roughly the height of the stave; these are approximately joined by two horizontal strokes either side of the appropriate line of the stave – sometimes these cross the vertical strokes, sometimes they meet, sometimes they are slightly short. The precise angles of the four strokes are inconsistent, presumably arising from haste, but it is common for the horizontal strokes to slope slightly towards the line of the stave that they define. The F-clef is formed by a narrow, but tall shape. There is a loop at the top extending from just below the appropriate line of the stave to just above the stave. The downstroke from the top of this loop is approximately vertical until between the bottom two lines of the stave. The tail curves under the upper loop and usually continues beyond the vertical to an angle of *c.* 30 degrees within the lower half of the stave. This shape is followed by two dots, one above the other. Usually these are either side of the defined line of the stave, but placement is sometimes haphazard.

Key signatures, where found, tend to be cramped and somewhat approximate in the placement of their symbols. Accidentals are inconsistent in their placement; Weldon does not regularly use a natural sign (in spite of its introduction to England in the publication of one of his songs).¹ In neater examples of the composer's writing (e.g. parts of GB-Lcm 2043) the note-stems attached to minims tend to be to the right of the note-head, whether or not they ascend or descend; those stems attached to crotchets are usually in the centre of the note-head. In Weldon's "fowle originals" the note-stems are inconsistent in their placement to either left or right of the note-head, but the previously described methods of placement seem to prevail. Crotchet rests take the form of a small figure of two strokes at a 90-degree angle, meeting at the upper-left corner (⌒).

Weldon's script is generally legible and consistent, taking an italic form. He uses standard abbreviations regularly. His abbreviation for the word "and" does not take on the full form of the ampersand, but rather is a simple loop, loosely forming a "+", but without lifting the pen between the vertical and horizontal strokes, resulting in a join form the lowest point to the left-most. Some letter forms are quite distinctive. The eye of the miniscule "e" is often closed to the point that there is no gap in the loop at all. Weldon's miniscule "d" is quite distinctive: the ascender curves pronouncedly and usually reaches back by at least double the width of the body of the letter. A similar feature can be noted on the majority of descenders on the miniscule forms of "g", "y" and "j". The ascender on the miniscule "b" carries a considerable loop, often reaching just beyond the body of the letter. Where a miniscule "l" is the initial letter of a word it often carries a similar feature.

The majuscule form of "G" carries a similarly pronounced descender to that of its miniscule counterpart, though it is sometimes looped round to join the next letter. The majuscule "E" takes a simple secretary form whilst the majuscule "D" carries a pronounced initial curve at the top of the letter, similar to the miniscule form that Weldon uses. His majuscule "L" descends below the base line and carries a pronounced slant on the vertical portion as well as well formed loops at the head and foot of the letter. "V" is given a prominent initial ascender, starting with a small loop (not always fully formed) but the second ascender is less prominent, only rising to the level of a linear letter. The majuscule

¹ John Weldon, "When charming Teraminta sings", *Musica Oxoniensis* (Smith, de Walpergen and Walsh: London, 1698), pp. 1-3; see Krummel: *English Music Printing*, pp. 134-138.

"H" has a short loop on the initial ascender; this vertical stroke descends well below the baseline, but the second vertical stroke does not. "M" is often found giving the titles of singers ("M^r Elford", for example). The majuscule form is not particularly florid, and has rounded arches with no initial loop. None of the three vertical strokes descend below the baseline.

In order to illustrate many of the features noted above, examples of Weldon's hand can be found overleaf (Illustrations 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3). The following manuscripts are all the known examples of Weldon's hand in his sacred music:

GB-Ob Ms. Mus. c.2, ff. 108r-113r (*O Lord, let me hear thy loving-kindness*, **JW11**). Fowle original.

GB-Lbl Add. MS 41847 (*O be joyful*, **JW10**; *O sing unto the Lord a new song*, **JW12**; *Rejoice the Lord*, **JW13**). Fowle original.

GB-Lcm 2043 (*Te Deum*, **JW28**; *Jubilate Deo*, **JW29**; *Cantate Domino*, **JW31**; *Deus Misereatur*, **JW32**). Set of partbooks, copied by Weldon in collaboration with another copyist (see Source Descriptions for details).

GB-Cfm 116, pp. 96-97 (formerly 30.G.9; *O Lord, rebuke me not*, **JW1c**). Organ partbook.

M^r. Leigh. Compos^r.
C 207743

Full:
 We p^ro^unc^e we acknowledge t^he to be b^e (6) a -- a b^e earth doth worship
 b^e Father everlasting, To b^e Cherubin & Seraphim conti -- nually do
 w^osh^op
Soft *Soft* *Soft* *Soft*
 Holy G^od of Sabath: Heaven & earth are full of b^e majesty, b^e
 majesty b^e majesty of thy glory of thy glory (7) The good & fellowship of b^e
 prophets p^ro^unc^e The Holy Army of Nobles Army of martirs p^ro^unc^e The Holy
 church throughout all b^e doth acknowledge b^e (6) Thou art b^e King of Glor^y
 glory of glory o -- x^e! o x^e! o x^e! Thou art b^e everlasting son b^e everlasting son b^e everlasting son o b^e

Illustration 6.2: GB-Lcm 2043, f. 11r

Handwritten musical score for GB-Ob MS Mus c. 2, f. 109r. The page contains ten staves of music with lyrics in German. The lyrics include "Belwärm mich o L. d. d. vom meine", "Belwärm mich o L. d. d. vom meine", "Belwärm mich o L. d. d. vom meine", "Belwärm mich o L. d. d. vom meine", and "Belwärm mich o L. d. d. vom meine". The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings.

Illustration 6.3: GB-Ob MS Mus c. 2, f. 109r

Source Descriptions

Wherever possible, the sources used in preparing this edition have been selected on the grounds of their proximity to the presumed time and/or location of a work's composition. Only the sources directly used in the compilation of each edition have been collated. These have been listed below as "Primary source for" where used as a copy-text or "Secondary source for" when consulted and collated. Where appropriate, other sources, consulted but not collated, are also listed; these are listed as "Consulted for". Measurements of the paper are given in millimetres and approximate, given to the nearest 5mm, as paper sizes often vary slightly. Width is given first, height second.

PRINTS (MUSIC)

Divine Harmony (1716)

Primary source for: **JW1a, JW2, JW3, JW4, JW5a, JW6**

Copies consulted (1716 print): GB-Lbl H.820; GB-Lbl Hirsch III.1148; GB-Lcm D69/1

Copies consulted (1731 print): GB-Lcm D300/1; GB-Cu MR230.a.75.2

Description (measurements from GB-Lbl H.820): 220mm x 360mm; plate impression on pages containing music: 185mm x 305 mm, pp. ix+28(numbered 2-29)+iii

Comments: *Divine Harmony* was published by Walsh and Hare in 1716. It contains only the six items edited here. It was reissued several times; the title page was adapted for a reprint in 1731 by Walsh alone. It was still appearing in Walsh's successor's catalogue in 1782. This was most significant publication of John Weldon's music during his lifetime. It is most famous today for the frontispiece: "The Sacred Chaire". A second collection, issued in 1717, contained no items by Weldon (see Chapter 1 for illustrations and further history).

Contents:

O Lord, rebuke me not (**JW1a**) pp. 2-3

Blessed be the Lord my strength (**JW2**) pp. 4-6

O praise the Lord of heaven (JW3)	pp. 7-9
Thou art my portion (JW4)	pp. 10-17
I will lift up mine eyes (JW5a)	pp. 18-22
Have mercy upon me, O Lord (JW6)	pp. 23-29

Bibliography: William Smith (compiled), *Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh, 1695-1720*, p. 143; William Smith and Charles Humphries (compiled), *A bibliography of the musical works published by the firm of John Walsh during the years 1721-1766* (London, 1968), p. 344; *BurrowsHECR*, p. 133; Matthew Spring, *The Lute in Britain* (Oxford, 2001) pp. 389, 407; Matthias Range, *Music and Ceremonial at British Coronations: From James I to Elizabeth I* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 91; Elizabeth Randall, *A Catalogue of Vocal and Instrumental Music* (London, [c. 1782]).

Cathedral Music (1790)

Primary source for: **JW7**

Consulted for: **JW21**

Copy consulted: GB-Lbl R.M.7.b.1

Description: 3 volumes in score, 1 volume organ book (containing all the anthems given in score); volume size: 405mm x 305mm; plate impression 340mm x 210mm

Comments: This sizeable collection of anthems, compiled and edited by Samuel Arnold (1740-1802), was published in 1790 in the form of three large volumes in score plus a separate organ book. It forms a continuation of Boyce's *Cathedral Music* collection in which two of Weldon's full-with-verse anthems (**JW19** and **JW20**) had been published. Most of the collection is of eighteenth-century music, including works by Maurice Greene that Boyce had been prohibited from publishing. Arnold's collection includes two anthems by Weldon, one in each of the first two volumes. It seems that GB-T MS 678 (in the hand of Arnold) may have been the copy used for engraving *Who can tell how oft he offendeth?* (**JW21**).

Bibliography: H. Diack Johnstone, 'The Genesis of Boyce's "Cathedral Music"', *Music & Letters* , Vol. 56, No. 1 (Jan., 1975), pp. 26-40; R. Hoskins 'Dr Samuel Arnold (1740–1802): an Historical Assessment' (PhD dissertation, University of Auckland, 1984), ii; Edmund H. Fellowes *The catalogue of manuscripts in the library of St. Michael's College, Tenbury* (Paris, 1934), p. 134.

The Divine Companion (1701)

Primary source for: **JW24, JW25**

Copy consulted (1701 edition): GB-Lbl B.655

Description: 115mm x 185mm; pp. viii+96

Copy consulted (1715 edition): GB-Lbl B.655.c

Description: 120mm x 190mm; pp. viii +180+iv

Copy consulted (1722 edition): GB-Lbl B.655.b

Description: 120mm x 190mm; pp. viii +180+iv

Comments: John Playford's publication *The Divine Companion* (1701) was designed "to be used in churches or private families, for their greater advancement in musick". All the music contained in the small books was new; the anthems were commissioned from professional composers at various stages in their careers: John Blow William Croft, Jeremiah [here Jeremy] Clarke, Thomas Clark, John Church, Robert King, William Turner, Samuel Akeroyde and John Weldon are all included; of these Croft is represented most often. The publication broke new ground in providing for the first time the parochial anthem (as distinct from a cathedral anthem). Largely homophonic, some of these anthems had just two vocal parts, some had an optional third part. Nineteen anthems were published in the first edition. Also included were hymns, psalm tunes and canons. Nicholas Temperley wrote that it was the "first book to provide anthems for country choirs". The publication was hugely successful and subsequent editions were expanded considerably. The music was typeset with the upper and lower parts appearing on one page (as though in score) and the middle part on the opposite page where space allowed.

Bibliography: *The Music of the English Parish Church*, Nicholas Temperley (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 54, 164; Sally Drage, 'The performance of English provincial psalmody c. 1690-c. 1840' (PhD thesis, Leeds, 2009), p. 87.

PRINTS (WORD BOOKS)

Divine Harmony (1712)

Primary source for: **JW33, JW34, JW35**

Copy consulted: GB-Lbl C.68.b.6

Description: 110mm x 185mm; pp. vi+104+viii [index]+vi [supplement, numbered i-vi]

Comments: This anthem word book, published in 1712, was compiled by John Church, copyist and (seemingly) *de facto* librarian to the Chapel Royal. It was offered on sale to the general public. It is printed in black ink with red margins, borders and divisions. Weldon's work is featured strongly. Although it includes texts of anthems by a wide range of provincial organists, it relates mainly to the repertory of the London choirs. The full title is: "*Divine Harmony; or a New Collection of Select Anthems, Us'd at Her Majesty's Chappels Royal, Westminster Abby, St. Pauls, Windsor, both Universities, Eaton, and most Cathedrals in her Majesty's Dominions* (Publish'd with the Approbation of the Sub-dean of Her Majesty's Chapel Royal, and of several of the greatest Masters)". The Sub-Dean at the time was Ralph Battell. The supplement seems to have been issued in early 1714/5; it is entitled "ANTHEMS / OMITTED in the / Preceding COLLECTION, / Or Compos'd since the Printing of it". Weldon's work is featured strongly; for further discussion of the contents, see Chapter 1. The copy inspected bears the bookplate of Henry Thomas Ellacombe.

Bibliography: *BurrowsHECR*, pp. 56-57, 581; Thomas Ford, GB-Ob Ms Mus.e.17, 'History of Music' (1710), p. 10.

A Collection of Anthems (1724)

Primary source for: **JW36, JW37**

Copy consulted: GB-Lbl 3090.cc.17

Description: 120mm x 190mm; pp. viii+136+i

Comments: An anthem word book issued in succession to the 1712 book (see above). Weldon is well represented by fifteen anthems. The full title is: "*A Collection of Anthems, as the same are now performed in his Majesty's Chapels Royal, &c.*, (Published by the direction

of the Reverend the *Sub-Dean* of his *Majesty's* said Chapels Royal)". The Sub-Dean at the time was Edward Aspinwall. Printed in black ink with red margins, borders and divisions. The copy inspected belonged to Elizabeth Mason (whose name is written in three times) and came into her possession in 1733.

Bibliography: *BurrowsHECR*, pp. 189-192; James Hume, 'The Chapel Royal Partbooks in Eighteenth-Century England' (PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 2013), p. 152.

MANUSCRIPTS

GREAT BRITAIN (GB)

Cambridge, Ely Music Manuscripts in Cambridge University Library, MS 10/7/8

Consulted for: **JW8**

Description: 320mm x 250mm, bound in rough calf (original), vellum sides, pp. i+ 384, paper

Comments: Manuscript collection of anthems in score by composers including Henry Aldrich, Adrian Batten, John Blow, Jeremiah Clarke, John Golding [Goldwin], Daniel Purcell, Thomas Tudway, Michael Wise, Thomas Tallis, William Turner, James Hawkins, John Weldon, Benjamin Rogers. It also contains the "York Litany". This is one of the few manuscripts in the Ely collection not in the hand of James Hawkins. The copyist seems to be Thomas Watkins (1698-1776), who was a Minor Canon of Ely from 1723 and Master of Ely School from 1730. He made efforts towards cataloguing Hawkins work in 1754: a note on the inside front cover of the volume reads, "Tho Watkin's Book / Ely". The final page of the volume is dated '27 Feb 1764'; he was made Precentor of Ely Cathedral in that year. Weldon's *O how pleasant* is found on pp. 112-118. A note by Watkins recognises that another verse was extant: "Mr Turners Score has another verse here (for one Day in thy Courts is better than a thousand)". Watkins was active in copying music in Ely as early as 1719, the date given in his book for "chanting the prayers" (GB-EL 10/8/33). The plurality of paper types suggests that the volume was built up over time. It seems probable, therefore, that this copy of *O how pleasant* (**JW8**) was copied into the book rather earlier than the 1764 date given some 266 pages later.

Bibliography: W. E. Dickson, *A catalogue of ancient choral services and anthems, preserved among the manuscript scores and part-books in the cathedral church of Ely* (Cambridge, 1861), p. 7; Ruth Mack Wilson *Anglican Chant and Chanting in England, Scotland, and America, 1660 to 1820* (Oxford, 1996), p. 148.

Cambridge, Ely Music Manuscripts in Cambridge University Library, MS 10/7/9

Primary source for: **JW15**

Description: 405mm x270mm, paper, eighteenth-century binding, pp. ii+315+133+ii

Comments: Manuscript collection of anthems in score and an organ book (reversed). Both the score and the first part of the organ book are in the hand of James Hawkins (1662/3-1729, organist of Ely cathedral) and it was bound together during his lifetime. The score end begins with two services in autograph; there follow fifty-eight anthems. Of these, thirteen are by Hawkins himself; there are eight anthems by John Blow, five by Pelham Humfrey and four by Thomas Tudway. Further represented are Henry Purcell, Jeremiah Clarke, William Croft, John Golding [Goldwin], Maurice Greene, Henry Hall, Richard Henman, Michael Wise, William Turner and William Norris. A date of post-1713 is implied by the ascription of Croft's works to "D^r Crofts". Franklin Zimmerman tentatively suggests a date of *c.* 1726. The organ book bound in with the score shows signs of usage; it is mostly devoted to an earlier repertory: Thomas Tallis, William Byrd, Orlando Gibbons, William Child, Nathaniel Patrick, Richard Portman and John Ferrabosco. The score is a primary source for the completion of the bass verse sections of *Ponder my words*.

Hawkins is recognised by Spink as a "compulsive copyist", compiling at least sixteen substantial volumes of scores. These scores represent a historical record of a local repertoire, including repertoire from successive Ely cathedral organists dating back to Christopher Tye, appointed to that post in 1562. Hawkins was in correspondence with Thomas Tudway, organist at King's College, Cambridge; one entire volume (GB-EL MS 10/7/11) of Hawkins' collection is devoted to Tudway's work. Hawkins also supplied manuscripts to Tudway for his monumental Harleian collection. Hawkins was rather too enthusiastic in his zeal for copying for the taste of the Dean and Chapter of Ely Cathedral, for in 1693 it was "ordered that the Organist shall not be allowd any bill for pricking books... unless his design shall be first allowed," (GB-EL MS 2/1/2, f. 204, quoted in *SpinkRCM*).

Bibliography: Dickson, *A catalogue of ancient choral services and anthems... of Ely*, p. 8; *SpinkRCM*, p.85; Thomas Taylor, *Thematic Catalog of the Works of Jeremiah Clarke* (Detroit, 1977), p. 108; Franklin Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell. 1659-1695. An analytical catalogue of his music* (London, 1963), p. 450; Rebecca Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 27, 32; Robert Ford, 'Henman, Humfrey and 'Have Mercy', *The Musical Times*, Vol. 127, No. 1720 (1986), pp. 459-462.

Cambridge, Ely Music Manuscripts in Cambridge University Library, MS 10/7/16

Consulted for: **JW19, JW20**

Description: 375mm x 245mm, paper, 1920s binding, pp. ii+248+i

Comments: Manuscript collection of services and anthems in score in the hand of James Hawkins. The services that open the volume are by Valentine Nalson, Henry Purcell and Richard Goodson; the anthems that follow are by Henry Purcell, Valentine Nalson, Jeremiah Clarke, George Holmes, Thomas Tallis, Michael Wise and John Weldon. Both *Hear my crying, O God (JW19)* and *In thee, O Lord (JW20)* and are included in this volume. It is interesting to note that in these copies Hawkins sometimes includes extra bass notes on the lowest stave, perhaps indicating that the organist should fill out the harmony further and lend extra support to the provincial choir at Ely. See above for further comments on this collection of manuscripts.

Bibliography: Dickson, *A catalogue of ancient choral services and anthems... of Ely*, p. 9; *SpinkRCM* p. 86; Taylor, *Thematic Catalog of the Works of Jeremiah Clarke*, p. 108; Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell...An Analytical Catalogue*, p. 450.

Cambridge, Rowe Library, MS 9

Secondary source for: **JW5b**

Description: 350mm x 205mm, paper, modern binding, twelve staves per page, six-line staves.

Comments: Manuscript organ book containing services and (mostly) anthems by Richard Ayleward, Michael Wise, Daniel Roseingrave, John Weldon, James Hawkins, Cooper, Thomas Morley, Henry Hall, John Blow, Orlando Gibbons, Jeremiah Clarke, Charles King, William Croft and Maurice Greene. The book was once the property of Richard Ayleward (?1626-1669); the first twenty-two items are all by him in his hand. Thereafter, a variety of hands enter repertoire from a variety of Restoration and post-Restoration composers. Item 28 is Weldon's *I will lift up mine eyes* (Oxford version; **JW5b**), with a note "This is a note higher Book y^e 14 page 166". The manuscript also includes copies of *O Lord, rebuke me not*

(ff. 76r -77v; **JW1a**) and *Thou art my portion* (ff. 86r-89v; **JW4**), but these seem to be copies of the *Divine Harmony* (1716) print. Prior to its acquisition by the Rowe library it belonged to Arthur H. Mann, sometime organist of King's College, Cambridge.

Bibliography: Andrew Woolley, "The Harpsichord Music of Richard Ayleward (?1626–1669), 'an Excellent Organist' of the Commonwealth and Early Restoration", *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* Vol. 15, no. 1 (2009); John Harley, 'An Early Source of the English Keyboard Suite', *RMARC*, No. 28 (1995), pp. 51-58; Jill Vlasto, 'The Rowe Music Library, King's College, Cambridge', *The Music Review*, Vol. 12, no. 1 (1951), pp. 72-75.

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Mu. Mus. 116 (formerly 30.G.9).

Primary source for: **JW1c**, organ part (autograph manuscript).

Description: 210mm x 345mm, paper, modern binding (May 1979, according to binder's note), ff. 126 (but not foliated), six staves per page, six-line staves.

Comments: Manuscript organ book containing services and anthems. The first forty-eight pages of the manuscript are missing. The book is mostly in the handwriting of John Blow. There seems to be a make-good folio in the hand of Croft (pp. 63-64). A note on p. 235 states "Finis 1707", though four further items appear after this. There is a signature and date on first extant page, "R. Fitzwilliam 1768", presumably indicating an acquisition date by Richard, VII Viscount Fitzwilliam of Merrion (1745-1816). The manuscript was part of his bequest that founded the Fitzwilliam museum. Repertoire consists mostly of services, full anthems and full-with-verse anthems (not separated by end), many by Blow. The remainder is split between older, pre-Commonwealth, repertoire (e.g. Adrian Batten, Richard Farrant, William Byrd) and composers of Blow's generation and that before (e.g. William Child, Henry Aldrich, William Tucker): a full listing is given in the *Catalogue of Music in the Fitzwilliam Museum*. The inclusion of Weldon's anthem, *O Lord rebuke me not* (**JW1a**) is unusual in respect of the other contents of the manuscript; it is also one of only a few items not in the hand of Blow. This anthem is found on pp. 96-97, given here in A minor. There are text cues only at the starts of verses. The vocal part on the upper staff gives an outline, with only some ornaments noted. It is written in ink, but pencil is used to considerably supplement otherwise sparse figuring and to add some cautionary accidentals indicating that this was probably used for performance. The handwriting on these two pages can be identified as that of John

Weldon by the following features: the g2 clefs are followed by a large loop, reaching up to the fifth line of the staff; the florid majuscule "L", both in the title and the text, are consistent with those found in GB-Lbl Add. MS 41847; similarly the loop on the upper portion of the majuscule "S"; the signature at the end of the anthem exhibits the same loop at the top of the "d", returning to meet the "W" in the composer's surname. Thus, this would seem to be the earliest extant example of John Weldon's handwriting. The pencil used can be cautiously identified as Blow's from the shape of the numbers, in particular the "6" that does not fully close the lower loop. The make-good folio earlier in the volume and the absence of many page corners further indicate that this volume was used in performance. The version of this anthem given is the "Chapel Royal" version, i.e. the closing "Hallelujah" of the "Oxford" version is not present, the chorus echoes the final phrase of "Turn thee, O Lord" and the final iteration of that refrain is all sung by the choir. Weldon's handwriting appears again in the book on pp. 240-242, i.e. after the 1707 date. Weldon entered a Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis: "D^r Blows in Gamut".

Bibliography: Fuller-Maitland and Mann, *Catalogue of the Music in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, pp. 59-62; *HerissoneFFA*, pp. 29-31 *et passim*; H. Watkins Shaw, 'The Autographs of John Blow', *The Music Review*, Vol. 25, no.2 (1964), pp. 86-87; *SpinkRCM*, p. 135; Herissone *Musical Creativity*, pp. 214-215.

Cambridge, St John's College, Chapel Ms. R. 1

Secondary source for: **JW15**

Description: 195mm x 315mm, paper, original binding, pp. 323 (paginated pp. 1-302, final 21 pages not paginated)

Comments: Manuscript volume, partly in full score, partly in short score, of services by Thomas Tudway and Henry Purcell and anthems by William Croft, John Blow, Thomas Tudway, Henry Purcell, John Weldon, Michael Wise, Henry Hall and Henry Aldrich (i.e. late seventeenth and early eighteenth century repertoire). It was formerly used in the college chapel. It may have been used as an organ book: the organist perhaps changing preference from playing from a full score to a short score. The end of the manuscript includes continuo parts (some incomplete) for various trio sonatas by Arcangelo Corelli. *Ponder my words* (**JW15**; in score) is entered in an unknown hand. Based on the attribution of Tudway's

doctorate earlier in the volume and the switch from "Mr" to "Dr" Croft in preceding and succeeding anthems, this copy of *Ponder my words* probably dates between 1705 (the year Tudway's doctorate was awarded) and 1713 (the year Croft's doctorate was awarded). As discussed in Chapter 3, concerning chronology, it is likely that this anthem post-dates 1708; this is an early copy of that anthem.

Bibliography: <http://www.rism.org.uk> (last accessed 15 February 2013).

London, British Library, R.M.27 series (Chapel Royal partbooks)

Descriptions:

R.M.27.a.1: Contratenor Decani partbook, 325mm x 235mm, ff. 100, parchment

Primary source for: **JW19**

Secondary source for: **JW1c, JW9, JW10b, JW15, JW16, JW17, JW20, JW21**

R.M.27.a.2: Tenor Decani partbook, 325mm x 235mm, ff. 122, parchment

Primary source for: **JW1c, JW10b, JW15, JW16, JW17, JW19**

Secondary source for: **JW9, JW20, JW21**

R.M.27.a.3: Bass Decani partbook, 325mm x 235mm, ff. 126, parchment

Primary source for: **JW1c, JW10b, JW15, JW16, JW17, JW19**

Secondary source for: **JW9, JW20, JW21**

R.M.27.a.4: Treble Sub-decani partbook, 310mm x 225mm, ff. 79, parchment and paper

Primary source for: **JW1c, JW16, JW17**

Secondary source for: **JW20, JW21**

R.M.27.a.5: Contratenor Sub-decani partbook, 325mm x 235mm, ff. 99, parchment

Primary source for: **JW16, JW20,**

Secondary source for: **JW1c, JW9, JW10b, JW15, JW17, JW19, JW21**

R.M.27.a.6: Tenor Sub-decani partbook, 325mm x 235mm, ff. 99, parchment

Primary source for: **JW16,**

Secondary source for: **JW1c, JW9, JW10b, JW15, JW17, JW19, JW20, JW21**

R.M.27.a.7: Contratenor Sub-decani partbook, 325mm x 235mm, ff. 99, parchment

Secondary source for: **JW1c**

R.M.27.a.8: Bass Sub-decani partbook, 325mm x 235mm, ff. 111, parchment

Primary source for: **JW16, JW19**

Secondary source for: **JW9, JW10b, JW15, JW17, JW20, JW21**

R.M.27.a.9: Contratenor Verse partbook, 265mm x 205mm, ff. 100, paper

Primary source for: **JW10b, JW15, JW16, JW17**

Secondary source for: **JW9,**

R.M.27.a.10: Cello book, 310mm x 225mm, ff. 66, parchment

Primary source for: **JW1c, JW9, JW10b, JW14, JW15, JW16, JW17**

R.M.27.a.11: Cello book, 375mm x 260mm, ff. 91, paper

Secondary source for: **JW15**

Consulted for: **JW1c**

R.M.27.a.12: Lute book, 375mm x 260mm, ff. 94, paper

Primary source for: **JW1c** (first entry), **JW9, JW10b, JW14, JW15, JW16, JW17**

Consulted for: **JW1c** (second entry)

R.M.27.a.13: Organ book, 330mm x 290mm, ff. 96, parchment

Primary source for: **JW9, JW10b, JW14, JW15, JW16, JW17, JW19, JW20, JW21, JW26, JW27**

R.M.27.a.16: Verse partbook, 205mm x 275mm, ff. 59, paper

Primary source for: **JW1c**

R.M.27.b.4: Bass Decani partbook, 350mm x 235mm, ff. 130, paper

Primary source for: **JW26**

R.M.27.b.14: Lute book, 285mm x 230mm, ff. 100, paper

Consulted for: **JW1c, JW15**

R.M.27.c.4: Countertenor cantoris, 340mm x 255mm, ff. 124, paper

Primary source for: **JW26**

R.M.27.c.5: Tenor cantoris, 345mm x 240mm, ff. 123, paper

Primary source for: **JW26**

R.M.27.c.6: Bass cantoris, 340mm x 240mm, ff. 125, paper

Secondary source for: **JW26**

R.M.27.c.8: Treble Verse partbook, 265mm x 210mm, ff. 76, paper

Consulted for: **JW1c**

R.M.27.c.15: Organ book, 250mm x 320mm, ff. 109, paper

Consulted for: **JW1c**

Comments: These partbooks have all been used for performance by the Chapel Royal. Compiled by John Church (c. 1675-1740/1) in the early eighteenth century, the R.M.27.a series of partbooks has been subjected to a large degree of scholarly attention. Watkins Shaw discussed R.M.27.a.1–3, 5, 6 and 8 as sources of music from the seventeenth century, concentrating on ‘Purcellian Period’ repertory. Laurie discussed all the R.M.27.a series except for R.M.27.a.16, concentrating on dating different layers of copying, identifying copyists and discussing associations of repertoire with manuscripts in other libraries. Shay and Thompson studied the seventeenth century copying within R.M.27.a.1–8 in relation to their work on Purcell, also giving a detailed analysis of R.M.27.a.1.

By some distance, the most comprehensive study to date of these sets of partbooks is James Hume's 2013 thesis, 'The Chapel Royal Partbooks in Eighteenth-Century England.' This gives comprehensive a comprehensive analysis of the make-up of the partbooks and their use. Sortable and searchable appendices have been made available online at <https://sites.google.com/site/rm27books/documents> (last accessed 31 January 2014). However, one partbook, R.M.27.a.16, has not yet been subjected to such comprehensive and systematic study (as it was not available to previous writers). The copyists of this book were John Church and James Chelsum. Using Hume's methods of describing papers, it corresponds to Paper II, Rule M. There are ten staves per page, with a five-stave rastrum used twice. This makes it very similar to R.M.27.a.9 and their similar measurements (not correct on <http://opac.rism.info> at the time of writing, see above) show that the verse partbooks were smaller than the chorus partbooks. R.M.27.a.16 contains material in several different clefs; it seems not to have been allocated to a particular voice part.

Hume's thesis examines not just the R.M.27.a series, but also the b, c and d series in forensic detail, demonstrating how the sets' contents overlap. He shows that Chelsum and Thomas Barrow ensured that pieces entered into the R.M.27.a series remained usable by entering them into subsequent series of partbooks.

All of the items by Weldon in the R.M.27.a series of partbooks are in the hand of John Church. The chorus parts for the verse anthems are often entered onto spare staves on older leaves in the chorus part books, such that they are not in the same order in each book. This set

is a key source for this edition; in several instances the only extant source for some verse anthems. The organ book (R.M.27.a.13) has proved particularly valuable in enabling the reconstruction of some missing vocal parts.

Bibliography: <http://opac.rism.info> (last accessed 15 February 2014); James Hume, 'The Chapel Royal Partbooks in Eighteenth-Century England'; Margaret Laurie, 'The Chapel Royal Part-Books' in *Music and Bibliography: Essays in honour of Alec Hyatt King*, ed. O. Neighbour (London, 1980), pp. 28-50; Harold Watkins Shaw, 'A Contemporary Source of English Music of the Purcellian Period', *Acta Musicologica*, Vol. 31 (1959), pp. 38-44. *SpinkRCM*, pp. 77-78 *et passim*; Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 177-190.

London, British Library, Harley 7341

Consulted for: **JW19**

Description: 290mm x 230mm, paper, original binding, ff. 294

Comments: Manuscript anthems and services in score, entirely in the hand of Thomas Tudway. Along with much of the Harley library the volume passed from Edward Harley (1689-1741) to his widow, Henrietta, née Cavendish Holles (d. 1755), then to their daughter, Margaret Cavendish Bentinck, Duchess of Portland (d. 1785). In 1753 it was sold to the British Museum as part of the founding collection. This is the fifth in a set of six volumes of church music, chosen, compiled and copied in score by Tudway for the library of Lord Harley. This volume is dated 1718 and is entitled:

Continuation of the most Modern celebrated Services, and Anthems, us'd in the Church of England, at this day, Compos'd for the most part, in the Reigne of her Majesty Queen Anne, by the best of Masters And Collected by Tho. Tudway D.M. Music Professor to the University of Cambridge A.D. MDCCXVII Vol. V

Tudway himself is composer of no fewer than eleven of the thirty-seven works in the volume; John Church and James Hawkins are represented by five items and four respectively, with only four anthems by William Croft included. These ratios present a rather skewed look of "the best of Masters", though in his preface Tudway does comment that he is reserving for the sixth volume "such peices,[sic] as were made upon the great Events, & occurrences of her Majestys Reigne". Weldon is represented in the collection by a solitary anthem, *Hear my*

crying, O God, entered on ff. 288v-292r. This is the last item in the collection. Given Tudway's antipathy towards Weldon (see Chapter 1), it is perhaps surprising that his work was included at all; one might speculate that omission had been Tudway's intention, but that he was swayed by his apparent desire to include a wide range of composers in the anthology. One might even speculate further that the inclusion of the disputed *c b*" towards the end (see Chapter 3) was an act of deliberate sabotage.

Bibliography: *British Library: Search our Catalogue – Archives and Manuscripts* (last accessed 15 February 2014); *SpinkRCM*, pp. 87-88, Appendix F; Edward Turnbull, 'Thomas Tudway and the Harleian Collection', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 8 (1955), pp. 203-4; William Weber, 'Thomas Tudway and the Harleian Collection of "Ancient" Church Music', *British Library Journal*, Vol. 15 (1989), pp. 187-205; Christopher Hogwood, 'Thomas Tudway's History of Music', in ed. Christopher Hogwood and Richard Lockett, *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 19-47.

London, British Library, Add. MSS 30931-30932

These two volumes form part of a trio of guardbooks containing "Anthems Ancient and Modern ... collected by William Flackton" in the late eighteenth century (GB-Lbl Add. MSS 30931-30933). Flackton was a bookseller in Canterbury, having been a chorister in the cathedral there from 1718-1726. Much of the musical collection was formed by Daniel Henstridge (1650-1736), Organist of Rochester and subsequently Canterbury cathedrals. Part of the collection is in his hand, though this does not include the Weldon anthems below. There are several autograph copies of Henry Purcell and John Blow anthems, but otherwise many of these manuscripts have a strong Canterbury connection. For a time the collection was owned by Julian Marshall.

Add. MS 30931:

Consulted for: **JW19**

Description: 335mm x 440mm, paper, ff. i+ 179+iii, rebound March 1959

Comments: This guardbook includes a manuscript that is part of an organ book (ff. 31r-40v), measuring 210mm x 330mm. Weldon's *Hear my crying* is found on ff. 34v-35v. This section of Add. MS 30931 seems to have been copied as a group. It contains anthems by three composers associated with the Chapel Royal: John Weldon, William Croft and Henry Purcell. The pages are numbered consecutively, seemingly in the same hand and ink as the scribe of the musical text, starting with "(2)" on f. 31v. A copy of Weldon's *O Lord rebuke me not* (Divine Harmony version) is found on ff. 34v-35r indicating that the copying post-dates 1716. There is no indication of a c ♭' in the pre-antepenultimate bar of *Hear my crying*. If this organ book was copied from Chapel Royal performing material, as seems likely, it was mostly likely entered prior to the alteration to that chord was made, probably by or after Boyce.

Add. MS 30932:

Consulted for: **JW1b**

Description: 335mm x 440mm, paper, ff. i+172 +ii; rebound February 1959

Comments: Weldon's *O Lord rebuke me not* (Oxford version, without the verse, "The Lord hath heard the voice") is found on a single bifolium, ff. 105r-106v, measuring 330mm x 205mm. It was identified as an autograph by Philip Hayes in 1785, but the present writer is unable to support this assertion. In particular, the shapes of the g-clef and F-clef are unlike those found in Weldon's autographs. Weldon's g-clef takes the form of a lower-case "g", followed by a loop that takes the pen to the top of the stave and back below the bottom line. This loop is not found in this manuscript. Weldon's F-clef takes up the entire stave; in this manuscript it rarely descends below the third line and is much closer to a circle in overall shape.

Bibliography: *British Library: Search our Catalogue - Archives and Manuscripts* (last accessed 15 February 2014); <http://opac.rism.info> (last accessed 15 February 2014); Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, p. 139; *SpinkRCM*, p. 148; Taylor, *Thematic Catalog of the Works of Jeremiah Clarke*, p. 110; Robert Thompson, 'Sources and Transmission' in *The Ashgate Companion to Purcell*, pp. 14-15; Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell...An Analytical Catalogue*, p. 456.

London, British Library, Add. MS 31405

Secondary source for: **JW5b**

Description: 340mm x 210mm, paper, ff. 158

Comments: Guardbook of manuscripts of anthems and odes gathered together by Julian Marshall. Composers include Henry Aldrich, John Blow, John Bull, William Byrd, William Croft, John Eccles, Jean-Joseph Fiocco, Pietro Antonio Fiocco, Orlando Gibbons, Edmund Hooper, Thomas Morley, William Mundy, Daniel Purcell, Henry Purcell. C. Shode, William Turner and John Weldon. *I will lift up mine eyes* (Oxford version) is entered in score on ff. 100r-103v; the present writer has tentatively identified this as Thomas Tudway's hand.

Bibliography: *British Library: Search our Catalogue – Archives and Manuscripts* (last accessed 15 February 2014); <http://opac.rism.info> (last accessed 15 February 2014); Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell... An Analytical Catalogue*, p. 456.

London, British Library, Add. MS 31819

Primary source for: **JW30**

Description: 300mm x 245mm, paper; ff. 83

Comments: A manuscript collection of canons, rounds, psalm chants and hymn tunes brought together by Richard John Samuel Stevens. Formerly owned by Julian Marshall. The chants are collected together at the back of the volume (ff. 80r-83v) and include examples by Jonathan Battishill, John Soaper, John Jones, Benjamin Cooke, Luke Flintoft, Charles King, Valentine Nalson, James Nares, and John Alcock. Most are in four vocal parts, but one (by Valentine Nalson) is in six and the final (anonymous) chant is in eight.

Bibliography: <http://opac.rism.info> (last accessed 15 February 2014); *British Library: Search our Catalogue - Archives and Manuscripts* (last accessed 15 February 2014);

London, British Library, Add. MS 41847 (autograph source)

Primary source for: **JW10, JW12, JW13**

Description: 325mm x 205mm, paper, bound in March 1929, ff. vi + 25

Comments: A collection of three autograph manuscripts in score by Weldon in a guardbook. *O be joyful, O sing unto the Lord* and *Rejoice in the Lord* are bound together with a 'Note on the Provenance' by Ralph Griffin. This essay describes a two-volume collection of anthems that once belonged to Samuel Arnold. Griffin suggests that "it cannot be doubted that these volumes contain, bound together, part of the collection of Boyce, Greene, and Arnold for the intended complete corpus of *Cathedral Music*." None of the three anthems by Weldon that were in the first volume of manuscripts (there were none by Weldon in the second volume) appear in Arnold's *Cathedral Music*, though *In thee, O Lord* (**JW19**) and *Hear my crying, O God* (**JW20**) were earlier printed in Boyce's collection and both *Who can tell how oft* (**JW21**) and *O God, thou hast cast us out* (**JW7**) were included by Arnold. Several singers are named. See Chapter 4 for further discussion of this manuscript in relation to the revisions to *O sing unto the Lord*.

Bibliography: Ralph Griffin, 'A note on the provenance' (an insert into the guardbook); *British Library: Search our Catalogue – Archives and Manuscripts* (last accessed 15 February 2014).

London, British Library, Egerton 3767

Consulted for: **JW8**

Description: 365mm x 240mm, paper, original binding, ff. i+175

Comments: A treble partbook in manuscript containing twenty-one services and fifty-four anthems at opposite ends of the volume. Composers represented include Henry Purcell, John Blow, William Child, Orlando Gibbons, John Goldwin, Henry Aldrich, Thomas Tallis, Elway Bevin, William Byrd, Albertus Byrne, William Croft, Jeremiah Clarke, Michael Wise, William Turner, Pelham Humfrey, Vaughan Richardson, Benjamin Rogers James Hawkins, Richard Farrant, Adrian Batten, William Tucker, Thomas Tudway, William Lawes, William Norris. Particularly prevalent are items by Thomas Kelway (d. 1749, organist of Chichester Cathedral from 1733); there are four services and six anthems. This, together with the

inclusion of anthems by the Subdean of Chichester ([John?] Cock and Dr Thomas Manningham, Bishop of Chichester strongly suggest a Chichester association; it seems likely that it is a partbook from Chichester Cathedral.

Bibliography: *British Library: Search our Catalogue - Archives and Manuscripts* (last accessed 15 February 2014); <http://opac.rism.info> (last accessed 15 February 2014).

London, Royal College of Music MS 2043

Primary source for: **JW28, JW29, JW31, JW32**

Description: 185mm x 145mm, paper, ff. 37

Comments: An incomplete, partly autograph, series of unbound parts for a Service in D by Weldon comprising *Te Deum*, *Jubilate Deo*, *Cantate Domino* and *Deus Misereatur* canticles for Morning and Evening Prayer (Mattins and Evensong). The extant treble part includes ornamentation. In each part there are six pre-ruled staves per page. Occasionally extra staves are hand-ruled in a cramped fashion below the lowest pre-ruled staff, seemingly to save turning the page at the end of a movement. Names of singers are given at the top left of each part at the start of the *Te Deum* (see Table 6.1, below). The evening canticles are missing from the tenor cantoris part. It seems that Weldon was working in tandem with a second copyist: in ff. 1r-1v the treble clefs are entered in a modern style but the music and text are entered in Weldon's hand; in the remainder of the partbook the clefs are in the older form commonly used by the composer. Furthermore on f.15v the c4 clefs are entered in a florid style not used elsewhere by Weldon, but found elsewhere in this Tenor cantoris partbook. Again, the music and text were entered by the composer.

Bibliography: *BurrowsHECR*, pp. 452 fn. 63, 603 fn. b; *SpinkRCM*, pp. 173-174; Matthias Range, *Music and Ceremonial at British Coronations*, p. 167, fn. 165; William Barclay Squire, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Royal College of Music*, with additions by Rupert Erlebach.

Part	Folios (as foliated on manuscript)	Extant movements	Names given (on first folio)	Notes
Treble cantoris	ff. 1r-5r	TD, JD, DM, CD		On ff. 1r-1v the clefs were entered by the second copyist but music and text entered by the composer. ff 2r-5r are autograph. f.5v contains the last five bars found on f.5r, crossed out
Contratenor cantoris	ff. 6r-11r	TD, JD, DM, CD	M ^r Leigh [Laye]	Entirely autograph. Initialled on f.11r. f.11v is unused
Tenor cantoris	ff. 13r-15v	TD, JD,	M ^r Jenings [Jennings]; M ^r Mason	ff. 13r, 13v and 15r are non-autograph. On f. 15v the clefs were entered by the second copyist but music and text entered by the composer. ff. 14 and 16 are either missing or this was mis-foliated
Bass cantoris	ff. 17r-22v	TD, JD, DM, CD	M ^r Baker; M ^r Woodson	ff. 17r-17r are in the hand of the second copyist. ff. 18v-19r are autograph. ff. 19v-20r are in the hand of the second copyist. ff 20v-22v are autograph
Tenor decani	ff. 23r-30v	TD, JD, DM, CD	M ^r Freman [Freeman]; M ^r Carlton [? Carleton]	ff. 23r-27r are in the hand of the second copyist. ff. 27v-30v are autograph. Initialled on f. 30v
Bass decani	ff. 31r-39r	TD, JD, DM, CD	M ^r Weely [Weeley]	f.31r-33r (and insert) are in the hand of the second copyist. ff. 33v-39r are autograph. Initialled on f. 39r. ff. 39v is unused

Table 6.1: Contents of GB-Lcm 2043

London, St Paul's Cathedral, Set B

Primary source for: **JW22**

Secondary source for: **JW21**

Consulted for: **JW20**

Descriptions:

Ms. Alto 3: 240mm x 340mm, paper, pp. 262

Ms. Tenor 4: 240mm x 360mm, paper, pp. 154+52

Ms. Bass 3: 240mm x 350mm, paper, pp. 264

Comments: Three manuscript partbooks, started by John Gostling. Though only the tenor partbook is currently double-ended, it seems that the other extant partbooks were originally arranged this way, with verse anthems (and some services) at one end and full anthems (including full-with-verse anthems) at the other. James Hume, following on from the work of Sarah Boyer, suggests that the copyist of the section including the Weldon items may be Charles King. He further notes that this set and Tenbury partbooks may be based on the same sources.

Bibliography: James Hume, 'The Chapel Royal Partbooks in Eighteenth-Century England', pp. 208-209; Sarah Boyer, 'The Cathedral, the City and the Crown: A Study of the Music and Musicians of St Paul's Cathedral, 1660 to 1697', 3 vols. (PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 1999), ii, pp. 248–305.

London, St Paul's Cathedral, Ms. Organ Vol. 5, part 1

Primary source for: **JW22**

Description: 400mm x 280mm, paper, pp.307

Comments: Large manuscript organ book, now divided into three separate volumes as Organ 5 part one, Organ 5 part two and Organ 6. It appears to have been copied by a late eighteenth-century copyist—possibly John Jones, organist at St Paul's in succession to Maurice Greene. There are over two hundred items across the (now) three organ books. Charles King, Maurice Greene, William Boyce, William Croft and James Nares are particularly well represented, with several items also by Henry Purcell, Orlando Gibbons, Adrian Batten and Henry Aldrich. It seems likely that this book represented a large portion of the cathedral repertory at

the time: Weldon is represented not only by *Turn thou us, O good Lord* (**JW22**), but also in the other books (as now divided) by *Hear my crying, O God* (**JW19**), and *In thee, O Lord* (**JW20**), these latter two seemingly derived from the Boyce *Cathedral Music* print.

Bibliography: Hume, 'The Chapel Royal Partbooks in Eighteenth-Century England', pp. 208-209; Sarah Boyer, 'The Cathedral, the City and the Crown: A Study of the Music and Musicians of St Paul's Cathedral, 1660 to 1697' (PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 1999), ii, pp. 248–305;

Oxford, Magdalen College Archive, MCOR1/MS1/2 (formerly Ms. 455)

Primary source for: **JW8**

Secondary source for: **JW1b, JW5b**

Description: 405mm x 250mm, paper, ff. vi + 248 + iii, eighteenth century binding.

Comments: Large bass partbook in manuscript, with several anthems entered in score or partial score. This is a large volume, seemingly used by a bass lay clerk. It has two pagination sequences. The first sequence, pp. 1-84 seems to represent a primarily Restoration period repertoire, with services by Henry Aldrich, Benjamin Rogers, William Child, Nathaniel Patrick, Vaughan Richardson, Thomas Tallis, Bryan, Orlando Gibbons and William Byrd. This is followed by twenty unused leaves (presumably awaiting the entry of further services) and then there is a second pagination sequence. This second sequence runs from pp. 1-332 and is again followed by twenty unused leaves. It contains some fourteen services and forty-nine anthems. Best represented across the manuscript, by nine anthems and three service settings, is Benjamin Rogers, sometime organist of Magdalen College. John Blow, William Croft and John Weldon are each represented by six items; Jeremiah Clarke, Michael Wise and William Child by four items each. William Croft is accorded his doctorate on the first item of the second sequence, indicating a post-1713 date of copying commencement. It would seem that the repertoire of anthems in this book was kept more up to date with eighteenth century anthem repertoire than the repertoire of services. See also Chapters 3 and 4.

Bibliography: <http://www.rism.org.uk> (last accessed 15 February 2013).

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS. Mus. d. 149-69 (New College Chapel Choir Books)

Ms Mus.d.151

Consulted for: **JW5b**

Description: Treble partbook, 225mm x290mm, ff. i+66

Comments: Incomplete sets of manuscript partbooks. Content differs between partbooks as older material has been discarded and space filled unsystematically. Used until at least the middle of the nineteenth century. Given to the Bodleian library by New College in 1919. This example shows the continued use of the "Oxford" version of *O how pleasant* (**JW5b**) as it contains the solo verses; other partbooks included matching material for the chorus parts. The copyist can be identified as William Walond (senior; 1719-1768), sometime deputy organist at New College and principal copyist at both New College and Christ Church.

Bibliography:

www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/1500-1900/newcollege/newcollege.html (last accessed 31 January 2014); Peter Ward Jones and Donald Burrows, 'Musicians and Music Copyists in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Oxford' in Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (eds.), *Concert Life in Eighteenth-century Britain*, pp. 134-136; Peter Ward Jones and Donald Burrows, 'An Inventory of Mid-Eighteenth-Century Oxford Musical Hands', *RMARC*, No. 35 (2002), pp. 61-139.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mus c. 2 (autograph source)

Primary source for: **JW11**

Description: 250mm x 330mm, paper, ff. 171, guardbook

Description of Weldon item: 1st bifolium (ff. 108r-109v): 235mm x 295mm; 2nd bifolium (ff. 110r-111v): 230mm x 285mm; 3rd bifolium (ff. 112r-113v): 230 x 290mm.

Comments: Guardbook of anthems collected by Philip Hayes. The Weldon item was one of three anthems attributed to John Galliard purchased by William Hayes from Thomas Barrow, a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in January 1776. It was demonstrated by Burrows in his 1980 article, 'Some Misattributed 18th-Century Anthems', that though one of the three items was by Galliard, another was by Nicola Haym (in his autograph) and the third by John Weldon. The guardbook came to the Bodleian library in 1801 as part of the Osborne Wight

bequest. It includes anthems by William Byrd, Thomas Dupuis, John Blow, Orlando Gibbons, Maurice Greene and Samuel Arnold. Weldon's anthem, *O Lord, let me hear thy loving kindness*, is entered across three bifolia, each numbered consecutively by the composer. Burrows describes it as a "composition autograph", but given the features identified by the present writer in *O sing unto the Lord* (see Chapter 4), it seems to be a "fowle original" subjected to revision by the composer.

Bibliography: *A summary catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, Vol. 4, p. 4; Donald Burrows, 'Some Misattributed 18th-Century Anthems', *The Musical Times*, Vol. 121, No. 1650 (1980), pp. 521-523.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mus. Sch. B. 7

Primary source for: **JW21** (pp. 106-135 [though see pagination sequence, below])

Secondary source for: **JW19** (pp. 35-43)

Description: 240mm x 380mm, black ink on paper, pp. ii+186

Comments: Manuscript volume of anthems and services in score. It is entirely in the hand of Charles Badham, a Minor Canon of St Pauls' cathedral from 1698 until his resignation in 1716. Composers represented are Croft, Weldon, Charles King and Richard Goodson (Senior). Badham specifies singers in the first anthem in the volume (Croft's *Sing unto the Lord*): "M^f Hughs, M^f Elford, M^f Wheely" (p.1); "A solo for the upper part sung by M^f Hughes" (p.4); "A solo for a Bass sung by M^f Weely" (p.5). The designation of the opening trio seems to allocate Elford to the c4 clef (i.e. tenor) part. The first item is accredited to "M^f Crofts" (p. 12); the second (*I will give thanks*) is accredited and dated: "D^f Croft 1713 July 19" (p.25). Richard Goodson's *Morning Service in C* is dated 1712 (p. 81). The pages are numbered 1-202, but there are small single leaf inserts at pp. 109 and 133 (numbered 109a and 134a respectively); a very small, unnumbered single leaf insert at p. 155 (giving the bass part of a single chant) and the pagination omits pp. 110-130 (seemingly in error rather than pages being missing as the numbering skips from 109 on the recto side to 130 on the verso side of a folio), pp. 178-202 unused, four chants are entered onto the inside back cover. On pp. 81-77 red ink is used for barlines, some instructions and some notes (where there are two vocal parts to a stave). The inserts (p. 109a and 134a) seem to have been detached from the

bottom of pp. 130 and 131 respectively. They are stuck in their present positions at the tops of pp. 109 and 133 along their left edges; pp. 134a has been stuck upside down.

The manuscript seems to have been trimmed at the bottom of some pages and the top of others after the anthems had been entered but prior to binding. However the chants inside the back cover (in Badham's hand) seem to indicate that it was bound under Badham's supervision. It seems likely that that it was compiled between 1710 and 1716. The entry of *Who can tell how oft he offendeth* (**JW21**) is highly unusual in that it is copied in score including a two stave organ part. Even in full and full-with-verse anthems it is far more common to find scores with any additional organ indications entered onto the vocal staves (particularly the bass stave; see also Chapter 5). It is copied with each system continuing from left to right across each double page spread, then moving to the next system on the left hand page. Clefs are not repeated on the right hand page. The organ part is entered on 6-line staves, the pre-prepared rostrum-drawn staves being adapted for this purpose by the addition of an extra line, usually (but not always) above the pre-drawn staves. One system is not adapted this way and Badham makes a reminding note, "5 lines".

Bibliography: *A summary catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* Vol. 5, p. 215; *SpinkRCM*, p. 84; Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, p. 305.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tenbury MS 796

Primary source for: **JW23**

Description: 230mm x 285mm, ff. i+168+ii, mid-nineteenth century guardbook.

Comments: Manuscripts in score. On the inside cover has been affixed the bookplate of John Hanson Sperling of Trinity College, Cambridge and there is the ascription "Vol. V". It contains a wide-ranging repertoire not reaching beyond the eighteenth century. Christopher Tye, Robert Creighton, Richard Alison, Thomas Tallis, Matthew Locke, Thomas Weelkes, Thomas Tudway, George Loosemore, Maurice Greene and James Hawkins all represented. The compiler of the guardbook has often included brief biographical details of each of the composers. These are not always completed: George Loosemore is given only his name and space is left blank. Weldon's entry tells of his studies at Eton College and under Purcell, detailing also his Chapel Royal posts and London church appointments. It comments that he leaves "behind him a service and several excellent anthems" (f. 114v). The same compiler

seems not to be the scribe who entered *O Saviour of the World*, but it is in this pen and hand that the attribution to John Weldon is made. Given that the anthem is not similar in style to any of his other anthems and there is no other evidence to ascribe this item to Weldon, this attribution must be considered doubtful.

Bibliography: Fellowes, *The catalogue of manuscripts... Tenbury*, pp. 164-165.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tenbury MS 797-803

Consulted for: **JW19, JW20**

Descriptions:

- 797: Treble cantoris partbook: 205mm x 270mm, paper,
pp. x+21+8 unused+27+x
- 798: contratenor decani partbook: 205mm x 275mm, paper
pp. x+33+31 unused+33+x
- 799: contratenor cantoris partbook: 205mm x 270mm, paper
pp. x+30+2unused+7+13 unused+28+x
- 800: Tenor decani partbook: 205mm x 270mm, paper,
pp. xii+33+15unused+31+xii
- 801: Tenor cantoris partbook: 205mm x 270mm, paper,
pp. x+43+7unused+24+x
- 802: bass decani partbook: 205mm x 270mm, paper,
pp. x+36+20unused+38 (pp. 23&24 numbered twice)+x
- 803: bass cantoris partbook: 205mm x 270mm, paper,
pp. x+43+19unused+3+8unused+23+x

Comments: A small set of partbooks, missing only the treble decani book, all in the hand of John Gostling (plus two anthems in each in the hand of Highmore Skeats). Each contains verse anthems at one end and full anthems when reversed. The set was successively owned by Rev. William Gostling, Highmore Skeats, W.J. Porter and Joseph Warren. The set was the

personal property of John Gostling and seems to have been his personal file copies, perhaps for use in copying into performance partbooks. Shay and Thompson note that the Tenbury 1176-82 set contains some direct copies from the Tenbury 797-803 set, though this set was actually started slightly later. Hume notes a possible link between this set and the St Paul's Cathedral Set B (GB-Lsp Ms. Alto 3, Ms. Tenor 4, Ms. Bass 3) that includes the major full-with-verse anthem not included in this set (*Who can tell how oft he offendeth*, **JW21**).

Bibliography: Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, pp. 206-209; *SpinkRCM*, p. 78; Taylor, *Thematic Catalog of the Works of Jeremiah Clarke*, p. 116; Robert Ford, 'Minor Canons at Canterbury Cathedral: The Gostlings and their Colleagues' (PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1984), pp. 294-298; Fellowes, *The catalogue of manuscripts... Tenbury*, pp. 165-167; James Hume, 'The Chapel Royal Partbooks in Eighteenth-Century England'; Herissone *Musical Creativity*, p. 99.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tenbury MS 820[b]

Secondary source for: **JW18**

Description: 245mm x 310mm, paper, pp. ii+13+i (outside cover is a second copy of p.9)

Comments: MSS 812-826 are bound together in a single guardbook; MS 820 comprises two separate manuscripts scores, both in the hand of Richard Clark. The first is a copy of *Praise the Lord, O my soul* by Robert Creighton; the second a copy of Weldon's, *Let God arise*. The guardbook was once the property of John Sperling, according to a bookplate now affixed to the inside front cover.

Bibliography: Fellowes, *The catalogue of manuscripts... Tenbury*, p. 170.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tenbury MSS 1176-1182 (Gostling partbooks)

Consulted for: **JW12**

Descriptions:

1176: treble Decani partbook: paper, 250mm x 355mm,
pp. iv + 133+55+iv,

1177: contratenor cantoris partbook: paper, 250mm x 360mm,
pp. iv+ 187+1 unused+56+iv

1178: tenor cantoris partbook: paper, 250mm x 360mm,
pp. iv+ 172+54+iv

1179: bass cantoris partbook: paper, 250mm x 355mm,
pp. iv+196+56+iv

1180: organ book 1: paper, 255mm x 365mm,
pp. iv+280+vi

1181: organ book 2: paper, 250mm x360mm,
pp. iv+220+75+iv

1182: organ book 3: 255mm x 360mm,
pp. xii+ 58+1 unused+17+vii

Comments: An incomplete set of manuscript partbooks in the hand of John Gostling. Each of the vocal partbooks contains verse anthems at one end and full anthems reversed. The set was successively owned by Rev. William Gostling, Highmore Skeats, W.J. Porter and Joseph Warren. The set was the personal property of John Gostling and does not seem to have been subjected to heavy use in performance. Watkins Shaw argues that that the size and format of the books indicate that they were performance copies, though Robert Thompson describes them as "a private set of file copies" (*Ashgate Research Companion*). Hume notes that (in general terms) "the presence of organ books suggests a performance function". In *Purcell Manuscripts* Shay and Thompson describe the set as "exemplars" for performing material at St Paul's. The organ books themselves further suggest a performance intention in the naming of performers in two of Jeremiah Clarke's anthems:

- Organ book 1 Clarke, *Praise the Lord, O my Soul*,
p. 240, "Vers: M^r Barnes or M^r Elford"
- Organ book 2 Clarke, *The Lord is King*:
p. 380: "Solo: Contratenor. M^r Barns"
p. 382: "Solo: M^r Freeman "
p. 384: "Solo: M^r Elford"

This set do not duplicate the 'A2' set of partbooks from St Paul's Cathedral, perhaps suggesting that they were intended as a companion set. It may be that they were intended as performing material but for some reason never used as such. There is some duplication with US-AUS Pre-1700 85, Ob-T 797-803 and US-Cn Case 7A/2 (all of which are earlier Gostling copies).

Bibliography: Robert Thompson, 'Sources and Transmission' in Rebecca Herissone (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Henry Purcell*, pp. 41-42, 45-46; Shay/Thompson – Purcell manuscripts pp. 206-209; Ford, 'Minor Canons at Canterbury Cathedral: The Gostlings and their Colleagues', pp. 868-884; Fellowes, *The catalogue of manuscripts... Tenbury*, pp. 254-257; HerissoneFFA, p. 15; SpinkRCM, p.78; Taylor, *Thematic Catalog of the Works of Jeremiah Clarke*, pp. 117-118; Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell...An Analytical Catalogue*, p. 473; Herissone *Musical Creativity*, p. 215.

Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. 1233

Consulted for: **JW5b**

Description: 375mm x 255mm, paper, ff. 95

Comments: Manuscript organ book of anthems and services. Composers represented include anthems by John Blow, Maurice Greene, William Croft, John Weldon, William Boyce, John Stanley, Johann Pepusch, Michael Wise, William Hayes, Henry Hall; there are three services in the reverse of the volume by William Croft, William Child and Thomas Morley. Copied by William Walond (senior) for use in Christ Church Cathedral, mostly in the 1740s with a few additions in the 1760s; a note of payment is made in 1745 (p. 125). This manuscript shows the continued use of the Oxford version of *I will lift up mine eyes* into the mid-eighteenth century.

Bibliography: Peter Ward Jones and Donald Burrows, 'An inventory of mid-eighteenth-century Oxford musical hands', *RMARC*, Vol. 35 (2002), p. 90; John Milsom, <http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?set=Mus.+1233> (last accessed 5 February 2014).

Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. 1235

Consulted for: **JW8**

Description: 300 x 235 mm, paper, ff. 116

Comments: Manuscript organ book of anthems. Includes works by William Croft, John Weldon, Maurice Greene and Jeremiah Clarke at the front of the volume; Henry Purcell, William Croft, Maurice Greene, William Boyce, Jeremiah Clarke, Benjamin Rogers, Henry Aldrich, James Kent, John Goldwin, and Richard Farrant at the reverse. The end including Weldon's work was copied by William Walond (senior) for use in Christ Church Cathedral in the 1750s.

Bibliography: Peter Ward Jones and Donald Burrows, 'An inventory of mid-eighteenth-century Oxford musical hands', *RMARC*, Vol. 35 (2002), p. 91; John Milsom, <http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?set=Mus.+1235> (last accessed 5 February 2014).

Windsor, Eton College, College Library, ECR 299/ii

Primary source for: **JW1b, JW8**

Secondary source for: **JW9a**

Consulted for: **JW2**

Description: 330mm x 230mm; paper; ff. i+124+i; six staves per page, six-line staves

Comments: Manuscript organ book of anthems. Includes works by Henry Purcell, William Turner, Pelham Humfrey, John Goldwin, William Norris, William Croft, John Weldon, Maurice Greene, Michael Wise, John Jackson, James Hawkins, William Child, William Lawes, John Blow and Jeremiah Clarke. Copyists are William Isaack, John Walter and Benjamin Lamb; all of the Weldon items are in the hand of William Isaack (1650-1703). Three anthems by Weldon were entered consecutively: *O how pleasant* (**JW8**), *O praise the*

Lord, laud ye the name of the Lord (JW9a) and *Blessed be the Lord my strength (JW2)*. The fourth anthem by Weldon, *O Lord, rebuke me not (JW1b)* is crossed through and a page is missing. A note in the hand of Lamb at the start of the anthem reads "4th book page y^e 76". Keri Dexter suggests that copying of the book started *c.* September 1701 on the basis of several solo anthems entered on the appointment of Richard Elford to the choir. It is possible that Weldon's anthems were transmitted by Elford personally. *Blessed be the Lord my strength* is entered in F major and it seems that some revisions were made (mostly to the detail of the organ bass) prior to the publication of *Divine Harmony* (1716).

Bibliography: Keri Dexter, *"A good Quire of voices": The provision of choral music at St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle and Eton College, c. 1640-1733*, (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 199-200, 371-376; Roderick Williams, 'Manuscript Organ Books in Eton College Library' *Music & Letters*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (1960), pp. 358-359.

UNITED STATES (US)**Jean Gray Hargrove Music Library - University of California, Berkeley, CA: MS 173**

Primary source for: **JW1b, JW5b, JW9a**

Description: 270mm x 370mm, paper, pp. iv+138+ii

Comments: Manuscript collection of anthems and chants. Composers include Henry Aldrich, Giovanni Battista Bassani, John Blow, John Church, Jeremiah Clarke, Henry Hall, James Hawkins, George Holmes, Pelham Humfrey, Matthew Locke, Christopher Tye, John Weldon, Michael Wise. All items are entered in the hand of Simon Child; inscribed on p. iii is "Simon Child / Ejus Liber 1716". Former owners include Gilbert Heathcote and John Skelton Bumpus. Simon Child was Weldon's successor as organist at New College; it seems likely that the six anthems that open the volume (all by Weldon), are copies of material from the college: three of the anthems preserve versions that are distinctly different from later versions (see Chapter 4). The inclusion of an anthem by Clarke, *Unto thee, O Lord, will I lift up my soul* (pp. 70-76) with the inscription "Sung by M^r Elford" suggests the possibility of transmission back to New College from the Chapel Royal.

Bibliography: John Emerson, *Catalog of Pre-1900 Vocal Manuscripts in the Music Library, University of California at Berkeley* (California, 1988), pp. 235-237; *SpinkRCM*, pp. 174, 330.

Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois, Case MS 7A/2

Primary source for: **JW14, JW19, JW20**

Secondary source for: **JW12**

Description: 260mm x 415mm, paper, pp. iv+153+157+vi

Comments: Manuscript collection of anthems in score. Included are anthems by Jeremiah Clarke, William Croft, John Weldon, John Blow, Michael Wise, John Goldwin, Palestrina (translated Henry Aldrich) and Maurice Greene. The scribe is John Gostling. It is described by Robert Shay and Robert Thomson as "Gostling's second scorebook". Spink recognised

that it follows on in content from US-AUS Pre-1700 85 (published as John Gostling (compiled), *The Gostling manuscript; facsimile edition*, ed. Franklin B. Zimmerman (University of Texas Press: Austin TX, 1977)). Several performers are listed: the names of Elford, Church, Freeman, Williams, Barnes, Gostling, Hughes, Gates and Weely are all specified. It is argued in Chapter 4, on the evidence of the revisions to Weldon's *O sing unto the Lord a new song*, that Gostling enjoyed continued access to sources after composers had made emendations and could thus keep his scores up to date. See also Chapter 3.

Bibliography: Ford, 'Minor Canons at Canterbury Cathedral: The Gostlings and their Colleagues', pp. 288-294, 893-899; Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, pp. 65, 207, 209; *SpinkRCM*, pp. 83-84; Herissone *Musical Creativity*, p. 99.

Yale University Beineke Library: Osborn Music MS 514

Accessed online through Beineke Library's Digital Images Online (<http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3444381>; last accessed 5 February 2014)

Primary source for: **JW18**

Description: 210mm x 310mm, paper, pp. 211

Comments: Manuscript volume of anthems in score. Composers represented are Henry Aldrich, Henry Purcell, Giacomo Carissimi, Alessandro Stradella, Pelham Humfrey, Matthew Locke, Charles King, Jeremiah Clarke, and John Weldon. Formerly owned by Arthur H. Mann, organist of King's College, Cambridge. The style of the clefs and time signatures together with the repertoire seem to indicate an eighteenth-century provenance. The hand may be tentatively identified as the same as that in the St Paul's Cathedral Set B, suggested by James Hume as that of Charles King, though the shape of the bass clefs is rather more compact in this manuscript.

Bibliography: <http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3444381> (last accessed 5 February 2014).

Editorial Policy and Procedure

The aim of this edition of John Weldon's sacred music is to produce critical editions, which also satisfy the needs of the "generalist" musician or group of musicians. Most liturgical choirs (e.g. cathedral, church and institutional chapel choirs) will have representative examples of Purcell and Handel in their repertoires, but few currently engage in exploration of music from the intervening generation. Croft may be represented by his burial service (a verse of which is, famously, by Purcell) or *God is gone up with a merry noise*,¹ but to a large degree performance of this repertoire has not yet been revived (or introduced) in the same way as that of earlier English figures such as Tallis and Byrd.

To encourage performance, an editorial continuo part has been provided throughout, in a small font, conceived for organ alone. Weldon's practice with the Chapel Royal differed from this, in as much as he also enjoyed the services of a lutenist and a cellist (see Chapter 5), but elsewhere his music would have been performed without such luxuries. This realisation is suggestive only and performers, particularly specialists, may prefer to realise their own accompaniments.



Pitch has been retained as found in the copytext(s) used for each work (marked § in each Critical Commentary). Where these differ, the pitch of the (presumed) earliest source has been preferred (unless it is clearly corrupt). Prefatory staves confirm the pitches of the copytext. As previously noted (in Chapter 5), performance pitch in the royal chapels at the time Weldon was composing was somewhat higher than modern pitch. Key-signatures have been modernised, with variants shown in prefatory staves. Note-values have been retained as found in the sources. Common-time signatures of C and C have been retained from the sources, as have tempo markings where found. These should be read in conjunction; see Notes on Performance for further details. The more unusual indications (to modern performers) of 3i , 3i , ♩ and ♩ have been modernised; in such cases the time signature found in the first-listed source is noted in either a prefatory stave or above the lowest stave of the system and an editorial tempo suggestion inserted in square brackets. Where partbooks give differing time signatures they are noted above each stave as appropriate, when not in



¹ William Croft, *Burial sentences*, ed. Bruce Wood (OUP: Oxford, 1994); Idem, *God is gone up with a merry noise*, ed. Watkins Shaw (Novello: Borough Green, 1978).

prefatory staves. Prefatory staves are given at the start of the system in which a voice or instrument enters showing the clefs and key signatures found in the first-listed source. Weldon wrote for both countertenors (falsettists), and high tenors, both falling under the voice part designation "Contratenor" (see Notes on Performance); the term "Contratenor" in the labelling of voice parts has been retained to reflect this. To facilitate and encourage performance by modern choirs, all chorus work for contratenors has been transcribed into untransposed g2 clefs.² As regards verse and solo work, the transcription of c3 clefs into g2 clefs or transposed g2 clefs to suggest the use of a falsettist or his female equivalent in modern performance, on the one hand and a tenor on the other, is deliberate in its apparent inconsistency. Anything written for, or most likely performed by Richard Elford (1677-1714) has been suggested for tenor use. Decisions on the clef used for other solos and verses have been taken on a case-by-case basis, based firstly on any available evidence regarding singers specified in the sources and secondly on tessitura, with each decision justified in the critical commentary. Part names have been derived as follows, unless otherwise noted: g2 clefs – Treble; c3 clefs – Contratenor; c4 clefs – Tenor; F4 clefs – Bass. System brackets and braces have been added; the organ part has been placed on adjacent staves in the modern manner (in contemporary scores any right-hand material is usually placed on the uppermost stave of the system).

Barring has been regularised without comment. Stem direction has been regularised without comment. Beaming has been modernised and regularised to aid clarity of reading. The irregular nature of the beaming in the sources suggests that it was not intended to carry meaning beyond clarification of underlay in the vocal parts.

² For a discussion on the advantages of this practice, see Alan Howard, "On editing Blow", *Early Music* Vol. 38 No.4 (2010), pp. 604-605. The recent edition of William Croft, *Canticles and Anthems with Orchestra* ed. Donald Burrows, Musica Britannica 91 (Stainer and Bell: London, 2011) gives four untransposed g2 clefs representing four different contratenors singing in quartet in the setting of "The Father of an infinite Majesty" in the *Te Deum*. Burrows refers in his introduction to the nominated singers, "four of the Chapel's altos: [Richard] Elford, [Francis] Hughes, Charles Barnes and George Laye" (p. xxiv), but the lower two parts are littered with ledger lines below the stave. This puts it below the reach of many modern falsettists and creates serious issues of balance; they are presumably meant for Elford and Hughes, who were high tenors (see notes on performance). Howard's review (Alan Howard, "Constructing Croft" *Early Music* Vol. 41, No. 2, (2013), pp. 344-347) does not comment on this curious attribution, though Howard recognises that the review concentrates on historiographical and stylistic matters.

Slurs have been conflated from the listed sources for each piece and silently extended (or contracted) where their meaning is clear. In the vocal parts editorial slurs have been added to clarify underlay only where necessary; in the instrumental parts editorial slurs have only been added to parallel passages. All editorial slurs are marked with a dash (e.g.  or ). Where Weldon or another scribe placed a dot across, or a note on, a barline, or where such a situation arises from an editorial barline, ties have been tacitly added. Tempo and dynamic indications have been retained from the copy-text(s). Any additional tempo or dynamic markings have been added in round brackets where taken from the secondary sources listed and in square brackets where editorial. Any notes or rests altered editorially are reported in the critical commentaries. In the organ accompaniment the figures provided are conflated from the sources listed for each piece, without comment except in cases of conflict. Most of the sources are sparsely figured and figures seem to have been included only as *aides memoires*. Figures are added editorially (in square brackets) only to clarify doubtful readings. Notes in a smaller font signify an editorial realization (see Notes on Performance and Chapter 5) or completion. Ornamentation is conflated from the sources listed; such ornaments might be considered to be suggestions to the performer and further ornamentation is appropriate. Where an entire vocal part is supplied editorially this is presented in standard size font on a smaller sized stave and noted in the critical commentary.

Where there are rhythmic inconsistencies between partbooks and these are not confirmed by another source, editorial suggestions for regularisation have been placed above the stave. The lengths of final notes of phrases have been regularised and notes made in the critical commentaries; it is quite common for the ends of triple meter phrases to be conflicted across the partbooks between  and .

Most of the sources consulted follow the seventeenth-century application of sharps and flats without using natural signs, i.e. a note flattened in a key signature is raised to a natural by means of a sharp sign; a note sharpened in the key signature is lowered to a natural by means of a flat sign. In the sources accidentals are generally applied to each note to which they apply. All of these accidentals have been modernised. Where there is room for doubt as to their interpretation, or where they are omitted completely, they are placed in square brackets. Accidentals arising or omitted from regularisation of barlines pass without comment. Other editorial accidentals have been added in square brackets. Cautionary accidentals appear in round brackets. Where accidentals differ between sources this has been noted in the critical commentary.

Abbreviations in the text have been silently expanded; spelling and punctuation have been regularised according to the *Book of Common Prayer* (1662). Where confusion may arise in the number of syllables to be sung in a word, apostrophes have been used for clarifications (e.g. heav'ns). Directions for Verse, Solo and Chorus have been tacitly standardised. Text made clear in the sources through the use of ditto marks or "&c." has been editorially supplied in italics. Text provided in square brackets is editorial.

Titles and subtitles have been modernised as to format, spelling and positioning whilst retaining information conflated from all listed sources, including anthem word books.

Occasionally relevant readings (from a performance perspective) arise in listed sources which reflect contemporary performance practice, for example written out ornaments. These are given in ossia staves and their status explained in the critical commentary. Performers may wish to incorporate them, disregard them or use them as a basis for developing further ornamentation (see also Notes on Performance for ornamentation).

Registrations suggestions for organists have been given (in square brackets) in line with those found in contemporaneous organ books and scores, including Croft's *Musica Sacra*.

Notes on Performance

The major performance issues with the works of John Weldon (1676/7-1736) concern organ accompaniment, tempo, ornamentation and voice type. The first issue, that of organ accompaniment, has been dealt with in some depth in Chapter 5 and need not be fully unravelled again at this juncture. The essential conclusions of that chapter were that accompaniment of solo and verse anthems involved the organist realising the bass line from the figures, with a melodic outline of the vocal parts often also written into the organ book in order to provide supplementary information. The accompaniment of the full sections in these anthems may have involved the inclusion of the treble line as well, but this cannot be certain. In the case of the full anthems, with or without verses, it seems that the organist was much more bound to play the notes in the organ part, with additions suggested by means of figures. The editorial realizations of this edition have been provided on this basis. Registration suggestions have also been given in square brackets.

Tempo and ornamentation are best taken consecutively, as information about the two aspects is found in largely the same sources. The works of Weldon presented in this edition were mostly written across two time spans, separated by a gap of almost half a decade (see Chapter 2, Chronology). In the earlier set of works are found the solo anthems, in the later set are found the verse anthems and the larger scale full-with-verse anthems. Most of the solo anthems were written while Weldon was Organist at New College, Oxford (1694-1701). These show considerable influence from Henry Purcell (1659-1695), Weldon's teacher from March 1693 to March 1694, particularly in the application of the Italianate "pathetic" style. Weldon was by no means Purcell's only pupil. In the 1690s Purcell also taught Rhoda Cavendish (c. 1671-1730) from c. November 1691 to November 1693,¹ Diana Howard (c. 1686-1709), the granddaughter of Sir Robert Howard (1626-1698) from late 1693 to early 1695,² and Annabella Dyve (c. 1675-1728), the fourth wife of Sir Robert Howard.³ In the previous decade pupils had included the fiery Robert Hodge (c. 1675-1709), subsequently

¹ Michael Burden, "'He Had the Honour to be Your Master': Lady Rhoda Cavendish's Music Lessons with Henry Purcell", *Music & Letters* Vol. 76 (1995), pp. 532-9.

² Maureen Duffy, *Henry Purcell* (London, 1994), p. 215.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 214

organist of Wells and later St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.⁴ It seems axiomatic therefore to turn to Purcell's work in the twelfth edition of Henry Playford's (1657-1709) *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1694) to give guidance on tempo and ornamentation.⁵ However, it should be noted that in the thirteenth edition (1697) the guidance on ornamentation was revised, with particular changes made to the advice on the trill.⁶ These revisions were reprinted in successive editions in 1703, 1713, 1718, 1724 and 1730, in other words, throughout Weldon's working life. It would seem appropriate then to consider these revisions and their implications for the performance of Weldon's music. There were several publications giving advice to student musicians available in the early part of the eighteenth century, but two stand out as primarily aimed at singers, whilst others are first and foremost aimed at instrumentalists.⁷ *An essay upon vocal musick* (1715) by Daniel Robinson,⁸ and *The Compleat Musick-Master* (1722), published by William Pearson (c 1671-1735), were both aimed towards vocalists.⁹ It is, therefore, worthwhile comparing the advice in these publications to that given in the later editions of Playford's *Introduction*. With regard to ornamentation, Roger North also gives detailed advice on the practices of the time.¹⁰

Tempo

The fixed relationship between duple time and triple time had been (at least in theory) abandoned by the late seventeenth century.¹¹ However Margaret Laurie makes a strong case for considering such relationships as an aid to continuity and argues that they "were still

⁴ Ibid., p. 120.

⁵ Henry Playford, *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (London, 12/1694); Rebecca Herissone argues that Purcell is "almost certainly responsible" for the reworking of the rudiments as well as "The Art of Descant". *HerissoneMT*, p. 265.

⁶ Henry Playford, *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (London, 13/1697).

⁷ For example: Thomas Dean, *Complete Tutor for the Violin* (London, 1707).

⁸ Daniel Robinson, *An essay upon vocal musick* (London, 1716);

⁹ [William Pearson], *The compleat musick-master: being plain, easie and familiar rules for singing...* (London, 1722). Pearson often worked with Playford.

¹⁰ See, in particular, Roger North, *The Musicall Grammarian: 1728* (transcr. and ed. Mary Chan and Jamie C. Kassler; Cambridge, 1990).

¹¹ *HerissoneMT*, p. 47

accepted, albeit in a somewhat modified, more flexible and not always consistent way".¹² Ellen TeSelle Boal considers that Purcell's 1694 instructions give a metronome marking for a **C** time signature of ♩=120 and that a **♩** time signature results in ♩=240.¹³ As Laurie points out that this does not tally with other descriptions of **C** as "very slow" or "leisurely".¹⁴ Laurie suggests that the instructions themselves may be somewhat corrupt and that tempi of about half those suggested may be more appropriate for Purcell's vocal works and that in any case, the *Introduction* is really a starting point for students rather than a treatise for advanced performers. Nonetheless, Laurie notes that a proportional relationship (between **C** and **♩**) is probably appropriate, showing that in Dean's *Complete Tutor for the Violin* (1707), he gives: "**C**, Very solid or slow movement. **C** : Quicker. **♩** or **♩** as quick again as the first". The equivalence of **♩** and **♩** seem to hold true in the repertoire under consideration. Examples of either are rare, but in *O praise the Lord, ye that fear him* (**JW16**), b. 113, the cello and lute parts are given **♩** and the organ part is given **♩**, showing that for John Church (1674-1741), the Chapel Royal copyist, at least, they were considered equivalent.

Subsequent editions of Playford's *Introduction* up to 1730 do not change Purcell's instructions from those given in the 1694 edition. In Pearson's *The Compleat Musick-Master* (1722), he gives the examples shown in Illustration 6.4 (below), explaining them in the text thus:¹⁵

the first are for *Common Time*, and are measured by the *Semibreve* in an equal number of two *Crotchets* down, and two up, with the Hand or Foot: the first of these for *Common Time* denotes a very Grave or Slow movement; the second a more brisk or quicker Movement; the Third is call'd the *Retorted Mood*, the Movement being as quick again as the first of these three.

Again, we can see the same ratio between **C** and **♩**. The information given on setting the tempo is vague, but we might conjecture that again, Laurie's suggestion of ♩=60 for the first holds true (she recognises that this may be somewhat slow). Robinson's 1715 *An essay upon Vocal Musick* admits that there is a "great diversity of Men's Fancies in their allowance of

¹² Margaret Laurie, 'Continuity and Tempo in Purcell's vocal works' in Curtic Price (ed.), *Purcell Studies* (Cambridge 1995), p. 195.

¹³ Ellen TeSelle Boal, 'Timepieces, Time and Musical Tempo before 1700' (PhD thesis, Washington University, 1983), p. 119.

¹⁴ Laurie, 'Continuity and Tempo in Purcell's vocal works', p. 197.

¹⁵ Pearson, *The compleat musick-master*, p. 18.

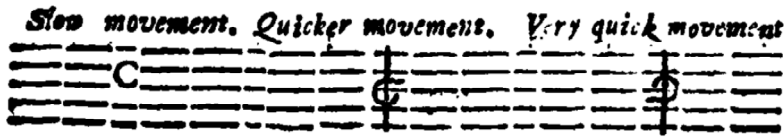


Illustration 6.4: 'Moods for time' as printed in *The compleat musick-master*, Pearson (London, 1722)

Time to the Measure of this or that Mood,"¹⁶ before going on to give instructions for using a clock to beat time:¹⁷

most Clocks which have large square Dial-Plates have such Swings, every one of these Beats or Motions is the sixtieth Part of a Minute, which being suited to a Crotchet makes a fourth Part in one of these Measures.

This supports the application of $\text{♩}=60$.¹⁸ Robinson's *An essay* also recognises the equivalence of "Retorted time" (♩) and "a great Figure of 2."¹⁹

The vast majority of the time-signature's found in Weldon's work, whether in autograph form or in copies are given as ♩ . Robinson suggests that ♩ should be "sung quicker by about a third part",²⁰ which would equate to $\text{♩}=c. 80$. Often in Weldon's music this is qualified by indications such as "Brisk" or "Slow". Clearly a judgement will need to be made by performers as to a precise tempo, based on text, rhythmic values, acoustic, agility or breath control and so forth, but perhaps the most important consideration for a modern performer is to realise that ♩ does not imply a minim pulse. Rather, depending on any tempo qualifiers found and the performers' judgement of the other factors mentioned, we might conjecture that it could signify a range of tempi, stretching perhaps from $\text{♩}=c. 70$ to $\text{♩}=c. 100$. The time signature of ♩ is very rare in Weldon's music but an example can be found in *Praise the Lord ye servants (JW14)*, b.110 (in all sources, see Critical Commentary). It might perhaps might signify a range of $\text{♩}=c. 50$ (any slower is rather uncomfortable to maintain a crotchet pulse) to $\text{♩}=c. 65$, with the faster ♩ thus perhaps signifying a range $\text{♩}=c. 100$ to 140, thus encompassing Laurie's suggested $\text{♩}=120$.

¹⁶ Robinson, *An essay upon Vocal Musick*, p. 15.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁸ Also noted in *HerissonMT*, p. 52.

¹⁹ Robinson, *An essay upon Vocal Musick*, p. 16.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

Moving on to triple time, in Weldon's work we encounter examples with both a minim pulse and those with a crotchet pulse. We consider again Purcell's 1694 instructions (reprinted throughout Weldon's lifetime), which explain both of these. We learn that ♩ time-signatures are counted in minims and also that the pulse of these is slower than the crotchet pulse of ♩ or ♩ , which are themselves equivalent.²¹ The implication of Purcell's instruction for the minim pulse, that you measure it "telling *one, two*, with your Hand down, and up with it at the *third*,"²² is that here $\text{♩} = c. 60$. The instruction that that for ♩ "the Minims become crotchets", is less clear cut; it seems that Purcell is simply describing the unit of time, rather than suggesting that $\text{♩} = c. 60$, as otherwise the aural effect would be unaltered. Pearson's *Compleat Musick-Master* fails to clarify matters in this regard, seemingly suggesting that aurally the pulse of ♩ (also shown here as an equivalent for ♩) should be the same speed ♩ , and he also has different implications about the basic tempo in triple time:²³

Triple Time moves by threes, as three *Minims* or three *Crotchets*, ...but is still reckoned in the measure of a *Semibreve*. Three *Minims* in a Barr [*sic*] are numbered at the Beginning of a Song or Lesson, Three to Two ♩ because in *Common Time* two *Minims* make a *Semibreve*; and three *Crotchets*, Three to Four ♩ , because Four *Crotchets* make a *Semibreve*.

This suggests a different tempo relationship between triple and duple metre to that suggested by Purcell, indeed it is one far more closely related to the earlier concepts of proportional time. Pearson does not, alas, tell us which of the common time-signatures it should be related to. If we relate it to ♩ , then based on $\text{♩} = c. 60$, we find that $\text{♩} = c. 45$ in ♩ (or $\text{♩} = c. 45$ in ♩), which feels improbably slow. If, however, we relate it to ♩ , then based on $\text{♩} = c. 80$ we find that in ♩ , $\text{♩} = c. 60$. Whilst this feels a little on the slow side (we noted above that $\text{♩} = c. 60$ felt a little slow generally in ♩), it seems to come more into focus. Allied with Purcell's instructions that triple time metres counted in crotchets should be faster, it is possible to suggest, that (at least as a starting point) we might use $\text{♩} = c. 60-80$ when counting in minims and $\text{♩} = c. 100-130$ when counting in crotchets. Furthermore, strong consideration should be given to relating the tempi of consecutive sections, at least loosely, in some form of sesquialteral proportion. Weldon's leaning towards this sort of proportion might be construed from his frequent use of the seemingly tautologous ♩ , incorporating the *tempus imperfectum*

²¹ Playford, *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (12/1694), p. 27.

²² Ibid.

²³ Pearson, *The compleat musick-master*, p. 18.

cum prolatione perfecta sign. To balance this though we should be tempered by Stephen Rose's observation in relation to the music of Purcell, in which he states, "Because the mensural system was gradually breaking down, it is not an infallible guide to tempo relationships in Purcell's works."²⁴ If this is true for Purcell, it is at least as true for the next generation of composers that include Weldon.

Ornamentation

Before considering ornamentation it is best to reflect that any attempt to pin down notational values for ornaments is fraught with danger, as noted by Frederick Neumann:²⁵

An ornament is like an organic substance and as such is in constant flux. It has no rigid shape, and cannot have one if it is to do its work. Regular notes cannot do justice to the irregularity of a specific ornament in a specific context, because notation is too rigid with its mathematical ratios while the ornamental irregularities are too subtle and intangible to be rendered in such fixed terms. A symbol, on the other hand, is not only a convenient shorthand device, but is actually a superior notational device because it does not bind the ornament to exact ratios and allows it to assume, however subtly, ever-differing shapes.

Nonetheless, ornamentation was a clear part of musical practice at the start of the eighteenth century and it would well behove modern performers to attempt to understand the options available for ornamentation, beyond the trill. Indeed this last term is itself rather problematic and perhaps it is best that we start with this particular ornament. This is the first of the "graces" (the contemporaneous term for ornamentation) that Purcell describes, stating clearly that with both this grace and others that he describes, he has taught them "to those who have been interred in my House". In other words, his pupils, among which, of course, was Weldon. Purcell's trill is shown in Illustration 6.5; he makes it crystal clear in his next sentence that the "Trill describ'd by me is upon one note only."²⁶

²⁴ Stephen Rose, 'Performance Practices' in Rebecca Herissone (ed.), *Ashgate Research Companion to Purcell* (Farnham, 2012), p. 124.

²⁵ Frederick Neumann, 'Interpretation problems of Ornament symbols' in *New Essays on Performance Practice* (Woodbridge, 1989), p. 123.

²⁶ Playford, *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (12/1694), p. 39.



Illustration 6.5: Purcell's 'Trill and Gruppo', printed in *An introduction to the skill of musick*, Playford (12/1694), p. 39.

It can be seen that the Trill starts with longer note values and then moves to shorter. It seems likely that this is an instance of notation falling short of describing the ornament itself and the change from longer note values to shorter should be more of a gradual process than notated. The "Gruppo", seen in the second part of Illustration 6.5 (above) is more akin to our modern trill, but it should be recognised that it starts on the main note rather on the upper note and finishes with a turn down to the cadential finishing point. Though the print is not entirely clear it seems also that the first note is notated as a quaver and the rest of the ornament as semiquavers, again perhaps implying a longer initial note before the ornament itself. Purcell does not describe exactly where these ornaments are to be used, but in Illustration 6.5 (above) it seems clear that both are meant for cadences and this is born out in the more extended example he gives later. Further confirmation of this is given in what seems to be an editor's note, reading:²⁷

The *Trill* being the most usual Grace, is usually made in *Closes, Cadences*; and when on a long Note *Exclamation* or *Passion* is expressed, there the *Trill* is made in the latter part of such Note; but most usually upon binding Notes, and such Notes as precede the closing Note.

Purcell goes on to show other graces, which are worthy of reproduction here in full (Illustration 6.6, below).

Notable is Purcell's injunction that there might some freedom with timing: "without tying a man's self to the ordinary measure of Time, making many times the Value of the Notes less by half, and sometimes more, according to the conceit of the words."²⁸ Roger North, in his 1726 writing, sometimes considered as a draft of the 1728 *Musickall Grammarian*,²⁹ illustrates particularly florid cadential graces, "giving up all measure of time, and letting loose the reines to fancy, whilst the dilligent base waits their pleasure when to

²⁷ Playford 1694, p. 44 (italics and roman type reversed).

²⁸ Playford, *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (12/1694), p. 43.

²⁹ See HerissonMT, p. 238 for a brief discussion of the relationship of the two documents.

Example of the most usual Graces.

The illustration shows seven staves of musical notation in G major, demonstrating various ornaments. The first staff shows a sequence of notes with first and second fingerings indicated above. The second staff is labeled '1 Beating of the Throat.' and shows a note with a trill-like ornament. The third staff is labeled '2 Beating the Throat.' and shows a similar ornament. The fourth staff is labeled '1 Trill.' and shows a trill with a plus sign. The fifth staff is labeled '2 Trill.' and shows a trill with a plus sign. The sixth staff is labeled '1 A plain fall.' and shows a note with a plus sign. The seventh staff is labeled '2 Double fall.' and shows a note with a plus sign. The eighth staff is labeled 'A fall to take breath.' and shows a note with a plus sign. The ninth staff is labeled 'Another fall like it.' and shows a note with a plus sign. A small text box at the bottom right of the ninth staff reads: 'Where this Mark + is put over a Note, the Trill is to be used.'

Illustration 6.6: Purcell's 'Table of Graces', printed in *An introduction to the skill of musick*, Playford (12/1694), p. 40.

conclude."³⁰ Thus there seems to be a distinction between gracing at the approach to cadences (perhaps best thought of as a short cadenza), and gracing in the flow of the music.

North, in his *An Essay of Musickall Ayre* (c.1715-1720), considers the "back-fall" (a falling appoggiatura in modern parlance) and the "beat-up" (a rising appoggiatura).³¹ These

³⁰ John Wilson (ed.), *Roger North on Music* (London, 1959), p. 158. North gives several examples of more elaborate graces.

³¹ *Ibid.* p. 151.

are generally termed the backfall and forefall today, in line with Purcell's list of graces in the posthumously published *A choice collection of lessons*, where those terms are used.³² In the sources, both printed and manuscript, of Weldon's music (and both early and late) it is quite normal to come across these particular graces indicated (for example), ♩ or ♩ .³³ These also concur with the Purcell's list of graces in *A choice collection of lessons*, where the terms forefall and back fall are used.³⁴ The forefall and backfall seem normally to fall on the beat, given the coincidence of these ornaments in vocal partbooks and organ books, but occasionally they might be performed before the beat (e.g. *In thee, O Lord* (JW20), b. 37).

Roger North was familiar with the gracing of Pier Francesco Tosi (1646-1732), who was in London from 1693 to 1701 and returned in 1724 for some years.³⁵ Tosi was an influential performer and singing teacher who wrote *Opinioni de' cantori antichi e moderni* (1723), translated in 1742 by Galliard as *Observations on the florid song*.³⁶ North gives several examples, in his 1695 writing ("Notes of Me"), of relatively simple graces, that illustrate breaking yet keeping time, several are reproduced as Example 6.1.³⁷ North also gives examples of passages where the melodic line is in parallel thirds or sixths with the bass, suggesting that when in thirds the voice could move ahead of the bass (perhaps by half a beat), and when in sixths the voice "laggs a little behind."³⁸ He also comments on "Slur-gracing" both in his 1726 writing and in the 1728 *Musicall Grammarian*. This form of gracing deals with moving between melodic intervals of a third, a fourth or a fifth. Examples 6.2(a)-(c) are drawn from the 1728 *Musicall Grammarian*, and show different ways of gracing the rising third; Examples 6.2(d)-(e) are taken from the 1726 document. North suggests that descending intervals can work in much the same way: "for it is of the same kind

³² Henry Purcell, *A choice collection of lessons for the harpsichord or spinet* (Henry Playford: London, 1696), p. 6.

³³ These have been placed in position on the staff in this edition, as that is where Weldon and Church usually placed them, rather than placed above the note as Gostling often does.

³⁴ Purcell, *A choice collection of lessons*, p. 6.

³⁵ For Pier Francesco Tosi see Malcolm Boyd and John Rosselli, 'Tosi, Pier Francesco', *OMO* (last accessed 7 February 2014); for a discourse on how his arguments were put into practice see Sergio Durante: 'Theorie und Praxis der Gesangsschulen zur Zeit Händels: Bemerkungen zu Tosis "Opinioni de' cantori antichi e moderni"', in ed. Hans Joachim Marx, *Händel auf dem Theater* (Laaber, 1988), pp. 59–77.

³⁶ Pier Francesco Tosi (tr. John Ernest Galliard), *Observations on the florid song* (London, 1743).

³⁷ Further examples are in both Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, and the manuscript from which it is drawn.

³⁸ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p. 153; see also Example 3, below.

The plaine The Grace

plaine #3 or thus

plaine [graced]

plaine Grac't Grac't

Example 6.1: Roger North's graces, probably after Tosi, adapted from John Wilson (ed.), *Roger North on Music* (London, 1959), pp. 152-153.

revertendo."³⁹ We should observe North's comment that gracing has "no use...in consort".⁴⁰ The sources of Weldon's music suggest that the simpler graces, such as forefalls, backfalls and trills (however they might be interpreted) are suitable for use in consort. We might consider then, that the application of the more florid forms of gracing is particularly applicable to the slower verses of Weldon's solo anthems, with the most florid examples reserved for the approach to cadences.

Care should be taken not to over-grace music that has already been graced; North himself considered that printing graces in the musick was "an affront to an ordinary player,".⁴¹ For a modern performer of course, it can be rather useful to be able to compare the undecorated with the decorated. The *Divine Harmony* (1716) publication, purports to publish the first six anthems in this edition in a manner to "appear in their proper dress, as they were perform'd at the Chapell Royall."⁴² The repeated verse, "Turn thee, O Lord," from *O Lord,*

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ North, *The Muscicall Grammarian: 1728*, p. 167.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 166.

⁴² *WeldonDH*, preface.

understanding of the meaning of the word "trill". Each go on to give examples of where the trill should be used. Playford's publication states, "On all Descending Prick'd [dotted] Crotchets, also when the Note before is in the same Line or Space with it, and generally before a Close [cadence], either in the middle, or at the end of a Song."⁴⁴ This suggests quite a lot of trills, born out by the example he gives. He also suggests that there are more notes that should be trilled, but that these will become apparent from experience.⁴⁵

Pearson's later approach (1722) deals with triple time, suggesting that the trill "may be used on all descending Semibreves in Triple Time". Presumably the same is true of minims in **3** or **4**. He also, like Playford, indicates trilling on "the latter of two Unisons". Although the examples show how to practise making a trill, rather than the form it should take, it might reasonably be inferred that the trill now starts on the upper note and does not conclude with a turn. Pearson also indicates a further ornament, for use "when three Notes gradually Ascend,"⁴⁶ called the "Double Relish" (see Illustration 6.5, below) (compare this with that labelled "Double Relish" by Purcell, above). We might conjecture that it should not be used in faster tempi.

None of the treatises we have seen thus far give any instructions on what sort of symbol might be used to indicate a trill (whether it be the earlier or later variety), though some of the writers use a cross (+) to indicate in their examples (as in Illustration 6.3, above). There is one symbol that appears regularly in the sources at cadential points though, which we can safely assume to signify a trill. It is quite consistent in its shape across the hands of Church, Gostling and Weldon (Illustrations 6.6(a)-(c), below), also appearing in the *Divine Harmony* print (Illustration 6.6(d)). In order to preserve neatness on the one hand and editorial integrity on the other (in allowing performers the space to disagree with this assessment), the present edition will use the form used by Walsh in the *Divine Harmony* print.

⁴⁴ Playford, *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (13/1697), p. 31.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁴⁶ Pearson, *The compleat musick-master*, p. 16.

(a) Turn thee, O Lord and de - li - - ver my soul.

(b) Turn thee, O Lord, — and de - li - ver my soul:

Example 6.3: Weldon, *O Lord, rebuke me not* (JW1), "Turn thee, O Lord": (a) Contratenor part from GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.13; organ bass from GB-Cfm 116.; (b) *Divine Harmony* (1716) print. This shows gracing, notably by moving the melodic line forward half a crotchet when in parallel thirds.

198
GB-WRec ECR 299/ii
[voice cue, underlay unreliable]

GB-Och Mus. 1235

GB-Omc MCOR1/MS1/2,
US-Bem MS 173

GB-Lbl Add. MS 37072

GB-Lbl Egerton 3767,
GB-EL 10/7/8, 10/7/26,
GB-Cjc T7,
GB-Ob MS Mus d.2

O Lord God of hosts

O Lord God of hosts

O Lord God of hosts

O Lord God of hosts

O Lord God of hosts

Example 6.4: Weldon, *O how pleasant are thy dwellings* (JW8), "O Lord God of hosts"; background variation. Sources are listed before each stave.

A summary of ornamentation for the works of Weldon: In the freer sections of the solo anthems, performers might be quite florid with their ornamentation, though care should be taken with the first six anthems as some ornamentation is already included in the text. Cadential trills, whether of the Purcellian trill form on one note or of the "Gruppo" form (starting on the main note), should be freely applied. Further graces might be applied,



Illustration 6.7: (a) 'Directions for learning the trill', Playford, *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (13/1697), p. 31; (b) 'Directions for learning the trill', Pearson, *The Compleat Musick-Master*, p. 16.

particularly at the ends of sections, where a florid, free-form ornament might be envisaged, delaying the end of the cadence if desired.

On long notes, a Purcellian trill might also be used in an expressive manner. In the verse anthems and full-with-verse anthems, the forefall, backfall and slide still seem to be in use, but the trill might be better employed in its new form, starting on the upper note and not necessarily involving a turn at the end. In addition to cadences, trills might be applied on the second of two repeated notes, on longer descending notes in triple time and on dotted crotchets in common time.

The only instrumental ornamentation found in Weldon's work beyond the beat (or forefall) and the backfall, is the shake (//) and the plain note and shake (\//). These can be found in Purcell's ornament table in *A choice collection of lessons*. The former is best described as a modern trill, starting on the upper note, without a turn at the end. The second has been the subject of a degree of debate as to its interpretation.⁴⁷ A detail of the print is reproduced as Illustration 6.7. The debate hinges on whether the slur over the top is a misprint for a tie between the first two notes, or whether it should be taken at face value. Performers will come to their own conclusions, but one might observe that at a fast tempo and/or when applied to shorter note values, the repetition of the notes requires both dextrous fingers and a responsive action. There may therefore be a case for a duality of approach.

⁴⁷ A good summary of the debate can be found in Rose, 'Performance Practices', *Ashgate Companion to Purcell*, pp. 140-142.

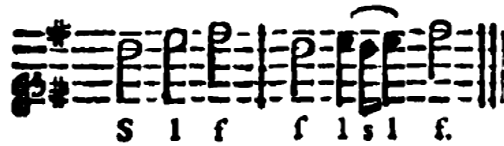


Illustration 6.8: 'The Double Relish', Pearson, *The Compleat Musick-Master*, p. 16.



Illustration 6.9(a): GB-Lbl Add. MS 41847 f. 54v, detail: ornament in the hand of John Church.

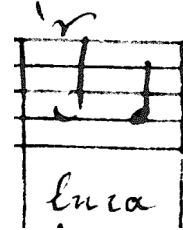


Illustration 6.9(b): US-Cn Case MS 7A 2, p. 151, detail: ornament in the hand of John Gostling.

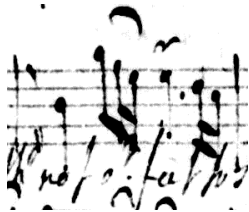


Illustration 6.9(c): GB-Lbl Add. MS 41847 f. 6r, detail: ornament in the hand of John Weldon.



Illustration 6.9(d): *Divine Harmony* (1716), p. 3, detail: printed ornament.



Illustration 6.10: 'The plain note and shake', Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (12/1694), p. vi.

Voice types.

Weldon's church music was composed for trebles, contratenors, tenors and basses. The chorus work fits within the compass of modern trebles or sopranos, altos (of both sexes), tenors and basses without real need for transposition, whether at a modern pitch of a' 440 or at a slightly higher pitch. There is little difficulty with the types of voices used for treble, tenor and bass parts. In the eighteenth century, in ecclesiastical institutions, boys sang treble,

and tenor and bass parts were filled by men singing in their natural voice. It is likely that some of the anthems from *Divine Harmony* (1716) may have been sung by women in "private Devotion", the term used on the title page of that publication. The real difficulty lies in the allocation of the solo and verse contratenor parts. The early eighteenth-century term is deliberately retained throughout this edition to reflect the uncertainty and conjecture that must be applied in allocating voices types to this music. Throughout the paragraphs that follow, "contratenor" refers to the voice part, not a voice type, "falsettist" is used to denote the voice type we now think of as a countertenor. The origins of the term "contratenor" certainly refer to a voice part, rather than a voice quality, written in counterpoint against the tenor part.⁴⁸

The subject of voice types for contratenor parts in relation to Purcell's music has been explored in some depth in recent times, with an excellent summary of the debate, written by Stephen Rose, to be found in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Purcell*. The question hinges on whether the parts were performed by high tenors, falsettists or whether both voice types were available. Rose notes the importance in Purcell's music of distinguishing between choral and solo parts.⁴⁹ Purcell's habit in his choral writing is of avoiding the lower and upper extremes of the registers explored in his solo writing, so allowing the parts to be sung by either falsettists or high tenors. The same is true of Weldon's music. The range explored by the contratenor part in the full sections of his anthems is limited to a-a'. Andrew Parrott identifies a tradition of performing early Restoration music with high tenor taking on the contratenor parts, with falsettists becoming established by the 1680s and then singing alongside their high tenor colleagues.⁵⁰ He also suggests that Purcell wrote solo parts for two types of countertenor, a falsettist, and a high tenor (singing in chest voice). In his 1998 recording of *Come ye Sons of Art* (1694), for the famous duet, "Sound the Trumpet", Parrott allocated a falsettist to the upper part and a tenor to the lower (it is often sung by two falsettists). As Bruce Wood notes, this allocation of parts "causes the lower type of countertenor [contratenor] line, when performed at an appropriate pitch, to spring into

⁴⁸ Peter Giles; *The History and Technique of the Counter-Tenor: A Study of the Male High Voice Family* (Aldershot: 1994).

⁴⁹ Rose, 'Performance Practices', *Ashgate Companion to Purcell*, p. 156.

⁵⁰ Andrew Parrott, 'Performing Purcell' in Michael Burden (ed.), *The Purcell Companion* (London, 1995), p. 418; See also Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson "Alfred Deller, John Freeman and Mr Pate", *Music and Letters* Vol. 50 (1969), pp. 103-10.

focus:"⁵¹ Elizabeth Holland undertook a study concentrating of Purcell's songs, which, unlike previous studies, focussed on tessitura as much as extremes of range. She states, "The important conclusion is that the idea of the falsettist as counter-tenor [contratenor] can only be supported in relation to a handful of individual singers rather than a whole vocal 'school'."⁵²

What of Weldon's solo and verse parts? Weldon was well acquainted with the leading singers of his day. As second composer to the Chapel Royal he had access to the country's finest voices and in particular to Richard Elford (1677-1714).⁵³ The title page of *Divine Harmony* (1716) describes the six anthems therein as "performed by the late Famous M^r Richard Elford". These anthems predate Weldon's appointment to the Chapel Royal (as discussed in Chapter 4) and some of the manuscripts are written at a lower notated pitch than their corresponding *Divine Harmony* publications. Spink suggests that this signifies a change in pitch from a tenor to a falsettist in the move to the Chapel Royal singer.⁵⁴ It is possible that there was a change in pitch to accommodate a higher voice, but Weldon is quite clear, in his publication, in describing the appropriate voice: "they may be sung ... by a... Tenor".⁵⁵ Keri Dexter demonstrates that Richard Elford sang both contratenor and tenor parts based on evidence from the Windsor partbooks. He notes the similarity in the ranges found in those books, and that at Windsor, such an arrangement of interchangeable contratenors and tenors had a considerable history.⁵⁶ It is notable that William Croft's manuscript copy of *O praise the Lord*,⁵⁷ allocates the upper of the two c3 clef parts to "Mr. Hughs", but the lower to "Mr, Elford". When he came to print the anthem in *Musica Sacra* he allocated this lower part to a tenor voice. This further suggests that Elford was a high tenor.⁵⁸

⁵¹ Bruce Wood, Review of Purcell, *Come Ye Sons of Art*, dir, Parrott, in *Early Music* Vol. 18 (1990), p. 499.

⁵² Elizabeth Holland, 'Purcell and the Seventeenth-Century Voice, An Investigation of Singers and Voice Types in Henry Purcell's Vocal Music' (PhD thesis, University of Sheffield, 2002).

⁵³ For more on Richard Elford see Chapter 2.

⁵⁴ *SpinkRECM*, p. 174. Spink uses the term "countertenor"

⁵⁵ *WeldonDH*, title page (see Chapter 1, Illustration 1.5)

⁵⁶ Keri Dexter, *A good Quire of voices* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 77-78.

⁵⁷ GB-Lcm MS 839.

⁵⁸ In *BurrowsHECR* Burrows also notes this change in voice part attribution, but is convinced that Elford is an "Alto", and uses it to demonstrate that Croft really intended the music to be sung by an "Alto". He does however note the difference in range shown by Hughes and Elford (pp. 549-550) and that Elford may have been "not primarily a falsettist".

Thomas Tudway (1650-1726), in his 1717 letter of introduction to the fourth of his six manuscript volumes written for Lord Harley, comments on the variety of voices available to composers:⁵⁹

...some voices being fitted Naturally to sing the Base, or Lowest part, others the Tenor; others, thô very few, the Contratenor; The Treble, or highest part, is always sung by Boys, or women...

The use of the word "Naturally" this implies that though "very few" were able to sing the Contratenor part in their natural voice, this was the preferred option. It may be that the less accomplished singers found outside London were forced to use falsetto at the top of the register and provincial composers such as Tudway tend not to stray towards the upper extremes of range. Tudway would have been familiar with the concept of tenors and contratenors being fairly interchangeable as his father (also Thomas Tudway) had in 1636 been ordered to "sing tenor in the choir [Windsor] when the need arose", but in 1664 was directed "to sing a Tenor in the Quire and to helpe the Countertenors upon occasions."⁶⁰

The full (autograph) score of Weldon's *Rejoice in the Lord* (**JW13**) has the upper part of the trios, "Rejoice in the Lord" and "For the word of the Lord" as well as the solo, "Praise the Lord" all written in c3 clefs, allocated to "M^r Lay" (George Laye, 1685-1765)⁶¹ and "M^r Elford" respectively.⁶² However, the contratenor verse partbook from the extant Chapel Royal performing material has only the music for "Rejoice in the Lord" and "For the word of the Lord". It is apparent from this that in any given anthem the solo and verse work might be shared around the singers so a decision on what voice type to use needs to be made on a verse-by-verse basis, not just a piece-by-piece basis.

Weldon specifies singers in only two of his known autograph scores, those of *O sing unto the Lord* (**JW12**) and *Rejoice in the Lord*.⁶³ Table 6.1, below, shows the singers allocated to sing solos with c3 clefs. It can be seen that two of the verses allocated in Weldon's writing to Elford ascend to b^b' and two more ascend further still to c". This seems very high for a tenor, even of Elford's calibre, though Donald Burrows does note his range as

⁵⁹ Thomas Tudway, Preface to GB-Lbl Harl. 7340 (transcr. Ian Spink) in *SpinkRCM*, p. 44.

⁶⁰ Windsor, St George's Chapel Archives VI.B.2, f. 132r & VI.B.3, p. 40 quoted in Dexter, *A good Quire of voices* pp. 77-78.

⁶¹ For George Laye see Chapter 2.

⁶² GB-Lbl Add. MS 41847, ff. 20r-25r.

⁶³ GB-Lbl Add. MS 41847, ff. 9r-19v; ff. 20r-25r.

<i>Anthem</i> /verse	Name on manuscript	Context	Range	Name on John Gostling's copy
<i>O sing unto the Lord</i>				
"O sing unto the Lord"	M ^r E[lford]	Top part of CtTB trio	g-bb'	none
"Sing unto the Lord"	M ^r Elford	Solo	g-g'	M ^r Elford
"Declare his honour"	M ^r E[lford]	Top part of CtTB trio	e-a'	M ^r E[lford]
"Glory and worship"	M ^r E[lford]	Top part of CtTB trio	c'-bb'	none
"O worship the Lord	M ^r E[lford]	Top part of CtTBB quartet	bb'-c"	none
"Tell it out among the heathen"	M ^r E[lford]	CtB duet	g-c"	none
<i>Rejoice in the Lord</i>				
"Rejoice in the Lord"	M ^r Lay	Top part of CtTB trio	a-b'	
"Praise the Lord"	M ^r Elford	Solo	g [#] -a'	
"For the word of the Lord"	M ^r Lay	CtB duet	b-b'	

Table 6.2: Names and ranges of named c3 clef verses in Weldon's verse anthems

ascending to c".⁶⁴ John Gostling (1650-1733), renowned copyist associated with the Chapel royal and several other institutions, made a copy of *O sing unto the Lord*.⁶⁵ He copied some of the names of singers that Weldon specifies but not others. It seems significant that the only instances of Elford's name that he transfers to his copy are those attached to verses that ascend only to g'. As regards the verses ascending higher than g', the highest notes are rare, rather than regular features in the verses concerned. We might conjecture that Weldon intended, either at the time of writing or at a later date, these verses for Elford, but that Elford did not always (if at all) sing them. The situation in *Rejoice in the Lord* seems more certain. The opening verse, though it descends down to a, is most in the range d'-a', highly suitable for a falsettist. There is some further evidence that Laye was a falsettist. He is named on the autograph of Handel's *Caroline Te Deum*,⁶⁶ taking over music previously sung by Francis Hughes (c.1680-1733/4) and Anselm Bayly (*bap.* 1719-1794), both renowned falsettists.⁶⁷

The preponderance of trios (contratenor, tenor and bass) and duets (contratenor and tenor) in Weldon's work may also give rise to matters of balance and blend. It is common to

⁶⁴ *BurrowsHECR*, p. 584.

⁶⁵ US-Cn Case MS 7A/2, pp. 117-126; see Source Descriptions.

⁶⁶ GB-Lbl R.M.20.g.4, information tabulated in *BurrowsHECR*, p. 129.

⁶⁷ Hughes alternated on stage with a castrato for a time, and had a range of a-d" (*BurrowsHECR*, p. 588); Bayly also had a range of a-d" (*BurrowsHECR*, p. 578).

find triads with the voices a third apart. Sometimes this gives the tenor and bass soloists notes in their mid-range and leaves a falsettist generally quite low, however with a tenor in place of the falsettist it will give three notes similar in quality and quantity of sound without having to unduly quieten the lower voices. Example 6.5 shows part of the verse "Declare his honour" from *O sing unto the Lord* (**JW12**), the top part of which we have already seen was allocated to Elford. Example 6.5(a) shows the parts in original clefs, Example 6.5(b) shows a transcription in modern g₂ and transposed g₂ clefs for the upper two parts; Example 6.5(c) shows a transcription with transposed g₂ clefs for both the upper two parts. The upper part in b. 132 is already low for a high tenor, but it is unconscionably so for a falsettist, especially when the grandeur suggested by the text is taken into account. The pitches in b. 135 lead to a natural balance between three voices of equal stature but different pitches, being in the mid to upper register of the three parts. Transcribed with transposed g₂ clef for the upper part to imply a tenor voice, this passage swims into focus; with an untransposed g₂ clef with its implications in modern performance for a falsettist or female alto it creates issues of balance.

There are several Contratenor and Bass duets in Weldon's verse anthems and full-with-verse anthems where these differences in relative tessitura become stark if considered for a falsettist. Examples 6.6(a) and (b) show two extracts, from *Ponder my words* (**JW15**) and from *In thee, O Lord* (**JW20**) respectively. Both give very low contratenor parts, signified by the c₃ clef, best allocated to a tenor and blending and balancing appropriately with a baritone. A further hint that this verse may have been intended for a tenor voice type in performance in the chapel Royal in the early eighteenth century is found in the contemporary organ book of that institution (GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.13, f. 43v). The upper stave of the organ part is given in a c₄ clef (the clef commonly used in the tenor partbooks). This might be compared with the opening of the anthem where the upper stave of the organ part is given in a c₃ clef.

132

For the Lord is great, the Lord is — great, is great, is great, is great,
 peo - ple. For the Lord is — great, is great, is great, is great,
 heath-en For the Lord is great, is great, is great,

(a) Source clefs retained

132

For the Lord is great, the Lord is — great, is great, is great, is great,
 peo - ple. For the Lord is — great, is great, is great, is great,
 heath-en For the Lord is great, is great, is great,

(b) Contratenor transcribed with a g2 clef; tenor transcribed with a transposed g2 clef

132

For the Lord is great, the Lord is — great, is great, is great, is great,
 peo - ple. For the Lord is — great, is great, is great, is great,
 heath-en For the Lord is great, is great, is great,

(c) Contratenor and tenor transcribed with a transposed g2 clef

Example 6.5: Weldon, *O sing unto the Lord* (JW13), bb. 132-136.

If it is necessary to allocate transposed g2 clefs for low contratenor parts that were most probably sung by high tenors, then it is equally important to recognise those sung by falsettists. Example 6.7 is an extract from *The King shall rejoice* (JW17), showing a short verse passage near the end. Here we see a florid line at the top of a trio texture, descending no

lower than c', with passagework centered around an a'. It seems more likely that this and similar passages are for a falsettist than for a tenor.

In conclusion, the present editor has examined verse part in turn and reached a conclusion based on range and tessitura as to its suitability for tenor or falsettist (or, in modern performance, his female equivalent). Those more suitable for a tenor will be given transposed g2 clefs, those suitable for a falsettist will be given untransposed g2 clefs. The term "contratenor" will be used to label each verse in order that those performers who disagree with the editor's assessment can readily identify such verses and make their own decisions accordingly.

59

e - vil, nei - ther shall a - ny, shall a - ny e - - - vil dwell with

e - vil, nei - ther shall a - ny, shall a - ny e - - - vil dwell with

Example 6.6(a): Weldon, *Ponder my words* (JW15), bb.59-62. Contratenor transcribed from GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.8; bass from GB-Cjc Chapel Ms. R. 1.

31

And be thou my strong rock, and house of my de - fence: that - thou - may'st save me, that thou may'st

And be Thou my strong rock, and house of my de - fence: that thou may'st

34

save me. Be thou al - so my guide, and lead - - - me for thy name's sake,

save me. Be thou al - so my guide, and lead - - - me for thy name's sake,

Example 6.6 (b): Weldon, *In thee, O Lord* (JW20), bb. 30-37: Contratenor and bass parts transcribed US-Cn Case MS 7A 2.

163

ev'n for ev - - - er and ev - er,

ev'n for ev - - - er and ev - er,

ev'n for ev - - - er and ev - er,

Example 6.7: Weldon, *The King shall rejoice* (JW17), bb.163-165: Contratenor transcribed from GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.9, tenor and bass parts editorial.

Critical Commentaries

SYSTEM FOR CRITICAL COMMENTARY

The first piece of information given in the critical commentary for each item is the source(s). All collated sources are listed; the symbol "§" is used to identify the copy-text(s). Any sources that have been consulted but not collated are listed separately. The text is identified: the psalm numbering system used is that found in the *BCP*; textual variations from the *BCP* are noted in the comments, listed by bar number with other comments. In listing variants between music sources in the commentary the following system is employed: Bar number(s) are given in the leftmost column. The system of reference in the commentary is in the following format: bar number; part (to avoid confusion, where there are two parts of the same type, they are differentiated before the part name); number of symbol in the bar (including tied notes and rests, not including ties, clefs or ornaments); comment (usually describing an error or variant); source(s) to which the comment relates (if applicable). Thus:

21 contratenor, 2

refers to bar 21, the second note in the (only) contratenor part, but

22 2nd contratenor, 1

refers to bar 22, the first note in the second contratenor part.

1a. O LORD, REBUKE ME NOT (*Divine Harmony* version)

Source: § *Divine Harmony* (1716), pp. 2-3

Text: Psalm 6, vv. 1-4 (v. 4 is repeated between each verse); Amen

Comments: The editorial continuo part has been conceived for organ, though there is no reason why this anthem might not be sung with the accompaniment of harpsichord or archlute, as suggested on the title page of the source. The title page also gives the option of either Tenor or Treble for the solo part. If taken by a tenor it should be sung an octave lower

29-36 repeat signs (:S:) are between bb. 28 and 29 and between bb. 32 and 33. Bar 36 gives three crotchets with tails up (G, g, a) and a dotted minim with a tail down (G). This has been interpreted as though for a first time and a second time. Thus, b. 36 has been divided into first and second time bars. The crotchet motion in b. 36a seems to suggest a repetition of bars bb. 29-36, with bb. 33-36 repeated a second time. This editorial interpretation is confirmed by the Chapel Royal version in which bb. 33-36 are repeated by the chorus on the third hearing

57 "Turn thee O L^d as before & so go on to the Next Verse"

71 "Turn thee O Lord as before & then Conclude with this Chorus as follows"

1b. O LORD, REBUKE ME NOT (*Oxford* version)

Sources: § US-BEm MS 173, pp. 1-5

GB-Omc MCOR1/MS1/2 (formerly Ms. 455), pp. 62-66

GB-WRec ECR 299/ii, ff. 65v-67r

Consulted but not collated:

GB-Lbl Add. MS 30932, ff. 105r-106v

GB-Och Ms 1235, pp. 28-32

Text: Psalm 6, vv. 1, 4, 2, 4, 3, 9, Hallelujah.

Comments: The Windsor organ book, ECR 299/ii, is the earliest of the sources, but the text is incomplete due a missing page. The score in the hand of Simon Child, Weldon's successor as organist at New College, Oxford has therefore been chosen as the copy-text. The solo part is presented in a g2 clef in the earliest sources, but as it seems that the anthem may have been written for a tenor at New College (see Chapter 1). Furthermore it might be speculated that the transmission of the copy in GB-WRec ECR 299/ii took place via Richard Elford, the tenor: Elford was associated with both the Chapel Royal and St George's, Windsor. He quite likely came across the anthem through contact with Weldon at the Chapel Royal and it therefore seems likely that he saw the anthem in its original form before it was adapted for the Chapel Royal (see next item). Thus it seems that a tenor voice should be considered at least as an option. If taken by a tenor it should be sung an octave lower

- 1-2 organ bass: first two notes tied in ECR 299/ii
- 4-5 organ bass: minim, minim, dotted crotchet in ECR 299/ii; it is not clear if they are tied
- 5 organ bass, 2: accidental omitted in ECR 299/ii
- 7 organ bass: two minims tied (and tied to the next bar) in ECR 299/ii
- 13 repeat signs have been scratched out in ECR 299/ii, fully in the lower stave; partially in the upper stave
- 16 organ bass, 3: tied to first note of b. 17 in ECR 299/ii
- 23 solo: first four quavers are slurred in pairs in MS 173
- 29-36 repeat signs (:s:) are between bb. 28 and 29 in MS 173 and MCOR1/MS1/2 (but scratched out in ECR 299/ii) and between bb. 32 and 33 in all three sources. Bar 36 gives three crotchets with tails up (G, g, a) and a dotted minim with a tail down (G). This has been interpreted as though for a first time and a second time (ECR 299/ii has "2^d" entered against both upper and lower notes). Thus, b. 36 has been divided into first and second time bars. The crotchet motion in b. 36a seems to suggest a repetition of bb. 29-36, with bb.33-36 repeated a second time. This editorial interpretation is confirmed by the Chapel Royal version in which bb. 33-36 are repeated by the chorus on the third hearing

- 51 repeat signs scratched out in ECR 299/ii
- 57 "Turn thee O Lord as before and *soe goe* on to the next vers My Soul *alsoe*" in all three sources (italic letters only in ECR 299/ii)
- 59 organ bass, 3: tie omitted in ECR 299/ii
- 65 organ bass, 1: an additional d' minim is entered in ECR 299/ii
- 68 organ bass, 2: a # is entered in ECR 299/ii. It is not clear if this is a figure or refers to the note; either seem to be in error
- 71 solo: dotted quaver, semiquaver, crotchet, crotchet rest in MS 173 and MCOR1/MS1/2. ECR 299/ii gives the rhythm shown
- 71 MS 173 and ECR 299/ii read "Turn thee O Lord as before and so go on to the next vers Allelujah"; MCOR1/MS1/2 has bb. 69-84 as the main text these bars are in MS 173 as a single leaf insert. The handwriting on this insert seems to more closely resemble that of the scribe of MCOR1/MS1/2 than that of Simon Child, the scribe of MS 173. The insertion of the verse makes for a smoother transition in terms of the words into "Hallelujah", but its attribution to Weldon must be considered doubtful (see also Chapter 4)
- 72-134 A page is missing in ECR 299/ii. It is not know if the verse "Turn thee O Lord" was entered, but it seems unlikely given the above instruction.
- 90 *et al* "Allelujah" in MS 173
- 107 solo, 6-7: d", c" in MS 173
- 126 solo, 5-8: slurred as a group of four in MS 173; slurred in two pairs in MCOR1/MS1/2
- 137-139 treble and bass parts only in MCOR1/MS1/2; ECR 299/ii gives four parts in short score, but omits the last two tenor notes

1c. O LORD, REBUKE ME NOT (Chapel Royal version)

- Sources:*
- § (solo and contratenor chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.16, pp. 50-51
 - § (lute) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.12, p. 43
 - § (cello) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.10, p. 79
 - § (organ) GB-Cfm 116 (formerly 30.G.9; autograph), pp. 96-97
 - § (treble) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.4, p. 33
 - § (tenor) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.2, p. 91
 - § (bass) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.3, p. 29
 - (contratenor chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.1, p. 91; GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.5, p. 18
 - (tenor) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.6, p. 122
 - (bass) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.7, p. 137

Consulted but not collated:

- (cello) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.11, p. 73
- (lute) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.12, pp. [191-192]
- (lute) GB-Lbl R.M.27.b.14, p. 135
- (solo) GB-Lbl R.M.27.c.8, p. 16
- (organ) GB-Lbl R.M.27.c.15, pp. 68-69

Text: Psalm 6, vv. 1, 4, 2, 4, 3, Amen.

Comments: It seems likely that Blow's organ book (GB-Cfm 116), including this work in the hand of Weldon, continued in use at the Chapel Royal after his death as this anthem was never entered into the R.M.27.a series of organ books. It seems likely that this version of the anthem was copied in *c.*1705. It is curious that the solo part (R.M.27.a.16) is entered in G minor in whilst all other early performing material is entered in A minor. It is possible that it had been originally envisaged in A minor, but shortly afterwards it became common to perform it down a tone. Later performances using R.M.27.c.8 seem to have transposed down further to F minor. The second entry in R.M.27.a.12 is also in F minor and is in an unidentified hand, seemingly writing in haste. The present editor has opted to present the anthem in A minor, seemingly the original key of choice for this version, but those performing at the high pitch prevalent in the Royal Chapels of the period may prefer to transpose down a tone

R.M.27.a.16 gives the solo parts in a g2 clef. The chorus parts entered correspond with those in the contratenor partbook and are entered in a c3 clef. This could make the material suitable for either a treble or a tenor singing an octave lower in the solo parts. If it were a treble on any given occasion, the amount of chorus material is slight enough that they would be able to memorize it. If taken by a tenor it should be sung an octave lower

- 6-7 solo: notes in small font are in pencil in R.M.27.a.16
- 17 solo: ossia stave notes are found in pencil in R.M.27.a.16
- 22 lute: figured $\frac{4}{2}$ on beat 1 in R.M.27.a.12
- 43, 84, 126, 130
tenor, 1-2: dotted quaver, semiquaver in R.M.27.a.6
- 53 lute: figured $\frac{4}{2}$ on beat 1 in R.M.27.a.12
- 54-55 solo: R.M.27.a.16 bears signs of alteration, but it is not possible to determine the previous reading
- 62 solo: R.M.27.a.16 gives b. 62 and the first two notes of b. 63, then "Turn thee O L^d &c as before. Between two double bars is written "Chorus as before and go on"
- 87 lute, 2: figured $\flat 7$ in R.M.27.a.12
- 99 lute and cello: semibreve E in R.M.27.a.12 and R.M.27.a.10; figured \sharp in R.M.27.a.12
- 100 solo: R.M.27.a.16 gives the first two notes of b. 100, then "Turn thee as before". Between two double bars is written "instead of the 1st Chorus sing this following"
- 123 lute: figured \sharp in R.M.27.a.12
- 128 lute and cello: both parts in lute book (R.M.27.a.12), lower part only in cello

2. BLESSED BE THE LORD MY STRENGTH

Source: § *Divine Harmony* (1716), pp. 4-6

Consulted but not collated:

GB-WRec ECR 299/ii, ff. 60r-63v

Text: Psalm 144, vv. 1-4, 10; psalm 145 v. 1; Amen

Comments: The editorial continuo part has been conceived for organ, though there is no reason why this anthem might not be sung with the accompaniment of harpsichord or archlute, as suggested on the title page of the source. The title page also gives the option of either Tenor or Treble for the solo part. If taken by a tenor it should be sung an octave lower

GB-WRec ECR 299/ii (the Windsor organ book) is the earliest source. It seems that minor revisions were made for publication, but it remained in the same version

10 *et al* *BCP* reads "who subdueth my people that is under me"

18-19 expanded into 1st and 2nd time bars from one bar with directions

65-79 the repeat markings are unclear: "♩" markings are placed before the last crotchet of b. 65, before the last crotchet of b. 75 and over the last crotchet of b. 77. Repetition of the whole section, followed by an echo of the last phrase is consistent with these markings and follows the example in **JW1a**. Expansion into 1st and 2nd time bars is editorial and the repetition of the final two bars has been written out editorially for clarity

145 *et al* *BCP* reads "and I will praise"

162-163 both upper and lower notes are given in the source. They would seem to be equally valid alternatives

3. O PRAISE THE LORD OF HEAVEN

Source: § *Divine Harmony* (1716), pp. 7-9

Text: Psalm 148, v. 1; psalm 147 vv. 2, 5, 11; Alleluia

Comments: The editorial continuo part has been conceived for organ, though there is no reason why this anthem might not be sung with the accompaniment of harpsichord or archlute, as suggested on the title page of the source. The title page also gives the option of either Tenor or Treble for the solo part. If taken by a tenor it should be sung an octave lower

21 *et al* BCP reads "He healeth"

45 "he giveth"

47 "he giveth"

69-73 The lower stave gives:



79-84 The lower stave gives:



89-93 The lower stave gives:



69 *et al* BCP reads "But the Lord's delight"

4. THOU ART MY PORTION

Source: § *Divine Harmony* (1716), pp. 10-17

Text: Psalm 119, vv. 57, 73, 72, 103-4, 12

Comments: The editorial continuo part has been conceived for organ; the title page of the source suggests accompaniment by harpsichord or lute. The first of these instruments would be conceivable, but there would be difficulties in playing

the instrumental melodic material convincingly on the archlute. The title page also gives the option of either Tenor or Treble for the solo part. If taken by a tenor it should be sung an octave lower

62 *et al* "then thousands"

166 the second figure in the bass is given as δ

183-192 the melodic line in the organ part is an octave lower

192 this bar is given as:

206 *et al* *BCP* reads "teach me"

211 contratenor, 3: e'

5a. I WILL LIFT UP MINE EYES (*Divine Harmony* version)

Source: § *Divine Harmony* (1716), pp. 18-22

Text: Psalm 121, vv. 1-7

Comments: The editorial continuo part has been conceived for organ; the title page of the source suggests accompaniment by harpsichord or lute. The first of these instruments would be conceivable, but there would be difficulties in playing the instrumental melodic material convincingly on the archlute. The title page also gives the option of either Tenor or Treble for the solo part. If taken by a tenor it should be sung an octave lower

21 *et al* *BCP* reads "My help cometh even from the Lord"

60, 65, 71, 74, 78, 89, 93, 101, 105, 109

"*Organ*" is specified for the right hand part

67 *BCP* reads "the Lord is thy defence"

125 $\overset{6}{\#}$ is given in the figuring on beat 3

- 140 *et al* BCP reads "yea, it is even he"
 186 All parts have a minim rest before the repeat sign

5b. I WILL LIFT UP MINE EYES (Oxford version)

- Sources:* § US-BEm MS 173, pp. 5-13
 GB-Lbl Add. MS 31405, ff. 100r-103v
 GB-Ckc Ms 9, ff. 55v-57rv

Consulted but not collated:

- GB-Omc MCOR1/MS1/2, pp. 67-72
 GB-Och Ms 1233, pp. 35-41
 GB-Ob Ms Mus.d.151, ff. 61v-60r

Text: Psalm 121, vv. 1-7

Comments: MCOR1/MS1/2 presents the verse and chorus "So that the sun shall not burn thee" in A major instead of the minor mode of all other sources and the *Divine Harmony* version. For this reason it has been considered corrupt and as there are other sources, including the Child score (MS 173) on which to draw, unnecessary for this edition

Ms 1233 has extensive alterations: the function of these seems to be to change solo passages that differ from the *Divine Harmony* print to match it.

Ms Mus.d.151 has had passages crossed out to make it more closely allied with the *Divine Harmony* print.

Ms 9 is transposed down a tone (in G major at the start). Comments relating to this manuscript are presented as though it were in A major

Although the Child score (MS 173) presents this anthem in a g2 clef, it seems likely that this anthem was written for a tenor at New College (see Chapter 1).

If taken by a tenor it should be sung an octave lower

- 6 organ bass, 1: f# in Add. MS 31405
 8 organ bass, 2: # not specified in MS 173, or Ms 9
 10 organ bass, 1: # not specified in MS 173 or Add. MS 31405
 14 solo, 2: # not specified in Ms 9 or Add. MS 31405
 14 figuring: 6 on third crotchet, # on fourth crotchet in Ms 9

- 20 organ bass, 3: minim in Add. MS 31405 and Ms 9
- 21-26 Ms 9 is on two staves, giving outer parts only after showing each point of imitation
- 39 organ bass: # not specified in Add. MS 31405
- 43 organ bass: # not specified in Add. MS 31405
- 49-58 In MS 173 and Add. MS 31405 it is ambiguous whether it is these bars that are to be repeated or part of the preceding section (a **:S:** is placed between b.48 and 49); this reading is confirmed by Ms 9
- 58-65 Ms 9 is on two staves, giving outer parts only after showing each point of imitation
- 58 both solo and organ have a dotted crotchet in Add. MS 31405
- 60 bass, 1: minim in Add. MS 31405
- 62 bass underlay in Add. MS 31405 is "slum—ber nor"
- 58-64 Ms 9 is on two staves, often omitting organ right hand notes where the organ and solo overlap
- 67-68 organ bass: no tie in Add. MS 31405
- 68 organ right hand, 3-4: two quavers in Ms 9
- 73 organ bass: minim, crotchet in Ms 9; dotted minim B in Add. MS 31405
- 74 organ right hand, 1-2: two quavers in Ms 9
- 78 organ right hand, 3: two quavers: c#, b' in Ms 9
- 90 solo, 2: f# in Ms 9
- 93 organ bass, 3-4: two quavers in MS 173
- 93 organ bass, 5-6: two quavers in MS 173 and Add. MS 31405
- 101 organ bass: crotchet a, minim f# in Add. MS 31405
- 103 solo: minim (no tie), crotchet rest in MS 173; no tie in Ms 9
- 107-110 solo: no ties in MS 173
- 107 organ bass, 3-4: dotted quaver, semiquaver in Ms 9
- 121 solo: no # on last note in Add. MS 31405
- 126 solo: no # on fifth note in Add. MS 31405
- 132-140 Ms 9 is on two staves, giving outer parts only
- 146 organ bass: no # in Add. MS 31405
- 147 organ bass, 2: dotted quaver, semiquaver in Ms 9
- 188-194 Ms 9 is on two staves, giving outer parts only

6. HAVE MERCY UPON ME

Source: *Divine Harmony* (1716), pp. 23-29

Text: Psalm 51, vv.1-3, 9-13

Comments: The editorial continuo part has been conceived for organ; the title page of the source suggests accompaniment by harpsichord or lute. The first of these instruments would be conceivable, but there would be difficulties in playing the instrumental melodic material convincingly on the archlute. The title page also gives the option of either Tenor or Treble for the solo part. If taken by a tenor it should be sung an octave lower

117 Organ left hand, 4: f

197 "Organ"

203 Organ left hand: the # is placed above the first note rather than next to it

231 figuring is 6 7 on first beat

7. O GOD, THOU HAST CAST US OUT

Sources: § *Cathedral Music* (1790), i., pp. 266-275 (score)

Cathedral Music (1790), organ, pp. 88-93 (organ part)

Text: Psalm 60, vv. 1, 11; psalm 79, v. 8; psalm 60, v. 11 (again, but set to different musical material); psalm 79, v. 9; psalm 60, v. 12

Comments: The Arnold *Cathedral Music* print of 1790 is the earliest source available for this solo anthem. The style of the printed ornamentation (*tr* and appoggiaturas) belongs to the late eighteenth century. It is possible that editorial intervention by Arnold has changed rhythm and the florid, printed graces. It has not been attempt to expunge these features from this edition. The only indication of voice type for the solo is in the use of the g2 clef. Nonetheless, it seems likely that Weldon may have written this for performance in 1703/4, about a year and a half after Richard Elford, the famous tenor, joined the choir of the Chapel Royal. Given the similarities between this anthem and Weldon's other

solo anthems one can tentatively state that this anthem was probably conceived for a tenor. If taken by a tenor it should be sung an octave lower

5 figuring: last three figures are given as 756 in organ part

51 *et al* *BCP* reads "O remember not our old sins, but have mercy upon us, and that soon:"

73 organ bass, 2: printed as a crotchet in the organ part

77 organ right hand: lower notes shown in the organ part

85, 96, 126

"Organ"

126 text reads "sakes"

148, 155, 162

"Organ"

150 organ right hand, 10-11: tie omitted in the organ part

8. O HOW PLEASANT

Sources: § (solo part) GB-Omc MCOR1/MS1/2 (formerly Ms. 455), pp. 73-79 (collated for organ bass)

§ (organ) GB-WRec ECR 299/ii, ff. 49r-53v

Consulted but not collated:

GB-Och Mus. 1235, pp. 19-27

GB-EL 10/7/8, pp. 112-118

GB-Lbl Egerton 3767, ff. 106r-103v

Text: Psalm 84 vv. 1, 2, 4, 10, 13

Comments: There is neither an autograph nor Chapel Royal performing material available for this anthem. The solo partbook GB-Omc MCOR1/MS1/2 has been chosen as the copy text for the solo parts as in other anthems of Weldon's it seems to have been copied from material associated with New College, Oxford (see Source Descriptions). It does not, however, contain melodic material for the right hand of the organ part. The organ part has been taken from GB-WRec ECR 299/ii, the Windsor organ book. This copy of the organ part must predate 1703 (the death of William Isaack, the copyist). GB-EL 10/7/8, a mid-

eighteenth-century manuscript, probably copied from Hawkins, is missing a verse ("For one day in thy courts"; see Source Descriptions).

Although the MCOR1/MS1/2 presents this anthem in a g2 clef, it seems likely that this anthem was written for a tenor at New College (see Chapter 1). It may have been introduced to the Eton repertoire by Richard Elford, also a tenor (see Source Descriptions). If taken by a tenor it should be sung an octave lower

3 *et al* BCP gives "amiable" in place of "pleasant"

- 11 solo, 6-7: two quavers in MCOR1/MS1/2 (bar does not total four crotchets). The given rhythm is entered as a vocal cue in ECR 299/ii
- 25 solo, 10: b' in MCOR1/MS1/2, though it seems to have been partially removed; d' is entered as a vocal cue in ECR 299/ii
- 45 organ bass: minim d, crotchet f# in ECR 299/ii
- 47 organ bass, 1-2: tie in MCOR1/MS1/2
- 49 organ bass, 1-2: two quavers in ECR 299/ii
- 96 organ bass, 1: C# in MCOR1/MS1/2 (no accidental)
- 114 no pause in ECR 299/ii
- 127 organ bass, 5: b♭ MCOR1/MS1/2 (no accidental)
- 132 solo, 1: two quavers in EL 10/7/8
- 197 organ bass: pause in MCOR1/MS1/2
- 200 Both sources have "pause" over a blank bar instead of ☹
- 204 solo: last two notes are given as quavers in MCOR1/MS1/2; semiquavers are entered as a vocal cue in ECR 299/ii
- 230-232 Inner parts derived from ECR 299/ii: contratenor is written in; tenor is given as directs

9a. O PRAISE THE LORD, LAUD YE THE NAME (Oxford version)

Source: §US-BEm Ms. 173, pp. 35-46

GB-WRec ECR 299/ii, ff. 54r-59v

Text: Psalm 135, vv. 1, 3; psalm 150, v. 3, 4

Comments: The Chapel Royal version of this anthem shares many common features, and a reconstruction follows (**JW9b**). Spink,¹ quite rightly, describes it as a "splendid anthem", and suggests that a trumpet stop is more likely than a trumpet instrument. The stop was available by Weldon's time at New College, but the part is fully playable on a natural trumpet and at no point is more than one note specified simultaneously. Furthermore, the extant sources are quite specific in their specification (US-BEm Ms. 173 gives "An Anthem for 2 voices w[i]th a Trumpett"; GB-WRec ECR 299/ii gives "2 voices & a Trumpet" three times on the first page) and the part works idiomatically on the instrument. Thus the part has been retained separately in this edition.

A plain g² clef in US-BEm Ms. 173 may imply the use of a treble voice for the upper verse part, though the Chapel Royal material places this part down an octave in the Contratenor partbook (see next item) and GB-WRec ECR 299/ii (an organ book) gives cues in the lower octave. It is the present editor's view that this piece was written for performance at New College (pre-1702; see Chapter 3) given the association of the source with that institution. It seems possible, therefore, that the upper part was sung by the [John] Bowyer (probably a tenor) who the college in 1701 (see Chapter 1). It may have been introduced to the Eton repertoire by Richard Elford, also a tenor (see Source Descriptions)

2-4 organ bass: ties omitted in ECR 299/ii on second playing (see b.228)

19 organ bass: tie omitted in ECR 299/ii (first time)

20 organ bass: tie omitted in ECR 299/ii (second time)

22 organ bass: tie omitted in ECR 299/ii (first time)

23 organ bass: tie omitted in ECR 299/ii (first time)

¹ *SpinkRCM*, p. 174

- 36 organ bass: ^{#4} 2 over c in ECR 299/ii (both times)
- 75 treble, 1: crotchet in Ms. 173
- 89 trumpet, 1-4: quavers in ECR 299/ii (both times)
- 97 no indication of B^b in this bar in ECR 299/ii
- 102 *et al* BCP gives "unto" instead of "to"
- 106 organ figures on last note: 5 #6 in ECR 299/ii
- 125 organ bass, 1-4: four crotchets in ECR 299/ii
- 134 organ bass, 1: tied semibreve in ECR 299/ii
- 136 organ bass: tie in ECR 299/ii
- 146 trumpet: e', e', e' in ECR 299/ii
- 149 "pause" over blank bar in both sources
- 163 organ bass, 2-3: unclear in Ms. 173
- 164 organ bass: tie omitted in ECR 299/ii
- 171-173 organ bass: ties omitted in ECR 299/ii (also on repeat)
- 172-186 the start of this repeat is indicated but not the end in Ms. 173; the repeat is written out in full in ECR 299/ii
- 186 "slow" and the pause mark are in ECR 299/ii on both the first playing and the repeat (though this may indicate omission of the repeat rather than a pause before the repetition)
- 189-192, 198-201, 208-211
organ bass: dotted semibreves in Ms. 173 and ECR 299/ii
- 195 organ bass: 3 minims: c, c', c' in ECR 299/ii
- 196 organ bass, 1: a' in ECR 299/ii
- 205 organ bass: dotted semibreve e in ECR 299/ii
- 206 organ bass: a in ECR 299/ii
- 228 Ms. 173 gives "O praise y^e Lord again / So Conclude with the Cho:"; ECR 299/ii gives "Turn Over to O praise y^e Lord again and yⁿ to y^e Chorus"; ECR 299/ii has bb. 1-94 entered again in full
- 232 bass: crotchet, minim in Ms. 173
- 232 organ bass: quaver a, quaver g, crotchet f, crotchet c in ECR 299/ii
- 243 no repeat marked in ECR 299/ii

9b. O PRAISE THE LORD, LAUD YE THE NAME (Chapel Royal version)

- Sources:* §(contratenor verse and chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.9, pp. 108-109
 §(tenor chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.2, p. 95
 §(bass chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.3, p. 3
 §(cello) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.10, p. 100
 §(lute) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.12, p. 166
 §(organ) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.13, p. 27
 (contratenor chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.1, p. 13; GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.5, p. 65
 (tenor chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.6, p. 73
 (bass chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.8, p. 19

Text: Psalm 135, vv. 1, 3, 5, 13, 14, 1; Psalm 96, v. 5; Psalm 135, v. 1

Comments: The Chapel Royal partbooks form the basis for this edition. As they are an incomplete set and no other source can be found it has been necessary to supply editorial tenor and bass verse parts based on the cues found in the organ, lute and cello books. Each of these gives information on the number of voices for each verse; the organ partbook provides a sketch of the score from which the present editor has derived tenor and bass verse parts. This anthem has some verses in common with another version (**JW9a**); where possible editorial verse parts have been derived from this

The lute and cello parts are combined on one staff. Where there are differences between the parts, the cello part has upward tails, the lute part downward (e.g. b. 3). Figures on this staff derive only from GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.12, there is no suggestion that the cellist should realize the figures. Figures for the organ bass derive only from GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.13

A possible cut (listed below) is indicated in the music by means of Φ marks

- 36 cello, 3-4: two quavers in R.M.27.a.10
 38 lute: this repeat is written out in full in R.M.27.a.12 but a pencilled double bar and a cross seem to indicate that the repetition may have sometimes been omitted
 74-92 indications in the extant instrumental material seem to indicate that these bars were sometimes omitted
 108 lute: 7 bars crossed out in ink in R.M.27.a.12

228-235 lute: this repeat is written out in full in R.M.27.a.12 but a pencilled double bar seems to indicate that the repetition may have sometimes been omitted

10. O BE JOYFUL

Source: § GB-Lbl Add. MS 41847, ff. 1r-8v (autograph)

Text: Psalm 66

Comments: As this anthem appears in the Chapel Royal word book of 1724 it seems likely that it would have been accompanied by organ, lute and cello, though no performing material for these instruments has been found. A part for the latter two instruments might easily be derived from the organ bass line

48-49 between these bars is a bar crossed out. The contratenor solo continues to hold an a' for a dotted semibreve, tied; the organ bass



103-104 Page torn – editorial completion of section

147-152 the division of material between sides is editorial

235 2nd contratenor: two crotchet rests, crotchet c #'

300-end eight-stave systems are ruled in the manuscript, but with the exception of bass parts in bb. 329-339 and the overlapping contratenor entries at bb. 338-345, the upper c3, and c2 staves are unused. The lower of two F4 staves usually is untexted, suggesting an organ bass. The present editor takes the view that Weldon probably intended these parts to sing in unison for most of this passage but did not ink in all the notes

11. O LORD, LET ME HEAR THY LOVING KINDNESS

Source: § GB-Ob Ms. Mus. c.2, ff. 108r-113r (autograph)

Text: Psalm 143, vv. 8-11, last five words of v.12, Amen

- Comments:* As this anthem appears in the Chapel Royal word book of 1724 it seems likely that it would have been accompanied by organ, lute and cello, though no performing material for these instruments has been found. A part for the latter two instruments might easily be derived from the organ bass line
- 1 *et al* BCP reads "O let me..."
- 24 voice parts have a dotted minim
- 75 *et al* BCP reads "flee unto thee"
- 109-117 this organ bass is inserted on a hand-drawn stave at the bottom of the page; its position in the verse is indicated by means of a cross
- 129 the binding is too tight be absolutely confident of the last notes in this bar
- 139-141 "loving-kindness" (but "loving Spirit" elsewhere)
- 175 organ bass: last two notes are given as crotchets
- 189 the binding is too tight be absolutely confident of the last notes in this bar

12. O SING UNTO THE LORD A NEW SONG

- Sources:* § GB-Lbl Add. MS 41847, ff. 9r-19v (autograph)
US-Cn Case MS 7A/2, pp. 117-126

Consulted but not collated:

- GB-T 1176, p. 119
GB-T 1177, pp. 173-178
GB-T 1178, pp. 164-167
GB-T 1179, pp. 184-188
GB-T 1181, pp. 490-494

Text: Psalm 96, vv. 1-6, 9-10

- Comments:* For full details of the revisions made to this anthem see Chapter 4. It is dated on the manuscript, 9 January 1707/8. This post-dates the appointment of John Shire, the lutenist, but predates the appointment of Fransisco Goodsens, the cellist (1711/12). As the anthem does not appear in the word books of 1712, 1724 or 1736, performers may consider it appropriate to use a lute but not a

cello in addition to the organ accompaniment. A part for this instrument might easily be derived from the organ bass line

The c3 clef verses and solos are mostly labelled "M^r E", these have therefore been suggested for a tenor to sing

- 3-4 tenor: Both parts appear in both sources. The pitching of the lower part is such that if it were conceived as an only part then the tails would normally have pointed down. It is therefore not clear if the upper part is meant as an alternative, a correction or an addition. Given the alterations elsewhere in the piece it seems likely that it was a later addition, but with the lower part left in as a possibility pending a later decision: No performance material is known to be extant
- 16 bass: last note crotchet in Add. MS 41847; two tied crotchets in Case MS 7A/2
- 20-25 tenor parts: Answering phrases are denoted to different singers or groups of singers by "up" and [unclear] in Add. MS 41847 and by "upper tenor" and "under" in Case MS 7A/2. Add. MS 41847 gives some clarification in a stave below the main system, before an extra stave is incorporated into the score from bar 23
- 25 contratenor, 5: quaver followed by six semiquavers in Case MS 7A/2
- 29-33 This organ ritornello is crossed out in Case MS 7A/2 with the note "left out in organ part"
- 34 This verse was recomposed and then subsequently revised further. The original composition can be viewed as Appendix A to this edition. The organ ritornello printed in small type is crossed out in the Add. MS 41847; it does not appear in Case MS 7A/2. Case MS 7A/2 has bb. 34-51 entered but crossed out
- 53 contratenor: dotted quaver, semiquaver, dotted crotchet, quaver; first three notes slurred in Case MS 7A/2
- 66-67 organ: Case MS 7A/2 gives f[#]'s in the right hand (but the left hand f is not sharpened)

- 82 contratenor: two quavers, crotchet, dotted quaver, semiquaver in Case MS 7A/2
- 94 contratenor: crotchet b in Case MS 7A/2
- 96 contratenor: crotchet a in Case MS 7A/2
- 104 contratenor underlay in Case MS 7A/2: "day be tell-"
- 113 organ bass: crotchet, crotchet minim in Case MS 7A/2
- 124 organ: in Add. MS 41847 the last 3 bars of this section are pencilled into a page which is otherwise redundant due to the crossing out of the original verse. The reading here is:



- 137 contratenor: both sources give both parts
- 144 bass: "is more" in Case MS 7A/2
- 145-148 no repeat in Case MS 7A/2
- 146 contratenor, 7-8: dotted quaver, semiquaver in Case MS 7A/2
- 147 contratenor: "all" starts on last four semiquavers in Case MS 7A/2
- 150 organ bass, 8: note omitted in Case MS 7A/2
- 153 An extra verse before this section has been crossed out in Add. MS 41847; it can be viewed as Appendix B
- 165 rests unclear in Add. MS 41847
- 168 organ bass, 1: ♭ not signified in Add. MS 41847
- 169 bass, 1: ♭ not signified in Add. MS 41847
- 185-192 organ ritornello is abbreviated in Case MS 7A/2:



- 202 contratenor, 2: minim in Case MS 7A/2
- 212 1st bass, 1: crotchet rest, minim in Add. MS 41847
- 214 tenor: both notes in both sources
- 220 1st bass, 2: no ♭ in Case MS 7A/2

- 278-285 omitted in Case MS 7A/2
- 291 *et al* BCP reads "it is he who"
- 311 contratenor, 8: Case MS 7A/2 gives crotchet, two semiquavers, quaver
- 314 contratenor underlay: "right-eous---ly" in Add. MS 41847
- 319 Case MS 7A/2 states "end wth y^e first cho.", sketches the first bar of the chorus in short score, then "as before: so end"; Add. MS 41847 states "End with The first Chorus"

Appendix A

This setting of "Sing unto the Lord, and praise" is crossed out in Add. MS 41847 on ff. 10v, 12r-13r. It is replaced by a contratenor solo

Appendix B

This setting of "As for all the gods of the heathen" is crossed out in Add. MS 41847 on ff. 14r-15v

13. REJOICE IN THE LORD

Sources: § (voice parts; organ, except last chorus) GB-Lbl Add. MS 41847, ff. 20r-25r
(autograph)

§ (cello) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.10; pp. 98-99

§ (lute) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.12, pp. 177-180

§ (organ for last chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.13, ff. 28r-30r

(contratenor chorus and verse, except "Praise the Lord with harp")

GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.9, pp. 121-123

(contratenor chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.1, p. 170; GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.5, p. 107

(tenor chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.2, p. 221; GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.6, p. 183

(bass chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.3, p. 95; GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.8, p. 154

Text: Psalm 33, vv. 1, 2, 4, psalm 32, v. 12, psalm 33, vv. 13, 14. Amen

Comments: In this anthem, Weldon exhibits an unusually strong grasp over the tonal structure. The opening trio is in D major. This is followed by a strong ground bass movement for contratenor solo in the relative minor (B minor); the

ground itself is unusually substantial and lends real strength to the movement. The duet that follows in G major – to the flat side of the initial key centre before the trio in B flat major takes us further to the flat side. The ensuing bass solo returns to the initial key of D major before the closing chorus in D minor. Each movement in itself is also well-controlled tonally.

The autograph score, Add. MS 41847, forms the basis for this edition; the performing material from the Chapel Royal partbooks has been consulted and collated and used as the copytext for the lute and cello parts. The lute and cello parts are combined on one stave. Figures on this stave derive only from R.M.27.a.12, there is no suggestion that the cellist should realize the figures. Figures for the organ bass derive only from Add. MS 41847 and R.M.27.a.13. R.M.27.a.13 has been used as the copytext for the organ part for the last chorus as Add. MS 41847 shows only voice parts for this section

The cello part, R.M.27.a.10, is figured in light pencil, possibly for use by a lutenist on occasion. These figures have not been transcribed or collated

The allocation of clefs for the contratenor verses has been derived thus: the opening trio "Rejoice in the Lord" and duet "For the word of the Lord is true" are allocated to "Mr Lay" in Add. MS 41847; the solo verse "Praise the Lord with harp" is allocated to "Mr Elford" in Add. MS 41847. This division of labour is supported by the absence of "Praise the Lord with harp" from R.M.27.a.9; this partbook contains the trio, duet and choruses for this anthem. As in other anthems in this collection, the editor has considered material for "Mr Elford" more suitable to be allocated to a non-falsettist, and has used modern transposing g² clefs accordingly. The other contratenor material in this anthem seems more suited to the falsetto voice

Add. MS 41487 f. 20r is entitled "Psalm 23", though it is psalm 33 that is set

- 10 cello: no tie from last note in R.M.27.a.10
- 21 contratenor, 2: pitch unclear in Add. MS 41847, confirmed in R.M.27.a.9
- 22 organ bass: minims are both divided into dotted crotchet, quaver in Add. MS 41847
- 25 there is a short [?4 bar] organ ritornello heavily crossed out in Add. MS 41847. As far as can be determined, it is unrelated to the ground bass

- 25 organ bass, 5: # not specified in Add. MS 41847
- 31 organ bass, 5: # not specified in Add. MS 41847
- 41-57 this repetition is conveyed by repeat marks in R.M.27.a.13
- 89-96 this repetition is conveyed by repeat marks in R.M.27.a.10 and R.M.27.a.13, which includes the note "play y^e loud Organ for a Ritornel from this Repeat , & so end."
- 90 lute part (R.M.27.a.12) has "end" written in pencil
- 106 contratenor, 2: quaver in R.M.27.a.9
- 114 the "2" time signature is in both R.M.27.a.10 and R.M.27.a.12
- 124 lute part (R.M.27.a.12) has "end" written in pencil
- 129 contratenor, 4-5: dotted quaver, semiquaver in R.M.27.a.9
- 131 time signature is $\frac{3}{4}$ in both R.M.27.a.10 and R.M.27.a.12
- 172 bar omitted in both R.M.27.a.10 and R.M.27.a.12
- 175 organ bass, 4: divided into two quavers in Add. MS 41847
- 176 organ bass, 1: divided into two crotchets in Add. MS 41847
- 196 organ bass, 5-6: two semiquavers in Add. MS 41847
- 198 organ bass, 3-6: semiquaver rest, three semiquavers in Add. MS 41847
- 200 organ bass figuring: R.M.27.a.13 gives δ
- 204 organ bass: semibreve in R.M.27.a.13
- 216 organ bass, 2: Add. MS 41847 gives a \flat in pencil against this note, indicating a C[♭]. This reading is confirmed in R.M.27.a.13
- 223 lute figuring on second note is indistinct in R.M.27.a.12, but could read #6
- 223 bass, 10: no # in Add. MS 41847, but given in the solo part sketched into R.M.27.a.1
- 230 cello, 9-12: dotted crotchet, two semiquavers in R.M.27.a.10
- 257 tenor, 7: \flat omitted in Add. MS 41847
- 262 treble, 9: tied to the first note of b. 263 in R.M.27.a.4
- 263 treble, 2-3: tied; text: "all ye"
- 266 treble, 1: crotchet in R.M.27.a.4

14. PRAISE THE LORD YE SERVANTS

Sources: § (vocal parts) US-Cn, Case MS 7A/2, pp. 147-152, collated for organ part
 §(cello) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.10, pp. 104-105
 §(lute) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.12, pp. 159-161
 §(organ) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.13, pp. 20-23
 (contratenor verse and decani chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.9, pp. 105-108
 (contratenor decani chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.1, p. 111
 (contratenor cantoris chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.5, p. 42
 (tenor decani chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.2, p. 117
 (tenor cantoris chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.6, p. 130
 (bass decani chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.3, p. 137
 (bass cantoris chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.8, p. 93

Text: Psalm 113, vv. 1, 4, 3, 5, 1, Alleluia, 1

Comments: Case MS 7A/2, in the hand of John Gostling forms the basis for this edition. It is highly likely that Gostling had access to an autograph (no longer extant) of this anthem (see Source Descriptions). Probably drawn from the same autograph is the Chapel Royal performing material in the hand of John Church and probably used under the supervision of John Weldon. The organ part in Case MS 7A/2 is incomplete; for example the ritornello at the end of the first verse (bb. 25-34) is given with only a bass line

The lute and cello parts are combined on one staff. Where there are differences between the parts, the cello part has upward tails, the lute part downward (e.g. b.109). Figures on this staff derive only from R.M.27.a.12, there is no suggestion that the cellist should realize the figures. Figures for the organ bass are combined from both Case MS 7A/2 and R.M.27.a.13

R.M.27.a.9 and R.M.27.a.13 indicate that some cuts may have taken place in performance at the Chapel Royal. These have been indicated in the text by means of \oplus marks.

1 bass: Case MS 7A/2 has no key signature on this staff

3 *et al* *BCP* reads "O praise the Name of the Lord"



- 7 contratenor: O — praise the Lord. in R.M.27.a.9; manuscript shows signs of alteration
- 8 organ bass, 1: dotted minim in R.M.27.a.13
- 9 contratenor underlay: "the" is on last note in R.M.27.a.9
- 12 organ bass, 1: dotted minim in R.M.27.a.13
- 12 lute and cello, 1: dotted minim
- 12 bass, 1: dotted minim in Case MS 7A/2, R.M.27.a.3 and R.M.27.a.8
- 12 tenor, 1: dotted minim in R.M.27.a.2
- 12 contratenor, 1: dotted minim in R.M.27.a.1 and R.M.27.a.5
- 16 organ bass, 1: dotted minim in R.M.27.a.13
- 16 lute and cello, 1: dotted minim in R.M.27.a.10 and R.M.27.a.12
- 16 bass, 1: dotted minim in Case MS 7A/2, R.M.27.a.3 and R.M.27.a.8
- 16 tenor, 1: dotted minim in R.M.27.a.2
- 16 contratenor, 1: dotted minim in R.M.27.a.1 and R.M.27.a.5
- 17-24 This repeat of bb. 9-16 is indicated in R.M.27.a.12 and R.M.27.a.13 by repeat marks
- 20 organ bass, 1: dotted minim in R.M.27.a.13
- 20 lute and cello, 1: dotted minim in R.M.27.a.10 and R.M.27.a.12
- 20 bass, 1: dotted minim in Case MS 7A/2, R.M.27.a.3 and R.M.27.a.8
- 20 tenor, 1: dotted minim in R.M.27.a.2
- 20 contratenor, 1: dotted minim in R.M.27.a.1 and R.M.27.a.5
- 23 contratenor underlay: "the" is on last note in R.M.27.a.9
- 25-34 Case MS 7A/2 gives only the bass line
- 35 This solo is given in a c4 clef in both Case MS 7A/2 and R.M.27.a.9
- 41 contratenor, 4-5: dotted quaver, semiquaver in R.M.27.a.9
- 42 organ right hand: crotchet rest, quaver rest, two quavers at the start of the bar in Case MS 7A/2 (bar does not total four crotchets)
- 45 contratenor, 1: crotchet (semiquaver omitted) in R.M.27.a.9
- 47 contratenor, 2-5: the semiquavers are written as quavers (beam missing) in Case MS 7A/2
- 49 contratenor, 4: two semiquavers in R.M.27.a.9

- 52 contratenor, 4: Case MS 7A/2 has ✓
- 52 cello: dotted minim, quaver rest
- 55 contratenor, 3: Case MS 7A/2 has // on this note
- 56 organ bass: no tie in Case MS 7A/2
- 56 cello: no tie in R.M.27.a.10 (possibly pencilled in)
- 57 organ right hand, lower part: beat 2 is a' in Case MS 7A/2
- 58-65 R.M.27.a.9 (which shows at this point evidence of alteration) gives:

58 and his glo - ry, his glo - - - - - ry, his glo - -

61 - ry, a - bove the heavens. The Lord is high a - bove all

- 61 contratenor, 1: no # in Case MS 7A/2, but the bass note is figured with a #
- 66 no time signatures in Case MS 7A/2
- 87 first four quavers beamed in pairs in lute part
- 88 contratenor: the second syllable of "going" is placed a semiquaver earlier in R.M.27.a.9
- 88 contratenor: "-ing" is one note earlier in R.M.27.a.9
- 88 contratenor, 9-11: dotted crotchet, two semiquavers in R.M.27.a.9
- 92 organ bass and bass, 4: e♭ in Case MS 7A/2
- 92-94 contratenor: R.M.27.a.9 (which shows at this point evidence of alteration) gives:

92 sun, un - to the go - - - - - ing down of the same.

- 96 contratenor, 3: b♭ in R.M.27.a.9
- 99 organ bass, 1-3: dotted crotchet, two semiquavers in Case MS 7A/2
- 105 organ right hand, 6-8: quaver, two semiquavers in Case MS 7A/2
- 106 organ right hand, 7-9: quaver, two semiquavers in Case MS 7A/2
- 108 organ right hand, 4-5: tied in Case MS 7A/2

- 110-111 organ bass: no tie in Case MS 7A/2
- 117 organ bass, 1: this note is divided into two tied minims across a line change in Case MS 7A/2; both are figured 7 6
- 125-127 organ bass: no ties in Case MS 7A/2
- 127 organ bass, 2: dotted crotchet, quaver in R.M.27.a.13
- 128 organ bass, 1: two minims pencilled into R.M.27.a.13
- 131 organ bass, 1: two crotchets in Case MS 7A/2
- 133 *ossia* stave is editorial suggestion for cutting bars omitted in R.M.27.a.10, R.M.27.a.12 and R.M.27.a.13, based on the outline of the bass solo found in R.M.27.a.13
- 134-140 organ bass, cello and lute parts based on Case MS 7A/2
- 147 In R.M.27.a.10, R.M.27.a.12 and R.M.27.a.13 the material for the first verse is written out again
- 155 "Hallelujah" in R.M.27.a.9
- 155-171 R.M.27.a.9 has this material crossed out in pencil
- 155 organ bass, 1: minim B \flat , crotchet b \flat in Case MS 7A/2
- 159 contratenor underlay: "-le-" is on last note in R.M.27.a.9
- 162 organ bass, 2-3: two quavers in Case MS 7A/2
- 169 organ bass, 1: f in R.M.27.a.13
- 175 contratenor underlay: "-le-" is on last note in R.M.27.a.9
- 189 contratenor, 1: minim is divided into two crotchets, "-le-" starts on the second in R.M.27.a.9
- 194 organ bass, 1-2: two crotchets in Case MS 7A/2
- 199 contratenor underlay: "-le-" is on last note in R.M.27.a.9
- 204 contratenor, 1-3: dotted crotchet, two semiquavers in R.M.27.a.9
- 206 contratenor: pause and comma in pencil in R.M.27.a.9
- 207-219 crosses in R.M.27.a.9 and R.M.27.a.12 and a pencilled double bar and cross in R.M.27.a.13 seem to indicate a possible cut
- 211 contratenor underlay: "-le-" is on last note in R.M.27.a.9
- 215 contratenor underlay: "-le-" is on last note in R.M.27.a.9
- 221 contratenor, 2-7: semiquaver, semiquaver, quaver, semiquaver, semiquaver, quaver in R.M.27.a.1
- 224 contratenor text: "of the__ Lord" in R.M.27.a.9
- 225 tenor, 1-3: quaver, semiquaver, semiquaver in Case MS 7A/2

- 226 bass, 1: dotted minim in Case MS 7A/2, R.M.27.a.3 and R.M.27.a.8
- 226 tenor, 1: dotted minim in R.M.27.a.2
- 226 contratenor, 1: dotted minim in R.M.27.a.1 and R.M.27.a.5
- 229 contratenor, 2-7: semiquaver, semiquaver, quaver, semiquaver, semiquaver, quaver in R.M.27.a.1
- 230 bass, 1: dotted minim in Case MS 7A/2, R.M.27.a.3 and R.M.27.a.8
- 230 tenor, 1: dotted minim in R.M.27.a.2
- 230 contratenor, 1: dotted minim in R.M.27.a.1 and R.M.27.a.5
- 230 lute and cello, 1: dotted minim in R.M.27.a.10 and R.M.27.a.12
- 230 organ bass, 1: dotted minim in R.M.27.a.13
- 232 contratenor, 1: minim, crotchet rest in R.M.27.a.9
- 233 tenor, 1-3: quaver, two semiquavers, in Case MS 7A/2; "the" is placed one crotchet earlier
- 234 bass, 1: dotted minim in Case MS 7A/2, R.M.27.a.3 and R.M.27.a.8
- 234 tenor, 1: dotted minim in R.M.27.a.2
- 234 contratenor, 1: dotted minim in R.M.27.a.1 and R.M.27.a.5
- 234 lute and cello, 1: dotted minim in R.M.27.a.12
- 235 tenor, 2: minim, crotchet in R.M.27.a.6
- 235 "Halleluja" in R.M.27.a series

15. PONDER MY WORDS

- Sources:* §(contratenor) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.9, pp. 103-105
- §(tenor chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.2, p. 116
- §(bass chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.3, p. 49
- §(cello) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.10, pp. 70-71
- §(lute) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.12, pp. 150-151
- §(organ) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.13, pp. 16-19
- §(bass verse and treble) GB-EL 10/7/9, pp. 176-180 (collated for other parts)
- (contratenor chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.1, p. 111; GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.5, p. 65
- (tenor chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.6, p. 117
- (bass chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.8, p. 93

(cello) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.11, p. 70

Cjc Chapel Ms. R. 1, pp. 269-279

Consulted but not collated:

GB-Lbl R.M. 27.b.14, pp. 161-162

Text: Psalm 5

Comments: The Chapel Royal partbooks form the basis for this edition. As they are an incomplete set it has been necessary to draw material for the bass verses and the treble part from 10/7/9. Chapel Ms.R.1 has been selected for collation for its early copy date and as its repertoire seems to suggest a strong link with the Chapel Royal (see Source Descriptions).

The lute and cello parts are combined on one stave. Figures on this stave derive only from R.M.27.a.12, there is no suggestion that the cellist should realize the figures. Where there are differences between the parts, the cello part has upward tails, the lute part downward (e.g. b. 4). Figures for the organ bass derive only from R.M.27.a.13

- 5 organ right hand upper part, 1: dotted quaver, semiquaver in 10/7/9 and Chapel Ms. R. 1
- 9 organ bass, 1: e \flat in 10/7/9 and Chapel Ms. R. 1
- 12 organ bass, 3: tied to next bar in 10/7/9 and Chapel Ms. R. 1
- 13 lute: the figures in R.M.27.a.12 seem to be a later addition
- 19 contratenor, 1: dotted crotchet in 10/7/9
- 20 bass, 1: dotted crotchet in 10/7/9
- 23 organ bass, 1: dotted crotchet, quaver in 10/7/9 and Chapel Ms. R. 1
- 24 organ bass, 1: dotted crotchet, quaver in Chapel Ms. R. 1
- 25 organ bass, 1: dotted crotchet, quaver in Chapel Ms. R. 1
- 27 organ right hand lower part, 1: minim tied to crotchet in 10/7/9
- 27 organ bass, 1: minim in 10/7/9
- 30 organ right hand lower part, 3: omitted in 10/7/9
- 40 c. 16 bars heavily crossed out in R.M.27.a.10 and 12
- 43 contratenor, 8: crotchet with \checkmark above in R.M.27.a.9
- 49 organ right hand, 8: tie omitted in R.M.27.a.13
- 52 R.M.27.a.10 and 12 give "slow", other sources "Grave"

52-71 R.M.27.a.9 has an inserted slip of paper giving an alternative reading (editorial completion of damaged portions in square brackets):

52 Grave: 2 voc

For — thou thou art the God that hast no pleas - ure in wick - ed - ness: Thou thou art the

God [that has no pleas - ure in wick - ed - ness, neith - er shall an - y, shall an - y — ev - il, nei - ther shall

an - y, shall an - y] ev - - - il dwell with thee, Thou art the God that hast no

pleas - ure in wick - ed - ness. Thou art — the [God that hast no] pleas - ure — in — wick - ed - ness

nei - ther shall an - y ev - il, nei - ther shall an - y [ev -] il, nei - ther shall an - y ev - - - il dwell with thee.

- 52 organ bass, 1: crotchet rest, crotchet in 10/7/9 and Chapel Ms. R. 1
- 55 organ bass, 3: crotchet, two quavers (all f) in Chapel Ms. R. 1
- 56 bass, 3: e \sharp in 10/7/9
- 58 contratenor, 1: underlay in 10/7/9: an-y, shall an-y--
- 58 bass, 5: underlay in 10/7/9: an-y--
- 61 cello, 1: crotchet, semiquaver rest in R.M.27.a.11
- 64 bass, 1: dotted quaver, semiquaver in Chapel Ms. R. 1
- 69 contratenor, 3: dotted quaver, semiquaver, crotchet in 10/7/9 and Chapel Ms. R. 1
- 71 lute/cello: R.M.27.a.11 has an additional 16 bars here; in R.M.27.a.10 and R.M.27.a.12 they are crossed out, partly in pencil, partly in ink. None of the other sources have this material
- 72 cello: R.M.27.a.10 has no d \flat in the key signature (but uses accidentals)
- 72 tenor, 7: e \flat ' in 10/7/9
- 74 tenor, 5: e \flat ' in 10/7/9 and Chapel Ms. R. 1
- 74 contratenor, 3-5: b \flat ', b \flat ', a' in 10/7/9

- 75 tenor, 1-6: a \flat , a \flat , d', g, g, g in 10/7/9
- 78 bass, 4: dotted crotchet in 10/7/9 and Chapel Ms. R. 1
- 78 treble, 3-4: two semiquavers in 10/7/9 (bar does not add up correctly)
- 80-95 lute and cello: the Chapel Royal sources use g 2 clefs for higher pitches, moving to F4 clefs in the lute part where indicated and to F4 clefs in the cello part a bar later each time. The present editor takes the view that the treble clef material in each part is intended as a cue, with each bass instrument entering in turn when presented with a bass clef. A few bars later (bb. 99-101), both instruments remain in the F4 clef despite the g 2 clef in the organ.
- 83 organ right hand, 4: two semiquaver appoggiaturas: a", b \flat " in Chapel Ms. R. 1
- 87 organ right hand, 1: c" omitted in 10/7/9
- 94 organ right hand, 4: additional lower part b \flat ' crotchet in 10/7/9
- 119 organ bass, 1: semibreve in 10/7/9 and Chapel Ms. R. 1
- 147 organ right hand lower part, 4: d' in 10/7/9 and Chapel Ms. R. 1
- 149 organ right hand, 1: c" omitted in 10/7/9
- 150 lute/cello: R.M.27.a.10 and R.M.27.a.12 have no d \flat in their key signatures (but use accidentals)
- 153 lute/cello: c. 11 bars heavily crossed out in ink in R.M.27.a.10 and R.M.27.a.12
- 153 contratenor, 1: quaver f', crotchet e' in Chapel Ms. R. 1
- 153 bass: *ossia* from Chapel Ms. R. 1
- 160 lute, 2: \flat not specified in R.M.27.a.12
- 165 organ bass, 1: minim in 10/7/9
- 170 organ bass, 1: minim in 10/7/9
- 174 organ bass, 2: e \flat tied to e \flat in 10/7/9
- 176 bass, 1: dotted crotchet f, quaver g in Chapel Ms. R. 1
- 177 "Chorus as before" in 10/7/9 and Chapel Ms. R. 1

16. O PRAISE THE LORD, YE THAT FEAR HIM

- Sources:*
- §(treble chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.4, p. 18
 - §(contratenor verse and decani chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.9, pp. 124-127
 - §(contratenor cantoris chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.5, p. 109
 - §(tenor decani chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.2, p. 221
 - §(tenor cantoris chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.6, p. 183
 - §(bass decani chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.3, p. 95
 - § (bass cantoris chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.8, p. 154
 - §(cello) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.10, pp. 102-103
 - §(lute) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.12, pp. 180-182
 - §(organ) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.13, pp. 60-63
 - (contratenor decani chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.1, p. 170

Text: Psalm 22, vv. 23-28

Comments: The Chapel Royal partbooks form the basis for this edition. As they are an incomplete set and no other source can be found it has been necessary to supply tenor and bass verse parts based on the cues found in the organ, lute and cello books. Each of these gives information on the number of voices for each verse; the organ partbook provides a sketch of the score from which the present editor has derived tenor and bass verse parts

The lute and cello parts are combined on one stave. Where there are differences between the parts, the cello part has upward tails, the lute part downward (e.g. b. 49). Figures on this stave derive only from R.M.27.a.12, there is no suggestion that the cellist should realize the figures. Figures for the organ bass derive only from R.M.27.a.13

6 *et al* *BCP* reads "all ye of the seed"

54 lute: #3 on fourth figure in R.M.27.a.12

99 lute, organ: Faint marks in these partbooks (R.M.27.a.12, and R.M.27.a.13) may suggest omitting b. 99³ to 100³. No such marks can be found in the cello book (R.M.27.a.10)

104 contratenor, 1: minim tied to dotted crotchet in R.M.27.a.9

137 contratenor, 2: additional notes c'#, e' in R.M.27.a.9

- 146 contratenor: bar missing due to torn page in R.M.27.a.9, notes from organ part cue
- 171 organ, lute, contratenor: the bass part in the organ and lute partbooks (R.M.27.a.12, 13) reads:



Both books have been subject to alteration at this point and there are pencilled in alterations to the contratenor part book (R.M.27.a.9), giving an alternative reading:



The effect of these alterations seems to be to make the solo more suitable for a falsettist than a high tenor. As their dating and status is not known, the original reading in the contratenor part has been preferred in this edition, with the instrumental bass taken from the unaltered cello part (R.M.27.a.10)

- 217 contratenor, 3-4: two quavers in R.M.27.a.9 and R.M.27.a.1
- 227 contratenor, 8: d# in R.M.27.a.9, R.M.27.a.1 and R.M.27.a.5
- 228 contratenor, 6: following 6 notes (including this one) missing in R.M.27.a.9 (torn page)
- 244-end organ: R.M.27.a.13: left hand stave missing due to over-trimming

17. THE KING SHALL REJOICE

- Sources:*
- §(treble chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.4, p. 19
 - §(contratenor verse and chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.9, pp. 141-144
 - §(tenor chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.2, p. 137
 - §(bass chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.3, p. 79
 - §(cello) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.10, pp. 106-107
 - §(lute) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.12, pp. 183-185
 - §(organ) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.13, pp. 64-68
 - (contratenor chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.1, p. 178; GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.5, p. 117

(tenor chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.6, p. 86

(bass chorus) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.8, p. 155

Text: Psalm 21, vv. 1-6, Hallelujah. Amen

Comments: The Chapel Royal partbooks form the basis for this edition. As they are an incomplete set and no other source can be found it has been necessary to supply editorial tenor and bass verse parts based on the cues found in the organ, lute and cello books. Each of these gives information on the number of voices for each verse; the organ partbook provides a sketch of the score from which the present editor has derived tenor and bass verse parts

The lute and cello parts are combined on one stave. Where there are differences between the parts, the cello part has upward tails, the lute part downward (e.g. b. 3). Figures on this stave derive only from R.M.27.a.12, there is no suggestion that the cellist should realize the figures. Figures for the organ bass derive only from R.M.27.a.13

The present editor has chosen to use a g₂ clef for the contratenor part. It may have been written during Richard Elford's lifetime (see Chapter 2, Chronology), but given the tessitura it seems more likely that it was written with Francis Hughes in mind. Hughes was a talented counter-tenor (falsettist) who was later to hold a double place. It is noted that the lowest note is a minor third lower than that noted for Hughes by Burrows. It is conceivable that the solo work was split between two singers, but all the material is found in the same partbook so this seems unlikely

- 24 cello, 1: crotchet in R.M.27.a.10
- 26 treble, 1: dotted crotchet f[#] in R.M.27.a.4 (this reading derived from R.M.27.a.13)
- 30 treble, 9: crotchet in R.M.27.a.4
- 30 tenor, 3: crotchet in R.M.27.a.2 and R.M.27.a.6
- 33 lute/cello/organ, 1: semibreve in R.M.27.a.10, R.M.27.a.12 and R.M.27.a.13
- 120 organ bass, 1-3: minim, two crotchets in R.M.27.a.13
- 179 repeat written out in full in R.M.27.a.9 and R.M.27.a.12
- 202 lute/cello/organ, 1: semibreve in R.M.27.a.10, R.M.27.a.12 and R.M.27.a.13
- 222 lute, 8: # omitted in R.M.27.a.12

229 organ bass, 4: two semiquavers (A, G) in R.M.27.a.13

18. LET GOD ARISE

Sources: § US-NHb Ms. 514, pp. 188-195

GB-T Ms. 820

Text: Psalm 68 vv.1-4, Hallelujah

Comments: 10-11 bass: last crotchet of b. 10 and all of b.11 is an octave lower in Ms. 514

27 no time signature in either source; 2 flats in key signature in Ms. 514

37-38 organ bass: tie omitted in Ms. 820

40 time signature: **3i** in Ms. 514; **3/4** in Ms. 820

53 contratenor, 3-4: dotted quaver, semiquaver in Ms. 514

65 tenor: dotted quaver, semiquaver, crotchet, crotchet rest in Ms. 820

103 organ right hand: no slur in Ms. 820

104 organ bass: no tie in Ms. 820

114 *et al* BCP reads "his Name"

128 organ bass: note omitted in Ms. 820

137, 139, 140, 150, 152, 153
organ bass: ties omitted in Ms. 820

142 *et al* BCP reads "jah" in place of "yea"

145-146 organ bass: minim tied to crotchet, minim, crotchet in Ms. 820

146 contratenor, 1-4: two quavers in Ms. 820

147 *et al* BCP reads "before him"

163 bass, 5: dotted crotchet (over barline) in Ms. 820; the "be-" syllable is delayed one note

165-end Ms. 514 is laid out on eight staves, but "D[ecani]" and "C[antoris]" markings are given for every phrase. It has been editorially laid out in two choirs. Ms. 820 is laid out on eight staves from b. 168 onwards, but does not follow the same pattern (Tr1, Tr2, CT2, CT1, Ten1, Ten2, B2, B1)

- 165 *et al* Ms. 514 gives "Allelujah"
 170 treble cantoris, 1-3: three crotchets in Ms. 820
 171 bass cantoris, 3: d in Ms. 820
 173 treble decani, 2: e" in Ms. 820
 173 tenor decani, 2: c' in Ms. 820
 175-end Ms. 820 is laid out on the four staves used for the previous phrase
 with the intervening staves remaining unused
 175-176 bass: an octave higher in Ms. 820, except the last crotchet
 177 bass: an octave higher in Ms. 820
 179 treble, 2: semibreve in Ms. 820 (first note of b. 180 omitted)
 179-end bass cantoris: omitted in Ms. 820
 180 tenor cantoris, 3: omitted in Ms. 820

19. HEAR MY CRYING, O GOD

- Sources:* § (vocal parts) US-Cn Case MS 7A/2, pp. 153-159
 § (organ) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.13, pp. 74-75
 (contratenor) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.1, pp. 156-157; GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.5, pp. 114-
 115
 (tenor) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.2, pp. 134-135; GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.6, p. 80
 (bass decani) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.3, pp. 80-81
 (bass cantoris) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.8, pp. 102-103

Consulted but not collated:

- GB-Lbl Harley 7341, ff. 288v-292r
 GB-Lbl Add. MS 30931, ff. 34v-35v
 GB-T 797, pp. 16-17 (reversed)
 GB-T 798, pp. 22-23 (reversed)
 GB-T 799, pp. 18-19 (reversed)
 GB-T 800, pp. 21-22 (reversed)
 GB-T 801, pp. 15-16 (reversed)
 GB-T 802, pp. 20-21 (reversed)
 GB-T 803, p. 17 (reversed)

GB-EL 10/7/16, pp. 137-147

GB-Ob Ms Mus.Sch. B.7, pp. 35-43

Text: Psalm 61 vv.1-5. Amen.

Comments: All the sources consulted predate the Boyce publication of this anthem.² The Chapel Royal sources have been chosen as copytexts for the vocal and organ parts where available as these have the closest association with the composer. As the partbooks from the R.M.27.a series are incomplete, the Gostling score, Case MS 7A/2 has been used to supply the missing parts and collated for others. It seems likely that both Gostling and Church (the copyist of the R.M.27.a partbooks) had access to an autograph score (now lost; see Source Descriptions).

The organ part has been edited in accordance with the findings of Chapter 5, in which the present writer recommended that for full anthems, the organist should play all of the notes written in the organ book, supplemented by additional notes suggested by the figures. Diamond shaped noteheads (◆ or ◇) in the organ part are used to signify notes written as directs in R.M.27.a.13 and given rhythmic values by the present editor.

Changes of clef in R.M.27.a.13 are not collated.

- | | |
|----|---|
| 1 | no time signature in Case MS 7A/2 |
| 5 | contratenor: tie omitted in Case MS 7A/2 |
| 6 | 2 nd bass, 2-3: two quavers in GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.8 |
| 6 | organ bass, 2-3: two quavers in R.M.27.a.13 |
| 7 | 1 st bass, 3: B♭ in R.M.27.a.3 |
| 8 | organ bass, 4: quaver in R.M.27.a.13 |
| 9 | organ bass, 1: quaver in R.M.27.a.13 |
| 11 | organ bass: figuring δ 3 in R.M.27.a.13 |
| 16 | organ bass, 4: the second bass part is reproduced at the same octave as the voice part for seven notes in addition to the upper octave (but in a later hand) in R.M.27.a.13 |
| 22 | 1 st bass, 2: ♭ omitted in Case MS 7A/2 |
| 25 | tenor, 5: # in Case MS 7A/2 |

² *BoyceCM*

- 26-30 only two flats in key signature of contratenor, bass and organ bass in Case MS 7A/2; no accidental is given in b. 28 on the second note of the bass and organ bass
- 29 contratenor and tenor, 1: no accidental in Case MS 7A/2
- 30 contratenor, 8: # in R.M.27.a.1
- 34 tenor, 4: no accidental in Case MS 7A/2
- 35 1st bass, 2: no accidental in Case MS 7A/2
- 35 organ figuring: 6 on second note has a line through, seemingly to cross it out
- 48-56 the bass part in Case MS 7A/2 has only two flats in the key signature; there is no indication for \flat or \natural in b. 54
- 65 2nd treble, 4: g' in Case MS 7A/2
- 67 1st bass, 4: no accidental in Case MS 7A/2
- 79 1st treble: underlay in Case MS 7A/2: cov--'ring of thy
- 79 2nd treble, 1-2: slurred in Case MS 7A/2
- 87 contratenor, 9-10: two quavers in Case MS 7A/2
- 95 treble, 4: dot missing in Case MS 7A/2
- 97-98 contratenor: accidentals (\flat s) omitted in Case MS 7A/2
- 102 organ right hand, lower part, 5: a \flat is pencilled into R.M.27.a.13; perhaps to make the organ book usable with *BoyceCM*. This note is not flattened in any of the consulted sources. See discussion in Chapter 3


20. IN THEE, O LORD

- Sources:*
- § (vocal parts) US-Cn Case MS 7A/2, pp. 219-223
 - § (organ) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.13, pp. 74-75
 - (treble) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.4, p. 43
 - (contratenor) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.1, p. 179; GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.5, p. 120
 - (tenor) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.2, p. 138; GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.6, pp. 102-103
 - (bass) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.3, pp. 82-83; GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.8, p. 109

Consulted but not collated:

GB-T 797, p. 18 (reversed)
 GB-T 798, p. 23-24 (reversed)
 GB-T 799, p. 20-21 (reversed)
 GB-T 800, p. 23 (reversed)
 GB-T 801, p. 17 (reversed)
 GB-T 802, pp. 23-24 (reversed; second copy entered on identical page numbers)
 GB-T 803, pp. 18-19 (reversed)
 GB-EL 10/7/16, pp. 137-147

Text: Psalm 31, vv. 1-6 (verse 4a omitted, verse 6 adapted)

Comments: *In thee, O Lord* was widely disseminated through Boyce's *Cathedral Music* volume 2 (1768), which gives a large number of variant readings, notably in the rhythmic figure of the opening point of imitation, where Boyce gives . The sources selected for collation are likely to have stemmed from a single archival source in the hand of Weldon that can no longer be traced.

The organ part has been edited in accordance with the findings of Chapter 5, in which the present writer recommended that for full anthems, the organist should play all of the notes written in the organ book, supplemented by additional notes suggested by the figures. Diamond shaped noteheads (◆ or ◇) in the organ part are used to signify notes written as directs in R.M.27.a.13 and given rhythmic values by the present editor.

Changes of clef in R.M.27.a.13 are not collated.

- 10 contratenor, 5: crotchet e' in R.M.27.a.1 and R.M.27.a.5
- 10-11 all vocal parts have con-fu-sion (three syllables) in R.M.27.a series
- 13 treble, 2: crotchet b♭' in R.M.27.a.4
- 15 bass, 6: upper note only in Case MS 7A/2
- 16 R.M.27.a.1-6, R.M.27.a.8 and R.M.27.a.13 convey the repetition through :s:
- 21 tenor, 1: crotchet in R.M.27.a.2 and R.M.27.a.6 (no second time bar indicated as in other R.M.27 partbooks)
- 22 ♯ reiterated in Case MS 7A/2
- 25 contratenor, 2: the ♯ is in pencil in R.M.27.a.1 but not in MS 7A/2
- 33 contratenor, 5-6: two quavers in R.M.27.a.1

- 34 contratenor, 1: two quavers in MS 7A/2
- 36 bass: alternative underlay pencilled in R.M.27.a.3: [lead,]__ and _
lead me
- 37 contratenor, 3: dotted quaver b \flat , beamed to semiquaver a in
R.M.27.1
- 44 organ, right hand, lower voice, 3: semiquaver c', semiquaver b \flat ,
quaver a, quaver g in R.M.27.a.13
- 46 contratenor, 3: e \flat ' in R.M.27.1
- 48-49 bass: alternative underlay pencilled in R.M.27.a.3: [lead,]__ and _
|lead me
- 50 contratenor, 1: dotted crotchet b \flat , quaver a, quaver b \flat , quaver b \flat
in R.M.27.a.1
- 51 contratenor, 2: quaver e \flat ', quaver d', in Case MS 7A/2
- 52 bass, 2: two quavers in Case MS 7A/2
- 52 bass, 6: two quavers in R.M.27.a.3
- 53-54 bass: alternative underlay pencilled in R.M.27.3: [lead,]__ and _
|lead me
- 55 bass, 3: R.M.27.a.3 slurs "lead" to end of bar
- 56 bass, 1: R.M.27.a.3 gives "for thy name's sake", dotted crotchet,
quaver, two crotchets
- 56 contratenor, 3: dotted quaver d', beamed to semiquaver c' in
R.M.27.a.1
- 57 ♯ reiterated in R.M.27.a.8
- 58 contratenor, 1: dotted crotchet in R.M.27.a.1, R.M.27.a.5 and MS
7A/2
- 58 bass, 1: dotted crotchet in R.M.27.a.8
- 58 treble, 5, underlay in R.M.27.a.4: they_ have laid_
- 58 contratenor, 3: four quavers, first two slurred in R.M.27.a.1 and
R.M.27.a.5
- 58 tenor, 5: crotchet, two quavers (no slur) in R.M.27.a.2 and
R.M.27.a.6
- 58 bass, 4: crotchet, quaver, two slurred semiquaver in R.M.27.a.3
and R.M.27.a.8

- 59 treble, 4-5: two quavers in R.M.27.a.4
- 59 contratenor, 2: d' in R.M.27.a.1 and R.M.27.a.5
- 61 bass, 1: dotted crotchet in R.M.27.a.8
- 61 treble, 5, underlay in R.M.27.a.4: they_ have laid_
- 61 contratenor, 4: crotchet, two quavers in R.M.27.a.1 and R.M.27.a.5
- 61 tenor, 4: crotchet, two quavers (c', c', b♭') in R.M.27.a.2 and R.M.27.a.6
- 61 bass, 4: underlay in R.M.27.a.3 and R.M.27.a.8: they_ have laid_
- 62 contratenor, 3: crotchet e' in R.M.27.a.1 (organ part altered to match)
- 63 tenor, 3: no ♯ in Case MS 7A/2
- 64 contratenor and tenor, 1: underlay in R.M.27.a.1, R.M.27.a.2, R.M.27.a.5 and R.M.27.a.6: thou,___ thou,___
- 65 bass, 3: Upper note only in Case MS 7A/2
- 67 treble, 3: crotchet c' in R.M.27.a.4
- 69 bass, 3: quaver, quaver, crotchet in R.M.27.a.8
- 70 treble, 2: dotted quaver, semiquaver in R.M.27.a.4
- 70 bass, 4: two quavers in R.M.27.a.3, and R.M.27.a.8
- 74 contratenor: extra crotchet rest inserted at end of bar in R.M.27.a.1 and R.M.27.a.5
- 77 contratenor, 3: quaver f', quaver e♭', crotchet d', all slurred in R.M.27.a.1 and R.M.27.a.5
- 77 tenor, 4: crotchet in R.M.27.a.2 and R.M.27.a.6
- 77 bass, 3: crotchet in R.M.27.a.3 and R.M.27.a.8
- 78 contratenor, 1: crotchet f' in R.M.27.a.1 and R.M.27.a.5
- 81 treble, tenor, 4: crotchet in R.M.27.a.4, R.M.27.a.2 and R.M.27.a.6
- 81 contratenor, 3: quaver f', quaver e♭', crotchet d', all slurred in R.M.27.a.1 and R.M.27.a.5
- 81 bass, 3: B♭ in Case MS 7A/2
- 81 organ, last chord: crotchet in R.M.27.a.13
- 83 bass, 4: "O" in Case MS 7A/2

- 84 bass, 1: Case MS 7A/2 gives "Lord, thou God of" on four crotchets: d, e♭, d, e♭; there also appear to be four crotchet b♭s with their stems up.
- 84 tenor, 1: underlay in R.M.27.a.2 and R.M.27.a.6: God_ of

21. WHO CAN TELL HOW OFT HE OFFENDETH

Sources: § GB-Ob Ms. Mus. Sch. B.7, pp. 106-135 (though see pagination sequence, in Source Descriptions)
 (contratenor decani) GB-Lsp Ms. Alto 3, pp. 38-40
 (tenor cantoris) GB-Lsp Ms. Tenor 4, pp. 37-38
 (bass decani) GB-Lsp Ms. Bass 3, pp. 35-37

Consulted but not collated:

Cathedral Music (1790), ii., pp. 207-215

Cathedral Music (1790), organ book, pp. 171-173

Text: Psalm 19, vv. 12-15

Comments: GB-Ob Ms. Mus. Sch. B.7, the score in the hand of Charles Badham (Minor Canon of St Paul's from 1698 until 1716), has been preferred as the earliest extant complete source. This score (unusually) includes an organ part on two staves throughout. Both this and the partbooks from St Pauls may have been copied from material belonging to Gostling or even possibly from a Weldon score. The Arnold *Cathedral Music* print has been included for consultation to resolve difficulties with Badham's score: Ian Spink commented that his scores "tend to be defective".³

The organ part has been edited in accordance with the findings of Chapter 5, in which the present writer recommended that for full anthems, the organist should play all of the notes written in the organ book, supplemented by additional notes suggested by the figures. The present editor has made the assumption that the organ part on two staves in Badham's score is either a copy of an organ book or that the notes entered were intended for such a purpose. Diamond shaped noteheads (◆ or ◇) in the organ part are used to

³ *SpinkRCM*, p. 84

signify notes written as directs in Badham's score and given rhythmic values by the present editor.

- 3 tenor cantoris, 3: no accidental in Ms. Mus. Sch. B.7
- 5-8 Ms. Mus. Sch. B.7 is unclear how the contratenor and tenor parts are to be divided here. The editorial solution is consistent with the Ms. Alto 3 and Tenor 4 partbooks (though it differs from that of Arnold)
- 9-13 In Ms. Mus. Sch. B.7 a first attempt at copying this system is crossed out. Only the treble and contratenor parts were initially attempted (and some text for the lower parts) and there were several errors. On this first attempt the copyist included "Dec[ani]" and "Can[toris]" indications, but did not include them on his second attempt. The Ms. Alto 3, Ms. Tenor 4 and Ms. Bass 3 partbooks seem to confirm the antiphonal intent.
- 9-13 repeat not marked in Ms. Alto 3, Ms. Tenor 4 or Ms. Bass 3
- 10 contratenor cantoris, 3: Only a stem is found in Ms. Mus. Sch. B.7; this note is taken from *Cathedral Music*
- 11 1st and 2nd tenor, 1: crotchet rest omitted in Ms. Mus. Sch. B.7
- 17 organ, right hand, upper voice, 5: two quavers: d', c#' in Ms. Mus. Sch. B.7
- 20 organ right hand, lower voice, 1-3: quaver, semiquaver, semiquaver in Ms. Mus. Sch. B.7
- 21 contratenor, 2: two semiquavers: g', f#' in Ms. Mus. Sch. B.7
- 22 organ bass, 4-5: two quavers in Ms. Mus. Sch. B.7
- 23 bass, 1-2: two quavers in Ms. Mus. Sch. B.7
- 25 bass, 4-5: dotted quaver, semiquaver in Ms. Bass 3
- 29 organ, right hand, upper voice, 1: g' in Ms. Mus. Sch. B.7
- 29 contratenor, 4-5: dotted quaver, semiquaver in Ms. Alto 3
- 30 organ right hand, upper voice, 2-3: dotted quaver, semiquaver in Ms. Mus. Sch. B.7
- 42 bass underlay in Ms. Bass 3: "mouth, and the me-di--"
- 43 tenor: accidentals omitted in Ms. Mus. Sch. B.7
- 43 organ right hand, lower voice, 2-3: # omitted on second note, but ♭ given on third

- 43 *et al* "alway" in *BCP*
- 43 tenor, 5: crotchet c', quaver c', quaver f' ("al-ways ac-") in Ms. Mus. Sch. B.7
- 44 tenor, 1-2: dotted quaver, semiquaver in Ms. Mus. Sch. B.7
- 44 tenor, 3-4: slurred in Ms. Mus. Sch. B.7
- 45 tenor, 4 : crotchet tied to quaver in Ms. Mus. Sch. B.7
- 45 bass, 4: two quavers tied together in Ms. Mus. Sch. B.7
- 45-46 treble: underlay unclear in Ms. Mus. Sch. B.7
- 46 tenor, 1-2: dotted quaver, semiquaver in Ms. Tenor 4
- 49 2nd bass, 3-4: one minim in Ms. Mus. Sch. B.7
- 57 tenor, 1-2: dotted crotchet d' in Ms. Tenor 4
- 61 contratenor, 3: no # in Ms. Alto 3
- 61 tenor, 5: no # in Ms. Tenor 4
- 63 tenor: accidentals omitted in Ms. Mus. Sch. B.7
- 64 tenor 1-2: dotted quaver g# in Ms. Tenor 4
- 64 tenor 7-8: crotchet a in Ms. Tenor 4 (with backfall)
- 65 organ, left hand, upper voice, 3: a# in Ms. Mus. Sch. B.7
- 65-66 1st bass, 3-4: slur omitted in b. 65; each syllable one note forward until crotchet on beat 2 on b. 66 in Ms. Mus. Sch. B.7
- 71 tenor: e', e' in Ms. Mus. Sch. B.7
- 74 tenor underlay: "me-di--" in Ms. Tenor 4
- 77 upper note in Ms. Mus. Sch. B.7, lower in Ms. Tenor 4. It is plausible that Weldon intended both
- 82 1st bass, 2: g in Ms. Mus. Sch. B.7

22. TURN THOU US, O GOOD LORD

- Sources:* § (contratenor) GB-Lsp Ms. Alto 3, pp. 43-44
 § (tenor) GB-Lsp Ms. Tenor 4, pp. 42-43 (reversed)
 § (bass) GB-Lsp Ms. Bass 3, pp. 40-42
 § (organ) GB-Lsp Ms. Organ Vol. 5, part 1, pp. 119-120
- Text:* *BCP*, "A Commination", prayer before the blessing

Comments: The organ part has been edited in accordance with the findings of Chapter 5, in which the present writer recommended that for full anthems, the organist should play all of the notes written in the organ book, supplemented by additional notes suggested by the figures

Subtitle given in Ms. Alto 3 and Ms. Bass 3

An editorial completion has been made using cues from the organ book for pitch and cues from the extant voice parts that suggest the number of voice parts, listed below

- 1 "5 voc:" in Ms. Alto 3 and Ms. Bass 3
- 5 "Vers 3 voc:" in Ms. Alto 3 and Ms. Bass 3, "Vers 3 voc: Dec:" in Ms. Tenor 4; "Verse" in Ms. Organ Vol. 5
- 19 "full 5 voc:" in Ms. Alto 3 and Ms. Tenor 4; "full" in Ms. Bass 3; "Cho:" in Ms. Organ Vol. 5
- 30 "Vers 3 voc:" in Ms. Alto 3 and Ms. Tenor 4; "vers" in Ms. Bass 3; "Verse" in Ms. Organ Vol. 5
- 42 "full" in Ms. Alto 3, Ms. Tenor 4 and Ms. Bass 3; "Cho:" in Ms. Organ Vol. 5

23. O SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD

Source: § GB-T Ms. 796, ff. 115r -115v

Text: BCP, "The Visitation of the Sick"

Comments: The source includes a marginal note, "From an M.S. at Ely Cathedral", perhaps suggesting a Hawkins copy, no longer extant. If the subtitle "Visitation of the Sick" is to be taken at face value, rather than simply as the source for the text, then one might speculate that it was composed for precisely such an occasion and sung unaccompanied, perhaps for an ill Queen Anne. Accordingly, no organ part has been provided. If one is preferred, a part largely doubling the voices would be appropriate in keeping with the full with verses anthems. It may be that this item is not by Weldon (see Source Descriptions and Chapter 3)

- 8 tenor 1-3: a for all three notes

- 9 tenor, 1: b
 21 contratenor, 2: e' crossed out in pencil, replaced by f'
 21 tenor, 1-3: e, g (minims) crossed out in pencil, replaced by minim
 g, crotchet d', crotchet c'

24. O PRAISE THE LORD, FOR IT IS A GOOD THING

Sources: § *The Divine Companion* (1722), pp. 123-125

The Divine Companion (1701), pp. 75-77

The Divine Companion (1715) pp. 123-125

Text: Psalm 147, vv. 1, 5

- Comments:* 27 bassus, 1: dot omitted in 1701 and 1715 editions
 27 medius, 3: a' in 1715 and 1722 editions

25. O PRAISE GOD IN HIS HOLINESS

Sources: § *The Divine Companion* (1722), pp. 126-129

The Divine Companion (1701), pp. 78-81

The Divine Companion (1715), pp. 126-129

Text: Psalm 150, vv. 1-4, 6

- Comments:* 4 bassus, 3-4 and medius, 3-4: last two notes are crotchets in
 1701 edition
 13 cantus, 1: e" in 1701 edition
 14 bassus, 1: e in 1701 edition
 19 bassus, 1: a in 1722 edition
 27 bassus, 1: no accidental in 1701 edition
 28 bassus, 3: G in 1701, 1715 and 1722 editions

26. SANCTUS

and

27. GLORIA IN EXCELSIS

Sources: § (contratenor) GB-Lbl R.M.27.c.4, p. 247 (*Sanctus only*)
 § (tenor) GB-Lbl R.M.27.c.5, p. 242 (*Sanctus only*)
 § (bass) GB-Lbl R.M.27.b.4, p. 260(*Sanctus only*)
 § (organ) GB-Lbl R.M.27.a.13, p. 54-55
 (bass) GB-Lbl R.M.27.c.6, p. 250 (*Sanctus only*)

Consulted but not collated:

John Weldon,, *Communion Service*, ed. Edward F. Rimbault in *Choir and Musical Record* (September 1864)

Text: BCP, "Holy Communion"

Comments: Although the organ partbook that is contemporaneous with Weldon's time at the Chapel Royal contains this paired setting of the *Sanctus* and *Gloria in excelsis*, it is not included in any of the matching partbooks. James Hume suggests that it may have been performed without music;⁴ a reasonable suggestion, as there are so few settings extant in the Chapel Royal performing material. Although the three voice lower parts of the *Sanctus* can be found in later partbooks, this is not the case with this *Gloria in excelsis*. Both these missing chorus parts and the verse sections have been editorially reconstructed based on the organ part. Slurs in the upper part of any given section are derived from the organ book, which also gives some text cues and indications of Full and Verse sections

The opening intonation of the *Gloria in excelsis* is that given in Merbecke, *The Book of Common Prayer Noted* (1550)

Sanctus:

13 tenor, organ: semibreves in R.M.27.c.5 and R.M.27.a.13

⁴ James Hume, 'The Chapel Royal Partbooks in Eighteenth-Century England' (PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 2013), p. 154.

28. TE DEUM

Source: § GB-Lcm 2043 (partial autograph; see Source Descriptions)

Text: *BCP*, "Morning Prayer"

Comments: The source consists of a series of partbooks. For the treble and contratenor voices only the cantoris parts are extant, for tenor and bass voices both decani and cantoris parts are extant. No organ book has survived. The extant partbooks show the number of voices in each verse section, noted below. The tenor and bass partbooks show a certain freedom with the number of voices in the texture. In reconstructing the treble and contratenor decani parts this freedom has been cautiously applied by the present editor

- 17-21 tenor: this verse is written into both partbooks; the underlay in bb.
19-20 is clear in neither
- 22 treble, 2: note obscured by a dark mark on the manuscript
- 23 "full" in both tenor parts and cantoris contratenor
- 37 bass, 1: both notes in the partbook, probably the lower is an alternative for a singer who was uncomfortable with the upper note
- 68 "vers 3 voc || verse 2 voc" in cantoris treble; "vers 3 voc" in cantoris contratenor
- 96 "vers 3 voc" in cantoris contratenor
- 96 *et al* *BCP* gives "sittest at"
- 124 contratenor, 1 and bass, 1: dotted semibreve
- 126 "numbred" in partbooks
- 149 contratenor, 1: semibreve f#
- 165 "vers 3 voc" in cantoris treble and contratenor
- 187 "vers 3 voc" in cantoris treble

29. JUBILATE DEO

Source: § GB-Lcm 2043 (partial autograph)

Text: BCP, "Morning Prayer"

Comments: The source consists of a series of partbooks. For the treble and contratenor voices only the cantoris parts are extant, for tenor and bass voices both decani and cantoris parts are extant. No organ book has survived. The extant partbooks occasionally show the number of voices in each verse section, noted below. The tenor and bass partbooks do not divide until the last few bars. In reconstructing the treble and contratenor decani parts this same pattern has been applied by the present editor

- 3 bass, 4: d in both bass partbooks
- 14 "Vers 3 voc." in treble and contratenor cantoris partbook
- 14-36 the bass part is taken from an insert in the bass decani partbook containing two staves of music, in the hand of the second copyist (see Source Descriptions). This insert covers two staves of music also in the copyist's hand. It seems that Weldon and the second copyist were working in tandem on the task of copying. Text on these two staves is given only on the first phrase. It seems likely either that Weldon revised the passage before the task of copying was complete, or that the second copyist was errant in copying this passage
- 64 bass, 2: semibreve in bass decani partbook
- 82 tenor, 1 : # omitted in cantoris partbook
- 84-85 tenor: both notes are in the cantoris partbook, only the upper in the decani partbook
- 86 "Vers 4 voc." in treble and contratenor cantoris partbooks

30. CHANT

Source: § GB-Lbl Add. MS 31819

Comments: This has been presented in short score in the modern manner

31. CANTATE DOMINO (incomplete)

Source: § GB-Lcm 2043 (partial autograph)

Text: BCP, "Evening Prayer"

Comments: Only the treble cantoris, contratenor cantoris, tenor decani, bass cantoris and bass decani parts are extant. It is the present editor's view that too much material is missing to effect a reconstruction

4 treble, 1: dot missing

38 "vers 3 voc." in contratenor cantoris, tenor decani and bass cantoris partbooks

59 "vers 5 voc." in treble cantoris and bass decani partbooks

84-95 BCP gives "joyful unto the Lord"

107 "vers 5 voc." in treble cantoris, contratenor cantoris, tenor decani and bass decani partbooks

205 "vers 4 voc." in treble cantoris and tenor decani and bass decani partbooks

258 contratenor, 1-2: slurred

32. DEUS MISERATUR (incomplete)

Source: § GB-Lcm 2043 (partial autograph)

Text: BCP, "Evening Prayer"

Comments: Only the treble cantoris, contratenor cantoris, tenor decani, bass cantoris and bass decani parts are extant. It is the present editor's view that too much material is missing to effect a reconstruction

9 "Vers 4 voc: That thy way" in treble cantoris and tenor decani partbooks

- 53 "Vers 3 voc: O let the nations" in treble cantoris partbook; "Vers 3 voc: O let &c" in contratenor cantoris partbook; "Vers 3 voc: (O let)" in bass cantoris partbook
- 105 "Full: Let the people as before" in both bass partbooks
- 119 "Vers 4 voc: Then &" in treble cantoris partbook; "Vers 4 voc: Then shall" in tenor decani partbook
- 141 "Vers 3 voc: God shall" in treble cantoris, contratenor cantoris and bass cantoris partbooks
- 145, 148 bass decani partbook has repeat marks in each of these bars

33. BLESSED ARE THOSE THAT ARE UNDEFILED

Source: *Divine Harmony* (1712)

Text: Psalm 119, vv. 1, 2, 5, 6, 12, 75, 28

Comments: Only the text of this anthem has survived. It is reproduced here as given in the anthem wordbook produced for the Chapel Royal in 1712. In that wordbook it is included in the "Verse anthem" section

34. BLESSED IS THE MAN THAT FEARETH THE LORD

Source: *Divine Harmony* (1712)

Text: Psalm 112, vv. 1-9; psalm 111, v. 10, Hallelujah

Comments: Only the text of this anthem has survived. It is reproduced here as given in the anthem wordbook produced for the Chapel Royal in 1712. In that wordbook it is included in the "Verse anthem" section

35. O GIVE THANKS UNTO THE LORD

Source: *Divine Harmony* (1712)

Text: Psalm 105, vv. 1-3, 5; psalm 29, v. 39 (adapted); psalm 27, v. 7

Comments: Only the text of this anthem has survived. It is reproduced here as given in the anthem wordbook produced for the Chapel Royal in 1712. In that wordbook it is included in the "Verse anthem" section. Below the text of the anthem is printed, "Compos'd for the thanksgiving *Nov. 22. 1709, By Mr. Weldon.*"
BCP gives "Thou hast girded me with strength unto the battle: thou shalt throw down mine enemies under me" for psalm 29, v. 39
 This does not seem to be the anonymous anthem of the same title entered into the organ book, GB-WRec ECR 299/ii, ff. 116v-120v

36. I WILL LOVE THEE, O LORD

Source: *A Collection of Anthems* (1724)
Text: Psalm 18, vv.1, 5, 6, 32a, 34, 35, 37, 43, 51, Amen
Comments: Only the text of this anthem has survived. It is reproduced here as given in the anthem wordbook produced for the Chapel Royal in 1724. In that wordbook it is included in the "Verse anthem" section

37. THE PRINCES OF THE PEOPLE

Source: *A Collection of Anthems* (1724)
Text: Psalm 47, v. 9; psalm 70, v. 35; psalm 89, v. 19; psalm 76, v. 12; psalm 77, v. 14; psalm 29, v. 10
Comments: Only the text of this anthem has survived. It is reproduced here as given in the anthem wordbook produced for the Chapel Royal in 1724. In that wordbook it is included in the "Verse anthem" section. Above the text of the anthem is printed, "*A Thanksgiving ANTHEM collected from several PSALMS.*" Below the text of the anthem is printed, "*Compos'd for the Thanksgiving upon the Prospect of approaching Peace, in the Reign of Q. Anne.*"
 The wordbook specifies psalm 75, v. 12 for the fourth verse set, but the text given is that of psalm 76, v.12
BCP gives "for God, which is very high exalted..." for psalm 47, v. 9b
BCP gives "The Lord shall give strength unto his people:" for psalm 29, v. 10a