‘That Orpheus of our Time’
A Reassessment of Henry Cooke (d.1672)



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Part 1

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Abstract

Despite serving as a pivotal musical figure during the later seventeenth century, too little is known about Henry Cooke. The upheaval caused by the Civil Wars and Commonwealth had significant implications for music in the country, many of which had to be reckoned at the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660. The revival of many affected institutions, such as the Royal Music—the royal musical institution at court, including the choral and instrumental operations of the King's Musick and Chapel Royal—was spearheaded, amongst others, by Henry Cooke, who served as Master of the Choristers 1660–72. This thesis reexamines Cooke, primarily seeking to provide a comprehensive reassessment of his biography. New documentary evidence reveals much concerning his early life and activities during the 1640s and 50s, and challenges prior assumptions about his musical training, as well as inviting further consideration of aspects of his personal wealth, family, and potential pedigree. An exploration of Cooke's efforts to rebuild the choir following the Interregnum allows for the proposal of an updated chronology for the admission of choristers, as well as his influence on the English Restoration School (including such notable musicians as Pelham Humfrey, John Blow, and Henry Purcell) – a group whose careers and musical output were shaped by his tutelage. Cooke's scribal and compositional practices are examined through an analysis of Bu 5001, the largest corpus of his extant works, and the previous categorisation of his autographs is questioned. Cooke's song repertoire and contributions to early English opera are explored, particularly his involvement with William Davenant's *The Siege of Rhodes* (1656), featuring a significant discussion concerning the authorship of *Sleep, downy sleep* and the argument for attribution wholly to Cooke. An edition of Cooke's complete surviving works is presented with critical commentary and source descriptions, drawing on all extant materials.

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Common Abbreviations

CBCR	Ashbee, Andrew and John Harley, eds, *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal: with Additional Material from the Manuscripts of William Lovegrove and Marmaduke Alford*, 2 vols (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000)
BDECM	Ashbee, Andrew, David Lasocki, Peter Holman, and Fiona Kisby, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485-1714*, 2 vols (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998)
RECM	Ashbee, Andrew, ed., *Records of English Court Music*, 9 vols (Snodland; Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1986–96)
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. <oxforddnb.com>
OMO	Oxford Music Online (*Grove*). <oxfordmusiconline.com>
MGG	Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. <mgg-online.com>
Pepys	Pepys, Samuel, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A New and Complete Transcription*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols (London: G. Bell, 1970-83)
Evelyn	Evelyn, John, *Diary of John Evelyn, Volume III: Kalendarium 1650–72*, ed., E. S. de Beer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955)

RISM Library Sigla (GB assumed in all instances)

BROcl – Bromley, Central Library

BSw – Berkshire, Windsor Castle, The Royal Archives

Bu – Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham

CA – Canterbury, Cathedral Archives and Library

Cfm – Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum

DRc – Durham, Cathedral Library

Lbl – London, The British Library

Lms – London, Madrigal Society

Lna – London, The National Archives

Lwa – London, Westminster Abbey

Lwac – London, City of Westminster Archives Centre

MA – Maidstone, Kent Archives and Local History Centre

Ob – Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford

Och – Oxford, Christ Church Library

Oqc – Oxford, The Queen's College

SHE – Sheffield, The University Library

Preface

The dates used within this thesis abide by the Gregorian calendar (new style) which superseded the Julian calendar (old style) in 1752. In the Julian system, the new year began on Lady Day, 25 March, and resulted in dates from 1 January to 24 March being described as in two years, such as 1 January 1660/1. Therefore, all dates given in old style in their respective sources will be represented by their equivalent in the new style. However, it is worth remembering that the days of the week given in primary sources, such as those in the diary of Samuel Pepys, are correct and abide by the Julian calendar in use at the time.

During the seventeenth century, the year was split into four roughly equal segments, beginning with the quarter days, which fell on major religious feasts. These dates would be used to define the points from which contracts would be valid and are used extensively in the records of the King's Musick to mark the dates from which wages would be owed. The four quarter days are as follows:

25 March: Lady Day (Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary)
As Lady Day fell when there was no significant agricultural task taking place (like ploughing or harvest) this was adopted as the day on which the contracts of tenant farmers would begin and/or expire.

24 June: Midsummer (Feast of John the Baptist)
This quarter day was placed on the summer solstice, which coincided with the Feast of John the Baptist. 'John the Baptist' is commonly recorded as 'Midsummer' and vice versa.

29 September: Michaelmas (Feast of St Michael and All Angels)

Still in use today for several UK University institutions as the name for the first term of an academic year.

25 December: Christmas Day

There are fewer instances of contracts beginning and/or ending on the Christmas quarter day throughout the court musical records. One would suspect that this is due to its nature as a principal feast day taking precedence over most other matters.

This thesis makes repeated reference to the Royal Music. Terminology for this institution alternates across much of the secondary literature—indeed, with confusing references to the King's Musick encompassing all activities—thus, 'the Royal Music' has been adopted as the simplest catch-all term. This institution, having existed in some form since the fourteenth century, encompassed all the musical activities at court. These were subdivided into the secular and sacred branches of music-making: the King's Musick and the Chapel Royal, respectively. The King's Musick included the various ensembles and bands: the Private Musick (lutes, viols and voices), the wind band, the violin (string) band, and the drums and fifes, whereas the Chapel Royal operated as a singular entity. The entire musical establishment was under the purview of the Lord Chamberlain, whose signature was required to sanction many of the activities we see recorded for the period. Several other court offices would be involved for specific operations which fell within their remit, such as the Great Wardrobe for the issuing of liveries. Administratively, however, the day-to-day operation of the two branches of music-making fell to the Masters of the King's Musick—in Cooke's period, Nicholas Lanier (1660–66) and Louis Grabu (1666–74)—and the Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal. For further information on the administrative structure of the Royal Music, see Ashbee, ed., *RECM*, iii, ix–xiii.

Currency has been represented as it would have been in the seventeenth century, using a system of pounds (£), shillings (s.), and pence (d.); twelve pence to a shilling and twenty shillings to a pound. When presenting historical monetary amounts, it is often difficult to accurately convey how this might be translated into modern sums, as simply using the Consumer Price Index (CPI) does not necessarily reflect the true value of an amount. Due to this fact, all amounts given in the main text should be considered to be given using the monetary system above (where only pounds are given, the zero values for shillings or pence have been omitted for brevity). Speculation as to modern equivalents will be discussed in footnotes alone, so to avoid confusing the narrative and will employ the calculations of *MeasuringWorth*, which uses several factors to determine the relative worth of a sum beyond simply applying inflation indexes.

Where bar numbers are given in example captions referring to the works of Henry Cooke, they should be assumed to correspond with the bar numbers in part 2 of this thesis.

Pitch names are given according to the Helmholtz system: C'–B', C–B, c–b, c'–b', c''–b'' (where c' = middle C).

Introduction

> …and now is come to that Excellency and Perfection there, by the Skill and furtherance of that Orpheus of our time, Henry Cooke Genttleman and Master of the Children of His Majesties Chappel, whose compositions of Anthems now used in His Majesties Chappel, and by him and other Gentlemen most exquisitely performed to the Glory of God and honour of our Nation.[1]

When the monarchy was restored in 1660, Henry Cooke became a leading figure in the revival of institutional musical activities in England. His most prominent position was undoubtedly as Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal from 1660 until 1672, during which time he would have been responsible for the tuition and care of several young choristers who would go on to be some of the most famous musicians of the period – Pelham Humfrey, John Blow, and Henry Purcell, in particular. This English Restoration School[2] was instrumental in continuing the revival of English institutional music through the latter portion of the seventeenth century which, perhaps consequently, has led to those composers having received greater focus from scholars than Cooke.

The period in which this study is set is renowned as one of particular upheaval in England. Whilst the pejorative attitude towards music usually laid at the feet of the Puritan authorities is something of an overstatement, with only eight acts and ordinances being passed which had any effect on music-making,[3] the Civil Wars and Commonwealth did much to overturn the musical traditions which had been established over the preceding centuries in various court and church institutions. However, the loss of such institutional music-making contributed—if perhaps unintentionally—to a rapid expansion of domestic music-making.[4]

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[1] John Playford, *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (London: William Godbid, 1664), 76.
[2] To be discussed below.
[3] These being passed on 9 May 1644, 4 October 1644, 4 January 1645, 28 August 1646, 29 August 1648, 5 April 1650, 9 June 1657, 26 June 1657. See Charles Firth, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642–1660*, 3 vols (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1911).
[4] The authoritative work for this period remains Percy Scholes, *The Puritans and Music: A Contribution to the Cultural History of Two Nations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), upon which I built my master's thesis; Samuel

It is in light of this historical context that any reassessment of Cooke must be considered, as the socio-political climate of the period had significant implications for his activities before, during, and after the upheaval of the 1640s and 50s.

State of Literature

Past research on Cooke has consistently failed to reveal any of his history prior to 1648, when he was named in the will of Thomas Ford,[5] and it is clear that focused research into his life has been considerably marred from inception by the apparent paucity of extant documentary evidence. In 1911 both Henri Dussauze and Joseph Bridge worked with what limited documentation they could find,[6] primarily relying on the Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal, as well as primary historical accounts in the form of Samuel Pepys' and John Evelyn's diaries, and Anthony Wood's (Anthony à Wood) 'Notes for Biographies of English Musicians'.[7] At the time, the number of known manuscripts containing works attributed to Cooke was smaller than it is now, with the particularly unfortunate absence of Bu 5001 containing the largest single corpus of Cooke's surviving work. Dussauze was clearly aware of the Christ Church manuscript, Och Mus. 49, as well as three or more British Library (then Museum) sources – certainly Lbl Add. 29396 and Add. 14399, and then either Add. 33234 or 31460 as both contain the same two songs—*Awake my soul* and *Sleep downy sleep*—but their duplicate nature is not mentioned. Bridge was aware of a slightly greater number of sources than Dussauze, adding DRc MS B1 and Lbl Egerton MS 2936. The focus of these two pieces of work was different, Bridge focussing on Cooke himself, and Dussauze using Cooke as a platform from which to launch discussions of his pupils. Both, however, remain superficial

Teague, 'Musicians' Livelihoods in Civil War and Commonwealth England, c.1642–1660', MSt Thesis, University of Oxford, 2020.

[5] Will of Thomas Ford, Lna PROB 11/206/174.

[6] Henri Dussauze, 'Captain Cooke and his Choir Boys: A Contribution to the History of Secular Music in England', PhD thesis, l'Université de Paris, 1911; Joseph C. Bridge, 'A Great English Choir-trainer: Captain Henry Cooke', *Musical Antiquary* 2 (1910-1), 61–79.

[7] Ob MS Wood D 19(4).

in their inquiry, which largely allowed for Charles Burney's pejorative views of Cooke's ability (particularly compositionally) to be perpetuated: 'he was little fitted for the high office to which he was appointed at the Restoration.'[8]

We find several references to Cooke in the writings of John Hawkins.[9] However, none of the references go to any lengths to assert the perceived quality of his music beyond the comment: 'Not his loyalty alone, but that and his skill in music recommended him to the favour of Charles II',[10] which would lead one to conclude that, unlike Burney, no musical sources were consulted. Burney's judgement of Cooke, above, is quite harsh but must be considered within the understanding of late-eighteenth-century musical preferences. Aside from presenting information from Wood's manuscript, Burney made reference to a 'MS. folio volume of Services and Anthems by Blow, Gibbons, Lock, Goodson sen. and Capt. Henry Cooke', which is probably in reference to Och Mus. 22—the only item in that said collection which contains both services and anthems—and may suggest that the other manuscripts held at the institution (which would have all been in place at the time) were also consulted by Burney.[11] Whatever the breadth of his discoveries at Christ Church, the only anthem that Burney could have consulted was *Turn thou us, O good Lord*, as no other choral works exist (or existed) within the collections therein. This reduces the scope of Burney's criticism to a minute number of pieces, and caused him to rely heavily on four pieces (although he writes 'two or three' in his work) contained within John Playford's *Musicall Companion* (1667).[12] From the combination of *Turn thou us* and these four pieces, Burney's

[8] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music*, 4 vols (1st edn, London, 1776–89; facs. edn, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), iii, 444. This is then perpetuated in Emil Naumann, *Illustrierte Musikgeschichte*, tr. Ferdinand Christian Wilhelm Praeger and ed. F. A. Gore Ouseley as *The History of Music*, 2 vols (1st edn, London, 1888; facs. edn, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), i, 750.
[9] John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 5 vols (1st edn, London, 1776; facs. edn, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), iv, 63, 352, 357–9, 361, 371–3, 428, 475, 486, 496.
[10] Hawkins, iii, 357.
[11] Burney, iii, 443, n.*x*. The other manuscripts held at Christ Church, Oxford, will be discussed below.
[12] These pieces will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

conclusions are stark: that Cooke's compositions 'are dry, ill-accented, and equally destitute of melody and masterly harmony'.[13]

Somewhat lacking in the accounts of John Hawkins and Charles Burney is the context and understanding of the period, for which we may turn to commentary from Thomas Tudway, one of Cooke's early choristers. He never names Cooke, nor refers directly to his role (which seems odd, considering that the Master of Children would have been a fairly major figure in the young Tudway's life), but in his prefaces to the six volumes of *Services and Anthems* (1715–20) he discusses the types of compositions introduced at the Restoration, including those with instruments, which we know Cooke had a hand in instigating.[14]

It was not until the tricentenary of Cooke's death in 1972 that much further consideration was given to Cooke as a figure in his own right, seen in an article written by Richard McGrady.[15] However, the work can only be described as a short (two-page) and superficial overview of Cooke, which almost inevitably descends into discussion of his pupils. Further work through the 1980s and 1990s improved the quality of scholarship on Cooke significantly, due in large part to the availability of new manuscript materials – namely Bu 5001.[16] Ian Cheverton played a leading role in the growth of this work; his analysis of Cooke's anthems has been woefully overlooked, something of a shame given that his doctoral thesis is widely used by scholars working in the field. These contributions, as well as those by Robert Manning, allowed for the scholarship to develop further through the 1990s and turn of the millennium, as shown in the work of Jonathan Wainwright, Peter Holman, and Ian

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[13] *Op. cit.*
[14] Tudway's prefaces to *Services & Anthems* (1715–20) are transcribed in full as Appendix F in Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music 1660–1714* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 434–50.
[15] Richard McGrady, 'Captain Cooke: A Tercentenary Tribute', *The Musical Times* 113/1553 (1972), 659–60.
[16] Ian Cheverton, 'The Anthems of Henry Cooke', MA Dissertation, University College Cardiff, 1978; Cheverton, 'Captain Henry Cooke (c.1616–72) The Beginnings of a Reappraisal', *Soundings*, 9 (1982), 74–86; Cheverton, 'English Church Music of the Early restoration Period 1660–ca.1676', PhD Dissertation, University of Wales, 1984; Robert Manning, 'The Anthems of Henry Cooke', *RCM Magazine* (1991), 25–33.

Spink in particular.[17] The work of Andrew Ashbee through his monumental nine-volume presentation of the *Records of English Court Music*, alongside the two-volume edition of *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal* edited in collaboration with John Harley, has been used extensively throughout this work.[18] This mammoth compiling of the records of the Royal Music has been invaluable for research in this field, building upon the earlier work of Lafontaine which it sought to update,[19] in much the same manner as *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485–1714* from which much of the biographical information of various court musicians has been drawn.[20]

More recent years have seen continued interest in Cooke, albeit limited in scope. His *Grove Music* entry was revised in 2001 by Bruce Wood (building upon Peter Dennison's original) and coherently presented much of the biographical information known to that point,[21] and is echoed in John Harley's entry for Cooke in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.[22] The work of Rebecca Herissone has expanded the understanding of Cooke further than perhaps any others to date, with particularly detailed insights into his compositional oeuvre, which had previously only been superficially considered in any published works.[23] Herissone's categorisation of Bu 5001 as a 'fowle originall' in the same manner as some of Henry Purcell's

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[17] Jonathan Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605–1670)* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997); Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court, 1540-1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*.

[18] Andrew Ashbee, ed., *Records of English Court Music*, 9 vols (Snodland; Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1986–96); and Andrew Ashbee & John Harley, eds, *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal: with Additional Material from the Manuscripts of William Lovegrove and Marmaduke Alford*, 2 vols (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000). See also, Ashbee, ed., *Lists of Payments to The King's Musick in the Reign of Charles II (1660–1685)* (Snodland: Ashbee, 1981).

[19] Henry Thomas Cart de Lafontaine, *The King's Musick: A Transcript of Records Relating to Music and Musicians (1460–1700)* (London: Novello, 1909).

[20] Andrew Ashbee, David Lasocki, Peter Holman, and Fiona Kisby, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485–1714*, 2 vols (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998).

[21] Peter Dennison, and rev. Bruce Wood. 'Cooke, Henry'. *OMO*. 2001. Much of the same content is also presented in Thomas Krümpelmann. 'Cooke, Henry'. *MGG Online*. 2000.

[22] John Harley. 'Cooke, Henry'. *ODNB*. 2008.

[23] Rebecca Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 70; Rebecca Herissone and Alan Howard, eds, *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013). Whilst Cheverton discussed Cooke's anthems at length in his MA dissertation, it has remained unpublished, and is only available for direct consultation in Cardiff.

later autograph manuscripts changed the way in which much of Cooke's surviving repertoire might be perceived.[24] This was later expanded during a conference set up by this author to mark the 350th anniversary of Cooke's death, in May 2022.[25] Whilst some of these suggestions in Herissone's previous work, as well as the recent paper are not ones with which this author agrees—as will be seen in chapter 3—a renewed focus on Cooke as a figure and musician in his own right, divorced from simply being a pedagogical vehicle for his pupils, is something to be encouraged.

From even this brief vignette, one can see that scholarship focused on Henry Cooke has progressed in the years since Dussauze and Bridge published their work, if perhaps at a slow rate. My undergraduate thesis saw my first foray into work on Cooke, and the pre-Restoration sketch which was produced did not break any new ground.[26] Cooke's known activities begin quite suddenly when he appears in John Playford's *A Musicall Banquet* (1651), listing him as an 'excellent and able [London-based] master' on the 'Voyce or Viole',[27] but the lack of documentary evidence prior to 1651 made it difficult to do much more than reproduce information already published – if only in a slightly more consolidated form than previously seen.

Structure and Scope

The primary intention of this thesis is to reassess Cooke's biography in an effort to greatly expand what is currently known about this key figure of the Restoration. The first chapter of this thesis begins by challenging, correcting, and revising those aspects of Cooke's

[24] Herissone, *Musical Creativity*, 70.
[25] Rebecca Herissone, 'Music for the Violins and Voices: Or, How Cooke Changed the Role of Composers in Restoration England', *Music, Creativity, and Culture in England, 1642–88*, Conference Keynote, The Queen's College, Oxford, 21 May 2022.
[26] Samuel Teague, 'Henry Cooke: Music in the English Restoration Court and Chapel 1660–1672', Bachelor of Arts Thesis, Bangor University, 30 April 2019.
[27] John Playford, *A Musicall Banquet* (London, 1651), ix. This is excepting the reference made to a 'Captain Cooke' in the 1648 will of Thomas Ford, which we assume to be referring to the correct Cooke.

biography presented by earlier scholarship, providing a stronger foundation from which significant expansions to the known biography can be introduced with a particular focus on his life and activities prior to 1660. This expansion has been facilitated by the discovery of a large number of primary materials at the City of Westminster Archives Centre pertaining to property Cooke owned, as well as a number of legal disputes held by the National Archives; full transcriptions of these can be found in appendix A. These documents place Cooke in Westminster from a young age, which in turn allows the supposition that his musical training took place at Westminster Abbey rather than the Chapel Royal, to be entertained.

Further documentary evidence additionally reveals new information pertaining to Cooke's activities during the Commonwealth, greatly expanding what is known about his professional life at the time, as well as the implications this may have for his—and other musicians'—earnings during a period of apparent professional musical inactivity. What this may have meant for Cooke's personal wealth is explored in tandem with an in-depth investigation of Cooke's wife and progeny, which itself poses significant questions as to his own position and potential pedigree within the social strata of the period. This is studied as far as genealogical materials exist and external inquiries have allowed to this point, with possible options being presented for Cooke's own origins.

The study of Cooke's wealth, property, and family facilitate a detailed look at a pivotal seventeenth-century figure across a period for which we commonly expect to find little information. These new perspectives help to contextualise Cooke's rapid ascent to positions of power and influence upon the Restoration, but also aid in comparing him to his contemporaries and successors, as the methods and resources used to carry out this investigation invite comment as to how these techniques and materials may be used towards the furtherance of similar research into other musical figures.

Chapter two continues the thread of reassessment, looking predominantly at Cooke's role as Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal 1660–72. Through this lens, the crucial job of rebuilding the roster of children has been reviewed, shedding significant light on the trips Cooke took to collect and press boys for the Chapel. This has allowed, for the first time in such detail, for a suggested chronology of the admission of the boys of the English Restoration School to be presented. In turn, the study of the trips to press choristers have aided in identifying potential origins for some of the boys of the chapel, fleshing out their own biographies, as well as inviting further study into aspects of their output and institutional careers.

Cooke's role as Master of the Children is explored in greater depth, detailing his responsibilities. In so doing, this thesis employs the term English Restoration School in reference to the generation of musicians first trained under Cooke in the early years of the Restoration, beginning with the likes of Humfrey and Blow, and culminating with Purcell. The concept of the musical school is used as a musicological tool to collect sets of like composers and/or musicians into broad stylistic groups, the best-known example of this being the Second Viennese School, including the likes of Schoenberg, Berg, and Webern.[28] Groupings such as these are certainly helpful, as they allow musicologists and amateurs alike to quickly identify sensible confines in which to explore or by which to limit the bounds of research. However, there are issues with the usage of the term – primarily that it implies continuous pedagogy and uniformity to the output. Misha Donat, writing about the Second Viennese School, claims this to be one of the issues in that instance, as both Webern and Berg were not perennially under the thumb and tutelage of Schoenberg.[29]

[28] 'Second Viennese School.' *OMO*. 2001.
[29] Misha Donat, 'Second Viennese School?', *Tempo* 99 (1972), 8.

The first usage of 'school' regarding Restoration music is made by Hubert Parry in his volume of *The Oxford History of Music*. In the chapter concerning music after the Commonwealth, he delves into a reasonable amount of detail on sacred music post-1660, albeit focusing mainly on Purcell and his output. His analysis of style and idiom is merely superficial, and he only uses the term once:

> Purcell's anthems, written under such favourable and effective conditions, may be fairly regarded as the highest representatives of the Restoration church music and the completest and most comprehensive examples of the methods and characteristics of the school.[30]

It was Henri Dussauze in his 1911 thesis who began using the term 'school' in earnest to describe the activities in the Chapel Royal run by Cooke. Dussauze notes in his introduction that Parry had already done much work on the 'sacred music of the school',[31] so it is probable that the term was reused as a result of the earlier work. Whilst there is a degree of criticism surrounding the usage of the term 'school', the arguments against usage tend to revolve around the attempt by musicologists to pull loosely linked figures into the 'closest relationship'.[32] When one considers the English Restoration School as begun by Cooke, these issues are not so apparent. Cooke was responsible for the tutelage and care of the boys in his charge, both as Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal and Master of the Boys in the Private Musick. He was their teacher—and quite possibly their boarding master too—and was responsible for their schooling and upbringing. Therefore, this is not the grouping of a disparate group of composers who happened to interact, but a tangible and traceable lineage of pedagogy that connects the composer and musicians of this period. As a result, I believe re-coining the term 'English Restoration School' is both justified and useful for scholarship

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[30] C. Hubert H. Parry, *The Oxford History of Music, iii. The Music of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), 279.
[31] Dussauze, '"Captain" Cooke and his Choir-boys', 10.
[32] Joseph Auner, 'The Second Viennese School as a Historical Concept' in Bryan R. Simms, ed., *Schoenberg, Berg, and Webern: A Companion to the Second Viennese School* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1999), 2.

of this period, with Cooke marking the starting point in 1660, and the death of John Blow (who succeeded Humfrey as Master of the Children in 1674) in 1708 as the end.

The inevitable focus on Purcell by much musicological scholarship on the later seventeenth century has frequently led to many of his predecessors and contemporaries being overlooked. The focus on individuals has canonised a select few, and often (and particularly, in the case of Cooke) makes it difficult to contradict the views of previous scholars who have decided that certain figures are ancillary, and not worthy of any more than a footnote. Thus, whilst Schools as post-fact artistic groupings may sometimes be perceived as exclusionary devices, elevating a select few, it is hoped that by beginning to foster an egalitarian approach to the musical output of the Royal Music and its members more may be discovered about the institution as a whole.

This approach is applied to Cooke's compositional legacy, which is addressed at the end of the second chapter. The near-complete disappearance of Cooke's music from the repertoire of the Chapel (let alone the country) after his death is perhaps one of the most apparently damning signs that his music was not well received at the time. However, this is not true, with the establishment of the symphony anthem often being credited to Cooke, commented upon positively by contemporaries such as Pepys and Evelyn, persisting through the output of his pupils well after his death. Questions pertaining to Cooke's compositional inadequacies are then addressed with examples from his Funeral Sentences (see part 2, number 14), as well as the most famous member of the English Restoration School, Henry Purcell. His eloquent command of rhetorical device and textual interest are briefly explored, hopefully encouraging for a future reappraisal of his compositional idiom.

Following on from the question of Cooke's compositional legacy, chapter 3 seeks to explore the scribal and compositional practices in the early Restoration Chapel through the lens of Bu 5001, which contains the largest corpus of Cooke's extant works, all in autograph. This chapter does not seek to analyse Cooke's anthem or ode repertoire, with this having been conducted to some degree already by Cheverton and Manning.[33] This enquiry is facilitated by an extensive investigation of Cooke's scribal and compositional habits as evinced by the autograph material in Bu 5001 and then reinforced by comparison to the non-autograph materials which remain extant. In the process of establishing these habits, the view of some recent scholarship—which has sought to categorise Cooke's autograph contributions to Bu 5001 as 'fowle originall', materials which have been deemed to represent the manuscripts from which parts would have been copied—has been questioned. Instead, it is suggested that the autograph materials seen in this primary source are instead Cooke's earliest working copies of his compositions. The culmination of these discussions results in implications in the assessment of some of Purcell's autographs.

In the process of conducting detailed manuscript study, Oxford emerges as a point of origin for many of the surviving non-autograph Cooke materials. This is explored in order to ascertain who was copying these materials, what links to Cooke this might suggest, and the implications it has for the longevity of his repertoire outside London.

These implications are explored further in chapter 4, which reassesses Cooke's song repertoire as well as his contributions to the theatrical genre in the 1650s through his involvement with *The First Dayes Entertainment at Rutland-House* and, importantly, *The Siege of Rhodes*, the first English opera. By first looking to define the various song styles in the

[33] Cheverton, 'The Anthems of Henry Cooke'; Manning, 'The Anthems of Henry Cooke'.

seventeenth century we address some issues with the terminology used to describe repertoire of the period. Following this, the manuscript sources in which Cooke's repertoire survives are inspected in order to ascertain their chronology. By identifying this, it has been possible to further consider the longevity of this particular segment of Cooke's repertoire, in a similar manner to that seen at the end of chapter 3.

Whilst referring back to chapter 1, the intended purpose of Cooke's song repertoire is considered. The great expansion of the domestic music-making market during the 1650s would have perhaps provided Cooke with the impetus to compose songs—and indeed his professional activities across this period certainly would have done so—but his positions within the Private Musick 1660–72 must also kept in mind whilst discussing what survives.

The filiation of the sources is then assessed in a prelude to a major analysis of one of Cooke's surviving songs—*Sleep, downy sleep*—which I assert to have been mistakenly attributed to Pelham Humfrey. This is achieved through a series of means: palaeographic analysis of the hands in which the versions of the songs are written; a consideration of the manuscript sources and their stemma; the text of the song and its twin, *Awake my soul*; and an analysis of the music.

Finally in part 1, Cooke's contributions to William Davenant's stage works of the 1650s—*The First Dayes Entertainment at Rutland-House* and *The Siege of Rhodes*—are explored. Questions of dating are addressed and answered by analysing the context in which these plays were situated. This serves to introduce the larger question of whether *The Siege of Rhodes* was entirely sung. This draws on contemporary definitions and accounts to ascertain an answer before discussing possible models from near-contemporary works—primarily Matthew Locke's

Psyche—in order to hypothesise the kind of compositions Cooke may have produced for his contributions to this particular work.

Part 1 ends with substantial appendix materials, first providing transcriptions of the legal documents which are crucial to the discussions of chapter 1, and then transcriptions of the texts to the non-extant anthems, as contained within Lbl Harley MS 6346 and James Clifford, *The Divine Services* (1664).

Part 2 presents a complete critical edition of Cooke's collected works, preceded by comprehensive and granular source descriptions of all the manuscripts containing his music. This body of work represents a large corpus of research materials which compiles the most comprehensive collection to date of manuscript and musical resources pertaining to Cooke. The source descriptions directly contribute to the significant quantities of source work—which can mainly be seen in chapters 3 and 4—which underpins many of the novel contributions and hypotheses throughout the thesis. The editions and their critical apparatus have been prepared and presented in such a manner that they might be consulted at the same time as the content in part 1 of the thesis, but also so that they might invite further analysis by future scholars.

Chapter 1 – Who was Captain Henry Cooke?

This chapter addresses the significant gap in Cooke's biography prior to his appointments in 1660. Nothing provable has been known about Cooke's earlier years and, whilst the first identifiable reference to Cooke exists from 1648, even his activities across the period 1648–60 have remained largely speculatory. Evidence presented here for the first time enables a reassessment of his activities during this period, as well as offering the first insight into his earlier years and then across the rest of his life.

To begin, several 'accepted' facts concerning Cooke's life are reassessed and scrutinised, in order to ascertain their strengths and plausibility before newly discovered documentary evidence is considered. From this, an accurate and evidenced picture of Cooke's movements pre-1660 will then be constructed. This evidence covers multiple aspects of Cooke's activities, most notably his association with musical institutions in the Capital, and his ownership of property in both Westminster and Pluckley, Kent – for which, whilst alluded to in his will, the true extent has never been revealed.

From this, several other pieces of evidence have come to light, allowing for the most detailed construction of his progenial family tree to date, as well as an overall assessment of his wealth, social status, and implications to his own pedigree. These questions have been largely precipitated by the discovery of his wife's identity, which has remained a mystery until now. Further legal documents also provide insight into the life of a musician working during the Commonwealth, outside the protections offered by institutions in the surrounding periods and invites comment on the viability of music as a livelihood during this time. These discussions span the period during which Cooke took active roles in William Davenant's theatrical productions (1656–8), which are reserved for detailed discussion in chapter 4.

A Pre-Restoration Sketch, Filled In

To address Cooke's early life, as far as can be ascertained, one must first reassess the early biography as it is currently presented. To these ends, one must scrutinise the speculatory groundwork, addressing, in particular, the following stated points in the earlier literature: (1) Cooke may have been born c.1615 in Lichfield to John Cooke, who was 'sworn [e]pisteler' to the Chapel Royal on 16 December 1623.[1] (2) He was one of the Children of the Chapel Royal prior to the Civil War, probably under Walter Porter as Master of the Children. (3) He joined Royalist forces around the outbreak of war, advancing through the rank of Lieutenant to Captain, the title that he would retain for the rest of his life. (4) He scratched his name onto a pane of glass in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster Abbey in 1642.[2] Each of these will be addressed in turn.

Firstly, the assertion that Cooke was born c.1615 is an invention on the part of Joseph Bridge. The reasoning behind Bridge's speculation was—as far as one can presume—reasonably sound, arguing that: if John Cooke was his father, Cooke would have been around eight years old when moving to London from Lichfield[3] (with his installation as a chorister of the Chapel Royal as part of this assumption), that he would have been in his late twenties at the outbreak of The Civil Wars, and around forty-five in 1660 when appointed Master of the Children. Whilst this speculation is probably not far wrong in terms of Cooke's age, the lack of any supporting documentary evidence makes it dangerous to cite any birth date for Cooke or, indeed, to suggest a familial link between the two at all. In light of evidence presented below, other speculation will be offered as to the circumstances of Cooke's birth. Therefore, it

[1] Bridge, 'A Great English Choir-trainer', 61; for record for John Cooke's appointment, see Andrew Ashbee, ed., *Records of English Court Music*, 9 vols (Aldershot: Scolar Press), viii, 324.
[2] Bridge, 'A Great English Choir-trainer', 79.
[3] Lichfield is assumed by Bridge as the location for Cooke's birth given that John Cooke's swearing in on 16 December 1623 recorded him as 'a basse from Litchfield' (see *CBCR*, i, 30.) and Bridge noted that his name also appeared in a list dated 19 August 1616 of the Vicars Choral of Lichfield Cathedral; Bridge, 61, n.2.

would be suggested that Cooke's dates simply be given in reference to his death, which is known to have occurred on 13 July 1672.[4] Further speculation as to Cooke's parentage will be presented, below, when discussing materials which have been newly discovered.

Building upon the previous point, the assumption that Cooke was a chorister within the Chapel Royal is often repeated, largely due to a contemporary document: Anthony Wood's 'Notes for Biographies of English Musicians'.[5] In this document, Cooke has a short entry (a full transcription provided in the appendices), with a segment of struck-through text incorrectly copied from another, presumably precursory, manuscript that was intended for inclusion under the entry for Richard Cooke, about whom even less is known. This error is evident from the beginning of the entry, where the title reads 'Cook ~~Rich~~ Henry'. Richard Cooke's entry directly follows Henry's, at which point Wood recopied out the information he had previously had to cross through. These scribal errors perhaps emphasise the fact that Henry Cooke and Wood, as far as is known, never met – which draws into question the content of the entry. The case for an absence of personal acquaintance is only strengthened by the fact that the entry is so short, lacking in much specific detail, and probably written after Cooke's death.

With the above considered, this reveals the information Wood wrote to be second-hand, at best, and that it has been perpetuated without due scrutiny since.[6] Once again, we see the prevailing assumption that Cooke must have formerly belonged to the Chapel in some way to warrant his later appointments after the Restoration. Whilst this assumption should not

[4] Lna LC 9/258, f.72; *RECM*, i, 117.
[5] Ob Wood MS D 19(4).
[6] Indeed, as recently as 2022, this information has been accepted without question, due to inclusion in such monumental sources as *Grove Music* (5th edn.). Paul Michael Stubbings, '"This Day the Organs did Begin to Play at White-Hall Before the King": The Work and Influence of Christopher Gibbons (1615–76)', PhD Thesis, Canterbury Christ Church University, 2022, 84, fn. 222.

be discarded out of hand, an alternate explanation of Cooke's link with the royal musical institution—reinforced with extant documentary evidence—will be explored shortly. For now, however, a question mark must be placed beside Cooke's membership as a chorister of the Chapel Royal.

As also discussed by Wood, Cooke became a Captain in the Army during the Civil Wars. Whilst Wood's other information might be factually dubious, that Cooke served is not being questioned. The title by which he was styled for the rest of his life was clearly common knowledge and commanded the respect of his contemporaries. That he fought on the side of the Royalist forces is also probable, and Wood's statement that Cooke enlisted when 'the Rebellion began in 1642'[7]—in the same manner as other members of the chapel enlisted, such as William Lawes (brother to Henry Lawes)—is a reasonable assumption. However, the commonly cited evidence for Cooke's military service is taken from a muster roll of an Irish expeditionary force in 1640, two years prior to the outbreak of civil war.[8] Here, a 'Henry Cooke' is listed as a Lieutenant in Colonel George Goring's regiment of foot. Whilst it should not be doubted that there was a Lieutenant Henry Cooke serving in 1640, several factors would indicate that 'our' Cooke was still based in London at the time, and that the man listed on the muster roll is not the same who would later become Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal.

There are a number of entries for a Captain Cooke in various military records from the time, all which could theoretically belong to our Cooke. Addressing those records relating to the Royalist forces, there are three options that present themselves: A Captain Cooke in Sir Marmaduke Langdale's (1598–1661) regiment of horse; Captain-Lieutenant Cooke in

[7] *Op. cit.*
[8] Edward Peacock, ed., *The Army Lists of the Roundheads and Cavaliers* (London: J.C. Hotten, 1863), 76. This is used as evidence in John Harley's *ODNB* entry for Cooke.

William Seymour, Marquess of Hertford's (1587–1660) regiment of horse; and Captain Cooke in Sir Nicholas Slanning's regiment of foot (under Sir Ralph Hopton). Due to the non-extant nature of many muster rolls and commissioning documents, one of the major sources for identifying Royalist Officers is the *List of Officers Claiming to the Sixty Thousand Pounds &c. Granted by His Sacred Majesty for the Relief of his Truly Loyal and Indigent Party* (1663, henceforth *Indigent Officers* or *IO*). This list contains the names of over 5000 officers who claimed a portion of the £60,000 set aside by the Crown to help relieve financial pressures on many ex-servicemen. The two Captain Cookes of Langdale and Hertford's regiments are both listed in the *Indigent Officers* list, but their inclusion disqualifies them from consideration.[9] Looking to the Act of Parliament passed in order to provide the money, the following is cited as a condition for 'what persons deemed indigent':

> Fourthly Noe person shall be deemed Indigent who hath either of his owne or by His Majesties gift or otherwise such an Estate or Income as the said Commissioners shall adjudge to be a sufficient Livelyhood,[10]

It is immediately clear that our Cooke would not have satisfied these conditions, as he was gainfully employed by the Crown, and was possessed of a not-inconsiderable estate (see below). Thus, of the Royalists available to us, the last perhaps represents the most likely option. As Sir Ralph Hopton's army is listed in *IO* (under 'Lord Hopton', created 1st Baron Hopton of Stratton in 1643)[11] but does not name a Captain Cooke, the criterion cited above is met.[12] The western army was, at least initially, under the overall command of the Marquess of Hertford, under whose entry there is a Captain Cooke. However, I believe we can exclude the Cooke in Slanning's regiment, and the one listed under Hertford's regiment being the

[9] See Stuart Reid, *The Cavalier Army List*, 3 vols (Nottingham: Partizan Press, 2013), ii, 5 & 95–6.
[10] Great Britain Record Commission, 'Charles II, 1663: An Act to Explaine and Supply a Former Act for Destribution of Threescore Thousand Pounds Amongst the Truely Loyall and Indigent Commission...', in *Statutes of the Realm: Volume 5, 1625-80* (s.l, 1819), 442–3.
[11] Ronald Hutton. 'Hopton, Ralph, Baron Hopton.' *ODNB*. 2008.
[12] Laurence Spring, *The Armies of Sir Ralph Hopton: The Royalist Armies of the West 1642–46* (Warwick: Helion & Company Ltd., 2020), 186.

same person, as one is listed as a cavalry officer and the other infantry. If this entry does pertain to our Cooke, then he must have travelled west with his superiors, as he would not have been a local muster.

Whilst it would appear probable that Cooke served as a Royalist, the possibility of his fighting as a Parliamentary soldier should not be dismissed out of hand as, on the other side of the conflict, there are two further options: one Cooke as a Captain of the foot in the Earl of Essex's Army; and another as a Captain of horse in Sir William Waller's regiment.[13] Following the Restoration, known Parliamentarians did enjoy freedom of appointment within the Royal Music: such as John Hingeston, who served as the Master of Music for Oliver Cromwell's personal musical establishment, and was installed as a viol player in the Private Musick, and as 'Tuner & repairer of ye organs, virginalls & winde instruments'.[14] Regarding the use of rank as a title beyond the confines of the period of conflict, we might consider Silas Taylor, who served as a Captain as part of the Parliamentary forces.[15] Despite serving in opposition to the Royalists, he seems to have continued using the moniker of Captain through the Restoration.[16] Therefore, Cooke's association with the Royalist side is by no means a certainty; the lack of any indisputable evidence of Cooke on Civil War-era muster rolls/army lists makes it impossible to say to which side he belonged beyond informed speculation.[17] Additionally, it must be considered that any tangible evidence for Cooke's commission, regardless of side, may well be lost entirely, indeed P. R. Newman identified the fact that

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[13] See Tim Wales. 'The Cromwell Association Online Dictionary of Parliamentarian Army Officers'. *British History Online*. 2017; Laurence Spring, *Campaigns of the Eastern Association: The Rise of Oliver Cromwell, 1642–1654* (Warwick: Helion & Company Ltd., 2022), 33; and *The Campaigns of Sir William Waller, 1642–1645* (Warwick: Helion & Company Ltd., 2019), 143.

[14] 23 June and 2 July, respectively: Lna LC 3/2; *RECM*, i, 4–5. The same is true of other musicians who had worked in Cromwell's establishment: Thomas Blagrave, William Gregory, Richard Hudson, Thomas Mallard, and Davis Mell.

[15] Jack Westrup, rev. Ian Spink and Alan Howard. 'Taylor [Domville], Silas.' *Oxford Music Online*. 2023.

[16] Nine out of the ten mentions to Taylor in *Pepys* name him using his rank.

[17] This is before one considers that individuals, regiments, etc. changed sides, or even acted in a mercantile fashion for whichever side offered more – such as the Honourable Artillery Company.

those claiming a portion of the £60,000 in the *Indigent Officers* list perhaps represent as little as 10% of the surviving Royalist Officer corp.[18]

The final aspect of Cooke's early biography that must be reassessed is that of the window scratching at Westminster Abbey. Bridge highlighted the (then) recent discovery of the scratching in his article, but with a number of errors.[19] The major error is the placement of the scratching, as it can be found in the Jericho Parlour—part of the Deanery—and not in the Jerusalem Chamber, which is a larger room to which the Jericho Parlour serves as an anteroom.[20] Questions may be raised concerning access to these areas of the Abbey. However, it would appear that a portion of this space was used, at least partially, for musical purposes during the first half of the seventeenth-century,[21] suggesting that musicians at the Abbey would have had ready access to the space.

The inscription itself reads 'Henry Cooke: 1642', and Simon Thurley has suggested that, rather than a glazier signing their own work, such inscriptions on glass quarries were more commonly written by the people using the rooms.[22] There are some disparities between the signature seen on the quarry (see figure 1) and those signatures in ink which remain extant, but this can be attributed to the medium on which it is written, which would have impeded the fluidity one might observe on paper or other like media. Therefore, if we are to assume this may well belong to Cooke, two things become apparent: firstly, it places him in Westminster during 1642; and secondly, it indicates that Cooke had access to some of the

[18] P. R. Newman, 'The 1663 List of Indignent Royalist Officers Considered as a Primary Source for the Study of the Royalist Army', *The Historical Journal* 30/4 (1987), 886. Additionally, there is no reference to a Henry Cooke in the Parliamentary list of known Royalists entering/residing in London and Westminster from the 1650s, Lbl Add. 34014–16.
[19] Bridge, 'A Great English Choir-trainer', 73.
[20] Currently, the space is used as a robing room for the choir and clergy prior to services.
[21] Edward Pine, *The Westminster Abbey Singers* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1953), 100.
[22] This was the topic of a conversation between Simon Thurley and this author (14 November 2023), where he cited the fact that there is evidence for Elizabeth I having done the same at Woodstock.

more private areas of the Abbey – perhaps areas that one would not be able to access without some association with the institution.[23]

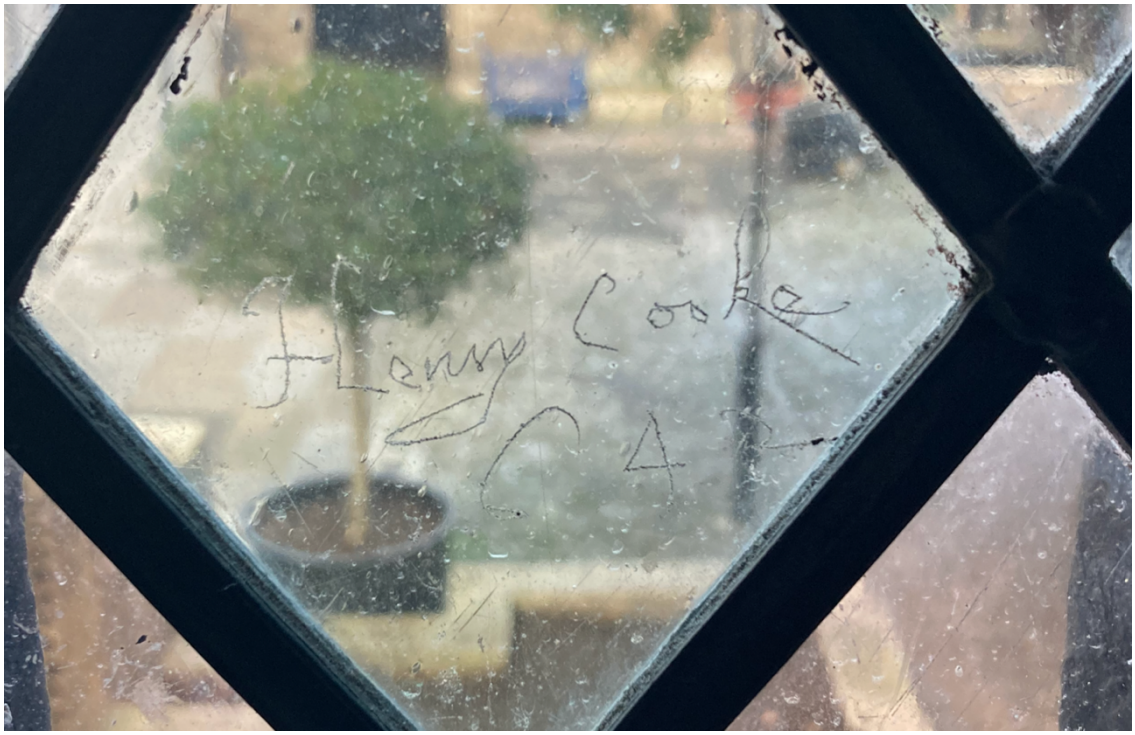


Figure 1 - Scratching reading 'Henry Cooke 1642' on a panel of glass in the Jericho Parlour of Westminster Abbey

Cooke in Westminster

As discussed above, Cooke's affiliation with the Chapel Royal rests largely on the second-hand information of Anthony Wood. Whilst the assumption by Wood and more recent scholars is sensible, I would suggest that he had an affiliation with another major London musical institution, one closely tied to the King's Musick and Chapel Royal: the Collegiate Church of Saint Peter at Westminster; Westminster Abbey. In Cooke's last will and testament (See Appendices for a full transcription, with pertinent excerpts provided below), he is quite clear in stating that:

[23] Andrew Ashbee & David Lasocki also conclude in favour of the quarry inscription over the 1640 muster roll, although error in location from Bridge's initial article persists. *BDECM*, i, 288.

> I desire my body to be interred in the cloisters in Westminster next to my daughter Mary Cooke and would be neerer the Church that there may be a Grave left betweene for the interment of my Wife[24]

This clause in the will makes clear that Cooke's first daughter, Mary, predeceased both him and his wife, and was buried in the East Cloister of Westminster Abbey (indicated again by his will). Curiously, the Abbey's records do not record this burial, which indicates that it probably was a casualty of now lost records from the time of the Cromwellian Protectorate.[25] Other records show that it was common for the children and spouses of singing men to be buried in the Abbey. Between 1613 and 1680, 19 relatives of either Gentlemen of the Chapel and/or singing men of the Abbey were buried at Westminster (See table 1). These burials were invariably in the cloisters of the Abbey, for which there were two large gaps in the official records: the first from 18 August 1629 to 23 May 1640, and the second from 21 January 1655 to 5 May 1658,[26] with the younger Mary's death falling in the latter. Without an equivalent position to those aforementioned Gentlemen or singing men, Cooke's entitlement to have his daughter buried within the Abbey cloisters may be questioned. Therefore, in light of his absence from Chapel records prior to 1660, this suggests a previously unknown connection to the Abbey, prior to the outbreak of the Civil Wars. Without the record for Mary's burial, the precise location in the cloister of the three Cookes' grave remains unknown – as Chester stated: 'Others [records] would have been of great service in throwing light on subsequent ones, wherein it is stated that persons were buried with or near their wives or husbands, their brothers or sisters, or their children. In several instances the absence of these earlier entries has entirely prevented the identification of persons interred at later periods.'[27]

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[24] Last Will and Testament of Henry Cooke, Lna PROB 10/1054.
[25] Joseph Chester, *The Marriage, Baptismal, and Burial Registers of the Collegiate Church or Abbey of St. Peter, Westminster* (London, 1876).
[26] Chester, *Registers,* 129, 148.
[27] *Ibid.*, xi.

Whilst it is clear, from the data presented in table 1, that the entitlement to bury close family members was by no means exclusive to the musicians of the Abbey, the aforementioned paucity of documentation from the Chapel Royal results in this evidence presenting a stronger case for Cooke having occupied a role at the Abbey, for which the surviving personnel records are not nearly as extensive as those we see presented for the Royal Music.

For the period 1613–80, of the thirty musicians buried at Westminster Abbey: ten were exclusively Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal; fourteen were exclusively singing men of the Abbey; two were Masters of the Children of the Chapel (Cooke & Humfrey); one (Hooper) was Organist of the Abbey; and three occupied positions in both establishments.[28] As one might expect, when accounting for those twenty-four musicians who occupied the 'regular' singing positions within one of the institutions in question, there is a slight bias toward the singing men of the abbey. However, this bias is more pronounced when addressing the close relatives of the musicians. Of the nineteen such burials covered in the 1613–80 period: eleven were relatives of singing men (exclusively holding Abbey positions); five were relatives of Gentlemen of the Chapel; and three were relatives of musicians who held higher positions (Organist or Master of the Children) in either one, or both, of the establishments. This data relates a far clearer preference towards close family of the Abbey musicians over those from the Chapel, which further strengthens the case for a pre-Civil War link to the Abbey over the presupposed connection with the Chapel.

Westminster Abbey transitioned from a church of the monarchy to that of the state once the Dean and Chapter left in 1642, with Parliament capitalising on the now-vacant premises.[29]

[28] In this final category, only Thomas Hazard occupies positions as a joint Gentleman/singing man, with Henry Purcell (Sn) occupying positions as a Gentleman and Master of Choristers at the Abbey, and Christopher Gibbons serving as an Organist in both institutions.
[29] This is explored excellently in Julia Merritt, 'Reinventing Westminster Abbey, 1642–1660: A House of Kings from Revolution to Restoration', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 67/1 (January 2016), 122–38.

Rather than letting a powerful symbol of the former regime persist (or even just fall into disrepair), Parliament used the Abbey as a platform for projecting their propaganda. Beyond the initial damage done to the building by soldiers in 1643 and through the removal of superstitious objects in the year following, the removal of decorations (brasses, stained glass, etc.) was measured and gradual – the space had a new purpose which required careful and considered work.[30] Although we might presume that Cooke left to fight in 1642, his links with the area remain consistent, as we will see below, and we might speculate that the inscription in the Jericho Parlour was perhaps left at the point at which the Dean and Chapter fled the Abbey in a final act of defiance before parliamentary forces seized the premises.

What should also be noted is that the change of regime would appear to have had no discernible impact on the burial of the (then former) singing men and their families, as 15 burials are recorded for the 1642–59 period. This figure is higher than the figure for the preceding period covering the same number of years,[31] but lower than that which follows. However, all this demonstrates is a steady increase in the number of burials of musicians and their kin from 1613–80, without any discernible impact as a result of Parliamentary control. Additionally, the burial records would suggest that the overall criteria for burial at the Abbey remained the same, either dictated by a qualifying connection (such as employment) or through being a member of a higher social strata (landowners, etc.), but not simply through proximity – those living locally would have belonged to, and been buried within, the parish of St Margaret's Westminster.

[30] Merritt, 'Reinventing Westminster Abbey', 127–8.
[31] It must be acknowledged that the gap in records for the cloister may significantly impact these numbers but extrapolating a figure accounting for this (and also for the latter gap in the original 1642–59 range) would probably only confirm the original hypothesis.

Ultimately, Cooke occupying some position in the Abbey pre-civil war would be logical to assume, as his meteoric rise in 1660 to some of the most prominent musical positions in the country would have otherwise been completely unprecedented. It stands to reason that Cooke could have been a chorister at the Abbey, rather than the Chapel Royal, which would explain why there is no Chapel documentation to support Anthony Wood's claim as we might otherwise expect some evidence of his appointment to a role in the Chapel once his voice broke.[32] Aside from the quarry scratching, there is no extant documentation at the Abbey to suggest that this was the case, but it would more convincingly account for Cooke's integral roles in the musical scene of London through the 1650s and how he was able to ascend to the positions he held post-Restoration. Additionally, as will be seen below, novel research into the location of his property(/ies) supports such a hypothesis.

Date	Name	Role/relation[33]
3 July 1613	Robert Stone	Gentleman of the Chapel Royal
6 June 1617	John Stone	Singing man
16 July 1621	[Edmund] Hooper	Organist of the Abbey
9 June 1625	Richard [Giles]	Singing man
26 April 1627	Elizabeth Greene	Wife of George Greene, singing man
29 January 1628	George Greene	Singing man
18 August 1629	Henry Lawes	Son of John Lawes, singing man
20 October 1641	Nicholas Ham	Singing man
April 1643	Daniel Taylor	Singing man
24 February 1645	Melior Chapman	Daughter of Christopher, singing man (bur. 17 June 1681)
15 May 1645	- Hazard	Daughter of Thomas Hazard, singing man
17 August 1646	Edmund Nelham	Gentleman of the Chapel Royal
5 October 1646	Robert Smith	Singing man
5 July 1651	Walter Gibbs	Singing man
30 December 1651	James Hooper	Singing man
7 March 1652	Margaret Hooper	Wife of Edmund, mother of James, organist and singing man, respectively
10 April 1654	Thomas Day	Gentleman of the Chapel Royal
19 September 1654	Edward Lee	Grandson of Edmund Hooper, organist
19 January 1655	John Lawes	Singing man
21 January 1655	William and Melior Chapman	Children of Christopher, singing man (bur. 17 June 1683)
5 May 1658	Robert Willis	Singing man
28 January 1659	Margaret Hooper	Daughter of James Hooper, singing man

[32] From the Restoration onwards, there are records for each child who left the Chapel, detailing their maintenance (to positive effect for this thesis in chapter two). However, no like records exist for the period beforehand, rather some incidental information in an appointment to a full position might indicate that a gentleman sang as a child.

[33] Positions, where not stated in Chester's work, have been ascertained through cross-reference with multiple sources, mainly Ashbee (ed.), *RECM*.

28 November 1661	Roger Nightingale	Gentleman of the Chapel Royal
15 April 1662	Mary Gibbons	Wife of Christopher, Organist of the Abbey and Chapel Royal
25 October 1662	Henry Lawes	Gentleman of the Chapel Royal
21 March 1663	William Chapman	Son of Christopher, singing man (bur. 17 June 1683)
29 February 1664	William Jackson	Gentleman of the Chapel Royal
17 May 1664	George Low [Lowe]	Gentleman of the Chapel Royal
13 August 1664	Henry Purcell (Sn)	Gentleman of the Chapel Royal; Master of Choristers of the Abbey
8 January 1667	Catharine Nelham	Wife of Edmund, gentleman of the Chapel Royal
13 January 1667	Matthew Pennill	Gentleman of the Chapel Royal
25 January 1667	Thomas Hazard	Gentleman of the Chapel Royal; Singing man
10 November 1668	Thomas Hughes	Singing man
19 September 1671	Mrs. Blanch	Wife of William Hopwood, gentleman of the Chapel Royal
24 February 1672	Owen Adamson	Singing man
4 March 1672	Lawrence Fisher	Singing man
17 July 1672	Henry Cooke	Master of Children of the Chapel Royal
13 September 1672	Peter Chapman	Son of Christopher, singing man (bur. 17 June 1683)
4 February 1673	Richard Chapman	Son of Christopher, singing man (bur. 17 June 1683)
23 February 1673	Mary [Humfrey]	Daughter of Pelham Humfrey, Master of Children of the Chapel Royal; Granddaughter of Henry Cooke
27 February 1674	John Wilson	Gentleman of the Chapel Royal
4 March 1674	Roger Hill	Gentleman of the Chapel Royal
17 July 1674	Pelham [Humfrey]	Master of Children of the Chapel Royal
1 September 1676	Henry Blow	Son of John, gentleman of the Chapel Royal
8 October 1676	John Hopwood	Son of Henry, gentleman of the Chapel Royal (bur. 17 July 1683)
24 October 1676	Christopher Gibbons	Organist of the Chapel Royal & Abbey
12 May 1680	William Hutton	Singing man
9 September 1680	William Hopwood	Son of Henry, gentleman of the Chapel Royal (bur. 17 July 1683)

Table 1 - Musicians of the Abbey & Chapel Royal, and their relatives, buried at Westminster Abbey between 1613–1680. Relatives have been shaded in grey.[34]

Cooke's Property

The largest corpus of new research concerning Cooke comes in the form of the recent uncovering of a wealth of entries in various rate books, now held at the Westminster City Archives, which reveal that Cooke owned property in Westminster from as early as 1637 – some fourteen years prior to his appearance in *A Musicall Banquet* (Playford, 1651), previously the earliest extant evidence of Cooke's presence in the Capital.[35] These materials consist of records of various rates (taxes) which Cooke would have been required to pay as a property owner, and crucially allow an image to be drawn for the first time of Cooke's activity and

[34] Chester, *Registers of the Abbey*.
[35] The earliest record of Cooke in any sense being some three years prior (1648) in the will of Thomas Ford.

property ownership from the latter years of Charles I's reign, through the Civil Wars and Commonwealth, and into the Restoration.

There are sixty entries across three different sets of rates, which provide evidence for Cooke's properties in Westminster between 1637 and 1672, as well as indicating something of his standing within the community in which he lived. Fixed-yield assessments were regularly levied under Charles II, but had been implemented as the standard method of taxation from 1642 and throughout the period of Parliamentary control.[36] The method granted a total sum to the government/monarch and was apportioned down from county-level to parish, where local commissioners would levy a poundage rate on those people in their jurisdiction who possessed property or goods above a defined threshold. These rates were often levied for certain distinct purposes, such as the maintenance of the army or relief of the poor. Some were compulsory for all landlords and tenants, such as the army rates, and those extraordinary levies, such as the one for the Relief of Ireland in 1647. For these rates, Cooke would have been named for the property in which he was currently residing. For any properties he may have been renting/leasing, his tenants would have been responsible for paying the rates, which they could then deduct from their rent.[37] This is why there only exists evidence for Cooke at one property at a time, in spite of the fact that his will clearly indicated that he owned several properties, as will be discussed further below.

Those rates levied as part of the poor law, as displayed in the Overseers' Accounts, are more telling regarding Cooke's developing affluence within his parish of St Margaret's, Westminster (table 2). Inclusion on these lists should not be mistaken for being a recipient of charity, but instead indicates that an individual was having the tax for poor relief levied

[36] Cecil Douglas Chandaman, *English Public Revenue, 1660–1688* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 138.
[37] Maureen Jurkowski, Carrie Smith, and David Crook, *Lay Taxes in England and Wales 1188–1688* (Kew: Public Records Office, 1998), lvii.

upon them, indicating that they were affluent enough to warrant a contribution, in accordance with the Poor Law of 1601.[38] Whilst the threshold for paying this rate is unclear, the gradual increase in Cooke's assessed payments are exceptionally clear across the thirty years of entries we have for him – starting at a total of 2d. per month in 1637, and progressing to a fairly sizable £1 4s. per month by the time of his death. There is a three-year gap in these particular records between 1632 and 1634, before which Cooke does not appear at all. This would lead me to suggest that, if one is to accept the supposition that Cooke was a chorister either at the Abbey or Chapel Royal, he probably ended his tenure as a chorister within or slightly before this 1632–4 window, only taking up property after that point, or perhaps after a period of apprenticeship. Records for several years are missing (1648, 1662, 1665–6)[39], but the surrounding records provide enough continuity to accurately place Cooke within a set number of properties throughout his adult life.

There also exists a significant corpus of records for Army Rates between 1645 and 1654 (table 3). It is unclear to which of the many army rates these levied taxes pertain,[40] but they corroborate the same properties set out by the records from the Overseers' Accounts. The same is not true of the final records, which clearly pertain to the two Royal Aid rates of 1665 (table 4) where owners of real property worth 20s or above per annum, or possessing moveable goods worth £3 or above, were to be taxed in equal proportion.[41] The two Royal Aid rates were fixed-yield assessments; the first 'Royal Aid' grant was approved on 9 February 1665, which allocated £2,477,500 to the King for the purpose of rebuilding army and naval forces in light of the ongoing war with the Dutch and was then supplemented with the 'Additional Supply', granted 31 October 1665, which allocated a further £1,250,000 to the

[38] Paul Slack, *The English Poor Law, 1531–1782* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
[39] The records are listed with call numbers in the archive's finding guides but, upon further enquiry, appear to have been lost completely.
[40] *Lay Taxes*, 226–54.
[41] *Ibid.*, lvii.

same purpose. The first sum was to be levied over three years (twelve quarters), and the second over two (eight quarters).

Interpreting the different rates can be confusing, as terminology employed can be obtuse to a modern reader. Namely, this applies to the usage of 'rents' and 'estates', as seen in both the Army and Royal Aid rates. This refers to the weekly assessment (applied at the poundage as set by the commissioners for the locality) in regard to the land ('rents') and their personal property ('estates').[42] The separation of the taxation of real estate and personal wealth followed other attempts by Parliament to raise funds more effectively, and in this new form of rent-tax, they found their solution. The Army and Royal Aid rates (tables 3 & 4) clearly indicate that Cooke was considered to have a personal estate worthy of taxation independent from that of his property throughout the vast majority of the records 1637–72. Whilst the threshold (and, indeed, the poundage) for this particular taxation is unknown, from this we can speculate upon a few things.

In earlier periods the immediate environs of the Churchyard around St Margaret's were not known to be particularly reputable. The Sanctuary (which gave its name to many of the surrounding streets, some of which remain so named to this day), and the right of sanctuary which it granted provided a hotbed in which those of questionable nature could operate with the knowledge that their arrest would be hampered.[43] The right of sanctuary ceased during Henry VIII's dissolution but the area, whilst no longer a haven for criminals, would not immediately gentrify. Indeed, records for the surrounding streets (especially those around Longditch) demonstrate that very few tenants were assessed on their personal estates,

[42] Stephen Pierpoint, 'The Administration of the Land Tax in England 1643–1733', PhD Thesis, Homerton College, University of Cambridge, 2017, 87.
[43] The history of the area, and the legal jurisdiction and peculiarities granted by The Sanctuary are discussed at further length in Walter Thornbury, 'Westminster Abbey: The Sanctuary and Almonry', in *Old and New London: Volume 3*, (London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, 1878), 483–91. Accessed via *British History Online.*

indicating a lower level of affluence. However, this is not the case for those buildings on Great/Little Sanctuaries, nor the Churchyard, where between one third and a half of any listed residents are assessed on both land and personal estate, perhaps demonstrating that these particular properties were more desirable given their immediate proximity (and, presumably, view of the Abbey). Thus, we can assume that Cooke was both deemed reasonably affluent—at least in the eyes of the authorities—as well as dwelling in some of the more desirable real estate in the area, whilst potentially letting out the property(/ies) he owned in the less-desirable streets of the parish.

Cooke's will clearly specifies that he owned (or leased) multiple properties when he died. Specific reference is made to at least four properties: Hampton, houses in Longditch, and Westminster. The locations of the properties in Westminster (within which Longditch is encompassed), as indicated in tables 2–4, give only the streets/areas in which the properties resided, rather than anything specific. The main areas in question are: Little Sanctuary, The Churchyard, and Millbank.

The commonality of 'Henry Cooke' as a name has already been commented upon above and might well be considered in reference to the several properties in Westminster. However, I would hypothesise that the addition of his military rank to many of the entries – and crucially, to at least one example for each address – indicates that these all indicate the correct Cooke. Concerning the title, one might also consider the will of Thomas Ford, a musician and composer in the Private Musick prior to the outbreak of the Civil War, dated 12 November 1648.[44] The addition of the records above confirms the will as the first reference to Cooke as a Captain: 'I forgive Captaine Cooke the money hee oweth mee'.[45] The first instances of

[44] Frank Traficante. 'Ford, Thomas (d.1648)'. *Oxford Music Online*. Accessed 26 November 2022.
[45] Lna PROB 11/206/174. Full transcription provided in the appendices.

Cooke's rank being included in the rates occur in 1649, which perhaps indicates that his commission as Captain was not attained until later than previously thought.[46] Which, once again, draws into question whether Cooke was indeed a Royalist soldier, or, to a lesser degree, suggests that he may have been involved with the conflict during the Second Civil War (1648–9).

Further considering the commonality of the name, one should also acknowledge the existence of another Captain Cooke living in close proximity to Henry; this being Captain Thomas Cooke (d.1697), Master of the Tennis Courts. Thomas Cooke lived and worked in Whitehall Palace, with contemporary maps indicating the freedom of a vast set of apartments and rooms surrounding the tennis courts. The spaces afforded by Thomas' position at court were considered very lucrative, and in addition to giving him ample living space, also provided him with a steady ancillary income from essentially letting both the rooms and the tennis court itself.[47] Indeed, looking to surviving records for the 1664 Hearth Tax, the mention of a 'Captaine Cooke' with a six-hearth property at the north end of King Street (which adjoined the Palace at the Tennis Courts) undoubtedly refers to Thomas.[48] Joseph Bridge identified the difference between the two Cookes in his 1911 article, but it bears repeating and clarifying whilst discussing Westminster property.[49] It is fortunate that the records (tables 2–4) are specific in their reference to Henry, not Thomas, thus preventing any confusion.[50]

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46 Burney suggests that Cooke obtained a Captain's commission in 1642, probably based solely on the information proffered by Anthony Wood; Burney, *General History* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010), iii, 434.
47 Simon Thurley, *The Whitehall Palace Plan of 1670* (London: London Topographical Society, 1998), 37.
48 London Hearth Tax Project, 'Hearth Tax: Westminster 1664, St Margarets Westminster, King Street North'. *British History Online*. 2011.
49 See *Pepys*, viii, 418.
50 A familial connection between Captains Thomas and Henry would be interesting to speculate, the commonality of the Cooke surname has been discussed and there is no evidence to suggest that the two men were acquainted beyond their work as part of the King's household. There is no reason to suspect that the careers of the two men were linked in any way.

Table 2 - Entries pertaining Henry Cooke 1637–72, taken from the Overseers' Accounts for the Poor Law, Lwac E154–85

Date	Title	Name	Address	Rate	Record No.	Rated Weekly	In toto	
1637		Henry Cooke	Little Sanctuary	Poor Law	E154	0-0-0	0-0-2	
1638		Henry Cooke	Little Sanctuary	Poor Law	E154	0-0-0	0-0-2	
1639		[Blank]	Little Sanctuary	Poor Law	E154	0-0-0	0-0-2	
1641		Henry Cooke	Thieving Lane & Broad Sanctuary	Poor Law	E155	0-0-1	0-0-4	
1642		Henry Cooke	Thieving Lane & Broad Sanctuary	Poor Law	E156	0-0-1	0-0-4	
1643		Henry Cooke	Thieving Lane & Broad Sanctuary	Poor Law	E157	0-0-1	0-0-4	
1644		Henry Cooke	Great Sanctuary	Poor Law	E158	0-0-1	0-0-4	
1645		Henry Cooke	Little Sanctuary	Poor Law	E159	0-0-1	0-0-4	
1646		Henry Cooke	Little Sanctuary	Poor Law	E160	0-0-1	0-0-4	
1647		Henry Cooke	Little Sanctuary	Poor Law	E161	0-0-1	0-0-4	
1649	Capⁿ	Henry Cooke	Little Sanctuary	Poor Law	E163	0-0-1	0-0-4	
1650	Capⁿ	Henry Cooke	Little Sanctuary	Poor Law	E164	0-0-1	0-0-4	
1651	Capⁿ	Henry Cooke	Little Sanctuary	Poor Law	E165	0-0-1	0-0-4	
1652	Capⁿ	Henry Cooke	Great Sanctuary	Poor Law	E166	0-0-1	0-0-4	
1653	Capⁿ	Henry Cooke	Church Yard	Poor Law	E167	0-0-1	0-0-4	
1654	Capⁿ	Henry Cooke	Church Yard	Poor Law	E168	0-0-1	0-0-4	
1655	Capⁿ	Henry Cooke	Bow Street	Poor Law	E169	0-0-1	0-0-[4][51]	
1656	Capⁿ	Henry Cooke	Little Sanctuary [/Bow Street]	Poor Law	E170	0-0-1	0-0-4	
1657	Capⁿ	Henry Cooke	Little Sanctuary	Poor Law	E171	0-0-1	0-0-4	
1658	Capⁿ	Henry Cooke	Little & Great Sanctuaries	Poor Law	E172	0-0-1	0-0-4	
1659		[—][52]	[Little & Great Sanctuaries]	Poor Law	E173	0-0-1	0-0-4	
1661	Captanie	Cooke	Mill Bank	Poor Law	E174	0-0-1	0-0-4	
1663	Capᵗ	Henry Cooke	Mill Way	Poor Law	E176	0-0-3	0-0-12	
1664	Capᵗ	Henry Cooke	Mill Way	Poor Law	E177	0-0-3	0-0-12	
						Assessed	**Received**	**In Arrears**
1667	Capᵗ	Henry Cooke	Mill Bank	Poor Law	E180	0-0-4	0-0-16	0-0-0
1668	Capt:	Henry Cooke	Mill Bank	Poor Law	E181	0-0-4	0-0-16	0-0-0
1669	Capt:	Henry Cooke	Mill Bank	Poor Law	E182	0-0-6	0-0-24	0-0-0
1670	Capt:	Henry Cooke	Mill Bank	Poor Law	E183	1-4-0	1-4-0	0-0-0
1671	Captⁿ	Henry Cooke	Mill Bank	Poor Law	E184	1-4-0	1-4-0	0-0-0
1672	Capt	Henry Cooke	Mill Bank	Poor Law	E185	1-4-0	1-4-0	0-0-0

[51] This reads as iijd. in the manuscript, but would appear to be erroneous, given that the surrounding charges all sit at iiijd.

[52] Significant damage to the manuscript precludes reading of a significant portion of the names for the folios which would include Cooke.

Table 3 - Entries pertaining Henry Cooke 1645–54, taken from the Army Rate books, Lwac E1580–1603, as well as Lna SP 28/162.

Start Date	End Date	Title	Name	Address	Rate	Record No.	Rents	Estates
10 Nov 1643	Jul 1645		Henry Cooke	–	Army Rate 1643–5	Lna SP 28/162	0-4-4	0-4-4
1 Nov 1645		Mr	Henry Cooke	Little Sanctuary	Assessment for the Army, 1645	E1580	0-0-2	0-0-1
25 Mar 1647			Henry Cooke	Little Sanctuary	Assessment for the Army in Ireland, 1647	E1581	0-0-5	0-1-0
25 Mar 1647		Mr	Henry Cooke	Little Sanctuary	Army Rate 1647 (1/2)	E1583	0-0-8	0-0-4
25 Dec 1647			Henry Cooke	Little Sanctuary	Army Rate 1647 (2/2)	E1582	0-0-6	0-1-0
25 Sep 1648		Mr	Henry Cooke	The Little Sanctuarie	Army Rate 1648 (2/2)	E1584	0-1-4	0-0-6
25 Mar 1649		Mr	Henry Cooke	Little Sanctuarie	Army Rate 1649 (1/4)	E1585	0-5-0	0-2-6
24 Jun 1649		Mr	Henry Cooke	Little Sanctuarie	Army Rate 1649 (2/4)	E1585	0-1-4	0-0-6
29 Sep 1649		Mr	Henry Cooke	Little Sanctuarie	Army Rate 1649 (3/4)	E1587	0-5-0	—
25 Dec 1649		Cap^{en}	Henry Cooke	Little Sanctuarie	Army Rate 1649 (4/4)	E1588	0-5-0	0-1-6
25 Mar 1650		Capen	Henry Cooke	Little Sanctuarie	Army Rate 1650 (1/4)	E1589	0-3-9	0-1-0
24 Jun 1650		Cap^{en}	Henry Cooke	Little Sanctuarie	Army Rate 1650 (2/4)	E1590	0-4-0	0-2-6
29 Sep 1650		Cap^{en}	Henry Cooke	Churchyarde	Army Rate 1650 (3/4)	E1591	0-4-6	0-2-6
25 Dec 1650		Cap^{en}	Henry Cooke	The Church Yarde	Army Rate 1650 (4/4)	E1592	0-12-9	0-4-0
25 Mar 1651		Cap^{en}	Henry Cooke	Church Yard	Army Rate 1651 (1-2/4)	E1593	0-18-0	0-4-0
29 Sep 1651		Cap^{en}	Henry Cooke	The Church Yarde	Army Rate 1651 (3/4)	E1594	0-9-0	0-1-6
25 Dec 1651		Cap^{en}	Henry Cooke	The Churchyarde	Army Rate 1651 (4/4)	E1595	0-5-0	—
24 Jun 1652		Cap^{en}	Henry Cooke	The Churchyard	Army Rate 1652 (2/4)	E1597	0-6-0	—
[29 Sep 1652][53]		Cap^{en}	Henry Cooke	The Churchyarde	Army Rate 1652 (3/4)	E1598	0-6-0	—
25 Dec 1652		Capt	Henry Cook	Churchyarde	Army Rate 1652 (4/4) + Army Rate 1653 (1/4)	E1599	0-16-6	0-0-0
25 Mar 1653		Capt^{n}	Hen: Cooke	Churchyarde	Army Rate 1653 (1/4), repeat of previous	E1600	0-8-3	—
24 Jun 1653		Capt^{n}	Henry Cooke	Church yarde	Army Rate 1653 (2/4)	E1601	0-8-3	—
25 Dec 1653		Capt^{n}	Hen: Cooke	[Church Yard][54]	Army Rate 1653 (4/4)	E1602	0-7-6	0-1-[0]
25 Mar 1654		Cap^{t}	Henry Cooke	Churchyarde	Army Rate 1654 (1/4)	E1603	0-7-6	0-1-0

Table 4 - Entries pertaining Henry Cooke 1665–7, taken from Royal Aid rate books, Lwac E1608–15.

Start Date	End Date	Title	Name	Address	Rate	Record No.	Rents (1)	Estates (1)	Rents (2)	Estates (2)
24 Jun 1665	25 Dec 1665	Capt^{n}	Hen Cooke	Mill Banke	Royal Aid 1 (3-4/12)	E1608	0-6-0	0-1-6		
25 Dec 1665	25 Mar 1666	Capt	Henry Cooke	Mill Banke	Royal Aid 1 (5/12); Royal Aid 2 (1/8)	E1609	0-4-0	0-1-0	0-3-0	0-0-6
25 Mar 1666	[29 Sep 1666]	Capt	Hen: Cooke	Mill Banke	Royal Aid 1 (6/12); Royal Aid 2 (2/8)	E1611	0-4-0	0-1-0	0-3-0	0-0-6
[29 Sep 1666]	[25 Mar 1667][55]	Capt^{n}	Hen: Cooke	Mill Banke	Royal Aid 1 (7/12); Royal Aid 2 (3/8)	E1613	0-4-0	0-1-0	0-3-0	0-0-6
29 Sep 1666	[25 Mar 1667]	Capt	Henry Cooke	Mill Banke	Royal Aid 1 (8/12); Royal Aid 2 (4/8)	E1610	0-4-0	0-1-0	0-3-0	0-0-6
[26 Jun] 1667	[29 Sep 1667]	Cap^{t}	Henry Cooke	—	Royal Aid 1 [(10/12)]; Royal Aid 2 [(6/8)]	E1615	0-4-0	0-1-0	0-3-0	0-[0-6]

[53] The rate book suggests that these records equate to the two quarters of the year running from 25 June to 25 December, but they only record the rent for one quarter. It would seem that the beginning of the rent book is erroneous and represents rents for the quarter beginning 29 September.

[54] Entry is written under 'Middle Row', but it seems that 'Church Yard' was omitted entirely.

[55] This rate contains the seventh and third quarters of the two Royal Aid payments and must sit here. It seems probable that this and the following rate—both lacking end dates—covered the six months between 29 September 1666 and 25 March 1667, correctly collecting the rent for two quarters.

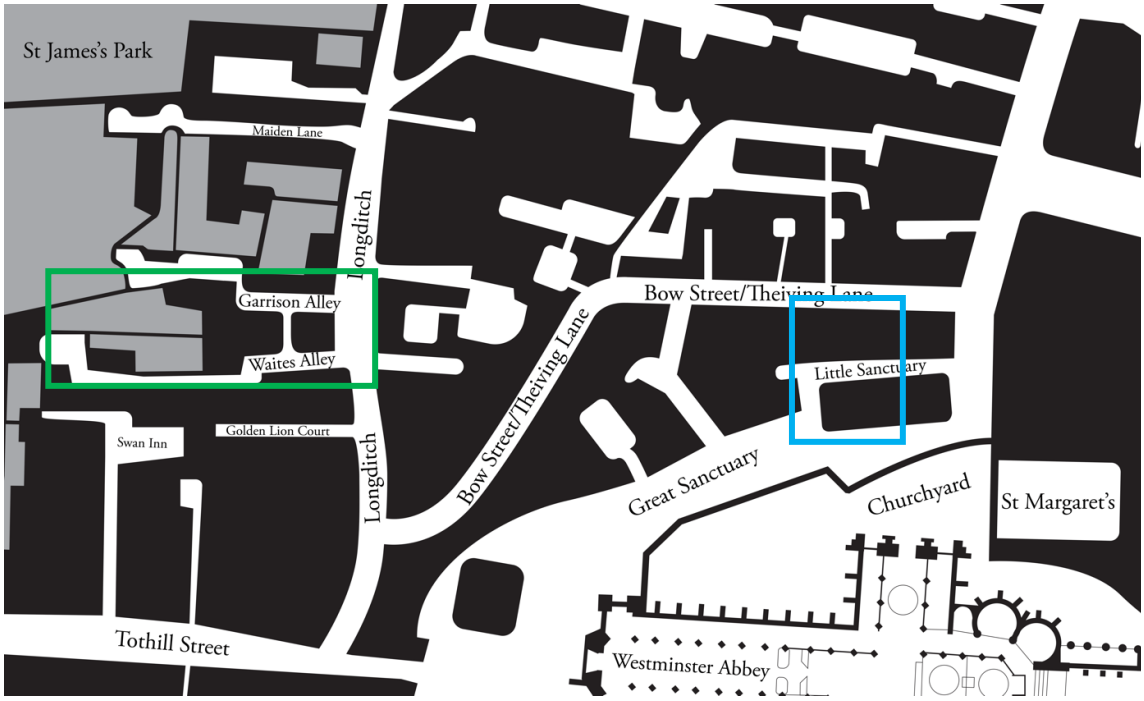


Figure 2 - Partial Map of the Parish of St Margaret's, Westminster, based on Charles Morgan's 1682 Map of London and Westminster. The blue box represents the suggested location of the property for which Cooke is taxed 1637–c.1660, and the green box represents the suggested location of the properties he rented out which he gifted to his daughter, Amy, in his will.

That Cooke owned at least two properties in the immediate vicinity of St Margaret's is without doubt—evinced by his statement of 'houses [in the plural] in Longditch' in his will—but whether these properties were separate from those listed for Great & Little Sanctuary, Churchyard, etc. may be questioned. The issue lies in their physical proximity to one another, (figure 2), but through looking slightly later, the answer is discovered. An indenture of 1690 demonstrates that Cooke's daughter, Amy (now on her third marriage to a Mr Wilkes) remained in possession of the land left to her by her father, and that this land sat on Garrison Alley, which was later renamed Lewisham Street.[56] However, what has not been realised until now is the extent of this property. Consultation of the indenture reveals that the land, encompassing 21 messuages, was worth £1800 in 1690. Sadly, we do not know when Cooke

[56] Montagu H. Cox, ed., 'Old Queen Street' in *Survey of London: Volume 10, St. Margaret, Westminster, Part I: Queen Anne's Gate Area* (1926), 61–6. Accessed via *British History Online*.

purchased these properties, simply that they were within his ownership by 1672.[57] Conversions to modern values are difficult to quantify,[58] and therefore it is better to conceptualise the value of these sums based on contemporary average wages. Gregory King's 'State of England' (1695) gives a thorough breakdown of income, expenditure, and family size for various strata of society in 1688.[59] Whilst yearly incomes varied wildly from the 849,000 families living on £10 10s. to those 160 families headed by Temporal Lords at £2,800, families headed by those with established professions might have expected a yearly income anywhere in the region £40–240, with an average of £54 10s. 2d.[60] We might suspect that Cooke paid a comparable sum when he purchased the freehold of the properties from William Ireland (as described by the 1690 close roll) and thus the sum of £1000 might be more easily understood as the entirety of nearly 20 years (18.47) of professional wages, which quickly raises questions as to how Cooke may have attained such a great degree of wealth (which will be discussed further, below).

The generalised location of these properties given in Cooke's will is easily explained by the fact that Garrison Alley ran off from Longditch, a fact which is confirmed in the indenture:

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[57] Unfortunately, the Close Rolls have only been calendared to 1509 in the *Calendar of Close Rolls*, and then to 1547 as part of the *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII*. Therefore, in order to locate the corresponding indenture for the sale of the freehold from William Ireland to Cooke would require a systematic search of the Close Rolls from c.1630–72. Whilst it is hoped that it might be possible to conduct this research in the future, the significant amounts of time required to do preclude it from this doctoral research.

[58] Accounting for inflation, as well as the real term value of the sum, this could equate from anywhere in the region of £400,000 to over £74 million in modern currency. These figures have been calculated using measuringwealth.com, which considers several factors aside from simply applying RPI to the initial figure (£1,800). The 'real price' value of £1,800 is given as £372,700, whereas the labour and income values sit as £4,857,000 and £6,915,000, respectively. The calculated relative output/economic share of the sum sits at £74,110,000. When considering the topic of conversation is 21 properties, a figure on the higher end of the spectrum seems more probable when relating to any modern monetary equivalent. See 'Five Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a UK Pound Amount, 1270 to Present'. *MeasuringWorth.* 2024.

[59] Gregory King, 'On the State of England in 1695', transcribed in Joan Thirsk and J. P. Cooper, eds, *Seventeenth-Century Economic Documents* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 770–90.

[60] *Ibid.*, 780–81. The professions included for the calculation above: military officers (4,000 at £60); naval officers (5,000 at £80); artisan and handicrafts (60,000 at £40); shopkeepers and tradesmen (40,000 at £45); persons in sciences and liberal arts (16,000 at £60); farmers (150,000 at £44); freeholders (140,000 at £50 and 40,000 at £84); clergymen (8,000 at £45 and 2,000 at £60); persons in the law (10,000 at £140); persons in offices (5,000 at £120 and 5,000 at £240). Merchants and traders by sea (of the two sorts defined) have been excluded, as they are unrepresentative of professional wages given their mercantile nature.

> Att that peice of ground and att those severall tofts scituate lying & being in or neare a ceraine place or Alley called Garrisons Alley in Longditch in the parish of St Margarets in Westminster in the County of Middlesex Whereon or on part stood one & twenty messuages & tenements with they appurtenances and which were heretofore the freehold of William Ireland Gent Father of Richard Ireland & Thomas Ireland of Whome Captaine Henry Cooke late of the City of Westminster Esqr deceased late Father of the said Amy Wilkes purchased the same fronting or abutting East on the streete called Longditch West upon ground of the Right Honourable George {Legge} Earle of Dartmouth North upon ground & buildings now or late of the Widow Kirke & South upon the severall Innes known by the severall names or signes of the Cock the Fleece & the Swan {all on Tothill Street}

This clear description of the surrounding features/land allows us to quite precisely locate these messuages, which are indicated in figure 2 by the green box. The extent of the property owned would indicate that Cooke likely owned the entire peninsular of buildings that sat between Garrison and Waites Alley, satisfying all the conditions of the above quote. The degree of income Cooke might have generated from the rental of such a number of properties is unclear, but it is a certainty that the majority of these would have been leased/rented, as we have a near unbroken record of his domiciles from 1637, as demonstrated by tables 2–4, above. Additionally, due to the lack of his name being referenced at any point under said properties (in so far as any of the consulted materials might reveal) one might presume that these properties were being leased to tenants the whole time it was in Cooke's ownership. Alternatively, as will be discussed further in chapter 2, it is possible that a portion of the property (if not the whole place) could have been used to board the choristers of the Chapel following the Restoration.

Further to this, although Longditch/Garrison Alley were situated exceptionally close to Little Sanctuary, etc., the properties under which Cooke is directly named in table 3 sat in an entirely different ward to Longditch and its alleys, which would lead one to believe that the two locations would have been defined differently in his will. What this clearly demonstrates is that Cooke's abode in Little Sanctuary/Churchyard/etc. was separate to the houses on

Longditch. Therefore, one can conclude that Cooke's abode remained stationary for the period between 1637 and c.1660 in Little Sanctuary, after which he moved to a leased property on Millbank where he lived until his death. The absence of a house in the environs of the Great or Little Sanctuary/Churchyard in his will suggests that Cooke was no longer in possession of the property at the point of his death,[61] and that his lease/ownership of the property was probably ended when he moved to Millbank, but he retained the properties on Longditch as a stable form of income and/or as a necessary facility for his position as Master of the Children.

The above having been ascertained, Cooke's post-Restoration property on Millbank can probably be assigned to the leased 'house at Westminster' listed in his Will. The 1664 Hearth Tax records for St Margaret's survive and list Cooke's Millbank residence. With twelve hearths, it is clear that this property is large; indeed, of the 108 people, and therefore properties, listed for Millbank, only nine of them equal or exceed that figure, the largest being a 17-hearth property occupied by John Allen (and possibly shared with Robert Bates, which would have split the tax burden).[62] As one might expect, properties closer to the main thoroughfares would have been grander, with the same being true of those near the river, in itself, the largest and busiest thoroughfare of the period. Cooke's move from the Little Sanctuary area clearly reflected his elevation in station, and quite resolutely put Cooke in the top ten percent of property-owners/renters (by size) not only for the street, but for the entire parish.[63] In a similar vein to the messuages on Longditch, one might speculate the size of

[61] It is possible that Cooke only ever leased the Little Sanctuary/Churchyard property(/ies), but without consulting the Close Rolls, as discussed in the footnote directly above, this is unable to be concluded with any certainty.
John Harper had suggested that the 'Widow Cooke' living in Little Sanctuary after Cooke's death may have been Mary his wife, which would directly contradict what has been suggested above. However, there is direct reference to another 'Widow Cooke' in the rate books prior to Cooke's death, living in Little Sanctuary in the 1664 Hearth Tax records, thus eliminating Harper's suggestion from contention.
[62] 'Hearth Tax: Westminster 1664, St Margarets Westminster, Mill Bank'
[63] 'Hearth Tax: Westminster 1664'.

Cooke's property on Millbank may have been large enough for the children of the chapel to board with Cooke there.

Cooke originally intended to dispose of the lease of the Millbank house 'by word of mouth before my death', but a memorandum added 9 July 1672 instead left the lease of the property (and the furniture contained therein) to Mary his wife. The wording of the memorandum (included in full as part of the transcription of the will in the appendices) suggests that by 9 July Cooke was too ill to write, and that the memorandum was delivered verbally. The fact that his original will had been written on 6 July, just three days earlier, indicates a quick decline in his health, and the transferral of the house to his Executrix was probably just a prudent move to ensure a minimum of legal issues concerning the transferral of the estate.[64]

The discussion of Cooke as a property owner raises speculation as to his age. The previously presented date of birth—c.1615—would put Cooke at 22 when he first appears in the records for 1637. It is interesting to consider whether Cooke would be considered young to be a property owner, especially in the centre of the City of Westminster, and more so as he began to accrue further properties within the period of the Commonwealth, prior to his undeniably lucrative positions in the Royal Music. Once again, we return to the question of musicians and their livelihoods during the Civil War and Commonwealth as something that may need further reconsideration.

Professional Music Practice in Commonwealth England

We know that Cooke had been working as both a performer and teacher for some time by 1656. As has already been discussed, John Playford lists him as 'an able Master… For the

[64] As opposed to Mary making a last-minute amendment to ensure she inherited the land.

Voyce or Viole' in *A Musicall Banquet* (1651) and he was engaged to travel as far as Kirby Hall, Northamptonshire in order to teach the children of Christopher, First Baron Hatton.[65] However, this would appear to be just a fraction of Cooke's actual professional milieu during the late-1640s and 1650s.

Amongst the newly discovered materials pertaining to Cooke at the National Archives is a 1654 legal dispute between Henry Cooke and Sir Humfrey Style, a local landowner in Bromley (Lna C 7/435/33).[66] Cooke's identity can be confirmed within reasonable doubt due to the profession 'master of musick' being given. The dispute stemmed from either disagreement or a misunderstanding on Cooke's terms of employment to teach Style's wife, Dame Hester, to 'singe & play upon the theorboe lute.' Cooke was employed by the Styles from August 1649 after the performance of another one of his pupils, a gentlewoman, enticed Dame Hester to begin having lessons. His employment seemed to run without issue for a year, an allowance of forty shillings a month was provided to pay Cooke, which Dame Hester dispensed. However, issue arose thereafter; Style decided that a year's tuition was plenty adequate and instructed his wife to end Cooke's full-time employment. Whether this happened directly, was watered down in the process of communication, or was simply ignored or forgotten is unclear, but the ad hoc arrangement which Style and his wife aver in their response—which saw Cooke visiting 'sometymes now & then' to check on Dame Hester's continuing progress and to provide her with new pieces to learn when needed—was not something to which Cooke felt he had agreed. (The possibility might be considered that Cooke's surviving solo songs—to be discussed at greater length in chapter 4—were written with the intention of being used by his students.) Affronted by the lack of pay, Cooke delivered an invoice to Style at his residence on Fleet Street for eighty-four pounds, equating

[65] Jonathan Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605–1670)* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997), 25; full transcription of the original MS provided in appendix A, p.329.
[66] See appendix A, p.318 for a full transcription.

to three and a half years of pay at the rate of forty shillings a month. This is the clearest indication of the duration of Cooke's employment (or lack thereof, in the eyes of Style), as both Cooke's own initial complaint, and the replies of Sir Humfrey and Dame Hester are surprisingly vague on the timescales being discussed.

Further documentary evidence reveals that Cooke was operating professionally as far north as Lincolnshire, with at least three clients: Thomas Winniffe (1576–1654, sometime Bishop of Lincoln), John Pell (1611–85), and Sir William Brereton (1604–61).[67] There are three direct mentions of Cooke in the papers of Samuel Hartlib across the period 1653–55, presented below, and all aver that he actively upheld contact with his pupils, providing them with new materials when required:[68]

> [2 March–May 1653] One Capt. Cooke a singular Musitian formerly attending the Bishop of Lincolne after the Italian Mode. now teaching Mr Brewerton. Mr Pell.
>
> [January–February 1655] One Mr Cooke one of the best singers in England got by this meanes a rich wife or estate of one hundred lb. a year Was brought up by the Bishop of Lincoln a special friend and 30. mile neighbour to Mr Brewerton - Hee sings after the Italian fashion.
>
> [21 April–13 August 1655] Mr Brereton got from Mr. or Capt. Cook a systeme of the choisest songs composed by himself and others presented in a MS.

It would seem that Cooke had previously taught the Bishop of Lincoln (presumably Thomas Winniffe, despite the dissolution of See of Lincoln in 1646), but was not still doing so at the beginning of 1653. In a similar manner to the case above, it seems that work was acquired on the merit of either witnessing a performance or by recommendation – we might presume this to be the case here. Cooke attended on Brereton for at least two years which, if we

[67] Despite Cooke having been identified within the Hartlib papers in 1999, this has not filtered into his wider biography, nor have the implications of his teaching in this period been explored. See Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 27.
[68] The Hartlib papers are held by the University of Sheffield (GB-SHE). The transcriptions provided are taken from the 1996 project which sought to transcribe and digitise the entirety of the collection. Specific shelfmarks for the three entries are as follows: SHE Hartlib 28/2/55A, SHE Hartlib 29/5/2A, SHE Hartlib 29/5/36B.

assume similar rates to what is seen in the case with William Style, would have resulted in a healthy income. It should be noted that Sir William Brereton was a staunch Parliamentarian, serving as commander-in-chief for the forces across Cheshire and, excelling in this position, advanced his already considerable estate with many gifts of property and money from the regime.[69] If we are to assume that Cooke served as a Royalist soldier, then his employment by a Parliamentarian is perhaps of note. The Act of General Pardon and Oblivion passed by Cromwell in 1652 theoretically offered amnesty to all Royalists who swore allegiance to the new order.[70] However, it is interesting to consider this in a case where the employee, Cooke, presented themselves immediately with their rank from the opposing faction, and leads one to question the degree to which factionalism was still rife in the predominantly service-based industry of music teaching.[71]

One of the more interesting points here is that Cooke allegedly gave Brereton a manuscript of his own music, along with his contemporaries, as a device for his lessons. This reinforces the hypothesis that some of the extant songs may well have been conceived with a pedagogical utility in mind. It is unclear whether Cooke and Hartlib were personally acquainted during the period of the teaching, thus the authority of some of the statements might be questioned in a similar manner to the similar materials by Anthony Wood, discussed above.[72]

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[69] John Morrill. 'Brereton, Sir William, First Baronet (1604–1661), Parliamentarian Army Officer'. *ODNB*. 2013.
[70] 24 February 1652, Firth, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*.
[71] This is a particularly pressing question when one considers the number of acts being passed in the 1650s which actively stripped Royalists—described using terms such as 'treason' and 'delinquents'—of their property through various forms of sequestration. However, we might considered that the friendship between Silas Taylor and Matthew Locke—a Parliamentarian Captain and Catholic Royalist, respectively—proves the permeability of these perceived social boundaries. See Alan Howard, 'A Midcentury Musical Friendship: Silas Taylor and Matthew Locke' in Linda Phyllis Austern, Candace Bailey, and Amanda Eubanks Winkler, eds, *Beyond Boundaries: Rethinking Music Circulation in Early Modern England* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2017), 127–49.
[72] Although it is impossible to prove an acquaintance across the 1653–5 period, it is probable that Cooke and Hartlib would have been personally acquainted by the end of the decade. From 1658 to his death in 1662, Hartlib lived in Axe Yard, Westminster (coinciding with Samuel Pepys' tenure there), thus would have only been a matter of streets away from Cooke and his properties. See Mark Greengrass. 'Hartlib, Samuel (c. 1600–1662), Educational Reformer and Writer.' *ODNB*. 2004.

From the case with William Style, it is clear that Cooke already had a musical career by August 1649. Combined with the mention of another student these documents, along with the evidence presented in the Hartlib papers indicating a further three, it is probable that Cooke had several more students of the same ilk. Although forty shillings (two pounds) a month was probably at the higher end of the pay scale, it demonstrates that even a small handful of students alone would have provided Cooke with a salary greatly in excess of the basic forty pounds per annum attached to many of the roles in the Royal Music, and which he would enjoy from 1660 onwards. As we might assume that Cooke had more students by 1649 and that his teaching career clearly continued through 1656 with engagements throughout the country, it is probable that Cooke was generating a substantial annual income (potentially to the tune of hundreds of pounds) through teaching alone. However, any large degree of income Cooke might have accrued across this period is speculatory. The second of the entries in the Hartlib papers suggests that Cooke's skill as a singer allowed him to marry a rich wife. Whilst this would not appear to be entirely accurate, at least in regard to his ability being the deciding factor, this begins to introduce the concept of inherited wealth as a means of explaining Cooke's affluence – to be explored further below.

As a performer, Cooke was also seemingly a fairly well-known name in London society, as evinced by John Evelyn in his diary entry on 28 October 1654 and then again two years later on 2 October 1656:

> 28 Oct 1654: Came Lady Langham a kindswoman of mine to visie us; also one Cap. Cooke esteem'd the best singer after the Italian manner of any in England: he entertain'd us with his voice & Theorba.
>
> 2 October 1656: Came to Visie my Co: Steephens and Mr. Perce [since head of Magdalen Oxon:] a learne'd Minister of Brighton in Northamptonshire, & Cap: Cooke both excellent Musitians also:[73]

[73] *Evelyn*, 144 and 183.

Between these two diary entries, Cooke would be instrumental in the first of two 1656 productions by Sir William Davenant: *The First Dayes Entertainment at Rutland-House*. For this production, a series of loosely connected entertainments in what could well be described as a masque, Cooke was one of four composers for the music, alongside Charles Coleman, George Hudson, and Henry Lawes. It is possible that Cooke performed as a part of the *First Dayes Entertainment*, although no evidence survives to confirm this. However, it is known that Cooke both composed and performed in Davenant's second production of 1656, *The Siege of Rhodes*, often considered to be the first English opera. Cooke's involvement in both of these productions would have been quite significant, and whilst the degree to which Cooke directly benefitted in any financial sense from the productions, it is clear that as a performer and composer, he was already considered on par with some of the most eminent musicians of the day. This, in turn, would have reinforced his status as one of the foremost music teachers in London (and, indeed, the country), and would have allowed him to command higher fees for said teaching. Financial benefits, whilst perhaps not direct, would certainly have followed. Cooke's involvement, especially compositionally, for these stage works are discussed at far greater length in chapter 4, below.

In two of Hartlib's entries above, as Evelyn's in 1654,[74] it should be noted that Cooke is described as a master of the Italian style. This has previously been attributed to several potential influences: tuition from Walter Porter as a chorister;[75] self-instruction with Christopher Hatton's collection of Italian music during the 1650s;[76] exposure to the Italianate music of the pre-Civil War court.[77] Whilst it seems probable that Cooke knew Walter Porter

[74] *Op. cit.*
[75] Jonathan Wainwright, 'Precedents for the Symphony Anthem: British Library Additional Manuscript 31434 and the Court of Charles I' in *British Music, Musicians and Institutions c.1630–1800*, ed. Peter Lynan & Julian Rushton (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2021), 221.
[76] Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 25.
[77] In relation to Angelo Notari, in particular. See Jonathan Wainwright, 'Angelo Notari's Music for the English Court', in John Cunningham and Bryan White, eds, *Musical Exchange between Britain and Europe, 1500–1800: Essays in Honour of Peter Holman* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2020), 343.

in some capacity, the latter's tenure as master of the choristers at the Abbey (beginning 1639)[78] almost certainly fell after Cooke's ceased to be a chorister, making any direct pedagogy unlikely. Additionally, whilst exposure to Hatton's collection of music is equally plausible, Hartlib's comments indicate that Cooke's fame as an Italianate musician began several years prior to any evidence of his teaching at Kirby Hall, thus throwing this particular hypothesis into doubt. Given this reasoning, as well as the information presented in this revised biography, it is the last of these three influences which to be the strongest. As a musician operating around the Capital in the early- to mid-seventeenth century, musical influence from the likes of Angelo Notari may have contributed to Cooke's stylistic development. However, without any additional documentary evidence, the question concerning the origins of Cooke's Italianate performance style still remains largely unanswered.

As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, it has often been assumed, incorrectly, that the period of the Civil Wars and Commonwealth were typified by a dearth of institutional musical activity.[79] The fact that Cooke was successfully operating as a musician, without any institutional posts such as those he would later occupy within the Royal Music, and was able to generate sufficient income to be taxed not only for the relief of the poor but also on the value of his own personal estate, turns preconceptions about conditions for musicians during the Civil Wars and Commonwealth (in particular) on their heads. Although being a musician in Commonwealth England was a viable career choice, there was a strong reliance on proximity to population centres, and even then, many former musicians took up other forms of work to support themselves through the period.[80] In contrast, the case of Walter Porter

[78] Ian Spink. 'Porter, Walter (c.1587–1659)'. *ODNB*. 2004.
[79] The work conducted by Scholes, *The Puritans and Music* remains the seminal text in rebuffing this misconception.
[80] This topic was explored in work undertaken for my master's thesis; Teague, 'Musicians' Livelihoods'.

may also be considered, as at the time of his death (1659) he was living in poverty.[81] Despite this, it would seem that music was a viable profession in a variety of cases, usually where the individual was living in a large population centre, such as London, Oxford, or Cambridge.[82] A surge in the printing of music for amateur, domestic music making boomed, and made the fortune of publishers such as John Playford, who cornered the market into a monopoly in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Additionally, the advent of charged musical meetings, a direct precursor to what would become charged concert culture, allowed an even smaller subset of musicians to facilitate music-making whilst also supporting themselves. The picture drawn from this enquiry, however, was far from a balanced one: the evidence suggested that the ability to support oneself entirely through a musical career was only true in a small number of cases, with several supplementing their music-making with other work. That Cooke seemingly worked solely as a musician sheds new light onto the musical profession during the period 1642–60 and begins to indicate that it was even more viable than previously considered.

Cooke in Kent

A further extensive addition to Cooke's early biography concerns his marriage and property in Kent. Cooke states in his will that land at Pluckley, in Kent, was brought into the marriage by his wife, Mary, which is where enquiry has previously ceased. Consultation of undiscovered documents have uncovered a wealth of information, including Mary's maiden name: Bettenham. The Bettenham family was wealthy and well landed – confirming Hartlib's comment above that Cooke was able to secure a 'rich wife'.[83] Mary's father, John, held both

[81] It would appear that the lack of a singing-man's position at Westminster Abbey and his inability to find a patron to support him left his destitute. A petition to Westminster Abbey in 1658 saw him attempt to solicit his services as a teacher for boys at Westminster School in exchange for the pension of a singing-man. See Ian Spink, rev. Jonathan Wainwright. 'Porter, Walter.' *OMO*. 2016.
[82] Teague, 'Musicians' Livelihoods'.
[83] SHE Hartlib 29/5/2A.

the manor of Shurland—which had been in the possession of the family since the reign of Henry III—as well as the manor of Sundridge in the parish of Bromley.[84] John married twice, first to Mary Bradbury, and second to Anna Wayrin, mother to Mary and several other siblings, including Francis, who becomes a particular antagonist in Cooke's life.[85] The lands they owned would have provided a comfortable living across several properties, but also represent a fairly expansive sphere of influence in which the family operated.

Mary Bettenham was born in early 1617 and baptised on 27 February of that year, the youngest of ten children. Figure 3 shows a family pedigree around the third quarter of the seventeenth century. The two main visitations to Kent took place across the periods 1619–21 and 1663–8, but the Bettenham family only appeared in the first of these. However, it is clear that some level of information was collected during the later visitation, to be further built upon by Berry in his pedigrees of the county (1830), who evidently had further records for the family to at least 1689. There is no indication to the sources employed in the compiling of this pedigree, but it is curious that Mary is explicitly listed as having married a Cooke – the forename is seemingly obscured or omitted from the original manuscript.[86]

[84] See Edward Hasted, 'Parishes: Bromley', in *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 1* (Canterbury, 1797), 550–70; and Edward Hasted, 'Parishes: Pluckley', in *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 7* (Canterbury, 1798), 463–78.
[85] John Philpot, *The Visitation of Kent: Taken in the Years 1619–1621* (London: Harleian Society, 1898), 110–11.
[86] The visitations of 1619–21 and 1663–8 were conducted officially by the College of Arms. John Philipot, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant, Deputy to William Camden, Clarenceux King of Arms conducted the earlier visitation, with Sir Edward Bysshe, Clarenceux King of Arms completing the latter. As part of the process, the officer of arms would seek the signature of the surviving head of each family to confirm the information they were collecting. See Philipot, *The Visitation of Kent 1619–1621*; Edward Bysshe, *A Visitation of the County of Kent, Begun Anno Dni. MDCLXIII Finished Anno Dni. MDCLXVIII* (London: Harleian Society, 1906).

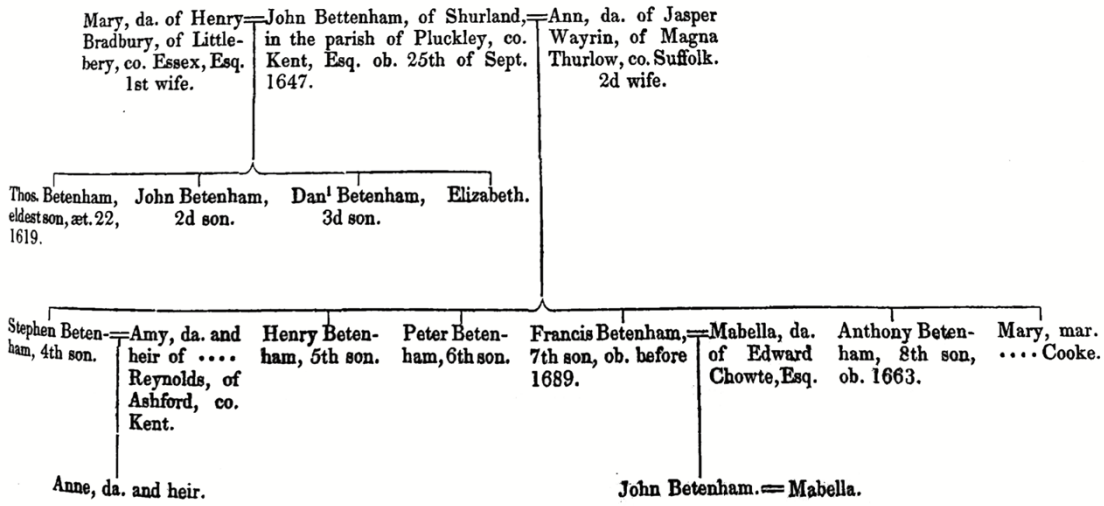


Figure 3 – Bettenham Family Pedigree, from William Berry, *County Genealogies: Pedigrees of the Families of the County of Kent* (London, 1830).

As John Bettenham's tenth child, Mary would not have been in line to inherit much, if anything at all. It would appear that Bettenham realised this would be the case upon his death and put measures in place to ensure that his younger children would have some degree of security. These measures exist in the form of indentures bequeathing land. The legal documents held in the National Archives clearly elucidate that the indenture made out to Mary was written on 29 March 1630. Whilst this particular indenture would appear to no longer remain extant, a copy of an indenture made out to John Bettenham's youngest son, George, also dated 29 March both provides a template which we might assume Mary's indenture followed. It also suggests that this was a larger business John Bettenham carried out for multiple children on the same day.[87] Many, if not all, of the particular details of Mary's indenture can be ascertained from the later documents, and concern the following lands in and around Pluckley Hill: thirty-six acres of land known as Park Lands; a single messuage

[87] The observant reader will notice that a George Bettenham is absent from the pedigree above. This would indicate that George was the youngest of John Bettenham's children, certainly being born after Mary. Due to his absence from the later pedigree, it is probable that he died without issue sometime after 1655. A transcription of the indenture, MA U1107/L9/12, is provided in the appendices.

and tenement known as Copt Hall with a yard of land;[88] three further messuages in Pluckley Hill (one of which occupied by Mary's older brother, Henry); a parcel of land known as Culverton; several parcells of land called Reynard's Croft, containing around ten acres of land; two further parcels of arable land valued at £60 per annum. These areas are difficult to identify precisely as no contemporary maps of the area survive. However, given the buildings and manors in the area, it is likely that these lands fall on the south-eastern escarpment of Pluckley Hill, directly to the south of St Nicholas's Church.

Of the discoveries facilitated by the legal documents is the date of Cooke's marriage. At first glance, a marriage record dated 2 October 1646 for St Nicholas's Church, Newington next Hythe, Kent between a Henry Cooke and Mary Becknum might well be overlooked.[89] However, in both the Bill of Complaint and Reply (from Francis Bettenham) that comprise the two portions of Lna C 9/2/51 there is explicit reference to their marriage occurring in October 1646, which would suggest that the record seen in figure 4 gives us the date, beyond reasonable doubt, for Cooke's wedding to Mary Bettenham. The fact that Mary's surname in the document is given as 'Becknum' is easily explained as a corruption of Bettenham: especially when one considers that the second syllable may well be pronounced largely unvoiced/swallowed and may simply represent a mishearing/variant spelling by the scribe of the document. The parish of Newington next Hythe is almost exactly 13 miles from Pluckley, as the crow flies. This is not particularly close, especially when one considers that there were several parishes between Pluckley and Newington next Hythe – but the wording of the legal documents all suggest an urgency to the wedding: 'and about the monnth of September which was Anno Dom 1646 there was a treaty for and concerning a marriage to

[88] This refers to a unit of taxable land—the virgate—rather than a precisely definable area. This particular messuage has before been confused with Copt Hall, Epping, which is incorrect. The materials consistently refer to the property as a single messuage and tenement, not to mention that Copt Hall in Epping (a whole manor) was in constant ownership across this entire period.
[89] CA CCA–U3-69-1-1, 59.

be had and solempnised betweene your orators Henry Cooke and Mary now his wife by Marrage in October then next following'.[90] The reason for the haste between agreement and marriage is unclear – whilst their first child, Mary, was not born until 1648, one could speculate that there may have been a pregnancy which, whilst not carried to full term, may have necessitated a quick wedding. Whatever the case, and regardless of whether there was indeed any urgency to the nuptials, the union of Mary and Henry was done so with the blessing of John Bettenham.

Mary would have been 29 at the time of her marriage, some four years older than the average,[91] and raises the question of an earlier marriage or engagement. There is repeated reference to a William Fist in the documents as an additional beneficiary to the lands mentioned in the indenture; whilst his inclusion may seem to present him as a candidate for an earlier betrothal or marriage, that he is also explicitly named in the indenture gifting land to George Bettenham would suggest a different explanation: perhaps someone with whom John Bettenham had significant debts in need of discharging.

[90] Lna C 9/2/51, f.1 – full transcription included in appendix A, p.301.
[91] Alice Brabcová, 'Marriage in Seventeenth-Century England: The Woman's Story' in Pavel Drábek and Jan Chovanec, eds, *Theory and Practice in English Studies Volume 2: Proceedings from the Seventh Conference of English, American and Canadian Studies* (Brno: 2004), 21. See also R. B. Outhwaite, 'Age at Marriage in England from the Late Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 23 (1973), 55–70.

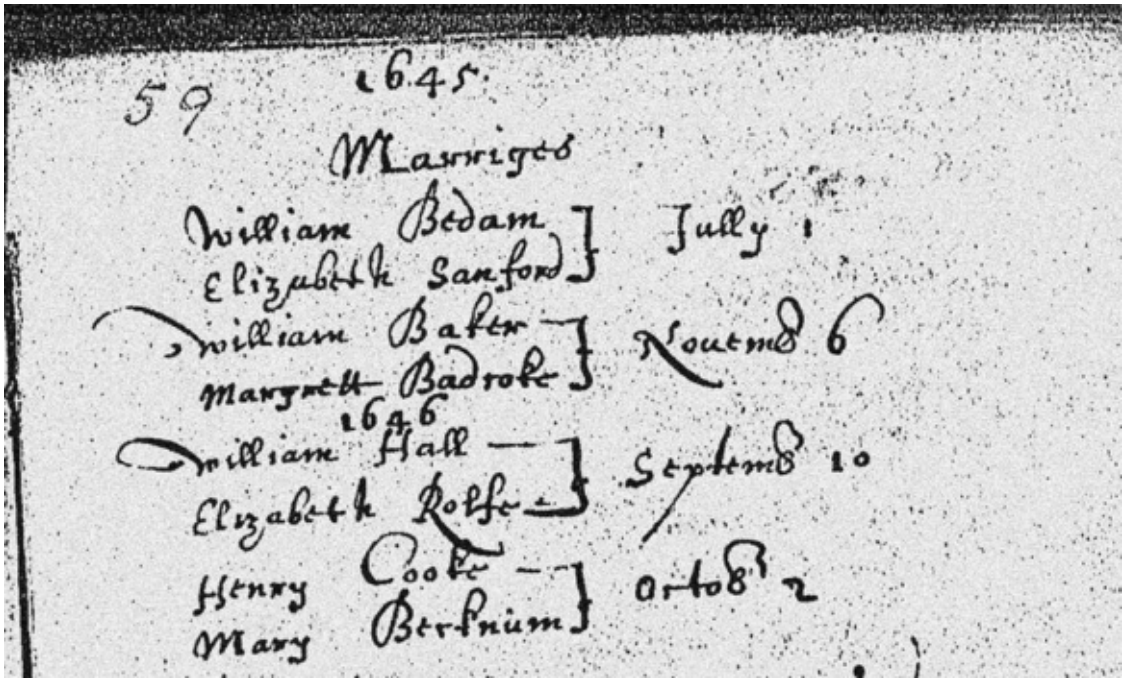

59 1645.
Marriges
William Bedam } July 1
Elizabeth Sanford }
William Baker } Novemb 6
Margrett Badroke }
1646
William Hall } Septemb 10
Elizabeth Rolfe }
Henry Cooke } Octob 2
Mary Bertnum }

Figure 4 – Record of the marriage between Henry Cooke and Mary Becknum [Bettenham]. Excerpt from p.59 of CA CCA-U3-69-1-1.

The union of Henry and Mary resulted in three daughters: Mary (who predeceased her parents, as mentioned above), Katherine [Katharine, Catherine], and Amy [Amye, Amie].[92] Baptismal records for all three survive, and indicate that they were all baptised at St Peter and St Paul, Bromley (then part of Kent) with Henry Cooke & Mary listed as the parents. Whilst this could be construed as another case of common names, we know that Mary had links to the area through the manor of Sundridge, as might well have been the case for Cooke too.

The majority of the legal documents in question (Lna C 2/ChasI/B162/41; C 6/146/45; C 6/150pt1/39; C 9/2/51; C 10/5/14) detail the series of disputes over the aforesaid land in and around Pluckley Hill gifted to Mary by the indenture of 29 March 1630. The plaintiffs were Henry and Mary, and her brother, Francis Bettenham, was the defendant. There would

[92] For his children's names, the forms of spelling Cooke used in his will have been adopted.

appear to have been at least two separate court cases as part of these disputes: the first between 1648 and 1649, and the second a decade later between 1658 and 1661.[93] That this indenture existed appears not to be in dispute (and the discovery of her brother's indenture of the same day further strengthens this), but rather the question of whether it was made void by John Bettenham before decease, or whether that process was fraudulently carried out by Francis after his father's death. This was Henry and Mary's claim. Consultation of John Bettenham's will (MA PRC 17/70/711, for which a complete transcription is provided in the appendices) supports Henry and Mary's claim stating that all previous indentures are to be upheld, and also seems to protect their individual inheritances, stating that:

> if any of my Sonnes or Daughters to whom (by deed or this my present will) I have given any Messuage Lands goods or Annuities, shall by any waies or meanes endeavour to procure any more to them selves of that which I have given and bequeathed from any of their brothers or Sisters, That then he or they soe endeavouring to procure shall not receive any benefitt in any wise to him or them by vertue of the said Deedes or any of them or by vertue of this my present will but that his or her parte or portion soe endeavouring shall equally be devided between All such of them as rest satisfied with their parte or partes

The original 1648 Bill of Complaint makes request of the Court of Chancery to force Francis to turn over several documents (deeds, etc.) to be examined in an effort to prove that the lands were fraudulently claimed. A line in Francis' response in the second case would suggest that this request proved his undoing: '…this defendant not being then provided to prove the said agreement & revocation of the said first mencioned deede the said verdict passed against this defendant…'[94] The second Bill of Complaint (1658) seems to have arisen as a result of Francis finding (rather conveniently, one might suspect) a second deed/indenture that seemingly overruled the first. At this point, the several portions of land were already leased

[93] It is possible that the document from 1661 (Lna C 6/150pt1/39) represents the latter portion of a third court case, rather than the end of the second, but there is currently no known material to confirm this.

[94] Lna C 6/146/45, f.3 Additionally, an added inscription to John Bettenham's will (MA PRC 17/70/711) suggests that having lost the original case, the will was returned to him:

> 1:mo {Primo} Augusti 1650
> Received back the originall will of the said John Bettenham according to the Judges decree in that behalfe this day made faire and uncancelled
> By me Francis Bettenham

to various tenants: One Richard Davy occupying Culverton and Reynard's Croft, William Paine and George Pent at Copt Hall, and John Eliner in the Park Lands. It seems probable that these were the tenants of Henry and Mary, and not Francis, given that they were all called as witnesses for the plaintiffs, and a later indenture on 19 August 1661 for the lease of Copt Hall to John Neppeker [Nepeker], a butcher, for 21 years would suggest that this case was also ruled in favour of Cooke and his wife.[95] In addition to the rents Henry and Mary would have collected, explicit reference is made to recovery of timber that had been cut down and sold from the woodlands encompassed within the land; the sale of such was both a way of ensuring non-arable land remained profitable, but also was an asset deemed taxable under a personal estate.[96] As such, the couple were understandably keen to recoup the money from the sales thereof. What these legal documents demonstrate is the extent of the property which Cooke oversaw from his marriage to Mary and, in conjunction with his salary as a music teacher, might go some way to explain why Cooke's wealth at death seemingly outstripped many of his peers – to be explored further below.

[95] This indenture was proved by Pelham Humfrey and Thomas Price, who both would have been around 14 years old at the time of signing. The document was put up for auction by Bonhams on 19 March 2013, and would appear to now be in private ownership.
See: https://www.bonhams.com/auction/20751/lot/44/humfrey-pelham-indenture-signed-twice-pelham-humfrey-as-witness-to-a-deed-signed-by-his-future-father-in-law-the-singer-and-composer-captain-henry-cooke-1661/ It is a shame that it has been impossible to consult the indenture, as it may have given some indication to the rates of rent which Cooke was collecting for the last eleven years of his life.
[96] Pierpoint, 'The Administration of the Land Tax in England 1643–1733', 80.

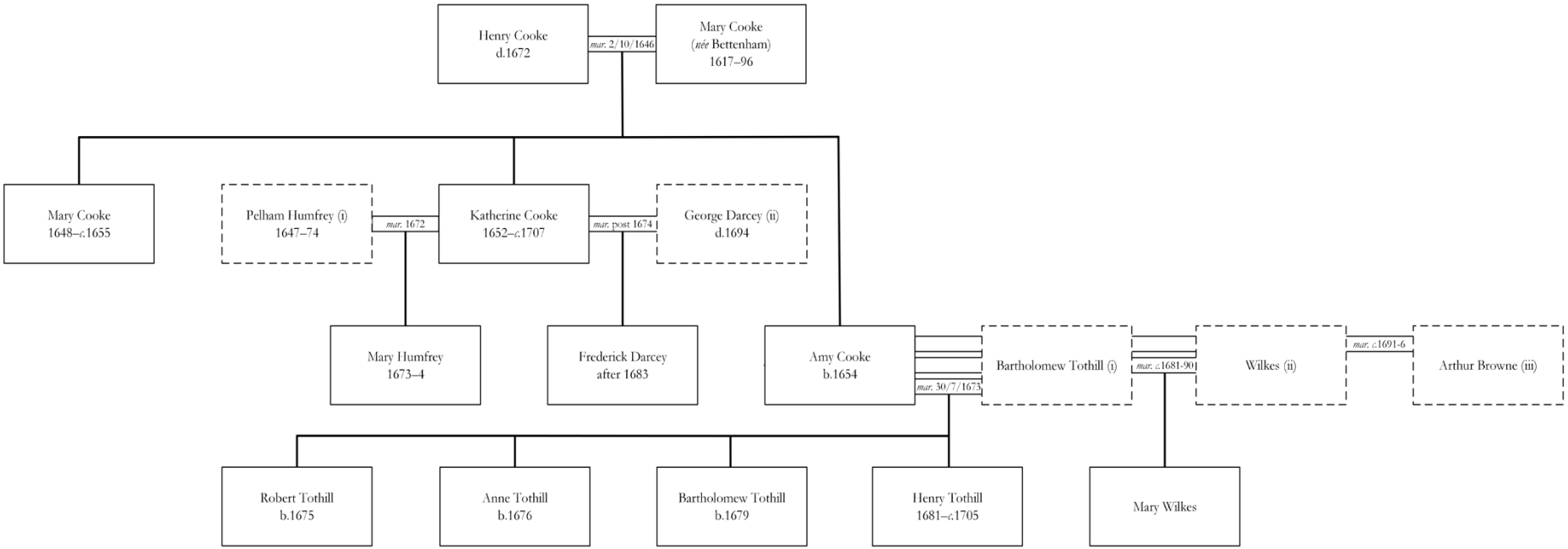


Figure 5 – Cooke Family Tree

Cooke's Family and Wealth

The summation of information concerning the early life of Mary, Cooke's wife, has been discussed above. She lived until 1696, with her will being made on 16 March and proved by Katherine on 16 June of the same year.[97] When Cooke had died, 24 years previously, Mary was named as the executrix of his will, but whilst she retained the substantial lands which had originally been given to her in Pluckley, she was not the primary beneficiary of the rest of the estate, this instead being his daughters. In addition to the furniture from the room with the 'dark coloured bedd' in Hampton, she was left: the second-best piece of plate, all the land in Pluckley (as aforesaid), and £200 from monies owed by the Crown. The aforementioned memorandum to his will on 9 July 1672 also left the lease of his house on Millbank to his wife. When Mary died, she still lived in the Parish of St Margaret's. Her will makes no mention of any land in Pluckley, so one might draw one of two conclusions: that the land was sold over time to make up the lack of her husband's income; or that after several years of disputes Francis, her brother, was finally able to sequester the land for his own use.[98]

Mary (Cooke's first daughter) was baptised on 19 July 1648 in Bromley, Kent but probably died sometime between 1655 and 1658 and was buried in the East Cloister at Westminster Abbey, as detailed above. Information concerning the two younger daughters, Katherine and Amy, is fortunately slightly more extensive.[99] Katherine was baptised in Bromley on 6 Sep 1652 and in the latter portion of 1672, around the age of 20, married Pelham Humfrey, which was marked in prose by Robert Veel with 'An Hymeneal to my Dear Friend Mr. P. H.' in *New Court Songs, and Poems* (London, 1672). There is no evidence to suggest that the marriage

[97] The will is stated as being written on 'the sixteenth day of March in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred ninety five' – this is referring to the old style calendar where the new year would begin on 25 March.
[98] The lack of Court of Chancery proceedings would suggest that if the latter is true, no legal devices were employed.
[99] Once again, the majority of this information, unless stated otherwise, has been ascertained from the Wills of Henry & Mary Cooke – Lna PROB 10/1054, PROB 11/432/104.

was arranged for a particular purpose—in so far as to echo the tradition of marrying the daughter or widow of your predecessor, as seen with several members of the Chapel Royal[100]—and, indeed, it is unclear whether this marriage took place in Westminster, Bromley, or elsewhere. Whether knowingly imitating the aforementioned model, marrying his master's daughter would have cemented his position as Cooke's natural successor. They had one daughter named Mary, who died soon after her birth, and was buried in the cloisters at Westminster Abbey on 23 February 1674.[101] Humfrey would die later that year, and Katherine was remarried to a George Darcey. This marriage resulted in a son, Frederick, who was left the family bible in Mary's will,[102] and who was left property on Leigh [Lee] Street off Red Lion Square by his mother.[103] This would probably have been a fairly handsome property, situated just off High Holborn, with Gray's Inn to the East, Lincoln's Inn to the south, and Red Lion Fields to the North.[104]

Katherine was left the property (excluding furniture) in Hampton, provided she married with her mother's consent, as well as a share of the land in Pluckley after the decease of her mother. Additionally, she is left £300 (of the over £1000 which Cooke states is owed by the Exchequer and Treasury), around 120 pieces of gold, a diamond ring, a tortoise ring, a diamond sparke, a gold crucifix, and two-thirds of Cooke's remaining estate (including his linens, which are listed separately). It would appear that those payments in arrears for Cooke

[100] Thomas Tallis married Joan, the widow of Thomas Bury (Gentleman) *BDECM*, ii, 1070; Orlando Gibbons married Elizabeth, daughter of John Patten (Serjeant of the Vestry), *BDECM*, i, 477; Alphonso Ferrabosco (ii) married Ellen, daughter of Nicholas Lanier (Master of the King's Musick) *BDECM*, i, 411 & ii, 1226; Alphonso and Ellen's daughter Catherine then married Edward Coleman (son of Charles) *BDECM*, i, 274 & ii, 1226.
[101] Chester, *Registers*, 183.
[102] Lna PROB 11/432/104.
[103] Lna PROB 11/493/397.
[104] Given that this property was in a completely different area of London to Cooke's various portions of estate, this was probably originally owned by George Darcey. For an approximate location of the property, see Ann Saunders, ed., *The A to Z of Charles II's London 1682: London &c. Actually Survey'd by William Morgan* (London: London Topographical Society, 2013), Plate 9, C2–3.

were still yet to be paid following the death of her husband, Pelham Humfrey, evinced within an undated collection of petitions from c.1677–8 to the Treasury:

> Mrs Katherine Humphrey, Relict of Pelham Humphrey and Daughter to Henry Cooke, late Master of his Majesties Chappell. Petition to his Majesty Referr'd to yr. Lordshipps Sheweth that the said widdow has due unto her, on her father's account for his several fees, & sallarys, the sume of £1865. 1s. 8d., out of which her Portion was to be paied. And since her husband's death has paied £460 debts contracted by him to enable him to perform his duty & service comitted to him by his Majesty, by reason of which, and her husband's death, she is in a very poor and sad condicon; humbly begs (being inform'd of a Debt due to his Majesty from Sir Edward Barkeham when he was sheriff of Lincolne amounting to the sume of £1400) that she may be Consider'd out of the aforesaid sume.[105]

The petition notes that the sum was delivered to 'Mrs Humfreys 14 Aug 1678'.[106] It is interesting that she had, apparently, fallen upon such hard times, despite the wealth and property left to her by her father – although one might suppose some level of exaggeration in order to extort some degree of sympathy from the Treasury.[107] Although the amount which Katherine's petition requests is greater, by some magnitude, than any of the other like petitions seen for the period—even just these few examples from 1677–8—it is clear that this was a common occurrence for the Treasury. More so than Katherine's individual penury, these petitions demonstrate that much of the money Cooke was owed from his positions had not been paid some six years after his death. The extent to which he, and other court musicians, could rely on credit to complete transactions is unknown, but Cooke's property ownership and the chattels listed in his will indicate that he must have had another alternative stream of income – certainly for the significant sum which would have been required to purchase the freehold of the houses on Longditch. Upon the death of her mother, Katherine was left the majority of her estate; the extent of which has been difficult to ascertain.

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[105] *RECM*, viii, 339.
[106] *Ibid.*
[107] The language used in such petitions is often such that the penury of the petitioner is exaggerated. Looking to the petitions contained within the same manuscript as Katherine's 1678 plea, we see several such exaggerations: '…being reduced to great straites [*sic*] for want thereof…', 'having noe other way of subsistance…', '…him and his family who are very poor', '…consider his povertie.' See *RECM*, viii, 338–40.

Amy was the youngest of the three daughters, and was baptised, like her sisters, in Bromley on 11 May 1654. She was married three times, first to Bartholomew Tothill on 30 Sep 1673 in Streatham, Surrey, then to a Mr Wilkes, and finally to an Arthur Browne. The first marriage was a fruitful one, resulting in four children—Robert, Anne, Bartholomew, and Henry—who were each left one pound by Mary, their grandmother, in her Will.[108] Amy's marriage to Mr Wilkes resulted in at least one child, Mary, who was alive in 1703 when Bartholomew Tothill Jr filed a complaint to the Court of Chancery requesting that he receive a portion of monies which had been placed in trust by his mother (Lna C 8/611/53, full transcription in the appendices). The dates of the second and third marriages are unknown, but Amy's marriage to Wilkes can be presumed to have taken place after she gave birth to her youngest son by Bartholomew in 1681; the third marriage must have taken place after 1690, when she is named as Amy Wilkes in the aforementioned indenture (Lna C 54/4714) describing her property in Garrison Alley, but before her mother's death on 16 March 1696, where her third marriage is cited.

At the time of Cooke's death, in 1672, his will left Amy the aforementioned properties in Longditch, with the same marriage stipulations as seen with Katherine; a share of the land in Pluckley upon Mary's death; £200 from the monies owed from the Crown; the remainder of the rings and jewellery not already allocated to Mary or Katherine; and the final third of any remaining estate. The sale of the 21 messuages on Longditch in 1690 may well have contributed to the large amount of money (£925) which Amy had placed in trust for her children,[109] as the remainder of the monetary estate left to her by her father does not account for the size of this sum.

[108] As Cheverton suggested, the fact that Amy's four children and their cousin, Frederick, are the only ones mentioned in Mary's will (Lna PROB 11/432/104), this suggests that these were the only grandchildren who survived infancy; 'The Anthems of Captain Henry Cooke', i, 193.
[109] Lna C 8/611/53.

By exploring Cooke's immediate progeny—allowing the creation of his own pedigree, figure 5—and the ways in which his wealth was distributed to them after this death, the implications of his wealth begin to be brought into question. Although it has been proven that Cooke would have been able to generate a fairly exceptional income from his teaching during the Commonwealth, and that his wages within the Royal Music were ample, it seems probable that he must have had another source of income/assets in order to begin building this wealth. For this, one must look to his social status.

Cooke's Social Stratum

In relation to Cooke's social standing pre-Restoration, the use of titles must be considered. When Cooke was appointed to positions within the Royal Music in 1660, he became a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal (amongst his other titles), which would have entitled him to the moniker of Gentleman in correspondence, etc.[110] Had he been appointed to the Royal Music prior to the Civil Wars, records would survive to reinforce this fact. It is therefore curious that many of the legal documents describe him as such several years before the title could be applied for reasons of employment – thus, we must look elsewhere for explanation.

The title historically represented the lowest rank of the English gentry, with the user being a member of a *gentil* family and would later imply some level of land ownership. By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the term usually was used with reference to those members of the gentry who were both landowners and armigerous.[111] It must be stressed that the usage of the title was particularly complicated during the seventeenth century, with an increasing number of landed families claiming arms and being included on the pedigrees

[110] It would seem that he preferred his rank of Captain or 'Master of the Children of his Majesty's Chapel' in every surviving instance.
[111] Gregory King's breakdown of social strata in 1688 defines Gentlemen and Esquires (both titles afforded to Cooke in different documents) separately, with 12,000 people given as the former at £280 yearly, and 3,000 of the former at £450. *Seventeenth-Century Economic Documents*, 780–81.

compiled by the College of Arms. However, knowing that Cooke was a landowner during this period, we might also assume that his claiming of the title may well also indicate that he was armigerous.

Given the status of the Bettenham family, it may well stand to reason that Cooke was of a similar social class to be seen as a suitable match and invites some degree of speculation as to Cooke's potential identity. Indeed, searching through the same pedigrees in which evidence for Mary and the Bettenhams can be found, one can find reference to a Cooke family also resident in Kent. The *Visitation 1619–21* records a young Henry, the fifth son of Edmund Cooke of North Cray.[112] What should be noted immediately is that the pedigree lists him as 's.p.': *sine prole* (without children). This is often used as shorthand for 'died without children', which if read as such would suggest that this child died in infancy. However, the pedigrees are not infallible in this sense, and the reading has been admitted as conjecture in absence of further information.[113]

Indeed, a manuscript source compiled by John Philipot, and presumably employed for the completion of the *Visitation (1619–21)* is a more limited pedigree of the same family shown in the published work. Six of Henry's siblings are listed, despite he himself not being listed. These siblings include three sisters not mentioned elsewhere, and the manuscript also does not detail any marriages or further issue. This demonstrates that the sources being used for said *Visitation (1619–21)* are neither complete nor infallible, as they omit members of the family who should have been included (and legitimately marked as 's.p.') but were not. Thus, either the information contained in the manuscript is incorrect, or it was improperly

[112] Robert Hovenden, ed., *The Visitation of Kent…1619–1621* (London: Wardour Press, 1898), 117–18.
[113] In researching the materials held by the College of Arms, it was necessary to employ the services of the Rouge Cross Pursuivant, who admitted this to be conjecture after conducting a study of various manuscript materials held by the College. Several materials were consulted, but only two make mention of this particular Henry Cooke.

transferred to the final version: either way undermining the authority of the pedigree presented. Additionally, the later 1663 *Visitation (1663–8)* only follows the line of the elder brother George. Therefore, regardless of whether earlier pedigree was correct in its assumption, no evidence is presented which would support this. William Berry's 1830 *County Genealogies* compiles data from several sources but notably transfers the 's.p.' from the earlier *Visitation (1619–21)*. Thus, the supposition that this Henry Cooke died in infancy would appear to stem from the authority of one non-extant, and demonstrably fallible, source. As one of a number of younger sons and unlikely to inherit any of the major property, this Henry Cooke could well have been sent to the Abbey or Chapel after displaying some prowess for music, and similarly may have possessed the familial resources to be a landowner in Westminster from a reasonably early age.[114] That Cooke was a member of the minor gentry would have also allowed for a degree of preferment when enlisting in 1642, such that his ascent to the rank of Captain may not have required a career in soldiering.[115]

Additionally, a speculatory genealogical link to this particular Cooke family may explain why Henry and his wife seemingly lived in Bromley and owned or at least rented property there. The Cooke family as seen in the pedigrees occupied the manor of Mount Mascal, North Cray, Kent – some five and a half miles away from the centre of Bromley. Explicit mention is made in Dame Hester's answer to Cooke's complaint (C 7/435/33) of his coming 'over to Langley [the Style's manor] aforesaid from Bromley the place of his aboad being a mile & a halfe distance from Langley.' Whilst this disqualifies Mount Mascal, it is possible that a younger son may have either inherited or purchased land near the family's primary estate, and in this instance, Bromley would have been a sensible prospect on the main route to

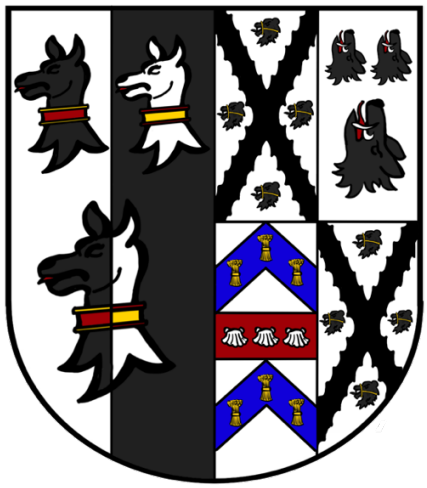
[114] Crucially, at an age where he would have been unlikely to be generating any significant salary, such as that which is discussed above for the c.1648–59 period.
[115] P. R. Newman, 'The Royalist Officer Corps 1642–1660: Army Command as a Reflexion of the Social Structure', *The Historical Journal* 26/4 (1983), 946.

London. Additionally, the Bettenham family also had links to Bromley, through their secondary manor of Sundridge which, following their father's death, passed to Mary's eldest full-blood brother, Stephen, and remained in Bettenham ownership until it was given to Robert Pynsent through his marriage to Stephen's only issue, Anne.[116] One might speculate that Cooke's abode above mentioned may well have been Sundridge, but this seems unlikely for two reasons: firstly, it sat closer to 2.6 miles away from Langley than 1.5; and secondly, for Cooke and his family to have been living in the house of his brother-in-law would not fit with the regular function of gentry families for the period.[117] Therefore, it seems probable that Cooke and his family were living in a separate property in the immediate environs of Bromley town, which would further explain why all three daughters were baptised at the parish church (the records for which note no Bettenham baptisms, marriages, or burials between 1600–75).

What might be considered is how Henry and Mary first became acquainted. If we are to entertain the possibility of Cooke being part of the Mount Mascal family, then the distance between the Bettenham's primary manor of Shurland in Pluckley would have sat well over thirty miles away. However, the distance between Mount Mascal and Sundridge would have been significantly less, at only around five miles – putting the two families well within each other's immediate sphere of influence.

[116] Hasted, 'Parishes: Bromley', 550–570.
[117] The husband would have been expected to be of sufficient means to provide for the wife. Living as part of the estate of the wife's brother would not have fit within these societal norms, and one would suspect the marriage would not have been allowed to proceed if Cooke was not able to provide a suitable settlement for Mary. See C.G.A. Clay, *Economic Expansion and Social Change: England 1500–1700*, i: *People, Land and Towns* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 147–8.

Whilst the Cooke family of Mount Mascal presents as a plausible candidate for Henry's origins, the wax seal on the original copy of his will invites an alternative line of speculation.[118] The arms (figure 6) present arms of Cooke impaling Bettenham, with the following blazon:[119]



COOKE impaling BETTENHAM (Figure 6)

(Baron) Cooke:

Per pale argent and sable three [a or b]

a. Wolves' heads, erased, counterchanged, collared gules and or (Milton, Warwick)[120]

b. Lynxs' heads, erased, counterchanged, collared gules and or (Milton, Warwick)[121]

c. Griffins' heads erased and counterchanged, each charged on the neck with a bar gemmel (Milton, Cambridge)[122]

(Femme) Bettenham quartering Booth and Edon:[123]

1 & 4 **BETTENHAM** – Argent, saltire engrailed sable between four bears' heads erased the last muzzled or[124]

2 **BOOTH** – Argent, three boars' heads erect and erased sable[125]

3 **EDON** – Argent on a fess gules, between two chevrons azure each charged with three garbs or, as many escallops of the field[126]

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[118] Lna PROB 10/1054.
[119] I am indebted to several members of the Heraldry Society for their help and advice in constructing this blazon, with particular thanks to Melissa Guinness.
[120] John Fetherston, ed., *The Visitation of the County of Warwick…1619* (London: Wardour Press, 1877), 298–9.
[121] Lynxs' heads as a seventeenth-century corruption of the original grant of arms evinced by several MSS: Lbl Harley MS 1043, Lbl Harley MS 1167, Lbl Harley MS 1563, Oqc MS xciii, Oqc MS clx.
[122] Rev. Fred. W. Kittermaster, ed., *Warwickshire Arms and Lineages* (Birmingham: W. R. King, 1866), 26.
[123] Mary's paternal grandmother and great-grandmother were of the Bury and Booth families, respectively, which confirms this to be a correct form of quartering to have inherited.
[124] Hovenden, *The Visitation of Kent…1619–1621*, 110–11.
[125] John Paul Rylands, ed., *The Visitation of Cheshire in the Year 1580* (London: Wardour Press, 1882), 35.
[126] Walter C. Metcalfe, ed., *The Visitations of Suffolk…1561…1577…1612* (Exeter: William Pollard, 1882), 27.

From inspection of the seal it is, sadly, not possible to definitively identify the charges on Cooke's side. However, the options presented above, along with further study of the publication of pedigrees, make it clear that all three represent the same family, with the arms having become corrupted somewhere between their granting to William Cooke in 1551, and the various manuscript sources for the seventeenth-century visitations.[127] The pedigree for the family seems to disappear from the official records for both Cambridgeshire and Warwickshire beyond the early seventeenth-century, which has so far made it difficult to ascertain whether there was (or that it would have been possible for there to be) a Henry Cooke of the correct age in that family, as the only living son listed in 1619 was named Francis. However, it is worth considering the evidence presented by Lbl Harley MS 1563, one of the manuscript copies of the 1619 visitation of Warwickshire, which lists three older brothers who all died in infancy named Henry, John, and John. Whilst it should not be doubted that Francis was the only living son in 1619, this manuscript helpfully illuminates two things: firstly, that John and Maria Cooke used the name Henry in naming their children; and secondly, that they would reuse a name in the case of a child dying in infancy. Thus, 'our' Henry Cooke being a fifth son, born sometime after the visitation of 1619 is plausible.

The manor of Milton itself was sold by a Francis Cooke in 1668.[128] This would explain why, if our Henry Cooke was part of this family, there were no remnants or mention of this estate in Cooke's will but may well have contributed to his comparative affluence throughout his earlier life. The existence of the seal itself suggests that Cooke was armigerous, or at least posed as such. There are some suggestions that other families 'adopted' the arms of a different family of the same name, possibly to project status that they did not possess, or out

[127] See fn. 107, as well as Fetherston, *Warwick…1619*, 298–9.
[128] A. P. M. Wright, and C. P. Lewis, eds, 'Milton: Manor and Other Estates', in *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: Volume 9, Chesterton, Northstowe, and Papworth Hundreds* (London, 1989).

of genuine error (although the latter seems less probable).[129] Indeed, it is possible that Cooke adopted the arms—officially or not—listed as Cooke of Milton, yet still belonged to the pedigree Cooke of Mount Mascal. That the arms on the seal are impaled with those of his wife (rather than just displaying his own) reflects usual practice for marital arms but does lead one to query whether his social status somewhat hinged upon an advantageous marriage into the Bettenham family.[130]

Cooke's property ownership, and the implications this has, must be considered amongst this all. The discovery of the collection of properties which Cooke owned on Longditch (aside from his domiciles in the immediate environs) draws into sharp focus the question of wealth. Cooke's positions post-Restoration were lucrative, and his earning potential as a music teacher during the Commonwealth high. However, neither of these fully satisfies the level of wealth that Cooke would have required to purchase such a degree of property. At £150pa—roughly what Cooke might have expected to earn in a year, not including warrants of reimbursement—and not spending a penny, it would have taken the full twelve years of his tenure in the Royal Music to raise the £1800 which his properties on Longditch were worth in 1690. As lucrative as his music-making (in whatever guise) may have been during the Commonwealth, it does not seem probable that he would have amassed such a sum through these means. Therefore, what this must indicate is another source of income, perhaps one which might reinforce the theory that Cooke was the younger son of a landed family.

[129] An example of this can be seen with the Cookes family of Harbury, Warwick (no, known, relation to our Cooke) in 1682, where the following is stated: 'Mr. Cookes voucheth for his Armes a Cheveron between 3 Attires of a Stagg, which he uses in a Seal, but they are the Armes of Cock, (not Cooks) of Worcestersh' entred [*sic*] in the Vis: of that County'. See Thomas May, Gregory King, and Henry Dethick Richmond, *The Visitation of the County of Warwick* (London: Harleian Society, 1911), 65–6.
[130] J. P. Brooke-Little, Norroy and Ulster King of Arms, ed., *Boutell's Heraldry* (9th edn; London: Frederick Warne, 1983) 137–8; and Joseph Edmondson, *A Complete Body of Heraldry* (London: T. Spilsbury, 1780), 179.

Through a comparison of the wealth of his contemporaries at death, several differences are stark. In the first instance, the level of detail in Cooke's will outstrips that of his contemporaries by a significant margin, with the probate wills of Thomas Blagrave, Charles Coleman (i), Christopher Gibbons, Pelham Humfrey, Thomas Purcell, and Henry Purcell (ii) all extending to a mere paragraph of text.[131] Compare this to Cooke's will, which in probate occupies over two pages. It should be noted that some of these wills are so short because they simply bequeath all belongings to a single person (usually the spouse).[132] In these instances the person in question—in the case of Purcell, and certainly Humfrey—may have either been comparatively young at the time of their decease, thus they would not have had as long to accrue wealth, or the will was made in a hurry. However, the fact that their authors elected not to go into significant detail regarding their belongings may indicate a relative paucity thereof. Two musicians of Cooke's generation have wills of a similar length (even before the content is considered), these being John Hingeston and Gervase Price. The former has little in regard to monetary assets and sits at a little under the length of Cooke's will, but Price's will is much longer, at three and a half pages, and demonstrates an immense accrual of wealth of several thousand pounds. However, Price's circumstances must be considered. As Serjeant trumpeter following the Restoration and having fought on the Royalist side during the Civil Wars, he was a favourite of Charles II and received several gifts. Additionally, it is known that Price leased the manor of Tottenham, Middlesex both before and after the wars[133] – with little known about his pre-Restoration life, perhaps parallels with Cooke's life and ascendancy can be drawn.

131 Wills taken from *National Archive* Online Probate. For details on these musicians, see *BDECM*, i: Thomas Blagrave, 154–9; Charles Coleman (i), 271–3; Christopher Gibbons, 472–6; Pelham Humfrey, 606–9; John Hingeston, 574–6; ii: Gervase Price, 917–20; Thomas Purcell, 930–33; Henry Purcell (ii), 925–30.
132 The same is true of nuncupative wills, which were excluded from discussion above as they are short in detail by their inherent nature.
133 *BDECM*, ii, 917–20.

When the monetary aspects of the wills are considered, the same story becomes clear. With the exception of Gervase Price (among those mentioned above), Cooke's wealth at death massively outstrips them all. Indeed, when the value of Cooke's land is taken into consideration, he quite easily overtakes all his contemporaries.

Conclusions

From what has been discussed in this chapter, it seems more probable that Cooke was a chorister at the Abbey rather than the Chapel Royal, due to the fact that his daughter was buried in the Cloisters before he assumed his positions post-Restoration, which would have entitled him to this particular facility. Additionally, it has been shown than Cooke was resident in Westminster from at least 1637, which might indicate that his time as a chorister ended sometime before, or during the period 1634–7, possibly following a period of apprenticeship.

After his time as a chorister, it is unclear to which profession Cooke applied himself—one might expect there to be some record if it was musical—but following his period of enlistment during the Civil Wars, he clearly returned to cultivate an exceptionally successful career as a teacher and singer with several high-status students. This proves that to be a professional musician, even one without prior official appointment to the Chapel or Abbey, was a viable option for those possessed of enough skill. Perhaps more telling is that it had the potential to be as profitable, if not more so, than the summation of several post-Restoration positions' earnings, even when we disregard the possibility of Cooke having come from a privileged background.

Two possible families and backgrounds for Cooke have been identified: one in Kent and the other in Cambridge/Warwickshire. The former is suggested through a number of pieces of

evidence which illustrate the geographical proximities to a Cooke family as part of the minor gentry, paired with the links they would have had with the Bettenham family through the aforementioned proximity. The latter is evinced by the physical evidence extant on Cooke's will and supported to some degree by copies of the 1619 visitations which demonstrate the same coat of arms as well as the naming trends of his would-be parents. Whilst both possibilities are worth further exploration, the latter probably represents the richer vein to mine. If Cooke had been able to secure marriage to Mary through his musical talent alone, one might presume this to have been mentioned at least once in one of the many legal documents which remain extant – instead, Hartlib's statement[134] is more probably extemporisation on Cooke's obvious musical prowess in the absence of information concerning his pedigree.

The significant expansions to Cooke's biography, presented above, represent a major leap in what is known about this key figure of the early-Restoration Chapel Royal. It seems probable that more material pertaining to Cooke, perhaps relating to his house in Hampton, for which no information has yet been uncovered, exists elsewhere. The utility of the information provided by rate books has perhaps been overlooked in the research of all but the most prominent of figures, and what is presented above might indicate that the same treatment may be profitable for other professional musicians of the period and beyond. Research in a similar vein has been conducted for Henry Purcell[135] and for John Blow,[136] but an extension of this to other figures such as Pelham Humfrey, for whom little has been done since Peter Dennison's biography in 1986, and Gervase Price could precipitate interesting discoveries and potentially uncover new information for those figures we already consider to be

134 SHE Hartlib 29/5/2A.
135 Franklin B. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell, 1659-1695: His Life and Times* (2nd edn; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), 1–16 and Appendix One.
136 H. Watkins Shaw, 'John Blow, Doctor of Music. A Biography by Harold Watkins Shaw: II (Continued).' *The Musical Times* 78/1137 (1937), 946–49.

understood. Indeed, the advent of digital platforms through which research can be conducted could well be used to revise research into more prominent figures whose biographies might be considered 'finished'.[137] Such might be the case for Henry Purcell, for whom little biographical research has been conducted since his tercentenary.

Therefore, the above presented research concerning Cooke can direct the attention of modern scholarship towards this category of materials that have perhaps been otherwise overlooked, in order to facilitate the expansion of other biographies. The research presented above also evinces the efficacy of tailored research into individuals over the application of prescriptive templates, such as mapping the lives of one Chapel Royal musician onto another, in order to ascertain probable information about their lives.[138] The increased access to materials facilitated by online resources allows for tailored approaches to be applied, and indeed some of the more prominent figures of the period—namely Purcell and Blow—may benefit from renewed research using these resources. This is particularly true of Blow, for whom the original research is nearing a century in age.

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[137] For a discussion of some comparative benefits and pitfalls of these online resources, see Harry Smith and Emily Vine, 'Material and Digital Archives: The Case of Wills', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (2024), 1–30.

[138] This approach has been suggested by Stubbings, 'This Day the Organs did Begin to Play', 84–5, where the life of Thomas Heywood is applied as a template to the lives of Henry Cooke, and others, in order to determine probable stages through which a chapel musician might pass across the course of their career. This is problematic, for two primary reasons: firstly, Heywood was a chorister after the Restoration, thus his own career was marked by the activity of the early years of the institution—to be explored in the following chapter—and certainly cannot be stated to be exactly the same as any of the preceding or following generations; secondly, when applied to many English musicians of the seventeenth-century, it completely disregards the impact of the events of the Civil Wars and Commonwealth – which would have undoubtedly delayed the normal progression of a career through the Royal Music. Indeed, it should be noted that the application of 'Heywood's Template' to Henry Cooke, Matthew Locke, John Blow, and Henry Purcell (Stubbings, 84–92) resulted in nothing more than a series of unevidenced speculations, including suggesting a change in Purcell's birth year. The evidence presented in the chapter above demonstrates that an adherence to a prescriptive template, such as the one suggested with Heywood as a model, would have likely hindered a number of discoveries when exploring Cooke's biography. Thus, whilst we might strive for new methodologies for research into historical figures, the application of such prescriptive templates must be considered with due caution.

Chapter 2 – Cooke as Choirmaster, and the First Generation of Restoration Chapel Royal Choristers

The Restoration saw Cooke's rise to some of the highest echelons of professional music-making in England. Due to the rigorous record-keeping of the royal household, renewed institutional music-making, and—as with many people and topics for this period—Samuel Pepys, this era of Cooke's life is far better documented than the others.

Although this chapter addresses some of Cooke's biography for which the data was already present in modern reference materials covering the period 1660–72, the purpose of this chapter is to, for the first time, pull that relevant information together and, having done so, to supplement it with various pieces of information which have not been identified to date. This chapter will not attempt to retread the biographic ground already covered in the aforementioned modern reference materials, with the significant revisions to Cooke's biography having been addressed in the preceding chapter.

In an effort to present these reassessed portions of Cooke's later biography, the post-fact grouping of the early Restoration choristers as the English Restoration School, discussed in the introduction, aims to draw attention towards the output and operation of the institution (this being the Royal Music) as a whole, rather than the historic focus on individuals such as Henry Purcell.

Cooke's ascendency to several positions in the Royal Music is well documented, but perhaps his key role in the early Restoration Chapel was the pressing of children through his position as Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal – for which this chapter represents the most comprehensive attempt to date to draw together information about this practice for this period, and indeed any other, of the Chapel Royal using Cooke as a fulcrum to uncover the

information. This has, in turn, facilitated the first attempt to name the original set of boys in the Chapel—those who would have performed at the coronation of Charles II in 1661—and to contextualise this within the new information gleaned from Cooke's various journeys to gather children to sing. Through the process of collating known records with new sources, it has been possible to contribute information to the biographies of further Restoration musicians.

It is probable that Cooke began his initial four positions in the Royal Music simultaneously, these being: Master of the Children of the Chapel, Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, Master of the Boys in the Private Musick, and Musician in the Ordinary for the Private Musick. The Chapel Royal records first refer to Cooke on 29 June 1660 as 'Master of the Boys in the Private Musick'.[1] This appointment, at £48pa, was confirmed alongside those for the Master of the Children (£40pa), and as a musician in the ordinary for the Private Musick (£40pa, with £20pa for strings) on 21 January 1661, with pay being backdated to Midsummer (24 June) 1660.[2]

Cooke's appointment as a Gentleman of the Chapel was never formalised, the evidence we have lies in the fact that Burgess Howes was appointed in his place on 11 September 1672.[3] The appointment as Master of the Children, *de facto* director of the choir in the Chapel, would have seen Cooke train and rehearse the children, and probably the gentlemen as well in some capacity for larger events.[4] As a renowned vocalist with a successful career as a professional

[1] Lna LC 3/2; see *RECM*, i, 4. In *BDECM*, 289, this is incorrectly stated to be Cooke's appointment as Master of the Children of the Chapel.
[2] Lna SO 3/14; Lna C 66/2932, no.20; Lna C66/2932, no.21; see *RECM*, v, 27.
[3] Lna LS 13/197, f.7r; see *RECM*, v, 61.
[4] Evidence suggesting how vocal music was led in the Chapel Royal of Cooke's period is scant. It has been suggested that in England it was 'the norm was for the organist to lead the choir just by accompanying it', with instances of time-beating being limited; Peter Holman, *Before the Baton: Musical Direction and Conducting in Stuart and Georgian Britain* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2020), 43–4. However, this does not explain how unaccompanied repertoire might be led. One of the few relevant descriptions of conducting in choir from the same century can be found in John Dowland's translation of Andreas Ornithoparchus, *Musicae activae micrologus*

teacher—as seen above—his reputation would have preceded him and, like his predecessors in the role, he took an active role singing in the Chapel alongside. Indeed, several of the earliest entries mentioning Cooke in Pepys' *Diary* make reference to his renown and performance in the Chapel, as well as proving that Cooke was already engrossed in his myriad appointments before their official documentation. On 12 September 1660: [5]

> After sermon a brave Anthem of Captain Cookes, which he himself sung, and the King was well pleased with it.

And then on 16 September 1660:[6]

> Thence to Whitehall about noon, where I met with Mr. Madge, who took me along with him and Captain Cooke (the famous singer) and other Maisters of Musique to dinner at an ordinary above Charing-cross, where we dined, all paying their club.

However, the early Restoration Chapel was characterised by an inconsistent quality, with Pepys mentioning an 'an anthemne, ill sung, which made the King laugh' on 14 October of that same year.[7]

(1517; trans. 1609) which describes that the music may be led 'by the hand of the chiefe [*sic*] singer, according to the nature of the marks, which directs a Song according to measure'; quoted in Andrew Parrott, *The Pursuit of Musick: Musical Life in Original Writings & Art, c1200–1770* (London: Taverner, 2022), 396. Despite being closer to 200 years old by Cooke's day, it seems probable that this method was employed for unaccompanied vocal music, and potentially the more complex symphony anthems too. Additionally, an engraving of the coronation of James II (1685) by William Sherwin seems to show John Blow (at that time Master of the Children, amongst other positions) using a stick to direct the massed forces of the Royal Music, and Westminster Abbey Choir. As the scene depicts the crowning, for which Turner's setting of the *Te Deum* was used, this suggests that Blow was directing the whole service (rather than just his own compositions), and thus might indicate usual practice in the Chapel of the period.

[5] *Pepys*, i, 220.
[6] *Ibid.*, i, 223.
[7] *Ibid.*, i, 265.

Building the Roster of Choristers

It is clear that the training of the boys was proving difficult—no great surprise given that one of the few definite impacts of the Civil Wars and Commonwealth had been the cessation of chorister training—and was resulting in this inconsistency in quality. It is also probable that Cooke was, at this point, without a full complement of boys (twelve) for the Chapel, with the two boys whom Cooke taught for the Private Musick presumably also singing in the Chapel – thus increasing the difficulty of what would have already proved to be a steep learning curve. Indeed, Matthew Locke informs us that in the earliest days of the Restoration the treble line was often substituted with cornetts or gentlemen singing in falsetto:[8]

> The contrary being so evident, that for above a Year after the Opening of His Majesties Chappel, the Orderers of the Musick there, were necessitated to supply the superiour Parts of their Musick with Cornets and Mens feigned Voices, there being not one Lad, for all that time, capable of Singing his Part readily.

These issues were not something that Cooke could fix overnight, but rather would require extensive training over a prolonged period. However, the granting of a royal patent with the authority to press boys for the service of the Chapel on 21 January 1661 would have made this job a little more simple.[9] The benefits and advancements offered by service as a chorister in the Chapel Royal were such that Cooke probably would have been able to recruit all twelve boys from around London and Westminster, but the patent gave Cooke the power to scout and conscript the finest talent from across the country, rather than relying on conventional methods of recruitment.[10]

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[8] Matthew Locke, *The Present Practice of Musick Vindicated against the Exceptions and New Way of Attaining Musick Lately Publish'd by Thomas Salmon, M.A. &c.* (London: N. Brooke; John Playford, 1673), 19.
[9] Lna C 66/2946, no.9; see *RECM*, v, 27. There is also an undated commission to the Signet Office from 1661, which gives the full patent for Cooke's ability to press, Lna SO 3/14; *RECM*, v, 27.
[10] The rights of impressment which Cooke possessed were unique to the Chapel. Although having existed in some form since the reign of Richard III, the pressing of children for the Chapel seems to have lapsed in usage during the reign of Charles I (see *RECM*, iii), only for Cooke to revive the mechanism from 1660. See Alan Mould, *The English Chorister: A History* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007), 130.

There are nine distinct instances of 'pressing' which can be identified from the records of the Chapel, each of these was probably a payment in arrears, so we might expect that the actual pressing had taken place in the preceding months:

(1) March 1661, when Cooke received some £200 for 'raising boys for the Chapel Royal';[11]

(2) July 1661, which reimbursed Cooke £23. 16s. 9d. for fetching five boys from Lincoln and Newark, presumably an activity which took place before the coronation on 22 April 1661;[12]

(3) August 1664, £11. 6s. for expenses to Windsor and Canterbury;[13]

(4) Michaelmas 1664–Lady Day 1665, 'going into the country looking after boys for the Chapel';[14]

(5) Michaelmas 1665–Lady Day 1666, 'looking for boys at Gloucester, Worcester and Hereford';[15]

(6) Lady Day 1667–8, 'travelling to Windsor for 2 boys';[16]

(7) Lady Day 1668–9, 'travelling to several places for new boys';[17]

(8) Lady Day 1669–70, which saw a great tour of Rochester, Lincoln, Peterborough, Worcester, 'and other places';[18]

(9) Lady Day 1670–71, 'to Westchester, Litchfield, Canterbury and Rochester'.[19]

From 1664, the formulation of the warrants for trips began to become standardised and were appended onto a general reimbursement for Cooke's activities across a whole year in the

[11] Lna C 66/2946, no.9; *RECM*, v, 27.
[12] Lna LC 5/137, 75; *RECM*, i, 19.
[13] Lna LC 5/138, 135; *RECM*, i, 56.
[14] Lna LC 5/138, 163; *RECM*, i, 62.
[15] Lna LC 5/138, 207; *RECM*, i, 72.
[16] Lna LC 5/139, 112; *RECM*, i, 82.
[17] Lna LC 5/12, 16; *RECM*, i, 90.
[18] Lna LC 5/12, 25; Lna LC 5/13, 37; *RECM*, i, 98.
[19] Lna LC 5/14, 4; *RECM*, i, 105.

chapel (including restringing instruments, paying for tutors, caring for the children whilst sick, etc.). From 1667, the warrants covered an entire year, beginning and ending at Lady Day. In this vein, we might consider a warrant on 15 April 1672 as a candidate for an additional trip to press boys. I would err against this being the case. In addition to the fact that no travel is explicitly mentioned—rather it ends with 'and for other services done by him'—the warrant is for between £25 to £70 less than the previous similar entries, which would seem to indicate that one larger expense, probably travel, was excluded.[20]

Given that the first payment was so significant when compared to those which follow, it is probable that the funds represented a large tour of several locations that simply went unrecorded in any great detail. This trip was appropriately extensive in scope, and probably saw Cooke visit Oxford and Salisbury at a minimum, as will be seen below, and served as an initial wide scale recruiting effort (funded by substantial seed money) to begin filling the roster of choristers. Additionally, given the potential scale of the trip, and the time pressures of the impending coronation, it might also be hypothesised that Cooke's warrant for pressing was also issued in arrears in the same manner as the other documents of his appointments. Thus, it is possible, if not exceptionally probable, that his trips to recruit choristers began at the same time as his initial appointment to the position. Cooke's travels as Master of the Children have been represented on a map in figure 1, following the common routes of the time.[21]

[20] Indeed, a later entry for these payments to Humfrey as Master of the Children explicitly states that 'In this warrant was nothing for fetching of Children from several Cathedrals, as is sometymes'; Lna LC 5/140, 243; *RECM*, i, 125.

[21] These have been determined (and suitably abstracted) from John Ogilby, *Britannia, Volume the First, or, An Illustration of the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales by a Geographical and Historical Description of the Princple Roads Thereof*… (London: John Ogilby, 1675) and *Mr. Ogilby's Pocket Book of Roads*… (London: John Ogilby, 1679).



Figure 1 – A map of Cooke's trips across England to press boys for the Chapel. Probable routes have been determined from contemporary publications. Locations which are explicitly mentioned have been drawn in complete lines, whereas those which can only be speculated are represented by dashed lines.

Later records of Cooke's travels to seek out and press boys for the Chapel are both significantly cheaper, and more specific, thus reinforcing the first payment as a discretional sum of seed-money to begin the process of recruiting.[22] Whilst the dates for all but the first recorded trip fall after the coronation of Charles II (22 April 1661) it might seem that Cooke had failed to draw together a quorate group of choristers. However, as the Chapel operated largely on the premise of credit (often massively in arrears, as with the case of Katherine Humfrey *née* Cooke, seen in chapter 1), not only is it probable that the fetching of those five boys from Newark and Lincoln occurred prior to the coronation, but it is almost certain that Cooke actually had a full complement of twelve boys for the event. This is evinced by a warrant, and its corresponding notice, on 16 September 1661:[23]

> Warrant to pay £19. 10s. to Henry Cooke, master of the children of his Majesty's Chapel Royal, being extraordinary charges for himself and twelve children, commanded to attend upon his Majesty at Windsor for the space of six days, at the rate of 5s. a day to each, and £2. 16s. for torches and lights for practicing [*sic*] the music against his Majesty's coronation.

Sadly, the various lists of musicians present at the coronation do not extend to naming the children of the Chapel, with the only evidence being those records listing exiting and maintenance of boys once their voices had changed.[24] Given that we have recorded the names of all the boys who left the chapel during Cooke's tenure it is possible for the first time—as far as is known to this author—to present a compiled list of the first generation of boys in the Restoration chapel that goes some way towards determining key factors concerning their tenures. This information is displayed in table 1, which contains information

[22] The fact that more distinct locations are cited may also be indicative of the parallel restoration of the cathedral and collegiate foundations which suffered during the Civil Wars and Commonwealth.
[23] Lna LC 5/137, 75; *RECM*, i, 22. The corresponding notice of the warrant, Lna E 351/546, f.10r, combines Cooke's payments to the total of £22. 6s. 0d.; *RECM*, v, 109.
[24] The exceptions here are Robert Smith and Sampson Estwick. The former's position as one of the children of the chapel is evinced by James Clifford, *The Divine Services Usually Sung in his Majesties Chappell, and in all Cathedrals and Collegiate Choires in England and Ireland* (2nd edn; London: W. G., 1664) which contains five of his compositions—*O sing unto the Lord*, *God be merciful unto us*, *Sing unto us*, *When the Lord turned against the captivity of Sion*, *O God my heart is ready*—and lists him as 'One of the Children of his Majesties Chappel'. Estwick will be discussed shortly.

for the choristers for whom we know their start or end dates with enough certainty to place them under Cooke's care.[25]

Table 1 – Choristers of the Chapel Royal under Cooke.[26]

Chorister	Dates	Place of Origin	Entry Date	Age in 1660	Exit Date	Age Out
Thomas Edwards	d. 1681	London[?]	1660	—	Lady Day 1664	—
Pelham Humfrey	1647/8–14 Jul 1674	London	1660	13	Christmas 1664	17
John Loggins	b. 7 Oct 1649	Westminster	1660	12	Christmas 1666	18
George Flexney	—	Oxford	1660/1	—	Midsummer 1664	—
Thomas Price	—	Oxford	1660/1	—	Michaelmas 1663	—
William Turner	1651–13 Jan 1740	Oxford	1660/1	9	Christmas 1666	15
Michael Wise	c.1647–24 Aug 1687	Salisbury[?]	1660/1	13	Michaelmas 1663	16
John Blow	1648/9–1 Oct 1708	Newark	1660/1	12	Christmas 1664	16
John Blundeville	d. 17 Apr 1721	Lincoln	1660/1	—	Christmas 1664	—
Richard Hart	d.8 Feb 1690	—	[1660/1]	—	Lady Day 1668	—
Nicholas Saunderson	—	—	[1660/1]	—	Christmas 1666	—
Robert Smith	c.1648–1675	—	[1660/1]	12	—	—
George Maxene	—	London[?]	1662	—	—	—
Thomas Tudway	1655/6–23 Nov 1726	Windsor	?1664	5–6	Michaelmas 1668	12–13
Henry Montagu	—	—	?1664	—	Lady Day 1669	—
John Farmer	—	—	?1664	—	Lady Day 1669	—
Sampson Estwick	c.1656–16 Feb 1739	London[?]	?1664–6	3–4	?1674	17
Richard Symcoll	c.1653	Westminster	?1664/5	7	Midsummer 1670	17
Peter Isaack	c.1655–94	Oxford	?1664/5	6	Christmas 1670	15
Henry Hall	c.1655–1707	Windsor	?1665/6	6	Christmas 1672	17
Thomas Heywood	c.1657–c.1718	London?	?1665/6	3	Christmas 1672	—
Henry Purcell	1659–95	London	1667–8	1	Michaelmas 1673	14

It has been stated that Cooke maintained a thirteenth boy, one above the statutory twelve, in order to guard against tranches of boys leaving at the same time.[27] This, however, does not fit with what we see above. For one, no more than three boys left the chapel at any one point, and the regularity in Cooke's recruitment trips seems to have ensured that there was a quorate number of choristers at any given time. I believe the confusion here lies with the position of George Maxene,[28] who was a supernumerary chorister at the behest of Charles II, and not a precautionary measure against changing voices, as has been previously stated.

[25] A list of choristers is given in 'The Chapel Royal: The Children and their Masters', in *Office-Holders in Modern Britain: Volume 11 (Revised), Court Officers, 1660-1837*, ed. R. O. Bucholz (London, 2006), *British History Online*. But this provides nothing more than state the date by which they may have been active.

[26] Primarily complied from the records of those who left the Chapel following their voices changing.

[27] This claim seems to stem from Christopher Dearnley, *English Church Music 1650–1750 in Royal Chapel, Cathedral and Parish Church* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1970), 28 and is then perpetuated 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: Ashgate, 2002), 48–9 comparing it with the records of choristers leaving from Lichfield and Lincoln which Ian Cheverton drew on, 'English Church Music of the Early Restoration Period', 193–4.

[28] Little is known about George Maxene. He was a poor boy, presumably local, to be taught as a supernumerary child of the chapel; not to be counted toward the twelve spaces. Cooke first petitioned for an allowance for the keeping of Maxene on 1 April 1662 (Lna SP 29/54, no.8; *RECM*, viii, 152) followed on 2 May with a warrant from the State Papers to equip him with the same fine clothing as the rest of the boys (Lna SP 44/7, no.35; *RECM*, viii, 152). Two further warrants from June 1663 document a £30pa payment to Cooke for the continued keeping of Maxene (1. Lna SO 3/15, 208; *RECM*, v, 42. 2. Lna SP 29/75, no.154; *RECM*, viii, 159.), indicating

It is also worth discussing Sampson Estwick, who was allegedly among Cooke's first pupils. Hawkins states this in his writings, having presumably taken this information from Thomas Ford's (1673–1746) 'Collections for a history of Musicians and an account of their works'.[29] Ford was Chaplain of Christ Church from 1713-19, following Estwick in that role (which he occupied 1679–1711). Neither Ford's original account, nor Hawkins', makes mention of evidence for this supposition and, indeed, it is not reinforced by any of the Chapel Royal records. However, we might entertain some plausibility here for three reasons: (1) Ford probably knew Estwick well, which might indicate that this information was attained first-hand; (2) A direct link between one of Cooke's students and the musical activities at Christ Church have been unknown until now, but this might explain why Cooke's repertoire persisted in the repertoire of the cathedral into the eighteenth century (to be discussed further in chapter three); (3) the primary evidence which has been used to determine the choristers of the Restoration chapel—both in this thesis and beyond—are the various records which list a child leaving the chapel and the allocation of their maintenance. This is useful in many cases, but in none of these instances did any of the boys move onto university education. It could be that Estwick pursued the established pre-Civil Wars habit of a child of the Chapel moving on to one of the royal colleges in either Oxford or Cambridge,[30] which might be why the records for his leaving the chapel (relied upon as evidence for several others) do not exist. As he matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford on 4 April 1674 aged 17,[31] this would mean that he would have probably entered the chapel during the period 1664–6 aged between 7 and 9 – potentially placing him in Cooke's care for several years.

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that he was still singing as a supernumerary boy at that time. The records suggest that Maxene was appointed a supernumerary at the pleasure of Charles II, which would account for why these records were part of the State Papers, rather than the Lord Chamberlain's Papers, or the Exchequer, for which the rest of this material pertaining to the rest of the boys tends to be found. He has been included on the list of the first generation of choristers, despite his supernumerary status.

[29] Hawkins, v, 14; Ob MS Mus. e. 17., ff, 11 (Cooke) and 14 (Estwick). Cooke's entry is a direct copy of that in Ob MS Wood D. 19(4).

[30] David Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal: Ancient and Modern* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., 1990), 320.

[31] Robert Thompson. 'Estwick, Sampson'. *OMO*. 2001.

As discussed above, Edwards, Humfrey, and Loggins were all London-based in 1660, and probably represented the first boys in the chapel, regardless of which two of the three boys were under Cooke's charge in the Private Musick. Taking this into account, knowing that there was a full complement of choristers by the time of the coronation in April 1661, we can roughly determine how many boys were pressed in each trip: (1) seven boys, including Edwards, Humfrey, and Loggins; (2) five boys.

The first of these trips is poorly defined but must have resulted in four boys being recruited on top of Edwards, Humfrey, and Loggins. Given the geographic specificity of the second trip, I believe it is possible to identify which of the early chapel boys were recruited on this trip—these being Michael Wise, William Turner, George Flexney, and Thomas Price—as well as to which locations Cooke may have travelled.

It is often cited that Michael Wise was probably born in Salisbury, attributed to a comment made in his appointment as a gentleman of the chapel in 1676 which describes him as 'a counter tenor from Salisbury.'[32] Whilst early biographical information to prove (or refute) this is not available, the various documents from Cooke's legal struggles seen in chapter 1 and appendix A demonstrate that toponymic suffixes often changed over time and depending on the context of the document. Thus, we might deduce that Wise being described as 'from Salisbury' is simply in reference to his residence in the city as organist and master of the choristers at the cathedral,[33] and not necessarily an indication of his hometown.[34] As a result, it is unclear whether Wise's place of childhood origin was indeed in Salisbury, or elsewhere.

[32] Ian Spink. 'Wise, Michael (d. 1687), Composer and Organist'. *ODNB*. 2004; Lna LS 13/197, f.31r; *RECM*, v, 70.
[33] Spink. 'Wise, Michael'.
[34] This was certainly the case for other court musicians.

What would seem to be possible to ascertain, however, is that it was probably in the southern portion of England.

This is evinced by the location from which Cooke pressed the other three boys on this first trip: Oxford. This is where Anthony Wood suggested that William Turner had been recruited,[35] but Keri Dexter has pointed out that the cathedral disbursement books do not support this.[36] His entry to the chapel is often delivered as a vague early 1660s,[37] but evidence suggests that he was amongst the original cohort of twelve choristers for the coronation, largely due to the existence of the 'The Club Anthem', *I will always give thanks*, composed by Turner, Humfrey, and Blow. We know that Cooke recruited a full cohort of choristers by the coronation, thus the next trip to Windsor and Canterbury in August 1664 would have meant that Turner would have only known Blow and Humfrey for a maximum of a few months before their joint composition was created. Described 'as a memorial of their fraternal esteem and friendship' by Boyce,[38] the anthem is surely the product of a relationship spanning more than a few months, and therefore indicates a start-date coeval with both Blow and Humfrey.

In this instance, it is possible that Turner was originally from Oxford, but simply was never formally enrolled as a chorister of the Cathedral – perhaps he was serving as some form of probationer. From the same records at Christ Church, however, it is possible to identify three things: firstly, that Cooke certainly did undertake an early trip (pre-coronation) to Oxford in order to procure choristers for the chapel; secondly, that we, for the first time, can identify

[35] Don Franklin. 'Turner, William (ii)', *ODNB*. 2001.
[36] Keri Dexter. 'Turner, William'. *OMO*. 2008. Further conversations with Judith Curthoys, the Archivist at Christ Church, confirm that the Dean's admission book 1660–64, as well as the 1661 disbursement books (Och Archives DP/i/a.2 and Och Archives T/xii/b.104, respectively) do not list Turner amongst the choristers. Those listed were given as: Morgan, Walton, Flexney, Haslewood, Birte, Read, Price
[37] *BDECM*, ii, 1103.
[38] William Boyce, *Cathedral Music being a Collection in Score of the Most Valuable and Useful Compositions for that Service by the Several English Masters of the last Two Hundred Years.* (2nd edn; London: John Ashley, 1788), ii, x.

the potential origins of George Flexney and Thomas Price; and finally, on the merit of these two pieces of evidence, that Turner was almost certainly from Oxford too. Both the surnames Flexney and Price appear in the disbursement books of Christ Church from 1661, with Price falling off the list from 1667, and Flexney from 1670.[39] Whilst it is clear that these cannot be the same boys who served in the Chapel, one might hypothesise that these boys were siblings to those who became choristers. Furthermore, it seems probable that George Flexney was the son of William Flexney, who was ejected from his position as a *clericus* at Christ Church, Oxford by the Parliamentary visitors,[40] but was recorded once again as a lay clerk in 1661, as 'William Flexney Sr'. As such, one might suspect that the Christ Church chorister Flexney was William Jr, and on the basis that he was seemingly in position for nearly a decade, would suggest that he was a younger brother to George, who Cooke recruited for the Chapel. I would contend that we see a similar case with Thomas Price, who it would seem had a brother who remained in the cathedral choir in Oxford until 1666. It should be noted that the warrant for George Flexney's maintenance when leaving the chapel states that he was 'late one of the children of the Chapel, for two years',[41] but the dates here do not coincide with the known trips to collect choristers. Given that his voice changed in Midsummer/Michaelmas 1664, this would mean that he would have joined sometime in 1662, a time at which there are no recorded trips. Cooke's fastidious bookkeeping (and insurance that he claimed all monies which were owed to him), would suggest that it was unlikely a trip went unrecorded. Thus, we might disregard this comment as an inaccuracy. In so doing the first seven boys of the chapel are identified.

On the strength of the information concerning George Flexney, I would suggest that Cooke visited Oxford sometime across 1660–61, during which time he recruited George Flexney,

[39] Och Archives T/xii/b.103–12.
[40] Och i.b.3, 23 & 25. He is still recorded as the college barber in 1659; see Dexter, *'A Good Quire of Voices'*, 27.
[41] Lna 5/138, 142; *RECM*, i, 57.

Thomas Price, and William Turner. That both Flexney and Price appear to have had siblings in the cathedral choir (admittedly with the burden of proof falling more so on the former) suggests that they had both been taken from Oxford. Had the trip taken place in 1661, then we might expect to have seen the names Flexney, Price, *and* Turner all listed in the disbursement book for the year. Therefore, it can be suggested that Cooke's trip took place in 1660, and his recruitment of these three boys took place before the first list of Restoration choristers could be drawn up for Christ Church in 1661.[42]

Cooke's second trip to collect (five) boys for the choir took him to Newark and Lincoln and, from the former, the twelve-year-old John Blow was presumably recruited. He was baptised on 23 February 1649 at the collegiate church of St Mary Magdalen,[43] which fell under the purview of Cooke's warrant to press. Although around a year younger than Humfrey, he seemed to match most of the accomplishments of his senior, with his voice developing such that they both ceased being choristers at the same time. Whatever qualities marked Humfrey out for preference may have simply been incidental and just a result of the year of seniority. Despite the constant preferment of others—first Humfrey, and later Purcell (albeit in slightly different circumstances)—Blow's longevity would see him ascend to the position of Master of the Children in 1674, following Humfrey's death, in which role he remained until his death in 1708.[44]

On his same trip to recruit choristers, Cooke recruited John Blundeville in Lincoln. Ashbee notes that it is difficult to differentiate between at least two men of the same name as, at the

[42] There is no documentary evidence to suggest that Cooke deputised the pressing of boys for the chapel. However, it is possible that contacts around the country—such as Edward Lowe in Oxford—could have streamlined the recruitment process by identifying potential candidates for Cooke ahead of travelling.
[43] John Harley. 'Blow, John'. *ODNB*; Bruce Wood. 'Blow, John'. *OMO*.
[44] This was amongst myriad other positions, including twice Organist of Westminster Abbey, preceding and succeeding Purcell. See above, Wood, *Op. Cit.*

time of the chorister's pressing, another John Blundeville was a teacher to the choristers at Lincoln. As he concludes, it is probable that this man was the chorister's father.[45] The younger Blundeville's career took him through several positions in cathedrals around England and abroad. He served as lay clerk and informator choristarum at Ely 1669–74; a singing-man at Lichfield in 1676; vicar choral at St Patrick's, Dublin 1678–80; singing-man at York Minster 1681–1693 (and later master of the choristers by August 1692); before finally moving to Durham by means of an invitation dated 15 May 1693, albeit his admission to the choir is not recorded until 6 January 1703.[46] Notably, Blundeville came into possession of the Hosier Manuscript (DRc MS B1) during his tenure in Dublin. Despite Blundeville's relationship to Cooke and the Hosier manuscript being one of very few repositories of Cooke's repertoire outside Bu 5001, it would seem that Blundeville had no influence on the contents. This is not least as Hosier died in 1677, the year prior to Blundeville arriving in Dublin.

With the benefit of the new information presented in chapter 1, proving Cooke's presence in Lincolnshire during the 1650s to teach, his repeated trips to the area post-Restoration (especially considering the distance) become easier to explain. Indeed, it is plausible that Cooke became acquainted with John Hinton, who was master of the song school at the Thomas Magnus School in Newark 1649–68.[47] As the song school had not been founded as an attachment to a monastery, cathedral, or chantry, it has been speculated that it had been able to survive the reformational zeal of both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries[48] – thus, it is possible that John Blow, and some of his contemporaries in Newark, could have received formal chorister schooling prior to his entry to the Chapel. Little is known

[45] *BDECM*, i, 165–6.
[46] *Ibid.*
[47] Deborah Simpkin King, 'The Full Anthems and Services of John Blow and the Question of the English *Stile Antico*', PhD Dissertation, University of North Texas, 1999, 111.
[48] *Ibid.* fn.10.

concerning the operation of the Thomas Magnus School across the period 1640–60 and is ripe for further exploration as a potential location for formal musical schooling during the Commonwealth. This will additionally raise considerable questions as to the possibility of other like establishments operating throughout the period.[49] The commonly held understanding of the musical landscape, at least when considering choristers, has been that much of the formal tuition from 1660 onwards would have been novel to the children. Whilst Cooke's legacy as a pedagogue does not suffer considerably under the idea that his first cadre of pupils may have already been trained to some degree—he still identified and cultivated their talent as part of the English Restoration School—it would reframe the way in which we must consider these early years of the Chapel.

Having established that Blow and Blundeville were fetched during Cooke's first foray to Lincoln and Newark, it is difficult to ascertain which of the other three boys were recruited on this trip. Information for the origins of Robert Smith, Nicholas Saunderson, and Richard Hart has not been forthcoming in the intervening centuries. Given the ages at which they left the chapel, and in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it might be speculated that they were all gathered in this same trip to Newark and Lincoln. It should also be noted that the two listed locations may not be exhaustive either, and that cities such as Cambridge and Peterborough both would have been logical stops on such a trip north. Assuming these three boys completed the complement of five recruited during Cooke's second trip, then the twelve children of the chapel royal for the coronation of Charles II are identified for the first time:

[49] Keri Dexter discussed such a case with Eton College during the Commonwealth, where it would appear that the ten chorister spaces were filled, but by non-musicians. Thus, the spaces were treated as regular scholars' places, rather than any particular link to the chapel. See Dexter, *'A Good Quire of Voices'*, 23–5. Whilst this was the case at Eton College, it is not necessarily true of the rest of the country. Indeed, it is possible that some of the Oxford and Cambridge colleges may have been able to continue with some degree of chorister training.

Thomas Edwards
Pelham Humfrey
John Loggins
George Flexney
Thomas Price
William Turner
Michael Wise
John Blow
John Blundeville
Richard Hart
Nicholas Saunderson
Robert Smith

Those boys who followed are somewhat easier to allocate into those remaining trips. Cooke's trip to Windsor and Canterbury—presumably in order to replace Edwards, Price, Wise, and possibly Smith—probably saw the recruitment of John Farmer, Henry Montagu, and Thomas Tudway.

Little is known concerning the former two, but the fact that they left the chapel due to voice change at the same time might suggest that they were of a similar age.[50] For Thomas Tudway, a little more is known. It would appear that his voice changed quite early, at around 12–13, far earlier than many of his peers.[51] He provides some useful insights in his later writings, which will be discussed below.

As the original children of the restoration chapel began to leave, either being seconded into other roles in the Royal Music or being passed onto wards in the manner of Thomas Edwards, Cooke's trips would have sought to replace them in order to maintain the complement of twelve choristers. His efforts were clearly successful, with a strong record of boys seen all the way through until the last decade of the century (with the choristers who

[50] Of course, this is provided that their voice changes both began to occur at the average age of 14.
[51] The evidence for Tudway's birth year is evinced by his obituary, which states that he died on 23 November 1726, aged 70. It is suggested that, although this would have made Tudway incredibly young for his future positions, it is by no means inconceivable. George J. Armytage, ed., *Obituary prior to 1800 (so far as relates to England, Scotland and Ireland) compiled by Sir William Musgrave* (London: Harleian Society, 1899–1901), vi, 30; cited in Ian Spink, *Thomas Tudway* (Huddersfield: Church Music Society, 2010), 1.

may have been recruited by Cooke toward the end of his life being represented in table 2). Cooke clearly exercised his right to press boys across the country—as well as closer to home, in the case of Richard Symcoll, Thomas Heywood, and Henry Purcell—resulting in a talented crop of choristers whom he would shape into some of the finest musicians of the period.

Table 2 – Chapel Royal choristers mentioned in the records who may have been recruited by Cooke.[52]

Chorister	Dates	Dismissal Date
James Green	—	[Midsummer 1674]
William Holder	—	Michaelmas 1674
John Cherrington	—	—
William Searle	—	[Lady Day 1676]
John Walters	—	[Christmas 1676]
Gilbert Coningsby	—	[Michaelmas 1679]
Augustine Benford	—	[Lady Day 1676]
Francis Smith	—	[Christmas 1677]
William Goodgroome	d.1742[?]	[Lady Day 1681]
Bartholomew Isaack	1661–1709	[Michaelmas 1676]
Edward Butler	—	[Christmas 1677]
Richard Elmes	—	[Lady Day 1679]
James Cutler	—	[Michaelmas 1680]
Richard Cherrington	d. after 1724	[c.1680]
Francis Piggot	1665/6	Michaelmas 1683
John Thatcher	—	Christmas 1682

The ages (by best estimation) at which each of the boys in Cooke's early chapel left due to their voices breaking may initially strike the reader. The range represented is 15–18, which is later than a contemporary boy chorister might expect their voice to break. This average age for this has been determined as 14.1. This does not seem to necessarily contradict historical sources, which also mark 14 as the average age for voices changing.[53] However, it would appear that the progression through puberty, at least in the medieval period, was a more prolonged process, with maturity being reached some 3–5 years later than by the standards of the present-day.[54] The immediate impact of such a biological difference is that boys singing in the medieval and early modern periods would have been able to sing parts with higher

[52] Ordered by first mention, and giving their approximate leaving dates (see *RECM*).
[53] Martin Ashley, *Dead Composers and Living Boys: How High Should Boys Sing in a Digital Age?* (Martin Ashley, 2024), 88.
[54] Mary Lewis, Fiona Shapland, and Rebecca Watts, 'On the Threshold of Adulthood: A New Approach for the Use of Maturation Indicators to Assess Puberty in Adolescents from Medieval England, *Annals of Human Biology* 28/1 (2016), 48–56; cited by Ashley, *Dead Composers and Living Boys*, 72.

ranges for longer.[55] Therefore, although a voice change was still to be expected at age 14, on average, the boys of the chapel would have remained in place for a number of additional years not enjoyed by modern-day trebles. Pepys provides us with ample evidence here to the continued development of the older boys' voices:[56]

> This morning came two of Captain Cookes boys, whose voices are broke and are gone from the Chapel, but have extraordinary skill; and they and my boy [Thomas Edwards], with his broken voice, did sing three parts (their names were Blaeu [John Blow] and Loggings [John Loggins]); but notwithstanding their skill, yet to hear them sing with their broken voices, which they could not command to keep in tune, would make a man mad, so bad it was.

The fact that Pepys names three former choristers of the chapel is particularly useful, as we know that by the time of this diary entry—21 August 1667—Edwards, Blow, and Loggins had all officially left the chapel as a result of their voices having changed for three years, two-and-a-half years, and eight months, respectively. In the case of Edwards and Blow especially, this insight from Pepys indicates that the young men were still suffering from the impacts of their voices changing.

However, the phenomenon of a prolonged progression through puberty had the obvious benefit of retaining experience and expertise for longer and, especially in the case of Blow and Humfrey, enabled the senior boys to take on increased responsibilities, including the composition of new music and presumably some degree of teaching and pastoral care for the younger boys.

Whilst table 1 presents the most complete list of Restoration Chapel Royal choristers to date, it is still difficult, if not impossible, to fully ascertain whether we are aware of the full roster

[55] Ashley, *Dead Composers and Living Boys*, 73.
[56] *Pepys*, viii, 393–4.

of boys who sang in the chapel. For one, the examples of Robert Smith and Sampson Estwick as choristers in the chapel, without any surviving documentation for their leaving the chapel demonstrates that the record which we have is not complete. Whilst it seems unlikely that, once admitted, a boy would choose to leave the chapel, thus forgoing prospects of further employment or apprenticeship, the fact that no official registers were kept (or have survived) makes it impossible to state this as fact. We must also entertain the possibility that, as may have been the case with Sampson Estwick, progression to one of the royal colleges at the universities of Oxford or Cambridge would not have resulted in the usual documentation for ex-chorister maintenance being drawn up.

Of the twelve boys in place for the coronation of Charles II, we can identify to some degree from whence Cooke probably recruited them. Of those first boys in the Chapel, it seems probable that two of Thomas Edwards, Pelham Humfrey, and John Loggins represented those first two boys under Cooke's care in the Private Musick, as they were all from London.[57] Thomas Edwards appeared to have had family in London, his father died during the Great Plague in 1665, which suggests that his early childhood had been spent in the city.[58] It is speculated that John Loggins may have been born to Thomas and Dorothy on 7 October 1649 in St Margaret's, Westminster.[59] With the benefit of the new research into Cooke's early biography presented in chapter one, this hypothesis is only made more probable, as a personal acquaintance between Cooke and the Loggins family is plausible.

Pelham Humfrey, one of the more recognisable musical figures of the Restoration period, was undoubtedly highly regarded amongst Cooke's first generation of choristers. There are

[57] Cooke's appointment to this position: Lna LC 3/2; *RECM*, i, 4; further entries confirm that this role entailed the tutelage of two boys, as with previous members of the King's Musick: Lna C66/2932, no.20; *RECM*, v, 27. See Bruce Wood. 'Humfrey [Humphrey, Humphrys], Pelham'. *Oxford Music Online.* 2001.
[58] *BDECM*, i, 382.
[59] *BDECM*, ii, 738.

several indicators of this preferment in the documentation of the Royal Music, the first being the increased sum of maintenance granted to Cooke upon his voice breaking; where the regular sum was £30 per annum, Humfrey was awarded £40.[60] This was quickly followed by a warrant granting Humfrey additional clothing, 'being for his Majesty's extraordinary service',[61] which has often been argued as a signal of Humfrey's prodigious nature.[62] However, the fact that both Blow and Purcell, at their respective time of leaving the chapel, received the usual £30 suggests that this may not be the case.[63] It was using the secret service funds that Humfrey was sent to the continent. Whether this was an innocent use of a discretional fund is unclear,[64] but Humfrey was able to absorb the music of the French and Italian courts which he would use to great effect in his music upon his return.[65] His preferment at court remained clear, as he was appointed to a number of positions in the Royal Music before his return to England, which occurred in late 1667.[66] As mentioned in chapter 1, Humfrey would go on to marry Cooke's daughter, Katherine, and succeed his father-in-law as Master of the Children until his untimely death in 1674.

Role of the Master of the Children

Cooke's precise job description as master of the children remains something of a mystery. It is unclear what musical tuition was prescribed during Cooke's tenure. Previous stipulations for the content of the teaching, which can be found for the surrounding periods, can aid with

[60] This is only pronounced further by the fact the warrant contains the bills for the maintenance of Blow and Blundeville, who were both granted the regular £30: Lna LC 5/138, 169; *RECM*, i, 63.
[61] Lna LC 5/138, 53; *RECM*, i, 64.
[62] Dearnley, *English Church Music*, 38–9.
[63] Bruce Wood. 'Humfrey [Humphrey, Humphrys], Pelham'. *OMO*. 2001
[64] The secret service funds were at the discretional usage of the monarch. Whilst they may have been used for clandestine purposes, it is just a common for them to have been used as an alternate pot of money from which Charles could draw to satisfy his whims. *RECM*, v, 270.
[65] It was William Boyce, talking a century later who first seems to have suggested that Humfrey studied under Jean-Baptiste Lully whilst in France. There is little documentary evidence to support this hypothesis. Boyce, *Cathedral Music*, ii.
[66] Appointed as a Lute in the Private Musick (10 March 1666), Gentleman of the Chapel Royal (January 1667); see Wood. 'Humfrey, Pelham'. *OMO*.

the reconstruction of probable teaching requirements. The *Liber Regie Capelle* (1449)[67] written by William Say, the Dean of the Chapel, defines the duties of the position as 'to teach these boys and duly to instruct them in both plain chant and harmony', and in another location within the manuscript: 'to teach them chant and descant, and to govern and rule them and provide them with all things necessary. To this master is assigned for the needs of each boy, sixteen ducats a year, as well as table rights and allowances, at the charges of the king, within the Court; and he is under the dean's supervision.'[68] The *Liber Regie Capelle* also indicates the weekly operations of the Chapel, with the mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary to be sung by the boys of the Chapel on Wednesdays and Saturdays under the direction of the Master of Children (or 'Master of the Music' as the role was contemporarily known).[69] The children's broader education, it would seem, was the responsibility of the Master of Grammar who was 'appointed to teach the science of grammar to the young noblemen brought up in the king's court and the boys of the Chapel as they grow older.'[70] A passage from the later *Liber Niger Domus Regis* (1483)[71] further elaborates on the continuing education of the chapel boys, stipulating that if said child was not to be kept in the employ of the Royal Household, then he would be assigned to a royally founded college in Oxford or Cambridge.[72]

The eight children of the chapel in 1483 had a reasonably full timetable. The master of the children at that point seemed to be known as the 'master of song' and would have been selected from one of the gentlemen (or 'felashippe' [sic]) of the chapel. He would then have the responsibility of the children's schooling in song, organ, and 'such other virtuous

[67] Evora (Portugal), Bibliotheca Publica e Arquivio Distrital, MS CV/I-36.
[68] *Ibid.*, Ch. 3.; Translation as printed in Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 318.
[69] Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 319.
[70] P-EVad MS CV/I-36, Ch.3.
[71] GB-Lsa MSS/0211.
[72] It is unclear which colleges other than King's Hall, Cambridge (now Trinity) would have been permitted, but Christ Church, Oxford may have been another, given the evidence presented through Sampson Estwick; Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 320. As Baldwin states that this would only occur once the boy reached the age of 18 and therefore would result in the boy in question being significantly older than his matriculating peers, but Estwick's matriculation aged 17 would seem to draw this into question.

thing[s].'[73] Across the course of the day, the Children would eat in the hall, next to the yeoman of the vestry, and were entitled to two loaves [of bread], one mass of 'greete' meat, two gallons of ale, and in the winter four candles and three 'tal and litt' for their beds.[74] If any child were to be taken ill, then they would be cared for with the sick yeomen of the household. Despite the full-furnished provision for the boys, some would have boarded out with gentlemen of the Chapel, to advance their musical tuition (as well as their social outlook).[75]

From 1660, the papers of the musical activities in the royal establishment illustrate a basic picture of Cooke's responsibilities in regard to tutelage – shown by this warrant from the Lord Chancellor to the Treasurer of the Chamber on 24 March 1662:[76]

> Warrant to pay £45 to Henry Cooke, master of the children of his Majesty's Chapel Royal, expended to him to masters for teaching the said children to write, learn and speak Latin…

Further lists of payments grant further evidence of the instrumental tuition of the children, such as the following contents of a warrant dated 29 November 1662:

> Warrant to pay Henry Cooke, master of the children of his Majesty's Chapel:
> - £30 for the Children of the Chapel learning the violin
> - £30 for the children of the Chapel learning the organ, for a whole year ended at Michaelmas 1662
> - £10 for 2 violins
> - £20 for a theorbo and £5 for strings.[77]

[73] Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 321.
[74] *Ibid.*
[75] *Ibid.*
[76] Lna LC 5/137, 107; *RECM*, i, 31.
[77] Lna LC 5/137, 394; *RECM*, i, 39.

Whilst it is clear that Cooke had a responsibility to maintain the instruments upon which his choristers were learning, it is unclear the extent to which he actively taught the children. Certainly, as seen from the warrant concerning the teaching of Latin, some degree of the non-musical tuition was outsourced. With twelve children under his care at any one time and considering his numerous other duties within the Royal Music, we might expect that some of the musical teaching was also outsourced. However, looking to Pelham Humfrey's tenure in the same position, a copy of articles between Humfrey and John Lilly suggests that to dispense the musical tuition to another was something which needed to be officially documented.[78] Therefore, it is possible that, in the absence of like articles for the dispensing of teaching, Cooke did take direct responsibility for the musical tuition of the boys in his charge.

The Serjeant of the Vestry (1752–77), William Lovegood, wrote the following concerning the role of Master of the Children across the period 1563–1757:

> The Master of the Children hath generally (tho' not always) been chosen out of the Organists or. Gentlemen of the Chapel. In the following list there is one instance to the contrary, viz. Capt. Henry Cook, all the rest have been either Organists or Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal.
> By the present Establishment, the Children are ten in number, they wear the King's Livery, which is provided them Annually out of the King's Wardrobe. The Master's Duty is to teach them to sing, to play upon the Harpsicord or Organ, Writing Arithmetick, and compose.
> They are to attend the Service of the Chapel Daily throughout the Year, where his Majesty Resides, Kensington excepted.
> When their voice break and they become unfit for the Chapel, His Majesty gives thirty pounds to the Parents or friends of each Boy, to place him out Apprentice.
> If they behave well, and their Voices turn out usefull; they are frequently admitted Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal.

[78] For the sum of £30pa, Lilly was employed to 'teach and instruct fower of the aforesaid Children of his Ma[jesties] Chappell royall (such as he the sd. Pelam Humfries shall appoynt) on the viol and Theorbo after the best manner and way he can in the place and stead of him the sd. Pelham Humfreys.' 29 September 1673. Lna LC 9/341, f.30r; *RECM*, i, 129–30.

But codified details of the children's tuition and care were not reissued until 2 May 1804, leaving a huge gap into which Cooke's tenure falls.[79] However, it is clear that the broader duties of the Master of the Children went largely unchanged from the fifteenth through to the beginning of the nineteenth century—covering the period of Cooke's tenure—with a notable exception in the provision of further education/opportunities for the former boys of the Chapel. Here, the former provisions to send the boys to a royally founded college in Oxford or Cambridge were replaced with an annual sum and the intention to place them in an apprenticeship (more often than not, remaining linked with the Chapel).[80] Documents from the Lord Chamberlain's papers (as reproduced in *RECM*) illustrate that the Restoration chapel seemingly opted to resume the traditions that had priorly governed the institution. Even minute detail, such as the sum paid out upon the departure of a child from the chapel (£30) remains unchanged between the late-seventeenth and early-nineteenth centuries.[81]

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[79] Regulations Respecting the Children of the Chapel made by the Dean, May 2nd 1804:
1. They shall have proper instructions in singing and playing for a reasonable time in every Day, four Days for singing and two for playing.
2. They shall have one good instrument to practise on, constantly kept in good Order.
3. They shall have a writing Master, as formerly three times a Week and to be two Hours with the Boys each time.
4. More attention shall be paid to their Moral and their religious Principles more particularly on Sunday when some Instructions shall be given them in the Doctrines and the Duties of Religion.
5. The Senior Boys shall not be suffered to treat the juniors cruelly, and harshly, but shall be punished if they do.
6. The Boys shall not be allowed to sing at either the play Houses [*sic*] and when they return home from singing at the Oratories, the Antient Music, or any other Concert public or private, upon the leaving they shall have a coach to carry them home and a good Supper, and in the Winter a fire at their return.
7. More attention shall be paid to the cleanliness of their persons, their clothes and the room they principally inhabit; more particularly they shall have two Towels and two Shirts a week and the Maidservant who waits upon them shall be enjoined carefully to attend to all these things.
8. The Subdean shall attend once in every Quarter at the Master's House and hear the Boys sing and play and read and repeat the Church Catechisms.
9. The Boys shall be furnished with some Bibles and prayer Books, and each a form of Prayer for their own Private use, which they shall be enjoined to use Morning and Evening.
10. A fair Copy of these Regulations shall be hung up in the School Room that they may be known to the Boys.
11. Each Boy shall have according to antient Custom a Cloak to wear in cold or wet Weather.
These regulations were transcribed in Peter Jones, 'The Musical Education of the Children of the Chapel Royal 1820-1870', Dissertation.

[80] Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 54.

[81] A warrant from the Lord Chamberlain to the Treasurer of the Chamber, dated 29 February 1664, pays out £30 to Cooke for the departure of Thomas Price from the chapel; see *RECM*, i, 53.

The actual accommodation of the choristers, and Cooke's role within this, has been discussed in a number of fora. Alan Mould speculated that Cooke provided accommodation for the choristers in his lodgings, either at his property in Hampton Court or Whitehall (depending on where the court was based) which were deemed tied to the position.[82] However, these speculations cannot be wholly correct. The lodgings at Whitehall which are identified as potential ample accommodation for Cooke, his family, and the children of the chapel are simply the parts of the tennis courts under the purview of Captain Thomas Cooke. The only portion of Whitehall, beyond the chapel, which can be identified as a part of Henry Cooke's domain is 'The King's Musick House' – a small, windowless room which would have been unsuitable to house any of the boys.[83]

The situation with the property at Hampton Court is slightly more difficult to ascertain. We know from his will—and the extensive discussion in chapter 1—that he owned property in Hampton Court. The fact that Cooke's lodgings in the palace grounds, the Old Bowling Alley, were the subject of several warrants for repair work suggest that these premises were, at least partially, tied to his position as Master of the Children.[84] However, the need for repairs was only raised from July 1665, coinciding with the removal of court from Whitehall to Hampton Court to avoid the plague in London. Thus, it would seem logical that these repairs may have been requested on Cooke's own property, necessitated because he had unexpectedly needed to accommodate the children of the chapel on site. Indeed, the warrant from July 1665 lays out a series of works—insertion of chimneys, raising the roofline of the 'schooleroome', and further general repairs[85]—which sound far more akin to the complete conversion of a pre-existing space to this new purpose than a simple set of repairs.

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[82] Mould, *The English Chorister*, 132.
[83] Thurley, *The Whitehall Palace Plan*, 43.
[84] Warrants on 16 July 1665 (Lna LC 5/138, 407; *RECM*, i, 66), 9 April 1669 (Lna LC 5/12, 233; *RECM*, i, 90), and 1 May 1671 (Lna SP 29/290, no. 55; *RECM*, viii, 207–8).
[85] *Op. cit.*

Regardless of where the children were accommodated, it would seem that Cooke's role did involve a level of active pastoral care. A warrant for payment on 11 April 1665 lists, amongst its several other items, that Cooke required reimbursement for 'nursing three boys that were sick of the small pox'.[86] Curiously, whilst a line earlier in that same warrant lists reimbursement for 'having the children taught Latin', the latter clause implies that Cooke himself tended to the three boys during their illness. This would surely require the boys living in some kind of shared, dormitory-style accommodation, so one might speculate that a portion of Cooke's 21 messuages on Longditch—as identified in chapter 1—may have been used for such a purpose. Cooke clearly possessed ample property and, indeed, alternatively could have had space to lodge the choristers in his twelve-hearth house on Millbank. That there is no information as to where the choristers lived during this period, combined with the knowledge that Cooke had substantial property in Westminster, only strengthens this hypothesis. It could also be the case that Cooke's wife, Mary, offered some support in caring for the boys of the chapel.

Cooke's care for the children in his charge also extended beyond their initial tenure in the chapel, perhaps best exemplified by Thomas Edwards, who was discharged from his duties as a chorister from Lady Day 1664.[87] Each chorister was given a set of clothes when they were released from the Chapel. In the case of Edwards, Cooke's plan for him clearly overtook other arrangements, such that the set of clothing he received had been originally intended for Michael Wise. Unlike some of the other children of the chapel immediately following their release, we have a clear picture of what happened to Edwards thanks to his new position – that of an aide to Samuel Pepys.

[86] Lna LC 5/138, 163; *RECM*, i, 62.
[87] Lna LC 5/138, 27; LC 5/118; *RECM*, i, 56.

As they operated in the same social circles, Cooke would have been aware of Pepys' need for a boy to aid in his household from around May 1664.[88] It was common practice for young and adolescent boys to be apprenticed in such a matter. They would aid in carrying messages, collecting packages, and other administrative minutiae associated with the running of a household, and in the case of Pepys, also aiding in the running of the Navy Office.[89] Cooke and Pepys clearly discussed one of the choristers becoming Pepys' ward on the evening of 31 May 1664, and it is clear that the former immediately had a candidate in mind:

> [7 August 1664] So blessing God for it, we down to dinner mighty pleasant, and so up after dinner for a while, and I then to White Hall, walked thither, having at home met with a letter of Captain Cooke's, with which he had sent a boy for me to see, whom he did intend to recommend to me. I therefore went and there met and spoke with him. He gives me great hopes of the boy, which pleases me, and at Chappell I there met Mr. Blagrave, who gives a report of the boy, and he showed me him, and I spoke to him, and the boy seems a good willing boy to come to me, and I hope will do well. I am to speak to Mr. Townsend to hasten his clothes for him, and then he is to come.[90]

It may be interesting to consider whether Edwards' exit from the Chapel was hastened by Pepys' need for a boy. The two warrants for Edwards leaving the chapel all fall within August 1664, but crucially are dated 12 August, some five days after Cooke had introduced him to Pepys. The social advancement Pepys offered by apprenticing Edwards would have been of value regardless of the stage of vocal change the boy had reached, but the timeline of events does lead one to speculate whether Thomas Edwards may have continued into late adolescence like Humfrey or Blow had this position not become available.

There was clear eagerness from Pepys for Edwards to complete the move to his household, but there was an almost inevitable delay caused by the slow-moving mechanisms of payments

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[88] 31 May 1664: 'Thence to my Lord Sandwich's, and while he was dressing I below discoursed with Captain Cooke, and I think if I do find it fit to keep a boy at all I had as good be supplied from him with one as any body [sic].' *Pepys*, v, 162.
[89] Henry Summerson. 'Servants of Samuel Pepys'. *ODNB*. 2024.
[90] *Pepys*, v, 234.

within the Royal Music.[91] Despite this delay, the move seems to have been completed by 27 August as Pepys writes that he came home to 'there find my boy, Tom Edwards, come, sent me by Captain Cooke, having been bred in the King's Chappell these four years.'[92] This arrangement was convenient for both parties; Cooke ensured the continued education of one of his choristers, and Pepys gained an educated boy in whom he could place a fair amount of trust. From the same diary entry, Pepys makes his plans for the boy clear: 'I propose to make a clerke of him, and if he deserves well, to do well by him.'[93]

Even with Edwards placed in stable employment with good career prospects, Cooke appears to have kept watch over his former choristers. This is evinced by the fact that, in April 1665, Cooke appeared to be concerned at the education Pepys had been providing, complaining that 'Tom's having no time to mind his singing nor lute.'[94] Cooke's particular interest in the continued development of Edwards' career was probably enhanced by the fact that he continued to operate in the same immediate circle as Pepys, and was therefore able to keep a more active eye on him. However, there is no reason to suspect that Cooke would not have been as invested in the development of any of the other boys formerly in his charge, or that they went on to positions dissimilar to that of Edwards; sadly, not all employers kept as fastidious a diary as Pepys.

Amongst Cooke's care of the boys, obscured within this information are the contents and methods of their musical education. Looking to Westminster Abbey as a parallel institution sadly bears little fruit in terms of the specific content of their tuition. The Children of the

[91] 17 August 1664: '…and so to Captain Cooke's, but he was not at home, but I there spoke with my boy Tom Edwards, and directed him to go to Mr. Townsend (with whom I was in the morning) to have measure taken of his clothes to be made him there out of the Wardrobe, which will be so done, and then I think he will come to me.' *Ibid.*, 245.
[92] *Pepys*, v, 255.
[93] *Ibid.*, v, 255.
[94] *Pepys*, vi, 77.

Abbey were probably educated alongside the Scholars of the Abbey foundation (which was the germ for what would later become the independent Westminster School in the mid-nineteenth century) but it is not clear whether the choristers would have followed the same classics-based curriculum.[95] Therefore, we must still question the exact methods by which Cooke and his predecessors taught the children of the chapel. More recently, Katherine Butler has convincingly suggested that catches and rounds may have been a key component of chorister tuition, which represents a new avenue of inquiry in order to ascertain how these boys may have been taught.[96]

Compositional legacy

It is often claimed that Cooke lacked the compositional skills one might expect from a Chapel Royal composer, with his shortcomings being highlighted particularly by the successes of his pupils.[97] Evidence presented in chapter 3 will elaborate on Cooke's compositional process in greater detail, but these claims would appear to be largely unfounded. In stark contrast to what previous commentators have said, Cooke's grasp of polyphonic writing would appear to have been quite accomplished. Even in settings which, by their nature, required a simpler style—such as the Funeral Sentences (part 2, number 14)—Cooke's handling of the four-part writing remains accomplished, with the pacing, modulation, and the melodic relation to the harmony all demonstrating a degree of sophistication and imagination.

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[95] Conversation with Dr Tony Trowles, Head of the Abbey Collection and Librarian, Westminster Abbey.
[96] Katherine Butler, 'Rounds, Canons, and the Education of Choristers in the Chapel Royal and Cathedrals', *Music & Majesty: Cathedrals, Chapels, and Colleges, c.1485–1688*, The Linnean Society, 1–2 July 2024. See also Butler, 'From Liturgy and the Education of Choirboys to Protestant Domestic Music-Making: The History of the 'Hamond' Partbooks (GB-Lbl: Add MSS 30480–4)', *RMA Research Chronicle* 50/1 (2019), 29–93, especially 23–5; and the forthcoming British Academy funded project, 'Sing You Now After Me: Catch-Singing and Community in Britain, c.1550–1650'.
[97] Burney, *General History of Music*, iii, 444 and Naumann (ed. Ouseley), *The History of Music*, i, 750. These two works seem to have set the tone for commentary on Cooke's compositional skill through to the various reassessments falling around Cooke's tricentenary. However, a pejorative image has persisted regardless, such as in Bruce Wood, 'The First Performance of Purcell's Funeral Music for Queen Mary' in Michael Burden, ed., *Performing the Music of Henry Purcell* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 74: 'Cooke, a composer of limited sensibilities' and 'Polyphony…was beyond Cooke'.

Looking to the contemporary reception of Cooke's music, it is clear that he was well regarded amongst his peers. A great deal of the primary reception history we have for Cooke comes from Samuel Pepys, who frequented the Chapel Royal at Whitehall. Pepys often described Cooke's music as 'excellent' or 'brave' (the latter seems to have been meant in a positive light),[98] but Pepys' tendency to deal in the superlative does create a polarising bias that must be taken into consideration. However, this does not mean that Pepys' diaries are any less useful as primary evidence. Consider the account where he comments on Charles II's reaction to one of Cooke's anthems, to which he visibly tapped his foot in enjoyment – these comments show that the music was well received by the (arguably) most important authority, if not the most musically literate.

Cooke was clearly a trusted musician and composer and, as one of the senior members of the Royal Music, was tasked with writing for some of the largest events of his day – none more so than the coronation in 1662, for which he wrote at least four pieces, of which only *Behold, O God our defender* is extant.[99] Additionally, Cooke wrote a grand processional hymn for the installation of the Knights of the Garter at St George's Chapel, Windsor on St George's Day 1661. Although the music has been lost, the text survives in full revealing a mammoth 175 lines.[100] The description of the occasion, alongside the realisation of the scope of the text, creates quite a vivid image of the procession:

> This Hymn was composed and set with Verse and Chorus, by Captain Cook Master of the Children of the Soveraign's Chappel; by whose direction some Instrumental loud Musick was at that time introduced, namely two double sack- bots, and two double Courtals;

[98] '…a most excellent Anthem (with Symphony's between) sung by Captain Cooke.' 7 September 1662, *Pepys*, iii, 190; 'After sermon a brave Anthem of Captain Cookes, which he himself sung, and the King was well pleased with it.' 12 August 1660, *Pepys*, i, 220. 'Brave', in this sense would seem to be a general epithet of admiration or praise, see 'Brave, Adj., N., & Int.', *Oxford English Dictionary*.

[99] The other pieces known to have been written by Cooke are a setting of the Nicene Creed, Gloria, *Let my prayer come up*, and *O hearken unto the voice of my calling*. See, Matthias Range, *Music and Ceremonial at British Coronations from James I to Elizabeth II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 282–3.

[100] Elias Ashmole, *The Institution, Laws and Ceremonies of the most Noble Order of the Garter* (London, 1672), 566–70.

> and placed at convenient distance, among the Clasles of the Gentlemen of both choires, to the end, that all might distinctly hear, and consequently keep together, in both time and tune. For one Sack- bot and Courtal was placed before the four Petty Canons, who begun the Hymn, and the other two, immediately before the Prebends of the Colledge.[101]

It has been suggested by Matthias Range that *The King Shall Rejoice* could be identified as the 'impressive verse anthem'[102] composed for this occasion, rather than for Charles II's coronation in 1661.[103] This is incorrect, and would appear to be the result of misreadings persisting through scholarship.[104] Dennison quotes the text as seen in Ashmole's account, but seemingly misinterprets 'verse and chorus' to mean a verse anthem. Consultation of the text of the hymn some few pages earlier (a complete transcription of which can be found in the appendices) would seem to indicate that it was far more metrically uniform than might be suggested by the kind of verse anthem we would expect from Cooke. In actuality, I would suppose the verses to have be sung in chant by the four petty canons, and the choruses in some form of accompanied psalmody, with all the instruments and both the choirs of St George's and the Chapel Royal.

Despite the fact that goodly portions of Cooke's oeuvre have been lost, his compositional legacy is undoubtedly borne by his pioneering of the Restoration symphony anthem with strings – a genre he spearheaded, building on the stylistic developments of the earlier Caroline chapel royal.[105] It should not be disregarded that the music written by previous generations enjoyed a swansong in the early years of the Restoration. In addition to the logistical issue of

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[101] Ashmole, 576.
[102] Dennison, rev. Bruce Wood. 'Cooke, Henry'.
[103] Range, *Music and Ceremonial*, 53.
[104] In the case of Range's hypothesis, it would appear that the original source was not consulted. There is no evidence within Ashmole's account, or any other sources, to suggest that Cooke wrote more than one piece for the occasion.
[105] Jonathan Wainwright demonstrates new continuities between the Restoration symphony anthems, and pre-Civil War practice within the chapel. 'Precedents for the Symphony Anthem: British Library Additional Manuscript 31434 and the Court of Charles I' in *British Music, Musicians and Institutions c.1630–1800*, ed. Peter Lynan & Julian Rushton (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2021), 199–221.

new music taking time to compose, the older members of the restored chapel were aware of the vital continuity provided by the pre-civil war repertoire in an effort to potentially plaster over the events of the past two decades. *Christ rising again* provides a strong example of this attempt to capture the continuity of the past, where Cooke paid direct homage to Byrd's setting of the same text. Byrd's setting famously features a treble verse duet which, whilst not evident in the other English settings (John Amner, John Sheppard, Thomas Tallis, Thomas Tomkins, and Christopher Tye), is imitated by Cooke, and actually expanded with the addition of a bass soloist in the latter verses which, no doubt, he intended to sing himself.

That these earlier pieces allowed for a transitional period in the chapel is without doubt, as the introduction of the symphony anthem with strings did not occur until the end of 1662.[106]

Whilst the use of the older repertoire supported the narrative of social unity so desired by the establishment at the time, the composition of the new anthem repertoire for the chapel would prove to be something of a political art in itself.[107] Cooke had a degree of agency in setting the repertoire,[108] and we might suspect that this also meant that, within reason, the texts he decided to set and manner in which he did so were of his own choosing.

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[106] The dates of this are contended by our two primary sources, *Pepys* and *Evelyn*. The former makes particular note on 14 September 1662: 'Thence to White-hall chapel, where sermon almost done and I heard Captain Cookes new Musique; this the first day of having Vialls and other Instruments to play a Symphony between every verse of the Anthem; but the Musique more full then it was the last Sunday, and very fine it is.' (*Pepys*, iii, 197). He had attended the previous Sunday (7 September) and commented on 'a most excellent Anthem (with Symphony's between) sung by Captain Cooke' (*Pepys*, iii, 190), but this was probably accompanied by the wind instruments – a common occurance in the early years of the Restoration, and indeed before the Civil War too, see Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 395–7. Evelyn was seemingly quite late to the party when it came to the symphony anthem with strings, stating the 'first time of change' introducing 'a Consort of 24 Violins between every pause' on 21 December 1662 (*Evelyn*, iii, 347–8); there is no doubt that he was mistaken in the date.

[107] Discussed length in Bryan White, 'Anthems and Politics in the Restoration Chapel Royal', *Music & Letters* 102/3 (2021), 442–81.

[108] December 1633: 'The service shalbe appointed by ye Deane or SubDeane or his substitute, with advice of the Master of the Children, for such Anthems as are to be pformed by ye Children of ye Chappell.' *CBCR*, i, 123–6.

The novel nature of the symphony anthems which Cooke developed, homage aside, may account, in part, for Pepys' enthusiasm towards the music. The physical layout of the musicians in the chapel at Whitehall would have created a rich sonic experience. Holman suggests that whilst the singers would have performed from the gallery/organ loft, the strings played from the music room[109] – which during this period was a larger room which opened onto one of the galleries and could be separated by pulling a curtain across the aperture.[110] The ability to physically separate singers beyond the typical *cantoris and decani* (or *decani* and *sub-decani*, in the case of the chapel) is something of which Cooke clearly took advantage. *Thou, O God art praised in Sion* plays with the physical geography of the choir placing musicians 'above' and 'below' (figure 2), indicating that, at least in the case of this piece, some singers were placed on the ground floor of the chapel. This would fit more cogently with the practice of previous generations, where the choir of the Chapel would have sung from stalls on the ground level of the building.

The number of instrumental musicians who performed the symphony anthems remains somewhat veiled until 4 April 1667 when four musicians—Theophilius Fitz, William Clayton, Humphrey Madge, and John Mayer—were ordered to attend the chapel as directed by Cooke.[111] Before this point it would appear that Humphrey Madge was joined by Williams Yockney and Gregory[112] to form a trio of strings: two violins (Madge and Yockney) and a bass viol (Gregory). Holman notes that the majority of Cooke's symphony anthems were written for three parts, fitting these forces, and also presumably dating then to pre-April 1667. The exceptions here are the two anthems found in DRc MS B1, *Put me to rebuke* and

[109] Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 399.
[110] 21 March 1671: 'Three crimson damask curtains for the music room, the room having been enlarged', Lna LC 5/63, 238; *RECM*, i, 104.
[111] Lna LC 5/138, 369; *RECM*, i, 76.
[112] Yockney's tenure as a violinist is evinced, ironically, by his suspension on 22 March 1665: 'Warrant to suspend William Youckney as violinist, because he has neglected and refused to attend his Majesty's service in his Chapel Royal upon notice given to him by Henry Cooke.' Lna LC 5/186, f.57r; *RECM*, i, 61.

The Lord has searched us out, and *The Lord hear thee in the time of trouble*, which therefore may represent Cooke's later compositional output.

The Italianate verses (referencing *stile nuovo*, opposed to the comparative conservatism of pre-Civil War English sacred repertoire)[113] and the instrumental ritornelli—akin to the domestic music materials sold by the likes of John Playford during the Commonwealth—may have distracted in large part from the other shortcomings generated by the youth of the restored Chapel, shortcomings that would only become evident as the restored chapel began to flourish and the older members began to be superseded by the first generation of the English Restoration School.[114]

[113] Jonathan Wainwright, 'England, ii: 1603–1642', in James Haar, ed., *European Music, 1520–1640* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), 509.
[114] There is a broader discussion to be had here regarding how we compare the music of this period (and others) to our own modern theoretical frameworks. The lack of thematic unity, for one, is a large aspect of the criticism usually levelled at Cooke.



Figure 2 – Henry Cooke, *Thou, O God art praised in Sion* (Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham, Bu 5001, f.60v), showing directions for verse singers 'above' and 'below'.

Whilst this goes some way to explain Cooke's near immediate disappearance from the Chapel's repertory post-1672, other aspects of what one may describe as active erasure are less easy to explain. In the prefaces to his six manuscript volumes of church music written for Robert Harley (First Earl of Oxford and Mortimer), Thomas Tudway includes fairly detailed, albeit retrospective, accounts of his experience as a chorister in the early generation of the Restoration Chapel in which Cooke is not mentioned once.[115] Thus, it is difficult to

[115] Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, Appendix F.

conclude anything other than that the pre-eminence of the English Restoration School—itself a compliment to Cooke and his teaching—made most other music written immediately post-Restoration seem second-rate, even if we do consider Cooke as an accomplished composer in his own right. Therefore, we see a confluence of factors that all contributed to Cooke's music falling into obscurity: the speed at which his pupils produced competent and popular music for the Chapel; the seemingly unrefined state of the majority of his surviving work—which will be discussed in the following chapter—when compared to the output of the aforementioned pupils; and the lack of currency the symphony anthem had outside the Chapel;[116] all of which leading to Cooke's music being omitted from various printing ventures in the latter portions of the seventeenth century. Combined, these factors would have meant that the fire at Whitehall Palace in 1698 represented the loss of most of Cooke's repertoire.

Despite this, it is clear that the model Cooke developed—evident in both his autograph material in Bu 5001 and DRc MS B1—was taught to and adopted by all his pupils, even if the advent of this new genre was primarily precipitated by royal preference. It is clear that Humfrey and the elder boys in Cooke's care were encouraged by Charles II to compose music, with Thomas Tudway recalling that:[117]

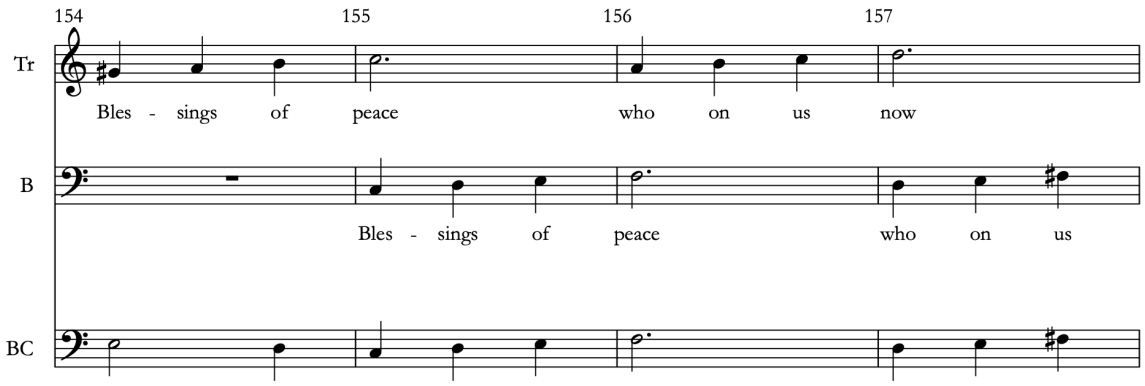
> In about 4 or 5 years time [from the Restoration], some of the forwardest, & brightest Children of the Chappell, as Mr Humfreys, Mr Blow, &c began to be Masters of a faculty in Composing; This, his Majesty greatly encourag'd, by indulging their youthfull fancys, so that ev'ry Month at least, & afterwards otf'ner, they produc'd something New, of this Kind:

[116] Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 97; White, 'Anthems and Politics', 443.
[117] Thomas Tudway, Preface to *Services and Anthems*. Lbl Harley MS 7338; transcribed in Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, Appendix F, 437.

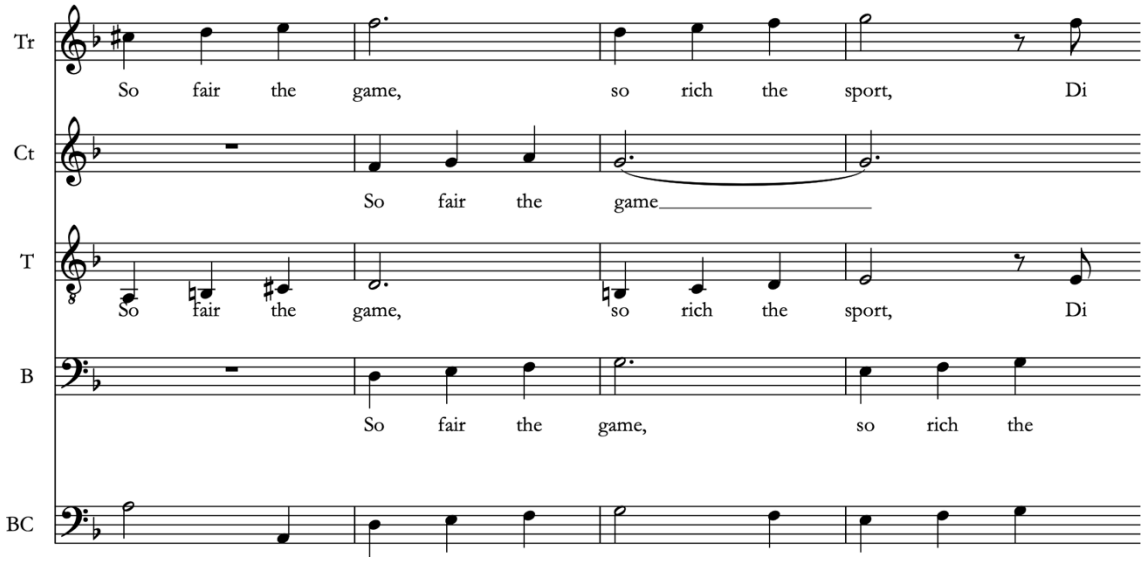
But we should have few doubts that it was Cooke who provided these boys with the compositional tools and expertise they required to be able to indulge Charles in the manner he wanted.

Thus, we can see that Cooke was, at least in part, directly responsible for the delivery of the technical musical tuition of his choristers. Indeed, one passage in the song 'Thanks to these lonesome vales' in Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas* echoes a passage in Cooke's symphony anthem *Come let us pray and God will hear* (examples 1 and 2). Both utilise a stepwise ascending figure of four notes, with the same rhythm, proceeding in an ascending sequence, accompanied by the same figure in canon. Whilst it must be acknowledged that this kind of melodic idea may have been realised and elaborated in similar ways by composers with no connection to one another it may suggest, at the very least, that Purcell and his contemporaries were more familiar with the repertoire of his master than has been previously considered. Here, one finds an example signalling the potentially fruitful nature of further thorough comparison between Cooke's and Purcell's music, as well as an assessment of the compositional influences passed from the former. Of the other musicians in the chapel who may have contributed in some manner for the tuition of the choristers, the organists—William Child, Christopher Gibbons, and Edward Lowe—may have had some degree of responsibility. However, at least in the case of Lowe his myriad commitments in Oxford right up to his death in 1682 would have resulted in a marked lack of exposure to the children of the chapel.[118]

[118] Samuel Teague, 'A Seventeenth-Century Whodunnit: Reassessing the Ascription of *Sleep, downy sleep*', Conference Address, *Music, Creativity, and Culture in England, 1642–88: Marking the 350th Anniversary of the Death of Captain Henry Cooke*, 21 May 2022.



Example 1 – Henry Cooke, *Come let us pray and God will hear* (bb.154–7) sharing stark similarities with Purcell's later composition, seen in example 2.



Example 2 – Henry Purcell, segment from 'Thanks to these lonesome vales' from *Dido and Aeneas*.

Turning back to Cooke's Funeral Sentences, a brief study of the some of the aspects these pieces in comparison to other near-contemporary settings may serve to demonstrate a few of the key aspects of Cooke's ability to evoke the music of previous generations, to utilise rhetorical devices—word painting repetition, and deliberately awkward intervals—as well as to instil textural interest within his compositions. Cooke's sentences have often been considered amongst the finest surviving examples of his surviving repertoire by contemporary scholars,[119] and that he did not set all seven of the sentences is not

[119] 'by far his best surviving work', Robert Manning, 'Purcell's Anthems: An Analytical Study of the Music and its Context', PhD Dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1979, i, 25; 'unaffected yet eloquent', Spink,

unprecedented. The interior sentences—*Man that is born of a woman*, *In the midst of life*, and *Thou knowest Lord*—were to be sung during the interment of the body, which for larger state services would not have been necessary.[120] There have been two suggestions as to funerals for which Cooke's sentences may have been composed: Henry, Duke of Gloucester in September 1660;[121] and the Duke of Albemarle in 1670.[122] The former argument has been sensibly dismissed by Range, as Cooke's setting follows the 1662 text, and thus could not have been written for a service some two years prior.[123] Whilst the nature of Albemarle's State Funeral (the interment of the body being absent) would explain the lack of interior sentences, there is no documentary evidence to suggest that Cooke had any involvement in the event. Indeed, Range concedes that the setting could simply have been something of a file copy.[124] If this were to be the case, I would contest the c.1670 composition date and place it earlier, such that composition was broadly coeval with the publication of the new prayer book in 1662. It was suggested by Bruce Wood that Henry Purcell's first workings of his interior Funeral Sentences—to be involved in the discussion below—may have been composed to complete Cooke's setting for the occasion of his own burial in 1672, or perhaps for Pelham Humfrey in 1674.[125]

Certainly, one can find departures from good contrapuntal practice in Cooke's writing, in so far as they had been established over preceding centuries, such as the very first movement

Restoration Cathedral Music, 109; and later, 'eloquent it is indeed', Matthias Range, *British Royal and State Funerals: Music and Ceremonial since Elizabeth I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 70.

120 Indeed, settings of the sentences by Thomas Tomkins and John Foster only set the exterior sentences. See Wood, 'The First Performance of Purcell's Funeral Music', 73; and Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 69.

121 First suggested in Cheverton, 'The Anthems of Captain Henry Cooke', i, 105; and later Cheverton, 'Captain Henry Cooke (c.1616–72): The Beginnings of a Reappraisal', *Soundings* 9 (1982), 81, fn.15.

122 Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 69.

123 *Ibid.*

124 *Ibid.*, 70.

125 For Purcell's earliest casting of the funeral sentences, only the fifth and sixth sentences (*In the midst of life* and *Thou knowest Lord*) survive. However, Wood suggested that it would have been probable that a setting of the fourth sentence (*Man that is born of a woman*) would have been written at the same time. Wood, 'The First Performance of Purcell's Funeral Music', 73–6.

between the tenor and bass in *I am the resurrection* (part 2, no. 14a), which creates parallel octaves. However, any major infelicitous effect of this is weakened by the fact that the organ would probably have accompanied this movement and should not serve to undermine the otherwise competent and eloquent settings he composed.[126]

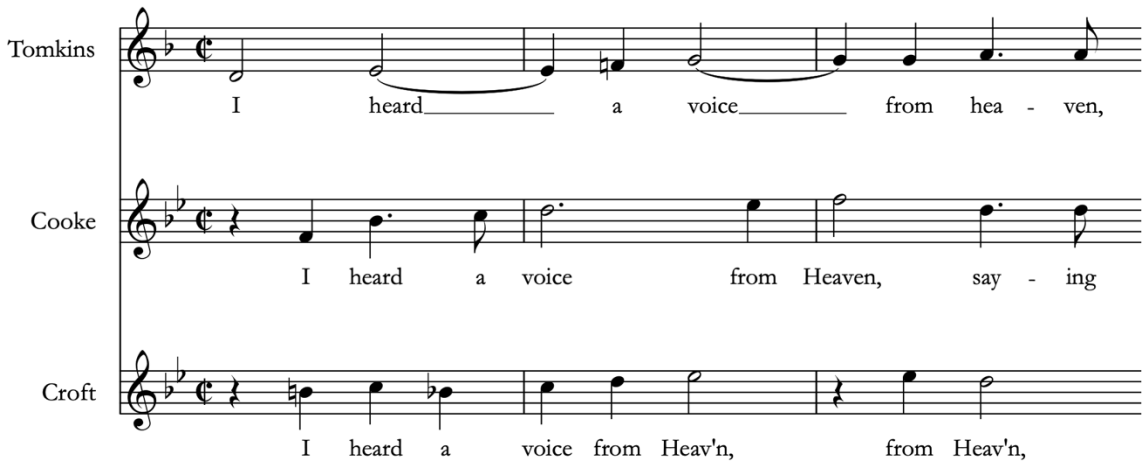
The final sentence, *I heard a voice from heaven*, has minimal text repetition across 19 bars of music. This sentence seems to have been written at a different point to the three which precede it—which seem to be contemporaneous in their commitment to page—as there is a noticeable change to the nib between them. Whilst the nib was changed/recut between the writing of the two segments of the sentences, it is clear that the hand still belongs to Cooke; the way in which the noteheads and stems are formed remain identical, as do the letterforms for the underlay (particularly recognisable through his writing of 'blessed'). Additionally, it is the only sentence to include an obviously separately written continuo line (f.76r only), but this is perhaps due to the fact the accompaniment begins before the vocal entry, unlike the other three sentences, which all begin on the first beat of the bar. This two-step compositional process is not surprising, as the first three sentences (*I am the resurrection*, *I know that my redeemer liveth*, and *We brought nothing into the world*) are to be sung in succession, with *I heard a voice* sung sometime later following the interment, after the choir would have moved from the church to the graveside, and then back indoors.[127]

In order to ascertain some aspects of comparative merit to Cooke's setting of the Funeral Sentences, one may turn to another post-1662 example: William Croft. This setting of the burial service published in *Musica Sacra* (1724) and was possibly written for the funeral of

[126] It should also be noted that poor part writing in this period is not limited to Cooke. The same complaints could be levelled against many of his contemporaries, and highlights that modern preconception on voice-leading, etc. perhaps has limited utility when judging the quality of such compositions.
[127] This movement of the choir would not have taken place in a State Funeral where there was no interment of the body.

Queen Anne or the Duke of Marlborough. He famously opted not the set the sixth sentence, *Thou knowest Lord*, as he believed that Purcell's later setting of the text (for the funeral of Queen Mary in 1695) could not be surpassed.[128] Crucially, in comparison to the earlier settings of the text and despite being composed some 60-years apart, both Cooke and Croft's sentences adopt a largely homophonic texture. Purcell's settings of the interior sentences are also useful for the purposes of comparison and will be discussed in due course.

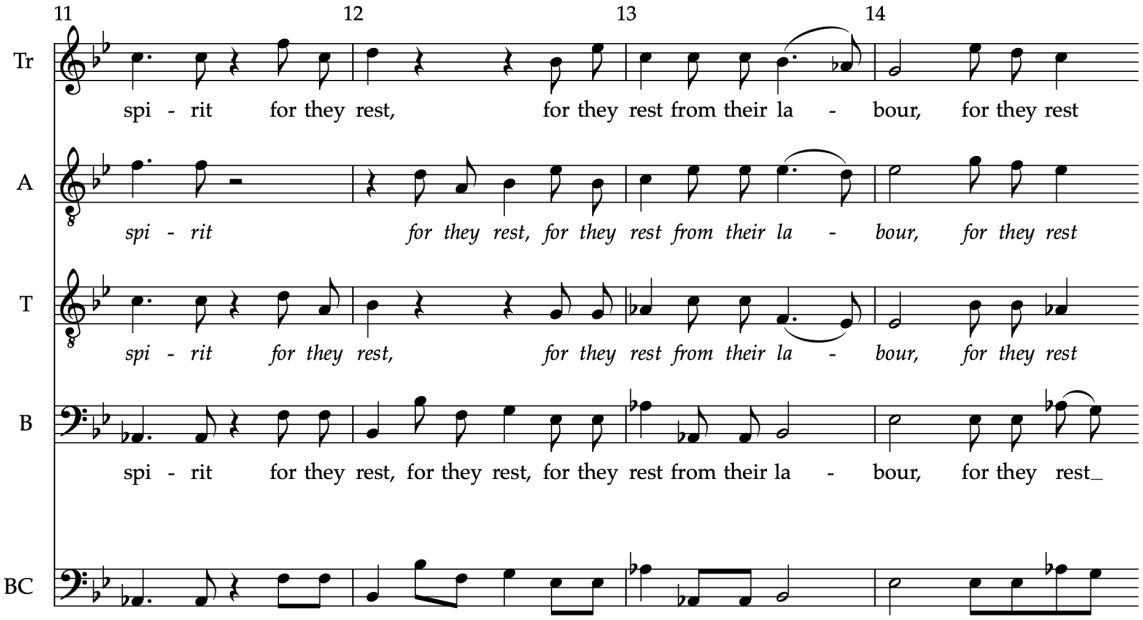
Looking to *I heard a voice from heaven*, we can see Cooke imitating the music of past generations (as was identified above with his setting of *Christ rising again*, where he imitated Byrd's forces), setting the treble line for the opening as an ascending line onto 'heaven', as can be seen in the setting of the earlier text by Thomas Tomkins, and then once again in Croft (example 3). This was not a universal choice for the word setting, with Thomas Morley's setting descends by a semitone across this initial phrase.



Example 3 – Comparison between the opening phrase of *I heard a voice from heaven*, set by Thomas Tomkins, Henry Cooke, and William Croft.

[128] Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 183–4.

Range also identifies further instances of word-painting, such as the descending figure during the phrase 'blessed are the dead which die in the Lord' (bb.7–9),[129] which is at least partially imitated in Croft's setting, where is descends as far as 'dead'. Furthermore, Cooke's punctuating of 'for they rest' with rests would appear to have been another active compositional choice for the purposes of rhetorical emphasis.[130] Whilst this is not directly imitated by Croft, there is an interesting—if not haphazard—use of rests across the text 'unto me, write, from henceforth'. The rests are placed in the locations of the commas, but the musical effect is perhaps more disjunct than would be desired. In contrast, Cooke's cascading sequence of 'for they rest' is both textually impactful and serves as a way of quickly moving the harmony from F minor to E♭ major (example 4).



Example 4 – Henry Cooke, *I heard a voice from heaven* (bb.11–14).

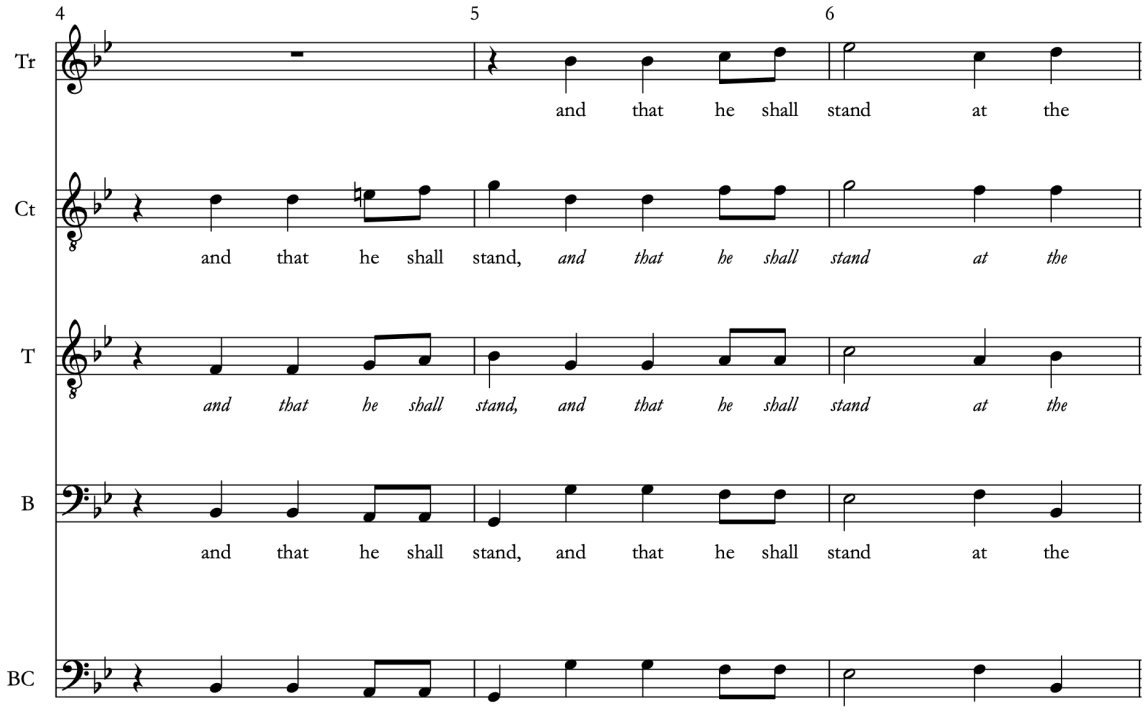
[129] Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 70.
[130] Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 70.

Whilst examples of word-painting alone are not sufficient to suggest that Cooke's aptitude as a composer was anything more than basic, his use of rhetorical repetition for emphasis serves to make a better case. One can draw comparisons with the homophonic setting of Henry Purcell's *Thou knowest, Lord* (see part 2, appendix C for a transcription of this sentence) where the repetition of text is employed in great frequency. Here, Purcell employs the full four-voice texture in all the repetitions of text: 'shut not' bb.4–5, 'spare us Lord' bb.8–10, 'O God' bb.11–12, 'suffer us not' bb.18–20, 'for any pains' (in counterpoint) bb.21–4, and 'to fall' bb.24–5. Thus, whilst Purcell employed the four-voice texture throughout, we see that Cooke used a straightforward alternate device in order to engender intensification whilst employing rhetorical repetition: to cut to three voices, and then increase back to four (examples 5 and 6).

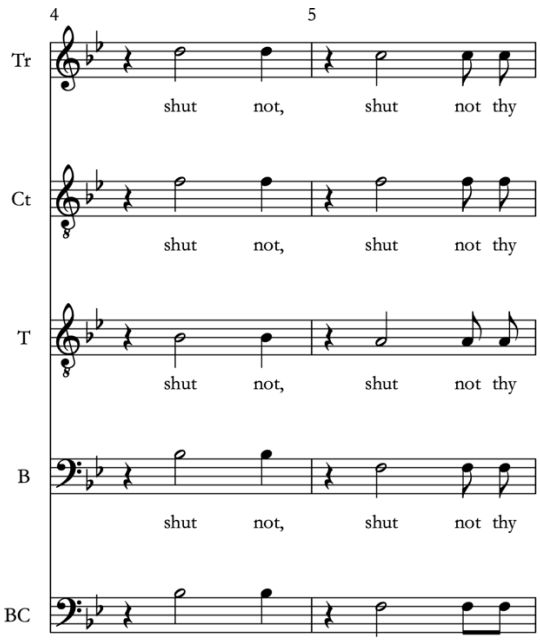
For *I am the resurrection* (example 5), Cooke employs a descending sequence between the first and second iterations of the repeated text. It is perhaps striking that Cooke has been able to continue the three voices (treble, contra-tenor, and bass) all in a descending sequence, albeit with the contra-tenor having a different figure to create accented passing dissonance with the bass. The rhythmic diminution of the final word of the repetition is in much a similar manner to Purcell's repetitions in *Thou knowest, Lord* on 'shut not', 'O God', and 'suffer us not' (examples 7–9). Whilst this example of Cooke's writing displays dissonant writing, it is dissonance which accompanies an understandable musical purpose and is handled well. It does not suggest the discomfort in four-part writing that commentators have previously laid at Cooke's feet.



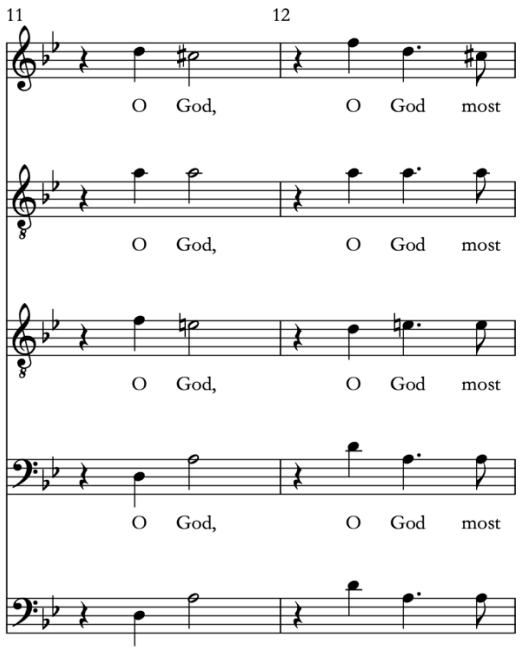
Example 5 – Henry Cooke, *I am the resurrection* (bb.6–10).



Example 6 – Henry Cooke, *I know that my redeemer liveth* (bb.4–6).



Example 7 – Henry Purcell, *Thou knowest, Lord* (bb.4–5).



Example 8 – Henry Purcell, *Thou knowest, Lord* (bb.11–12).



Example 9 – Henry Purcell, *Thou knowest, Lord* (bb.18–20).

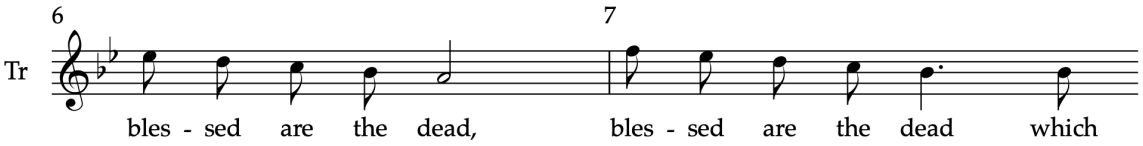
The use of this kind of rhetorical repetition for the purposes of the emphasising the text, along with the examples of more basic word painting seen above, even within such a simple homophonic setting. This begins to demonstrate Cooke's ability to write in four parts sensitively and successfully, demolishing any claims to the contrary.

Examples in Cooke's sentences on what Continental musical rhetoricians might have described as deliberately awkward intervals for the purposes of affect furthers the argument that he was a capable composer. Example 5, *I am the resurrection*, ends the first iteration of the repeated text with a falling diminished fourth, and the second (including the ending of the phrase 'though he were dead') with a falling diminished fifth. These figures can be seen throughout Purcell's repertoire, and in *Thou knowest, Lord* we see similarly deliberate awkward intervals of a falling diminished fourth on 'of death'. In his other early funeral sentence, *In the midst of life*, the very first phrase ends with a descending diminished fifth on 'in death', which is then repeated by the contra-tenor a third lower. Furthermore, the movement of the contra-tenor voice on 'of misery' in *Man that is born of a woman* falls a diminished seventh.[131] That these rhetorical musical devices persisted into the music of Purcell demonstrates that Cooke was employing, and was presumably teaching to his pupils, established and effective compositional techniques beyond simple counterpoint. Thus, inviting further reconsideration of Cooke's compositional ability.

In terms of textural interest within Cooke's writing we might compare the overall movement of the parts between his setting of *I heard a voice from heaven*, and that of William Croft. With the exception of the polyphonic 'Amen' in Croft's setting (text which Cooke omitted entirely), the later setting is far more reserved. Croft elected for an entirely homophonic setting of the sentence, with the exception of one early contra-tenor on 'saith'. Cooke's setting, whilst still largely homophonic, makes use of the staggered and cascading entries seen above in figure 6, which breaks up the homophony of the short work. Where Cooke decides to repeat text, this is done for emphasis, as seen with the rising sequence of the repetition of 'blessed are the dead' (example 10) and the entire final phrase 'for they rest from their labour'

[131] This rhetorical device is also common in Matthew Locke's composition, such as the first expression of 'sit solitary' in the anthem, *How doth the city sity solitary*, which falls a diminished 5th.

(example 11), for which the repetition is rhythmically augmented, evoking the feeling of rest proclaimed by the text, as well as the finality of the funeral service as a whole.



Example 10 – Henry Cooke, *I heard a voice from heaven* (bb.6–7).



Example 11 – Henry Cooke, *I heard a voice from heaven* (bb.14–19).

This short exploration demonstrates Cooke's eloquent and considered approach to composition and should invite continued reappraisal of his musical ability. Additionally, what would appear to be conscious efforts to emulate the work of his predecessors through the examples of Byrd and Tomkins demonstrate that he was well-versed in the older repertoire of the Chapel and was suitably compositionally skilled to pay homage to these in his own work.

Conclusions

This chapter has demonstrated the makeup of the chapel royal under Cooke's direction and facilitated a deeper understanding of the advent of the English Restoration School. The exploration of Cooke's journeys around the country to press choristers has facilitated the most detailed look to date at the chorister personnel in the Restoration Chapel, as well as having unveiled previously unknown information, such as the probable origins of Thomas Price and George Flexney. This raises questions as to the potential for discovering like information about choristers in the chapel from other cathedral and collegiate institutions, as well as broader questions concerning the potential training of choristers during the years of the Commonwealth. Additionally, by studying the probable routes by which someone would have travelled in the late-seventeenth century, it may well be possible to further ascertain the places of origin of more musicians about which little is currently known.

Cooke's specific duties within the role as Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal remain somewhat shrouded. However, the evidence presented above demonstrates the continuity between codified statutes of the Chapel both predating and following his tenure and allows us to speculate that his duties would have been much the same. It has been hypothesised that Cooke's large degree of property ownership, as discussed in chapter 1, may provide answers as to where the children of the English Restoration School lived during their time in the Chapel, and may further indicate the degree to which Cooke's role was pastoral, as well as pedagogical.

Cooke's compositional legacy, much disparaged by commentators since his death, has begun to be reassessed, and represents an important stage in English music which has wrongly fallen into ignominy. The context in which his symphony anthems were composed similarly represents important developments in the standard instrumental forces one might expect to

find in the chapel and was something which Cooke's pupils continued to develop after his death. The potential implications for polemical messaging through the choice and setting of anthem texts, perhaps towards the furtherance of a 'Restoration narrative', have been identified and represent a ripe area for future scholarship.[132]

His ability to eloquently set text, demonstrated through a brief examination of his Funeral Sentences, demonstrates that the various labels of inadequacy are unwarranted, and that there are at least echoes of his compositions in the output of his pupils suggests that he was actively involved in the tuition of the choristers. The thread of Cooke's compositional legacy will be explored further in the chapter which follows, where the single largest corpus of his surviving repertoire—Birmingham University, MS 5001—will be studied in depth.

[132] Estelle Murphy has written on the metrical setting of Cooke's ode texts for a forthcoming publication on the English ode tradition. I am grateful to her for providing a copy of the work-in-progress chapter to consult whilst undertaking this work. Additionally, Cheverton began a preliminary discussion on the texts of Cooke's anthems in his MA thesis—'The Anthems of Captain Henry Cooke', i, 87–155—but it stops short of addressing polemical messaging within the selection and use of anthem text.

Chapter 3 – Scribal and Compositional Practice in the Early Restoration Chapel

Amongst a wider study of the manuscripts in which Cooke's repertoire survives, this chapter primarily assesses the largest corpus of Cooke's work, comprising anthems and odes, which survive in the guardbook Birmingham University, Barber Institute of Fine Arts MS 5001 (Bu 5001). The status the of manuscript—which contains autograph material from several Restoration-era composers—has been the topic of scholarly discussion since it was acquired by Barber Institute in 1949, but the inevitable focus on those pieces by Henry Purcell has, I will argue, influenced the perception of Cooke's contributions. In particular, the status of much of Cooke's content within Bu 5001 as 'fowle originall',[1] rough and often incomplete master copies intended to serve as exemplars for the copying of vocal music, will be challenged through an assessment of Cooke's scribal and compositional habits evident within the manuscript. It is intended that the consideration of the autograph content within the source, and comparisons to the autograph materials of Purcell, will then precipitate a shift in the accepted role and utility of the surviving repertoire. Finally, the various links many of the manuscript sources have with Oxford will be explored in order to consider the implications this may have had for the performance of Cooke's repertoire, as well as laying the foundations for much of the discussion to follow in chapter 4.

Title	MS Source	pp./ff. (r and v given where foliated)
Behold, O God, our defender	Bu 5001	66r–69r
Christ rising again from the dead	Bu 5001	70v–72v
Come, let us pray and God will hear	Bu 5001	91r–96v
O give thanks unto the Lord	Bu 5001	52r–59r
O Lord, thou has searched me out	DRc MS B1	70–74 (rev)
Put me not to rebuke	DRc MS B1	64–69 (rev)
The King shall rejoice	Bu 5001	80r–84v
The Lord hear thee	Bu 5001	85r–90r
Thou, O God art praised in Sion	Bu 5001	60r–63r
Turn thou us, O good Lord	Ob Mus. Sch. D. 217; Och Mus 12, 14, 22, 598, 1246	7–9, 139r–140r, 66–8, 36r–35r, 158–9
We have sinned	Bu 5001	77r-79v

Table 1 – Henry Cooke, surviving anthems.

[1] The first instance of Cooke's anthems being described as such can be found in Dearnley, *English Church Music*, 186.

Title	MS Source	ff.
Come we shepherds	Bu 5001	6r–10r
Good morrow to the year	Bu 5001	15r–20v
Rise thou best and brightest morning	Bu 5001	11r–14r

Table 2 - Henry Cooke, surviving court odes.

Surviving pieces

The anthems and court odes comprise the majority of Henry Cooke's surviving repertoire (table 1 and 2), representing eleven, and three works of a total of twenty-five, respectively. To the largest degree, this corpus itself is only preserved due to the survival of Bu 5001, guardbook of autograph pieces from the early years of the Restoration Chapel, which preserves eight of the surviving eleven anthems, and all three of the court odes. The three other surviving anthems are contained within Richard Hosier's manuscript, DRc MS B1 (*O Lord, thou has searched me out* and *Put me not to rebuke*), and several Oxford-based manuscripts—in the Bodleian Library (1) and Christ Church (5)—which preserve *Turn thou us, O good Lord*.

In addition to those anthems for which music is extant, two sources—Lbl Harley MS 6346, a Chapel Royal word book, and James Clifford, *The Divine Services and Anthems Usually Sung in His Majesties Chappell* (2nd edn; London: W.G., 1664)—preserve the texts for a further nineteen anthems.[2] The texts contained within both items date from the early years of the Restoration – in the case of *The Divine Services*, all the anthems for which the texts are provided must have been composed prior to 1664, and it is supposed that those anthems in Lbl Harley MS 6346 are roughly coeval due to the inclusion of the coronation anthem, *Behold, O God, our defender*.[3] This is evinced by the fact that the Harley MS is an amended copy of what was

[2] Manning, 'The Anthems of Henry Cooke', 27; Robert Thompson, 'George Jeffreys and the "Stile Nuovo" in English Sacred Music: A New Date for His Autograph Score British Library Add. MS 10338', *Music & Letters* 70/3 (1989), 318.

[3] That Cooke's anthems were not included in the first edition of Clifford's *Divine Services* (1663) does not preclude a composition date earlier than 1663. The first edition relies heavily on pre-Civil War repertoire, and very few of the musicians featured in the print were still alive by the time of publication. Of the pieces included, Henry Lawes setting of *Zadok the Priest* is one of the few which can be positively identified as a post-Restoration work. As this coronation anthem is directly coeval with Cooke's own, *Behold, O God our defender*, this proves that a number of Cooke's compositions (perhaps those extant in Harley 6346) could well have been written prior to the 1663 publication of the first edition of Clifford's work.

a presumably larger set of word books from c.1635, an original copy of which survives in Ob MS Rawl. poet 23, which presents an original copy of the word book without the addition of Cooke's anthems. It is probable that Cooke's anthems were hastily inserted into these pre-existing word books in the earliest years of the Restoration to lessen the need for newly created resources, and due to the necessary reliance on earlier Chapel Royal repertoire whilst the restored institution was reestablishing itself.

Thomas Tudway's account (see chapter 2) would indicate that Cooke's anthems would usually have been employed only once a week, on Sundays during the Eucharist, after the sermon.[4] This may have resulted in the aforementioned pre-Civil Wars Chapel Royal repertoire being heavily used for the other services, especially during the early days of the Restoration, and explains why Cooke's anthems added to Lbl Harley MS 6346 are not included in Ob Rawl. Poet 23. The degree to which part-music was utilised during the weekday liturgy of the Chapel Royal remains unclear, as documentation and eyewitness accounts mentioning music at non-Sunday services are scarce. Indeed, all Pepys' explicit mentions of Cooke and his Chapel music are made on (or in reference to events that took place on) Sundays, see Chapter 2. On Wednesday, 15 April 1668 Pepys makes mention to 'expecting wind musick'[5] at Chapel (presumably Whitehall), but this is a lone example amongst his writings. Weekday services would have been attended mainly by members of the household, with the King only attending public chapel services on Sundays and other Feast days for most of the year, swelling to include Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent when additional services with sermons were delivered.[6] These sermon days were days on which all the Gentlemen in the Ordinary were expected to attend, with the weekdays being operate in

[4] Lionel Pike states that [symphony anthems] 'were not part of the daily repertoire of the institution': Henry Purcell, *Sacred Music II: Nine Anthems with Strings*, ed. Lionel Pike (London: Novello, 2004), ix.
[5] *Pepys*, ix, 163.
[6] There exists a 1675 bill stating that two anthems should be sung on weekdays in Lent, one after the Litany, and the other after the Sermon: *CBCR*, ii, 284.

a monthly rota: 'month of waiting'.[7] Thus, even without eyewitness accounts of these household services, it would seem probable that the weekday services were pared-down, but still featured a degree of part-music to be sung by those gentlemen who were on duty. At the very least, sung psalmody was part of the service,[8] and it would be possible to perform many of the pre-Civil War anthems evident in the Chapel Royal word books with a reduced number of forces, perhaps even one to a part, especially considering at any time two of the three organists were expected to attend (one to play, the other to 'beare a parte in the Psalmodie'),[9] thus meaning that all musical activities could be accompanied, even on a weekday.

No.	Anthem	Clifford	Harley	Bu 5001
1	Behold, O God, our defender	X	X	X
2	Blessed is he that considereth the poor	X		
3	Christ rising again	X	X	X
4	Darkness, a rest, the Sun withdrew his light	X		
5	Down fell the glorious mystic flame		X	
6	Hear my cry, O God	X	X	
7	Hears't thou my soul	X	X	
8	I will alway give thanks	X	X	
9	Let my prayers be set forth	X	X	
10	Look up languishing soul	X	XX	
11	My God why has thou forsaken me		X	
12	My ravisht soul	X	X	
13	My song shall be alway	X	X	
14	O clap your hands	X	X	
15	O Lord my God	X		
16	O sing unto the Lord	X	X	
17	Praise the Lord	X		
18	Sing and rejoice in the Lord	X	X	
19	The King shall rejoice	X		X
20	The Lord is my shepherd	X	X	
21	The twelve Apostles in a ring	X	X	
22	Unto thee, O Lord	X	X	

Table 3 – Anthem Texts Extant in *The Divine Services* (1664) and Lbl Harley MS 6346. Unique texts shaded.

Of the nineteen anthems for which texts survive, seven are unique to a single source: four in *The Divine Services*, and three in Harley MS 6346 (see table 3). Curiously, the two repositories would appear to have been compiled entirely separately, displaying no patterns of collation in the contents they share. Paired with the small degree of overlap with the extant musical

[7] *CBCR*, i, 124.
[8] *Ibid.*, i, 125.
[9] *Ibid.*

sources, this indicates that the repertoire Cooke composed for the Chapel may have been far larger than what survives in either musical or textual sources.

The Great Cooke Autograph: Bu 5001

It has been previously hypothesised that the contents of Bu 5001 were initially unbound materials saved from the devastating fire that destroyed much of Whitehall Palace in 1698.[10] The title of Shaw's 1959 article—for the purposes of informing the academic community of the manuscript's existence—immediately outlines a set of prospective dates for the manuscript as 1665–85. The manuscript itself was bought in auction by the Barber Institute a decade earlier than Shaw's article (1949) and was in poor enough condition to warrant rebinding in the vivid green leather covers it has sported since.

The earliest known owner of the manuscript was John Barker (fl.1720–55), evinced by the inscription on the back cover (now back flyleaf) dated 1731. Barker was a chorister trained in the Chapel Royal, albeit far later than Cooke's tenure as Master of the Children, before taking up the position of organist at Holy Trinity, Coventry on 20 October 1731. By this point he had the materials comprising Bu 5001 in his possession, having probably had them bound himself by that date (due to the aforementioned inscription).[11]

Iain Fenlon's catalogue of the music held by the Barber Institute represented the first attempt to reckon the contents of Bu 5001 beyond Shaw's paginated list in 1959.[12] This catalogue abides by the later system of foliation in the manuscript, that is slightly more reliable than the contemporary ink pagination and presents a more accurate listing of the contents. There

[10] This is first suggested in Watkins Shaw, 'A Collection of Musical Manuscripts in the Autograph of Henry Purcell and Other English Composers, c.1665–85', *The Library* 14 (1959), 129; and is accepted amongst academics as the most probable explanation of the manuscript's provenance.
[11] Robert Thompson, 'Sources and Transmission' in Rebecca Herissone (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Henry Purcell* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 13.
[12] Iain Fenlon, *Catalogue of the Printed Music and Music Manuscripts before 1801 in the Music Library of the University of Birmingham Barber Institute of Fine Arts* (London: Mansell, 1976), 113–14; Watkins Shaw, 'A Collection of Musical Manuscripts', 126–8.

are, however, a few errors in the identification of portions of Cooke's contributions to the manuscript, where the second parts of two symphony anthems, *Come let us pray and God will hear* and *The Lord hear thee in the time of trouble* (volume two, nos 17 and 22, respectively), are listed as separate entities. In both cases, these symphony anthems set texts from one biblical source (Psalms 122 and 20:1–8, respectively) and ultimatly eliminates two entries, *Hither the numerous tribes repair* and *We will rejoice in thy salvation*, from the original contents. In the case of the latter, the two portions of the anthem were inserted into the manuscript in the wrong order, which led to the error in the contents.[13]

Folios	Composer	Title
ff.6-10	Henry Cooke	Good morrow to the year
ff.11-14	Henry Cooke	Rise thou best and brightest morning
ff.15-20v	Henry Cooke	Come we shepherds
ff.21-31	John Blow	Dread Sir Father Janus Times great Overseer
ff.32-40v	John Blow	Rise, great Monarch
ff.41-51	John Blow	Great Sir, the Joy of all our hearts
ff.52-59	Henry Cooke	O give thanks unto the Lord
ff.60-63	Henry Cooke	Thou, O God art praised in Sion
ff.66-69	Henry Cooke	Behold O God our defender
ff.70-72v	Henry Cooke	Christ rising again from the dead
ff.74-76v	Henry Cooke	[Funeral Sentences]
ff.77-79v	Henry Cooke	We have sinned and have committed iniquity
ff.80-84v	Henry Cooke	The King shall rejoice
ff.85-88v	Henry Cooke	[2nd part] We will rejoice in thy salvation
ff.89-90	Henry Cooke	The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble
ff.91-93	Henry Cooke	Come let us pray and God will hear
ff.93v-96v	Henry Cooke	[2nd part] Hither the numerous tribes repair
ff.97-99v	Pelham Humfrey	Almighty God who made'st thy blessed Son
ff.100-109	John Blow	O sing unto the Lord a new song
ff.110-112v	John Blow	Lift up your heads o ye gates
ff.113-119v	John Blow	The Lord is King (A minor)
ff.120-127	John Blow	The Lord is King (G minor)
ff.128-133v	John Blow	Blessed is the man
ff.134-139	John Blow	I will hearken
ff.142-143	John Blow	Let thy hand be strengthen'd
ff.143v-145	John Blow	Behold O God, our defender
ff.145v-151v	Henry Purcell	The Lord is my light and my salvation
ff.154-159	Henry Purcell	I was glad
ff.162-167	Henry Purcell	My heart is fixed
ff.168-171v	William Turner	God standeth in the congregation
ff.172-174	Henry Purcell	Plung'd in the confines of despair
ff.176-177v	John Barker[?]	[String Music a 4, incomplete, 18th century]

Table 4 – Bu 5001 Contents.

Given the autograph nature of the contents, that Cooke's contributions date between 1660 and 1672 is beyond doubt. Two of Cooke's compositions within Bu 5001 can be confidently dated: the first, *Behold, O God our defender* was written for the coronation of Charles II in 1661; and *Good morrow to the year* was written as a New Year ode for the year 1666.

[13] These mistakes were identified by Bruce Wood, 'John Blow's Anthems with Orchestra', 5 vols, PhD Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1976, v, 362; and Herissone, *Musical Creativity*, 123, fn.15.

As a collection of loose folios bound at a later date, the fact that the collation of the guardbook was clearly deliberate and conducted by someone with a reasonable idea of the seniority of the composers who comprise the material contents is striking. The guardbook opens with six odes—three by Cooke and three by Blow—before proceeding through the anthems of Cooke, Humfrey, Blow, and Purcell (with a single item by Turner included as the antepenultimate item of the original contents), before a single partsong by Purcell at the end, 'Plung'd in the confines of despair'.[14] It could be speculated that the overall ordering can tell us something of the chronology of each individual anthem's composition.

Reworking in Cooke's Autographs

One of the key considerations when attempting to categorise the compositional stage of any autographs of this period is the level of reworking and correction on display. For Cooke, we see a goodly portion of reworkings concentrated on the internal voices, be that contra-tenor and tenor in vocal music, or the violin 2 in the instrumental. Rebecca Herissone reasoned that this compositional style would have mirrored the improvisational techniques he would have used to self-accompany solo vocal pieces on the lute.[15] This is something that we also see in Purcell's own compositional drafts,[16] and indicates that it may have been far more of a commonplace method of composing than has been previously conceded. At the more extreme end of the speculatory scale, this could have been a compositional method which Cooke taught to the children under his charge; a stage of the compositional process prior to committing anything in ink.

[14] There is a final item—an incomplete string quartet from the eighteenth-century—but this is considered irrelevant for the purposes of this discussion.
[15] Herissone, 'Music for the Violins and Voices'.
[16] Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000), 6–7.

The terminology used when describing seventeenth-century music manuscripts and their contents, and the indiscriminate nature of its usage, is perhaps one of the most confusing aspects of this repertoire.[17] Indeed, Herissone questions her own usage of the term 'rough drafts' when initially describing Purcell's autographs in Bu 5001[18] and to remedy this, draws two late-seventeenth terms into the discussion: 'fowle orignall' and 'fayre writeing'.[19] These two terms are taken directly from an entry into the King's Musick payments for the copying of music in 1675:

> For the fayre writeing of several Airs of Musick for the selected Band of violins at Windsor from the fowle Originall in score, the four parts together, & prickers dyet:[20]

By consulting contemporary definitions for the terms 'fowle' and 'original', Herissone lays out the key features of these manuscripts: they are typically loose-leaf in their original formats; the vocal parts are complete; instrumental music is separable or initially absent.[21] Thus, the argument presented is that these versions of a composer's earliest conceptions of a work (what more contemporary musicology might now consider a compositional draft) actually represented the stage of the compositional process from which copies and parts ('fayre writeing') would have been produced for, at least, the vocal music. From the latter portion of Charles II's reign, the Chapel Royal began the good habit of keeping file copies of manuscripts – resulting in many fine manuscript copies of anthems and court odes.[22] This

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[17] This point was elucidated by Rebecca Herissone—'"Fowle Originalls" and "Fayre Writeing": Reconsidering Purcell's Compositional Process', *The Journal of Musicology* 23/4 (2006), 571—where she identifies that scholarship on Purcell and the wider musicological scene for the seventeenth century had been growing uncomfortable with the nature of these terms since as early as 1993.

[18] Rebecca Herissone, 'Purcell's Revisions of His Own Works' in Curtis Price (ed.), *Purcell Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 54.

[19] Herissone, '"Fowle Originalls" and "Fayre Writeing", 578–9.

[20] Lna LC 5/141, 346; *RECM*, i, 155.

[21] Herissone's argument is summarised in Alan Howard, 'From "Fowle Originall" to "Printed for the Author" The Autograph Score of William Croft's "Laurus Cruentas"' in *British Music, Musicians and Institutions c.1630–1800*, ed. Peter Lynan & Julian Rushton (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2021), 115.

[22] Examples of file copies for Purcell's music are suggested in Herissone, '"Fowle Originalls" and "Fayre Writeing", 574–6, table 1.

is especially useful for the latter category of compositions, as court odes would have been composed for and performed on one occasion; therefore, these file copies in score have preserved music that might otherwise been lost. Therefore, this would identify Cooke's contributions contained within Bu 5001, as Herissone states in her own work,[23] as being at a stage of composition from which they would have been used as exemplars for the copying of the vocal music, if not the instrumental too. That is not the view of this author, for three primary reasons.

The first of these reasons rests on the adoption of one contemporary definition of the word 'original' over another. Herissone refers to two works from the latter portion of the seventeenth century: Thomas Blount, *Glossographia* (1661) and John Wilkins, *An Alphabetical Dictionary* (1668), concluding that 'fowle originall' must have referred to the initial and inelegant copy of a composer's music. However, I believe that there is perhaps a little more nuance here than is conceded in that assumption.

Wilkins' *Alphabetical Dictionary* is not verbose in the definition for either 'draft' ['draught'] or 'original', simply defining both as 'exemplar', which itself is given no definition.[24] This hardly provides an unimpeachable case for Herissone's interpretation of the term, and whilst Blount's definition of 'original' as 'the first, authentick, or true draught of a writing'[25] might suggest something closer to her suggestion, the underpinning of an entire scribal tradition on one definition, before the notion of dictionaries as we would now recognise them had even been formulated, seems unbalanced. Similarly, even taking Blount's definition at face

[23] Herissone, *Musical Creativity*, 70.
[24] These definitions are noted, but no further analysis of the resultant term is proffered in Herissone, *Musical Creativity*, 68.
[25] Thomas Blount, *Glossographia* (1661), online version <https://ota.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repository/xmlui/bitstream/handle/20.500.12024/A28464/A28464.html?sequence=5&isAllowed=y#index.xml-body.1_div.1_div.5>, accessed 12 August 2024.

value, what one should interpret as a 'true draught' would then need to be considered, and so on. Crucially, it must be recognised that there is no contemporary annotation or description of Bu 5001 (or, more accurately, its contents)—as far as can be ascertained—that definitively categorises it as a 'fowle originall'. We are dealing with Herissone's characterisation of the manuscript and the subsequent attempt through contemporary dictionary references to ascertain what 'fowle originall' might have meant.

The second reason here lies in the temporal displacement between the usage of the term, the creation dates of Cooke's oeuvre, and the scribal practice in the early years of the Restoration Chapel. Simply put, if we assume Cooke's contributions to Bu 5001 to sit solely within the 1660s, this places the creation of much of the material at least half a decade before we see the first usage of 'fowle originall' as a term in Chapel Royal parlance. Additionally, we might consider that the bulk of the discussion surrounding the concept of the 'fowle originall' focuses on the work of Purcell, the bulk of whose oeuvre sits towards the latter end of the 1670s at the earliest.[26] Thus, applying this particular method of creation retrospectively from the Purcellian back to Cooke, whilst sensible in the sense of tracing a tradition backwards, does not remain watertight when submitted to scrutiny.[27]

Given the circumstances surrounding the revival of the Chapel in the early years of the Restoration, it stands to reason that those various administrative mechanisms—such as the copying of music into partbooks, etc.—would have gradually fallen into place over the years following 1660.[28] Indeed, there is evidence of music being copied from 1662, through a series

[26] Franklin B. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell, 1659–95: An Analytical Catalogue of his Music* (London: Macmillan, 1963).
[27] In much the same way as the usage of prescriptive templates for biographical discovery was questioned at the end of chapter 1.
[28] Looking back to chapter 2, the reader will recall that Cooke's payments took some six years to settle into a regular pattern.

of bills for the scribing of music by Dr Walter Jones, the Sub-Dean of the Chapel. The first of these bills features in the records of the Royal Music on 31 December 1668 (covering the period May 1662–December 1668).[29] A second bill was submitted on 1 August 1676 (covering the period midsummer 1670–midsummer 1676) and is the first time that the music being copied is actually identified.[30] The fact that this process—in the case of the 1676 bill, copying some 19 service settings and 66 anthems—was carried out by one of the most senior members of the Chapel demonstrates that there was a profound lack of an administrative mechanism when it came to the copying of music for the Chapel, especially compared to the copying for the string band, to which the example above referencing 'fowle originalls' refers. Additionally, this indicates that the bulk of the operation was being carried out by someone competent, but by no means as professional as, say, a team of scribes as indicated by the 1675 bill for the string band.

Thirdly, whilst many of Cooke's individual pieces exhibit the characteristics seen in the examples of Purcell's music described as 'fowle originall', such as visible corrections on the manuscript, inconsistent spacing, and a general degree of messiness in the writing, there is a profound difference in the scale of these factors between Cooke and Purcell's work. This difference is such that the copying of parts from many of Cooke's autographs would require a level of scribal intervention well beyond anything that could be expected, including (but not limited to) the completion of blank ritornelli and vocal parts.

Thus, these aspects of Cooke's contributions to Bu 5001 indicate that, even if one did want to designate these copies as 'fowle originall', it is unlikely a professional scribe (or team of

[29] Lna LC 5/12, 57 and LC 5/13, 31; *RECM*, i, 95.
[30] Lna LC 5/141, 431–3; *RECM*, i, 162–4; For each full service setting, the scribe was paid £2; for each anthem, 10s. It is possible that there was a similar payment for copying for the period 1669-midsummer 1670, for which the bill is not extant.

scribes) could have been responsible for the copying of the music as they would have been presented with music in too incomplete a state to be written into parts. It should be noted that the sometimes separate compositional origin of the instrumental and vocal music is not being questioned—indeed, this is demonstratable from the content of Bu 5001—but rather that the combination of what we see would lead this author to conclude that Cooke's materials in the manuscript represent his own personal 'working' manuscripts, for use by Cooke alone before the creation of a later version from which parts would be copied. This might also change our perception of how these materials survived. Rather than being materials saved from the 1698 fire at Whitehall Palace, it is possible that these materials, as unfinished personal working manuscripts, had been removed earlier, and that any copies of the finished pieces were lost instead.

With the music of the Chapel being officially copied into parts by Dr Jones from at least May 1662, though the materials contained within Bu 5001 may represent the earliest stage of Cooke's compositional process, in many instances they do not represent the version of the work from which parts would have been copied, and subsequently performed. The materials in Bu 5001 carry four key indicators of Cooke's compositional method, demonstrating both the active method of correction during this initial stage of composition, and Cooke's intention to refine the music in subsequent drafts: pastedowns and inserted folios; scratchings and inked corrections; double noteheads; and missing music.

Considering the information above, it is possible to state with some degree of certainty that all Cooke's surviving Chapel Royal repertoire was therefore composed prior to midsummer 1670, as we know that no new music was copied into the partbooks after this point. Those anthems with texts included in both *The Divine Services* and Harley 6346 were composed between 1660 and 1664, many of which were probably already composed by the time of the

coronation on 23 April 1661, evinced by the inclusion of *Behold, O God our defender*. Thus, Cooke's compositional output for the Chapel spans the entire decade of the 1660s at the extreme of the range, but when one considers the increasing pre-eminence of Cooke's prodigious pupils—namely Blow and Humfrey—and the absence of a bill for the copying of music into parts for January 1669–midsummer 1670, 1660–1668 presents as the most likely range. Additionally, the absence of many of the Bu 5001 anthems from either *The Divine Services* or Harley 6346 (table 3) demonstrates that their composition date possibly sits towards the middle years of the 1660s, perhaps more concurrent with the 1666 dating of *Good morrow to the year*, certainly post-dating the 1664 publication date of the former source.

Pastedowns and inserted folios

The use of correction slips or revision slips in manuscripts is be expected in this and neighbouring periods. However, whilst examples for this practice can be observed in the repertoire, and indeed autograph repertoire, of the likes of Purcell, Cooke's usage of this would seem to differ.[31] Whilst Purcell's usage of correction slips has been accepted primarily as a means by which to provide an alternate reading to an already finished piece—being pinned rather than pasted, to allow for easy removal—the two pastedowns in Bu 5001 seem to serve an altogether different purpose, having been stuck down on either vertical edge.[32] In both instances, we are fortunate in the way in which they have been applied, as some of the original readings can be seen with careful manipulation of the folios upon which they are pasted.

The pastedown extant in *Behold, O God our defender* (f.68r, figure 1) covers one system of music and it is worth considering, for the sake of discussions to follow, how free from

[31] Herissone, "'Fowle Originalls" and "Fayre Writeing", 590–91.
[32] This idea is presented in Robert Thompson, 'Purcell's Great Autographs' in Curtis Price, ed., *Purcell Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 15–16; and discused further by Herissone (see footnote 31).

compositional blemishes the slip is. The upper line, as initially betrayed by the few shards of evidence that show through the top edge, follows a reasonably similar pattern: the slur at the beginning of the third bar in the figure is evident in both the original and revised reading, as is the slur in the final bar of the figure. Additionally, the E♭ at the beginning of the second bar also features in the original reading. The tessitura of original and revised lines remained similar for those portions of the passage, but ending with an imperfect authentic cadence in the top voice, rather than the perfect authentic cadence we see in the revised version.

However, it was mistakes in the continuo line that caused Cooke to abandon the initial writing entirely, and to leave the bass verse blank. This demonstrates that, in this instance at least, he wrote the vocal line first and then was confounded when attempting to compose a continuo part to go with it.

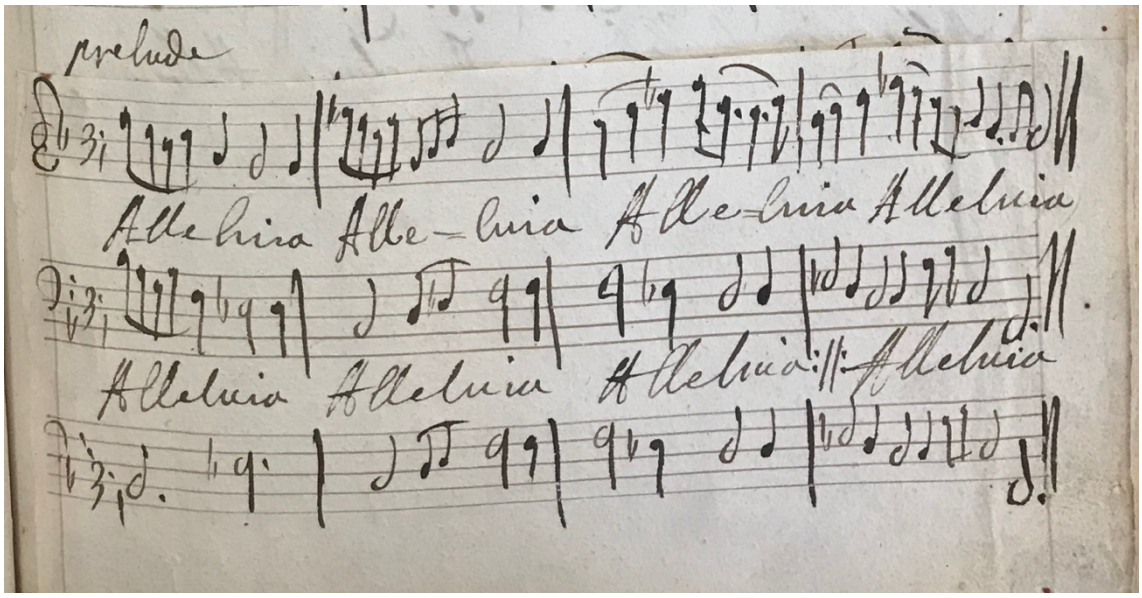


Figure 1 – Henry Cooke, *Behold, O God our defender* (Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham, Bu 5001 f.68r), showing a pastedown.

The second pastedown, in *The Lord hear thee in the time of trouble* (f.90r, figure 2) covers evidence of far more substantial changes, with a large change in the pitch of the treble line as well as an odd long symbol in the final bar of the underlying version. The substantial changes

between the original reading and the pastedown, combined with additional factors which will be discussed shortly, demonstrate that Cooke was still in an early stage of the compositional process when these materials were produced. The permanent nature of the pastedowns—as opposed to the pinned revision slips in Purcell's oeuvre—indicates that these pieces were in a state of compositional flux, as Cooke was actively overriding and erasing his earlier readings, rather than the more measured examples we see with Purcell's repertoire, where the reworkings could still be considered with the earlier version of the work. In any case, the pastedowns in Cooke's autographs suggest that the pieces represent working drafts of his work; such that they would have needed to be copied out again.

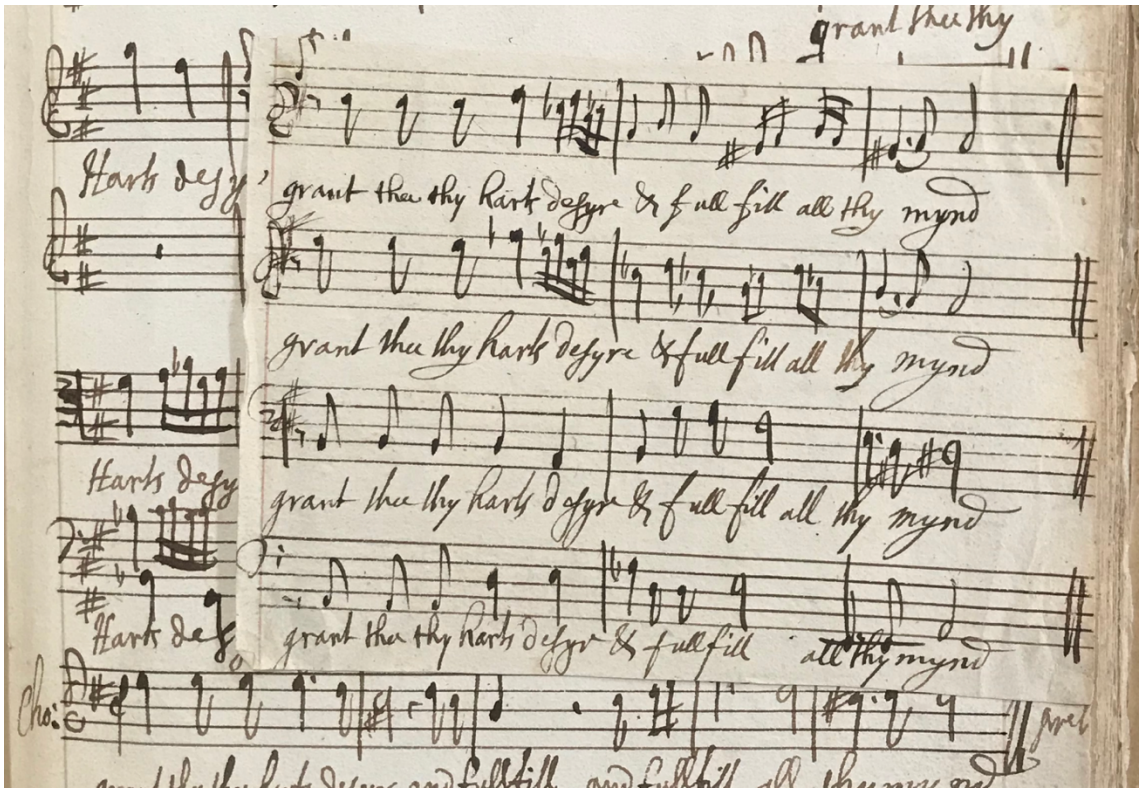


Figure 2 – Henry Cooke, *The Lord hear thee in the time of trouble* (Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham, Bu 5001 f.90r), showing a pastedown.

Another aspect of Cooke's compositional practice can be seen through his tendency to mark areas for future correction. There are a number of examples of small crosses dotted throughout the works in Bu 5001 (table 5). These crosses, I would argue, demonstrate Cooke's desire to revisit and revise his composition in a second pass, in much of a similar

manner we see from the example of the pastedowns in *Behold, O God our defender* and *The Lord hear thee*. Whilst the presence of these crosses alone is little evidence on which to base a hypothesis for compositional practice, we are fortunate to have an exemplar of this entire process in action, through the ode *Come we shepherds*.

Table 5 – Examples of correction crosses in Bu 5001.

No	***Anthem***	***Bar(s)***	***Voice(s)/Description***
10	*Come we shepherds*	4 [B]	Bass
		6 [B]	Violin 1–2
		7 [B]	Violin 2
		11 [B]	Violin 2
		12 [B]	Violin 1–2
		14 [B]	Violin 1
		16 [B]	Violin 1
		19 [B]	Violin 1
		145	Tenor
		235	Tenor
14	Funeral Sentences:		
	a I am the resurrection	15	Tenor
23	*Thou, O God art praised in Sion*	62	Tenor

Come we shepherds is one of the three surviving odes by Cooke written for the birthday celebrations of Charles II sometime during the 1660s, and setting text written by Richard Crashaw (1612-49) taking the first two thirds of his poem, 'In the Holy Nativity of our Lord'.[33] The opening symphony is written out twice: presented first on the recto of a separate sheet dropped into the manuscript (f.15r) which can be assumed to be a later version before the earlier version is presented (f.15Ar) as part of the original score. Immediately, this signals that the version presented first commands higher authority, as it demonstrates a reworked version of the same portion of music, improving points which Cooke had marked for revisitation. Crucially, for our purposes, the original reading is also littered with correction crosses (see figure 3, and the tabulated examples in table 5, marked [B], above).

[33] Richard Crashaw, *Carmen Deo nostro* (Paris: Peter Targa, 1652), 10–16.



Figure 3 – Henry Cooke, *Come we shepherds* (Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham, Bu 5001, f.15Ar; bb.13-19), opening symphony original reading, showing three instances of Cooke marking the bar for correction.



Figure 4 – Henry Cooke, *Come we shepherds* (Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham, Bu 5001, f.15r; bb.12-19), opening symphony revised version, where the three bars marked for correction have been amended.

In figure 3, at the first correction cross, it is clear that Cooke was initially undecided on how to realise the violin 1 part, as there is quite distinctly a smaller solid notehead surrounded by a large hollow notehead, making it into a minim. The fact that there is a large, scratched area immediately following (as well as the remnants that can be seen) indicates that Cooke's original idea was probably similar to what he settled upon in the corresponding portion of music in figure 4 – albeit the latter two beats of the bar are quite changed.

It would seem that Cooke had decided that he wanted the violin lines to descend in thirds the point of the first correction cross in figure 3, as the rhythm of the scratched notes in that bar would appear to have been ♪𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯 or ♪𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯 with the second quaver/semiquaver beginning on g". Despite deciding against this in the original draft, he returns to this idea on the inserted sheet, this time displacing the beginning of the descending figure by two quaver beats.



Example 1 – Henry Cooke, *Come we shepherds* (bb.13-19), opening symphony original version.[34]



Example 2 – Henry Cooke, *Come we shepherds* (bb.13-15), opening symphony revised version. Full edition presented in part 2, no. 10.

Comparing bar 14 of the original and revised versions (examples 1 and 2, respectively), the stepwise ascending motion in the revised last two beats of the bar improve on the disjunct nature of the original version, whilst retaining some of the movement in thirds which Cooke had initially intended. The fact that the later version demonstrates a better understanding of conventional counterpoint shows that Cooke was both aware and capable of producing this kind of more refined work. Additionally, the cadence (example 3) was reworked to be more

[34] This has been reconstructed, as far as is possible, from the palimpsests of the scratched content.

conventional, with all voices resolving on the tonic for a perfect authentic cadence, rather than violin 1 ending on the mediant, resulting in an imperfect authentic cadence. This indicates that Cooke's compositional process was more complex than has been previously considered, but that it sometimes required him to work out these second (or later) drafts in ink.[35]



Example 3 – Henry Cooke, *Come we shepherds* (bb.18–19) comparing the cadence in both revised and original versions.

Looking to further examples of Cooke marking corrections, there are three more instances where Cooke has used crosses: *Thou, O God art praised in Sion* (figure 5), in his Funeral Sentences, *I am the resurrection* (figure 6), and at two later points in *Come we shepherds* (figure 7). In all three instances, the passages marked demonstrate no obvious compositional errors, save the indecision of two noteheads in the tenor part for *I am the resurrection*. Therefore, we must assume, given that Cooke could have scratched or crossed-out any portions as he wished (and as he did), that he was marking these three passages as areas to revisit during a later pass.

[35] This would correlate with the supposition that Cooke may have lacked the keyboard skills of some of his peers. Therefore, he might have relied on the physical writing out of his compositional ideas in order to realise where there were mistakes, rather than being able to correct these at the keyboard. That Cooke composed in this manner builds upon Herissone's speculation towards his compositional practice based on her reading of evidence from Bu 5001, first voiced on 21 May 2022.

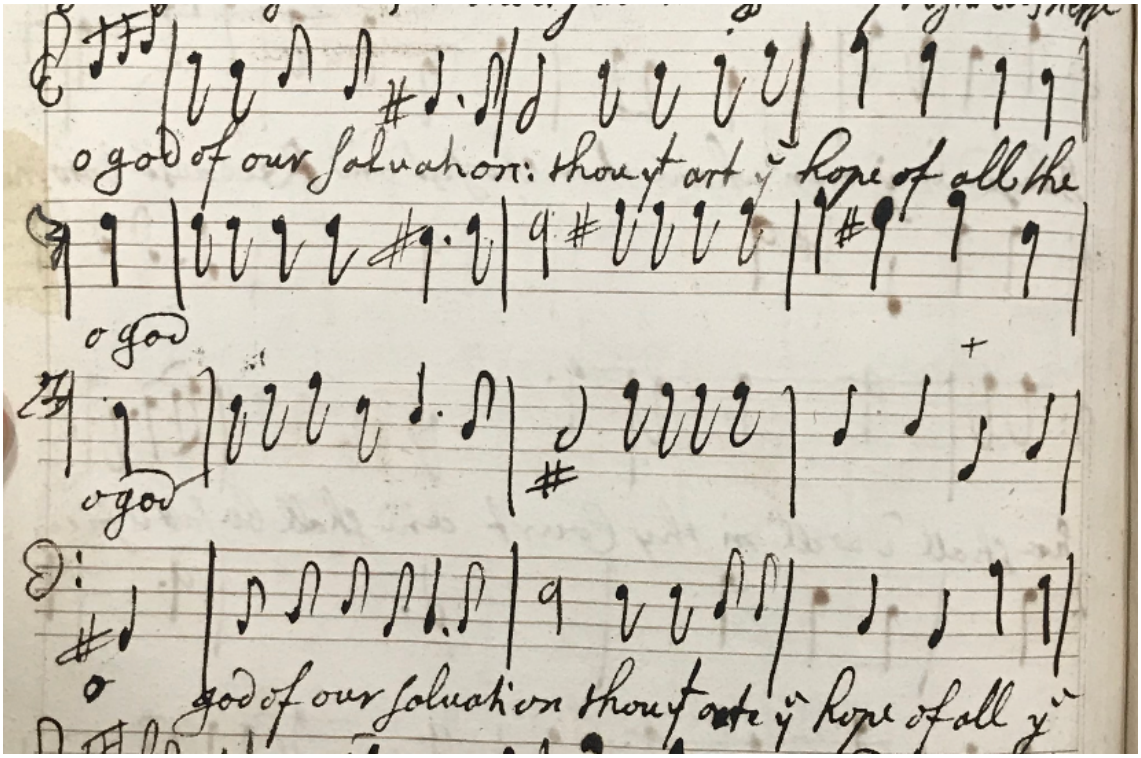


Figure 5 – Henry Cooke, *Thou, O God art praised in Sion* (Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham, Bu 5001, f.61v; bb.59.4–62) demonstrating Cooke marking the passage for later revision with a cross in the middle of the system in the final bar shown.

The evidence presented by the two versions of the opening symphony of *Come we shepherds* further proves that Cooke used crosses such as these to indicate areas which he wished to revise and did then revisit in at least one subsequent pass. Therefore, whether his reasoning for corrections was because of the relative simplicity of their melodic content, or similarly the simplicity of the harmonic movement is not as important as the fact that these corrected copies do not remain extant. The absence of corrected copies for the instances of the other correction crosses indicates that Cooke's later revisions of his pieces—those which featured the corrections—were probably stored differently to the content which now forms Bu 5001 and, notably, may have consisted of complete revisions of the pieces in question, resulting in these imperfect scores being discarded. Therefore, it is with some irony that the examples of Cooke's anthems which remain extant are largely these earlier, imperfect, and unfinished versions.

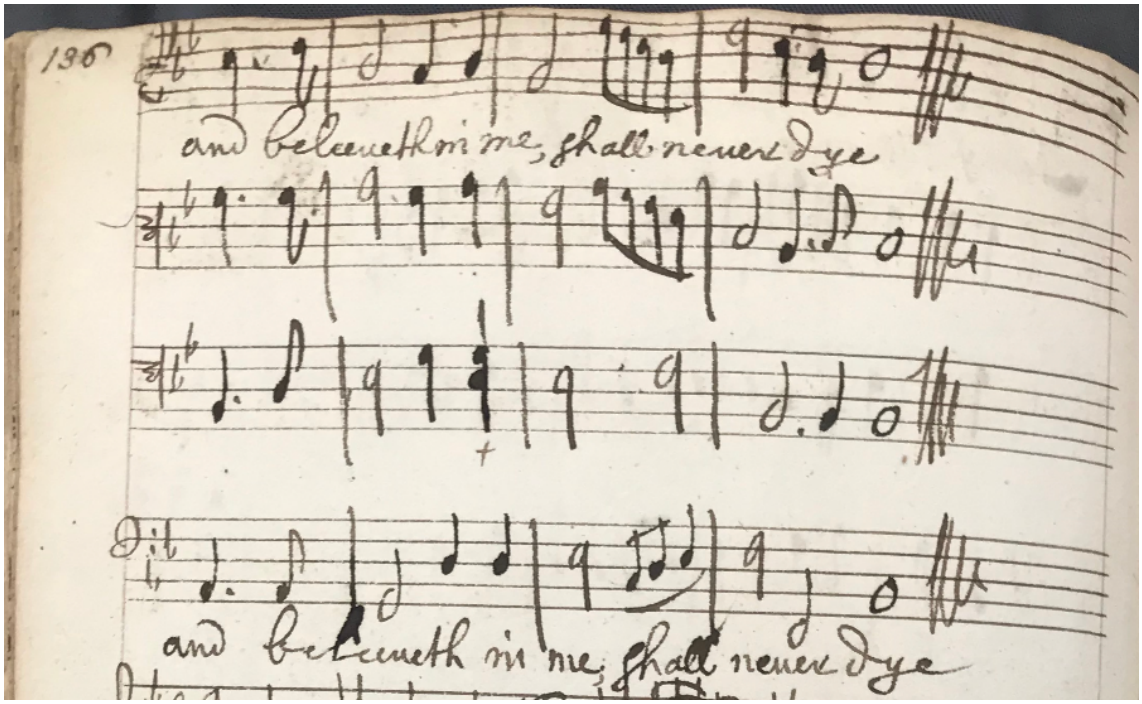


Figure 6 – Henry Cooke, *I am the resurrection* (Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham, Bu 5001, f.74v; bb.14.3–18) demonstrating Cooke marking the passage for later revision with a cross below the second bar of the tenor line.

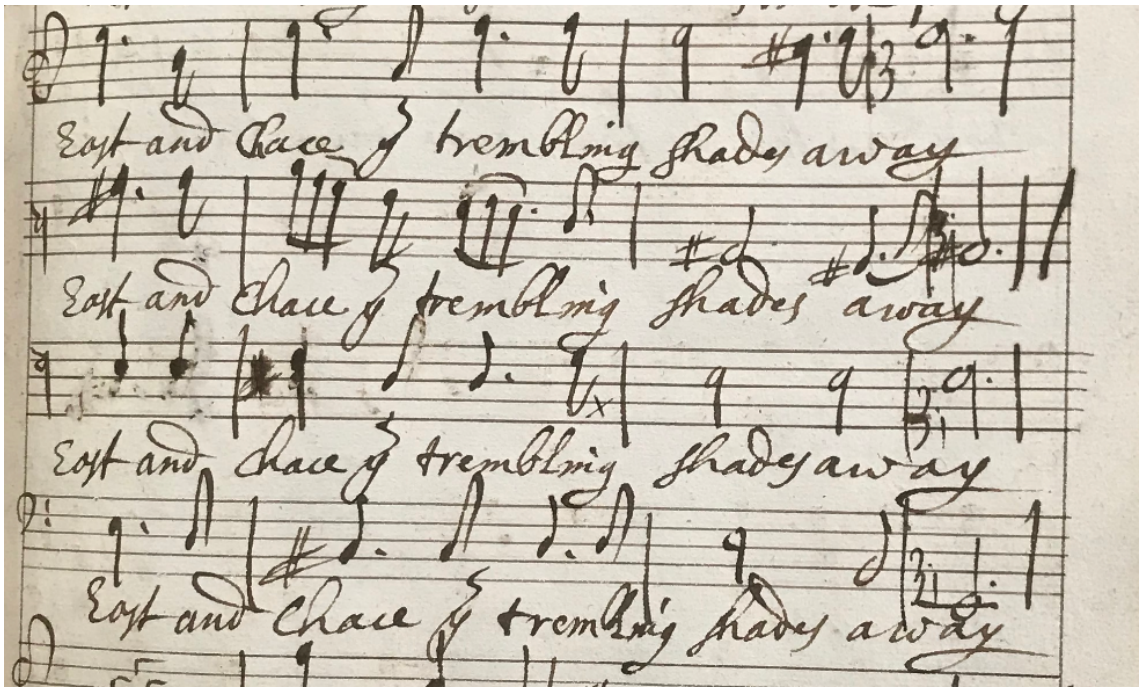


Figure 7 – Henry Cooke, *Come we shepherds* (Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham, Bu 5001, f.20r; bb.234.3–237), demonstrating Cooke marking the passage for later revision with a cross in the first full bar of the tenor line.

Whilst those examples of Cooke's use of correction crosses are limited to what is tabulated in table 5, there is another example in Pelham Humfrey's single contribution to Bu 5001, *Almighty God who mad'st thy blessed son* (figure 8). Here we see evidence of a scribal device being passed from teacher to student and demonstrates that Cooke's contributions to Bu 5001 may not be the only materials that were intended for revision. Sadly, in the case of *Almighty God*, the autograph in Bu 5001 is the only source for Humfrey's anthem, thus it is difficult to ascertain whether these correction crosses are intended to indicate places where revisions should take place, or simply as additional markers, resetting the parts following the manicules seen between the two systems on display. Looking to the autograph work of Edward Lowe, one of Cooke's contemporaries, a copy of *Elia eruditam* exhibits correction crosses. The material here has been described as 'fowle originall', but would seem to actually represent two stages of materials—messy compositional drafts and neat instrumental and vocal parts—which have been guarded together at a later date.[36] Their inclusion within the same guardbook does not necessarily indicate that the former was used to produce the latter.

Further evidence of correction crosses as an inherited scribal device can be seen in Purcell's own work, with examples seen in the autographs of *Hail! Bright Cecilia* (Ob MS Mus. c. 26, 25v), *Of old, when heroes* (Lbl Egerton MS 2956), and *My heart is fixed* (Bu 5001, f.166) In the case of *Hail! Bright Cecilia*, Purcell clearly indicates what he wanted the scribes to do at this point (figure 9) and suggests that this manuscript was intended for copying by other scribes. This does, however, strengthen the hypothesis that these marks in their unannotated form were intended to indicate areas in need of further attention by the composer themselves, as the correction crosses alone would have been indecipherable to a copyist. These examples will be discussed further, below.

[36] Ob MS Mus. Sch. c. 123, f. 18–19.

It is worth addressing a potential elephant in the room: marks of ornamentation. In the first instance, the examples of correction crosses in *Come we shepherds* should dispel most of this line of thinking, as it is abundantly clear to what purpose Cooke is using them. However, there are two ornaments which might cause some confusion if left unexplained:[37]

1. *Falle* (fa̰ll) : A lower-note trill, before descending in stepwise motion and predominantly used in music for the lyra viol.
2. Elevation : Sliding up a third to the written pitch.

Regarding the *falle*, none of Cooke's examples could be mistaken for this, as they do not fall in locations where the lines are descending in stepwise motion. This is with the possible exception of b.145 in *Come we shepherds*, but here the mark is clearly not in the right place to be considered an ornament – sitting under the music and above the text. The example of correction a cross seen in Lowe, *Elia eruditam*, f.18–19 preserves usage of both the former mark, as well as a *falle*, proving that both—one as a compositional tool, the other as a mark of ornamentation—were used concurrently in this period.

It is possible that examples of the crosses in *Thou, O God art praised in Sion* and the Funeral Sentences could be elevations. However, this seems radically improbable, given their positions within the homophonic textures of their respective pieces.

The argument against any of these examples in table 5 being ornaments is only strengthened when we ask why there are so few. If Cooke did intend to indicate ornamentation in this early stage of composition, why is this not prevalent in more of the autographs, and why are the marks he does use in such obviously incorrect places for their prescribed purposes?

[37] Cyr, Mary, 'A Seventeenth-Century Source of Ornamentation for Voice and Viol: British Museum MS. Egerton 2971', *RMA Research Chronicle* 9 (1971), 62, 65.

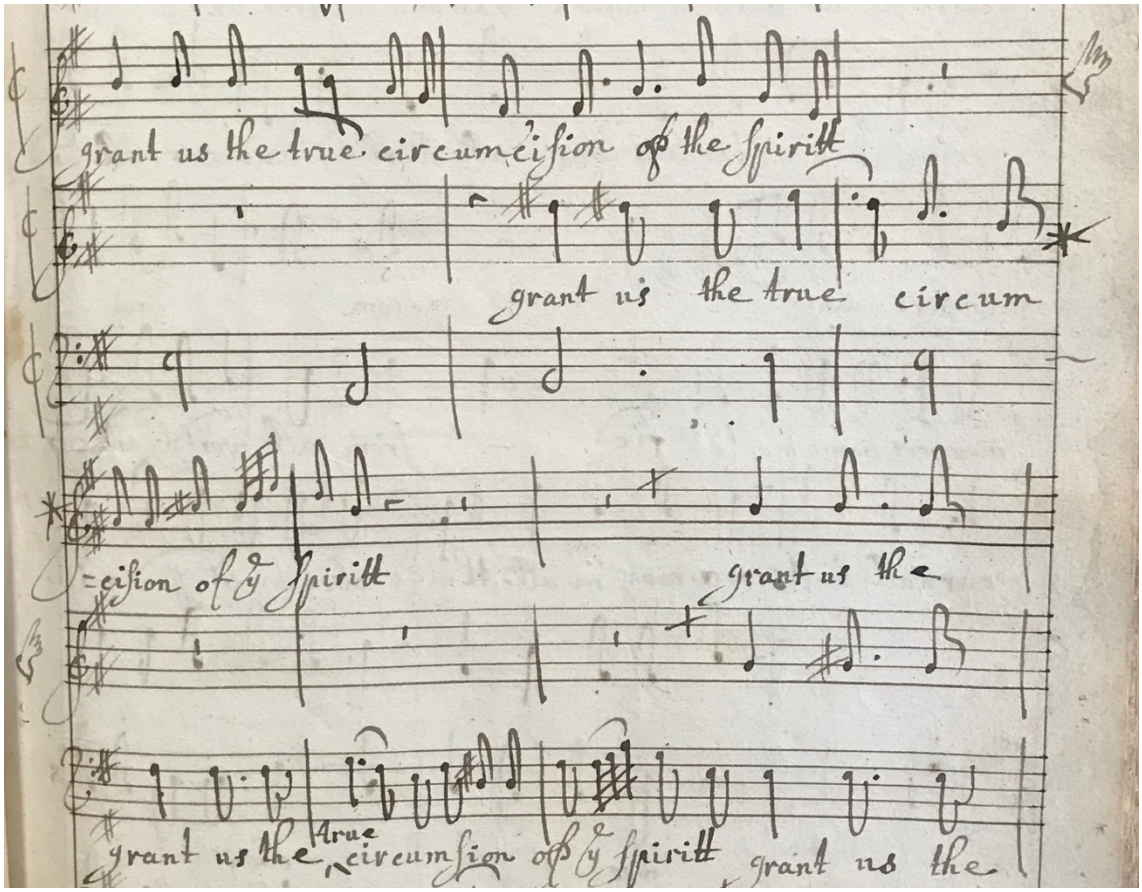


Figure 8 – Pelham Humfrey, *Almighty God who mad'st thy blessed son* (Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham, Bu 5001, f.98r) showing two examples of correction crosses being used.

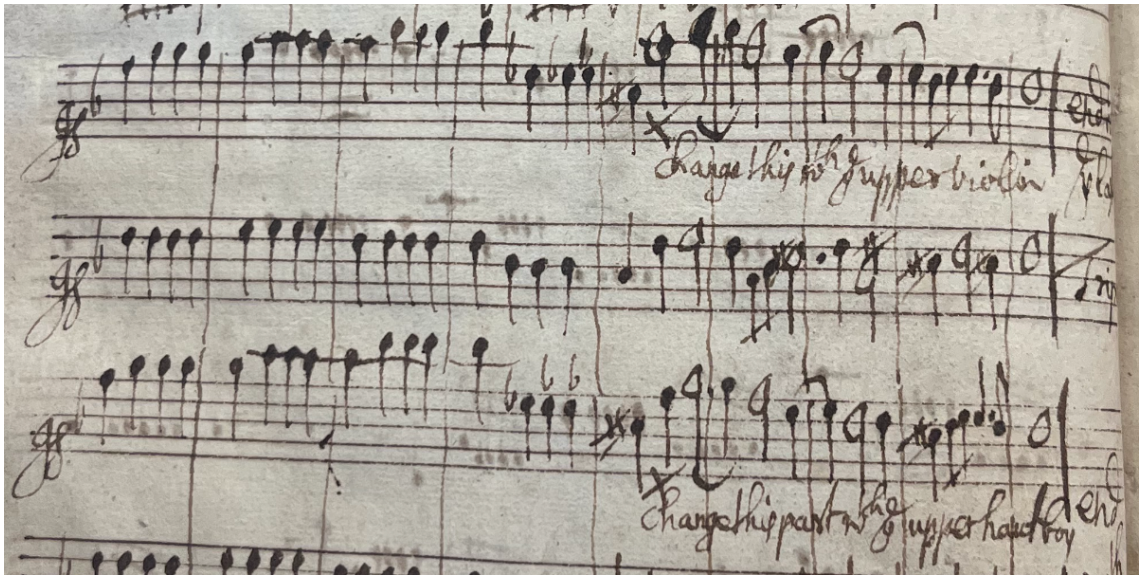


Figure 9 – Henry Purcell, *Hail! Bright Cecilia* (Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Ob MS Mus. c. 26, f.25v), showing two annotated correction crosses.

Something worth noting is the lack of corrections on many of the inserted folios/slips throughout Cooke's materials in Bu 5001. For instance, there are no scratchings, inked corrections, or double noteheads on the inserted folio for *Come we shepherds. Christ rising again* has a later folio (f.70v) free from any marks of correction, with the exception of one double notehead, which could well indicate double stopping for the violin 2. A smaller inserted slip (f.70A) follows, again free from any evidence of correction (there is an ink smudge, but this would appear to just be an unfortunate skip of the quill).[38] The inserted slip for *O give thanks* is not as neat as some of the others, but this is isolated to a mistake in the initial formatting of the page, where the contra-tenor clef was originally written as a treble (g2). Thus, the violin 2 line was initially written half a line too low on the stave.

The final inserted folio to be discussed is f.59r, in *O give thanks unto the Lord*. Here, Cooke rewrote the majority of the preceding folio (f.58v), which he abandoned due to the number of errors. This seems to be a similar method of correction to what we see with the opening symphony of *Come we shepherds*, but clearly carried out during the initial stage of composition.

Scratching and inked corrections

One might question why so few of Cooke's autographs feature correction crosses, and thus might question the strength of the assertion above – that many of, if not all, the pieces in Bu 5001 do not represent the versions which would have been heard in the Chapel Royal, but rather are nascent drafts of the pieces which would have received some degree of reworking before being copied into partbooks. However, I would offer two thoughts here. Firstly, there is plenty of evidence that Cooke corrected his own work both as he committed it to the page, and shortly thereafter. Significant revision following the erasure of the original content with

[38] The unrelated music on the back of the slip indicates that these slips were taken from a supply of scrap paper.

a knife (scratching), often forming a palimpsest of sorts, can be seen extensively throughout Bu 5001 (all examples tabulated in table 6; see figures 3 and 7, above), and more immediate corrections can be seen through the expansive number of inked corrections (tabulated in tables 7–9).

Table 6 – Examples of scratching evident in Bu 5001.

No	*Anthem*	*Bar(s)*	*Voice(s)/Description*
10	*Come we shepherds*	29	Contra-tenor
		33	Bass
		62–4	Treble
		66–9	Contra-tenor
		74	Contra-tenor
		116	Continuo
		122	Continuo
		129	'Ritornello' scratched out
		131	Treble
		134	Contra-tenor, Tenor
		137–41	Treble, Contra-tenor, Tenor
		148	Contra-tenor, Tenor
		177–8	Treble 2
		181	Treble 1
		214	Contra-tenor
		230–31	Contra-tenor, Tenor
		234–5	Tenor
11	*Good morrow to the year*	41–3	Continuo
		92–101	Violin 2
		102	Continuo
		185–6	Tenor
		203	Tenor
12	*Rise thou best and brightest morning*	39–40	Continuo
		110–13	Violin 1–2, Continuo
14	Funeral Sentences:		
	a I am the resurrection	9	Contra-tenor
	b I know my redeemer liveth	13	Contra-tenor
		16–17	Tenor
	c We brought nothing into this world	13–16	Treble, Contra-tenor, Tenor, Bass
15	*Behold, O God our defender*	26–7	Contra-tenor
		32	Tenor
		41	Bass/Continuo
		57	Tenor
		103	Viola
		105	Viola

No	*Anthem*	*Bar(s)*	*Voice(s)/Description*
16	*Christ rising again*	49	Treble 2
		60–61	Continuo
		79–82	Continuo
17	*Come let us pray and God will hear*	34	Contra-tenor
		102	Treble, Contra-tenor, Bass
		107–8	Tenor
		111	Tenor
		130–37	Violin 1
		140	Violin 2
		142	Violin 1
		154	Bass
		168–9	Treble
		192	Treble
(17)	*(Come let us pray and God will hear)*	206–7	Contra-tenor
		227	Continuo
		228	Tenor
18	*O give thanks unto the Lord*	11	Viola
		19	Tenor
		94	Bass/Continuo
		113	Contra-tenor
		117	Tenor
21	*The King shall rejoice*	6	Violin 1
		38	Contra-tenor
		110–12	Contra-tenor, Bass
		143	Contra-tenor
		145	Treble
		159	Contra-tenor
22	*The Lord hear thee in the time of trouble*	9	Treble 1
		15–16	Tenor
		17	Treble 2
		25	Bass
		29–30	Tenor
		76	Violin 1
		98	Treble 2
		107	Tenor
		131	Treble 1, Bass
		139	Treble 1–2, Contra-tenor, Tenor, Bass
		142	Treble 2, Contra-tenor, Tenor
		152	Contra-tenor
25	*We have sinned and committed iniquity*	74	Contra-tenor, Tenor

This evidence demonstrates that Cooke's compositional process saw him actively revise his music as it was being written (in the case of the inked corrections) as well as shortly thereafter (for scratchings, which require the ink to be dry in order to avoid smudging), and that he

employed the original copies in these instances to avoid using more paper than necessary. Therefore, it would seem that many of Cooke's initial revisions are already on display in Bu 5001. However, I would assert that the inked corrections and scratchings represent different stages of revision than those indicated by the correction crosses – evinced by the coexistence of these several revisional practices in the tenor line of *Come we shepherds* (figure 7, above). That we see clear evidence of scratching, indecision with double noteheads on 'chase' (an aspect to be discussed shortly), as well as the correction cross, shows that Cooke's compositional process saw direct revision during and shortly after the initial writing of the music (comprising the double notehead and scratching), followed by at least one revision on clean paper (indicated by the correction cross) – indeed, the examples seen in figures 3 and 7 also substantiate this hypothesis, with correction crosses evident on passages which have already been scratched and rewritten.

Secondly, Cooke's autographs exhibit significant messiness and indecision within his compositional process. The vast number of inked corrections can be seen across the manuscript in addition to the extensive evidence of scratching. This has polluted the contents of the manuscript with many cluttered and difficult to read passages. These inked corrections fall into three categories: overwriting (table 7); crossing out (table 8); and the marking of incorrect note length (table 9).

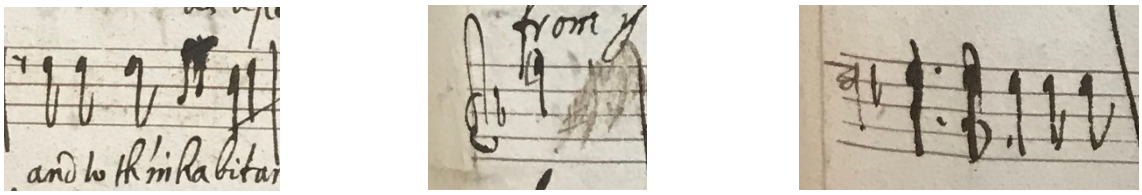


Figure 10 – 1. *We have sinned and committed iniquity* (Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham, Bu 5001, f.78r) overwriting correcting the antepenultimate notehead from a B to a C; 2. *Christ rising again* (Bu 5001, f.71r) overwriting transforming a crotchet notehead to a minim, also demonstrating some scratching attempted before the ink was completely dry; 3. *We have sinned and committed iniquity* (Bu 5001, f.79r) overwriting replacing the A G reading with two Es.

The first of these categories, overwriting, is something we expect to see in rough manuscript work, where the composer/scribe hastily enlarges a notehead in order for it to represent the correct adjacent note (figure 10.1), adds a large loop to make a crotchet into a minim (figure 10.2), or writes over one reading in order to supersede it (figure 10.3). All these uses of the technique demonstrate, as alluded to above, that Cooke was active in his correction of the materials we see in Bu 5001, such that it suggests it was the first time much of this content was being committed to the page. Once again, this category of inked corrections was applied in the very first pass of composition, and served to directly supersede what had just been written, as opposed to the later stage of correction that remains evident from the extensive scratching, or from the other categories of inked corrections.[39]

Table 7 – Examples of overwriting (inked correction) in Bu 5001.

No	***Anthem***	***Bar(s)***	***Voice(s)/Description***
10	*Come we shepherds*	34	Contra-tenor
		63	Treble
		133	Tenor
		144–5	Treble, Tenor, Bass
		178	Bass
		181	Bass
		230	Tenor
		241	Tenor
11	*Good morrow to the year*	65	Treble 2
		73–4	Bass/Continuo
12	*Rise thou best and brightest morning*	90	Treble
		121–2	Bass
14	Funeral Sentences:		
	a I am the resurrection	9	Tenor
	b I know my redeemer liveth	22	Treble
	c We brought nothing into this world	14–15	Tenor, Bass
15	*Behold, O God our defender*	3	Violin 2
		6	Violin 2
		9	Violin 2
		12–13	Violin 2
		16	Violin 2

[39] It should be noted that further examples in the same vein as the scrapings from figure 10.2 can be seen elsewhere in the manuscript, so might suggest that these erasures were intended to be completed soon after the ink had dried and, in some instances, before this had fully occurred.

No	*Anthem*	*Bar(s)*	*Voice(s)/Description*
		23	Violin 2, Viola
		32	Bass
		57–8	Tenor
		104	Violin 2, Viola
16	*Christ rising again*	49	Treble 2
		74	Tenor
		97	Bass
17	*Come let us pray and God will hear*	34	Bass
		107	Continuo
		111	Tenor
		154	Continuo
		170	Treble
		176–7	Contra-tenor, Tenor
		220	Bass
		228	Contra-tenor
18	*O give thanks unto the Lord*	19	Treble 2
		25	Treble 1
		30	Treble 2
		62	Treble 2
		69	Treble 2
		72	Tenor
		91	Contra-tenor
		113	Tenor
		117	Tenor
		127	Treble 1
		132	Treble 1
		134–5	Bass 1
		136	Bass 2
		138	Bass 1
		143	Bass 1
21	*The King shall rejoice*	6	Violin 1
		38	Contra-tenor
		39	Contra-tenor
		103	Treble
		111–12	Contra-tenor, Bass
		118	Bass/Continuo
		147	Bass
		149–50	Contra-tenor, Bass
		179–80	Treble
		182	Contra-tenor
22	*The Lord hear thee in the time of trouble*	29–30	Tenor
		75	Continuo
		98	Treble 2
		107	Tenor
		110	Treble 1, Treble 2
		114	Treble 1, Contra-tenor
		132	Contra-tenor, Tenor
		138	Contra-tenor
		142	Tenor
		143	Treble 2

No	*Anthem*	*Bar(s)*	*Voice(s)/Description*
		152	Contra-tenor
23	*Thou, O God art praised in Sion*	11–12	Tr
		27–8	T
		57	T
		67	B
		70	T
		95	T
25	*We have sinned and committed iniquity*	43	Treble
		44	Bass
		75	Contra-tenor
		87	Tenor

Those inked corrections which demonstrate Cooke crossing out content are harder to place in the compositional process (table 8). Where he does this, two readings are often extant (the only example where music is crossed out and is not replaced at all will be seen below), therefore making it difficult to ascertain whether these corrections were made when first being committed to the page, or at a later point. Whilst it would seem that Cooke's preferred method for later correction was scratching and then rewriting, we cannot ignore the possibility that, in some instances, Cooke may have chosen to adopt the far quicker method of simply crossing out a single incorrect note (figure 11).

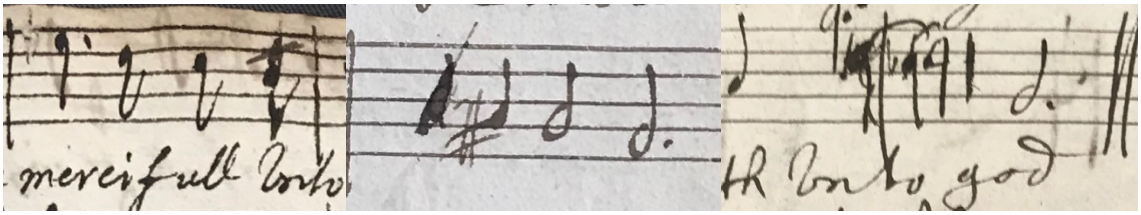


Figure 11 – Examples of crossing out in Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham, Bu 5001: 1. *Thou, O God art praised in Sion* (f.61r); 2. *Good morrow to the year* (f.8r); 3. *Christ rising again* (f.72v).

Table 8 – Examples of crossing out (inked correction) in Bu 5001.

No	*Anthem*	*Bar(s)*	*Voice(s)/Description*
10	*Come we shepherds*	34	Contra-tenor
		39	Violin 2
		112	Violin 1
		163	Continuo
11	*Good morrow to the year*	135	Continuo
		158	'Ritor' crossed out

No	*Anthem*	*Bar(s)*	*Voice(s)/Description*
16	*Christ rising again*	109	Bass
18	*O give thanks unto the Lord*	34	Contra-tenor
		54	Treble 1
21	*The King shall rejoice*	179–80	Tenor
22	*The Lord hear thee in the time of trouble*	120	Treble 2
		133	Treble 2
23	*Thou, O God art praised in Sion*	40	Treble
25	*We have sinned and committed iniquity*	35	Contra-tenor

The final category of inked corrections is where Cooke marks incorrect note length by dashing the stem of a note (table 9). This is most evident at cadential points, where a minim, for instance, was mistakenly written instead of a semibreve (figure 12). Cooke's method for dealing with these errors is universal, but much like the crossing out discussed above, could well have been implemented during the very first phase of composition, or at a later stage concurrent with the changes made by scratching. Unlike some of the other aspects of Cooke's autographs already discussed, these marks could well have been interpreted by copyists without issue, but in combination with the discussions above, they once again strengthen the idea that these materials represent a seminal stage of the compositional process.

Table 9 – Examples of marking incorrect note length (inked correction) in Bu 5001.

No	*Anthem*	*Bar(s)*	*Voice(s)/Description*
10	*Come we shepherds*	55	Contra-tenor
		96	Continuo
		144	Contra-tenor
11	*Good morrow to the year*	125	Bass/Continuo
15	*Behold, O God our defender*	61	Tenor
18	*O give thanks unto the Lord*	92	Treble 1–3
		136	Bass 1–2
22	*The Lord hear thee in the time of trouble*	132	Tenor
		134	Bass

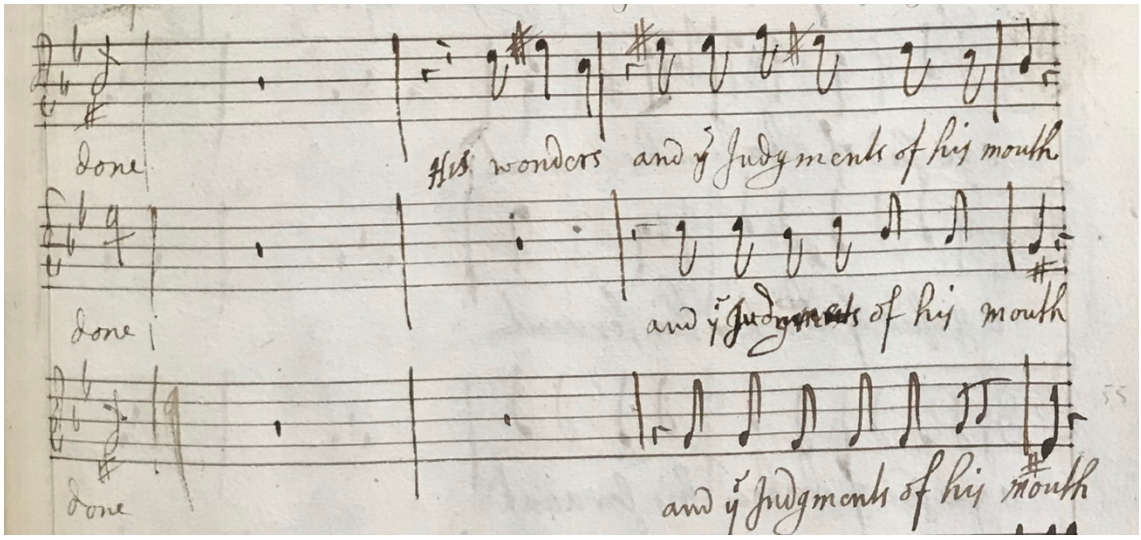


Figure 12 – Henry Cooke, *O give thanks unto the Lord* (Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham, Bu 5001, f.56r), showing minims marked, as they should be semibreves.

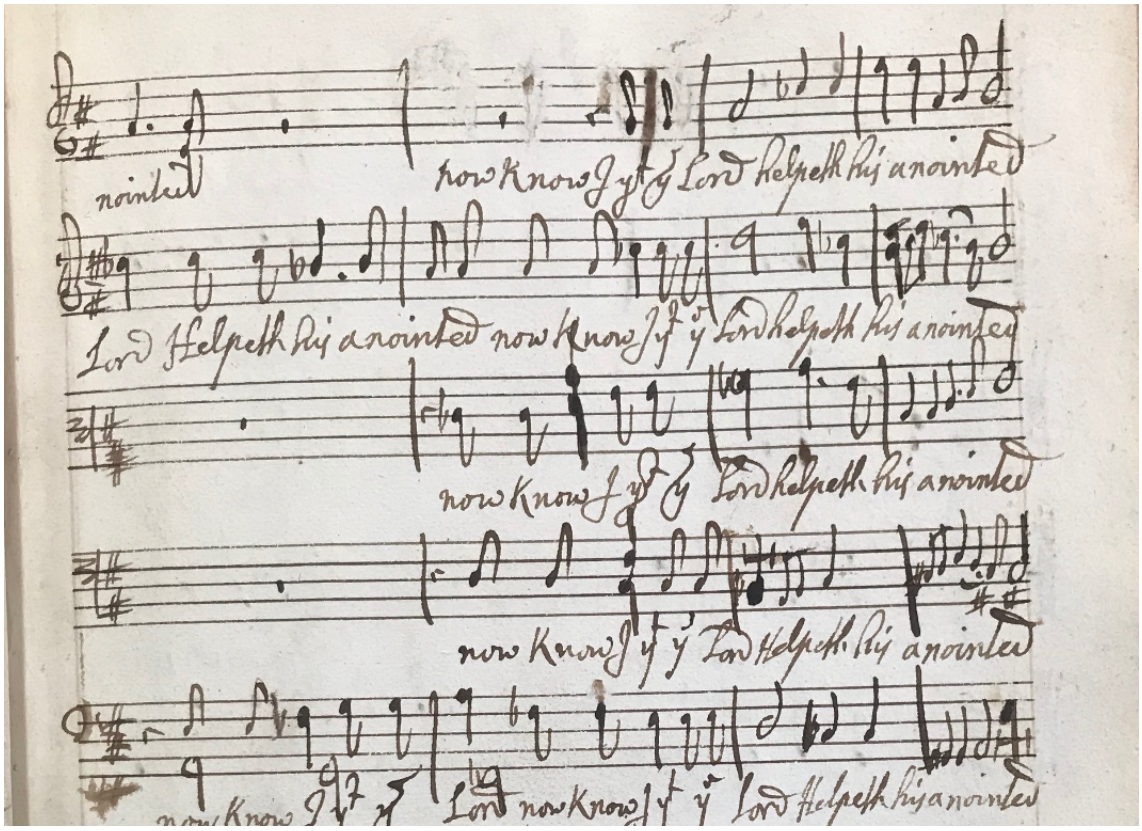


Figure 13 – Henry Cooke, *The Lord hear thee in the time of trouble* (Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham, Bu 5001, f.87r) demonstrating a particularly messy passage of writing. This segment demonstrates scratching, inked corrections of all three categories (overwriting, crossing out, and marking incorrect note length), and double noteheads (to be discussed imminently).

Approaching the scratchings and inked corrections holistically, the messiness of Cooke's autographs must be considered, especially when compared to the autographs of Blow and

Humfrey in the same manuscript. Cooke's drafts are hurried and messy—with figure 13 proving a particularly good example—with readings sometimes difficult to extract even from passages that are otherwise free from scratchings or overwriting. In comparison, both Blow and Humfrey's autographs contained in Bu 5001 are far more refined, exhibiting fewer mistakes and a generally easier legibility. It is possible that, for some of the messier portions of the autographs, the very state of them was enough to signal that they required revision in a later pass. Indeed, looking at the examples of the correction crosses in figures 5–8, they are all present in passages that would seem reasonably tidy, whereas looking at figure 13 the need for revision is perhaps more self-evident.

Double noteheads

There are several examples where two noteheads are written for a single beat in sections which are otherwise clearly in one voice, falling in the middle of phrases for single notes, rather than at cadential points or for entire passages, where it might be more conventional to expand the texture. Thus, these double noteheads indicate that Cooke actively supplied alternatives in this nascent stage of composition, leaving his indecision on the paper to be resolved in a second pass[40] in a similar, yet far more widespread, manner to his use of correction crosses.

Table 10 – Examples of double noteheads in Bu 5001.

No	*Anthem*	*Bar(s)*	*Voice(s)/Description*
10	*Come we shepherds*	23	Tenor
		149–50	Contra-tenor
		216	Contra-tenor
		247	Tenor
11	*Good morrow to the year*	44	Continuo
		77	Tenor
		117	Continuo
		137	Treble
		168	Bass
		172–3	Bass

[40] Conversation with Peter Holman, 8 May 2024, where the nature of these double noteheads were discussed.

No	*Anthem*	*Bar(s)*	*Voice(s)/Description*
12	*Rise thou best and brightest morning*	176	Continuo
14	Funeral Sentences		
	a I am the resurrection	7–8	Tenor
		9–10	Tenor
		15	Tenor
	d I heard a voice from heaven	11	Tenor
		15–16	Tenor
15	*Behold, O God our defender*	23	Viola
		56	Contra-tenor
16	*Christ rising again*	94	Treble 1
		96	Treble 2
		122	Contra-tenor
17	*Come let us pray and God will hear*	43–4	Contra-tenor
		58	Contra-tenor
		127	Violin 2
		128–9	Violin 1
		192	Treble
		219	Treble
		220	Tenor
		224	Continuo
18	*O give thanks unto the Lord*	70	Treble 2
		72	Treble 2
		127	Contra-tenor
		130	Bass 1
		134	Treble 1–2
21	*The King shall rejoice*	6	Violin 2
		112	Contra-tenor
		115	Tenor
22	*The Lord hear thee in the time of trouble*	22	Treble 1
		25	Tenor
		96	Treble 2, Tenor
		130	Treble 1
		131	Contra-tenor, Tenor
		136	Contra-tenor
		148	Contra-tenor, Tenor
(22)	*(The Lord hear thee in the time of trouble)*	157	Contra-tenor, Tenor
		159–60	Bass 1
23	*Thou, O God art praised in Sion*	69–70	Contra-tenor
		94	Tenor
25	*We have sinned and committed iniquity*	19	Bass
		44	Treble
		56–7	Violin 2
		72	Contra-tenor
		76–7	Bass

One might immediately disregard these double noteheads as simple expressions of *divisi*, where two voices/instruments are intended to play on a single part. However, when we consider the fact that many of these examples fall within sections of verse, this argument bears less weight, as there is no reason, by evidence or logic, to suppose that these verse sections were intended to be sung by any more than one voice. Indeed, where Cooke intends for multiple voices to comprise a verse, this is usually signalled by inserting 'A 2' or 'A 3', etc., and he exclusively uses 'Chorus' or 'Cho:' where the full forces of the choir were to be employed. Thus, to suppose that many of these verses were intended to be sung by several voices is a fallacy. Indeed, looking to figure 14, what we quite clearly see are two alternative readings for bars 168 and 172–3 (see part 2, no. 11) being given, rather than passages intended for a second bass verse soloist.

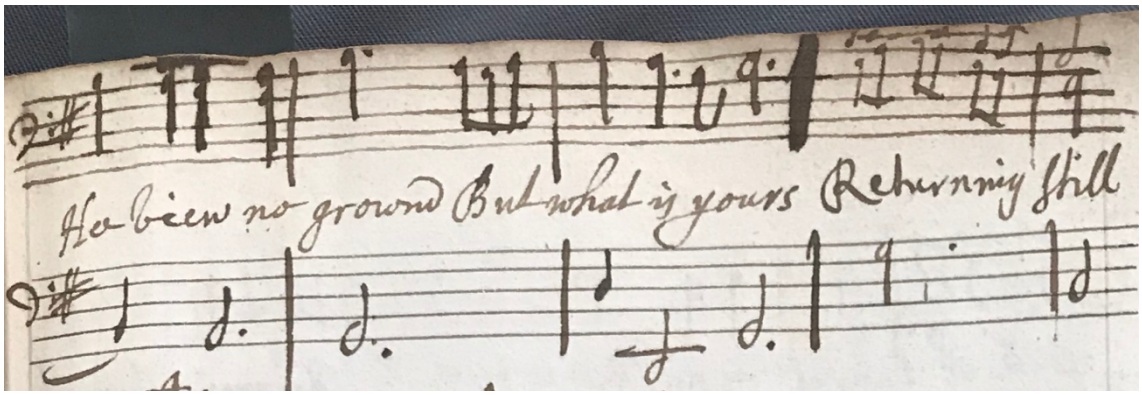


Figure 14 – Henry Cooke, *Good morrow to the year* (Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham, Bu 5001, f.9r) showing alternate readings above the bass verse.

In the examples of double noteheads in instrumental portions, such as in *Christ rising again* (mentioned above, and seen here as figure 15), the argument is muddied by a number of factors. In the first instance, there are several moments where the continuo line exhibits more than one voice in a bar. Where these have been prolonged (i.e. for more than a single notehead), they have been assumed to be a different phenomenon, as there would have been more than one continuo instrument performing at any one time in the chapel (at a minimum,

bass violin and the organ)[41] and thus multiple continuo lines would be possible.[42] Even if one were to assume that the lower strings did not play with the continuo in verse sections, the very nature of a keyboard instrument would facilitate multiple musical lines to be played simultaneously. Secondly, if we assume that these anthems were composed with stringed instruments in mind (opposed to wind instruments – whom we know did also take part in chapel services through the 1660s) then some of these instances, like figure 15, could be read as an indication to double stop. As Cooke was a viol player (as well as a singer and lutenist, on the basis of Playford's advertisement of Cooke as a teacher for the voice and viol in 1651, see chapters 1 & 2) it stands to reason that he would be conscious of this capability of stringed instruments. However, given Cooke's other usage of this technique during verse sections, and without any way of discerning any difference in intention for the instrumental sections, it seems probable that Cooke was instead keeping in alternates during the very first phases of composition, where he would decide the most appropriate of the two in a later pass.

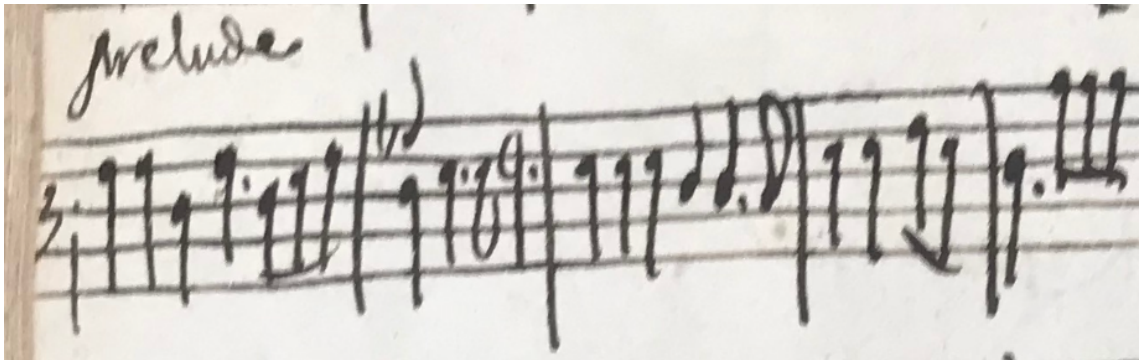


Figure 15 – Henry Cooke, *Christ rising again* (Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham, Bu 5001, f.70v), with a double notehead in the second bar of the violin 2 part.

[41] Indeed, for the anthems with three-part instrumental writing, the players were likely Humphrey Madge and John Mayer on violin, and William Gregory on bass viol, which would have presumably then been accompanied by whomever of the three Chapel Royal organists were on duty: Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 397–8.
[42] Holman also states that the strings had a primarily antiphonal relationship with the soloists *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 398–9; see also Rebecca Herissone, *'To Fill, Forebear, or Adorne': the Organ Accompaniment of Restoration Sacred Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 16; and Cheverton, 'Captain Henry Cooke (c.1616–72)', 84: 'the role of strings became, in virtually all cases, to perform independent passages between the various vocal sections'.

Missing music

There are several instances where Cooke has left space for music, but never filled it in. These are almost always confined to the instrumental ritornelli, where it would appear there was the intention of returning to add in the missing music at a later point. As Herissone has identified, this indicates a non-linear compositional process, where the vocal music was composed prior to the instrumental.[43] However, the process of writing in these ritornelli in future passes demonstrates that the production of fair copies and parts from these materials would have been difficult, if not impossible (not without compositional input from the copyists, which seems improbable).

Herissone showed that Cooke's method of ritornello-writing was often a sophisticated treatment of the preceding musical material (example 4) in addition to a smattering of *petite reprise*.[44] With this being the case, it raises serious questions as to the capability of scribes to produce parts of the music within Bu 5001, such as the first and sixth ritornelli of *Rise thou best and brightest morning* (lacking the second violin line) and the ritornello after the second prelude of *The King shall rejoice* (lacking all but the continuo line).[45] Without supplementary materials from Cooke himself, it is unclear how complete parts might have been copied unless one of two instances was the case: firstly, that Cooke himself was directly involved with the production of parts for his music – thus being able to fill in the missing material required for the completion of the music; or, secondly, that a second version of the music was written, which would refine the piece by correcting errors and by supplying the missing material. Given that the official copying of music from 1662 was carried out by the Sub Dean

[43] Herissone, *Musical Creativity*, 122.
[44] *Ibid*, 125.
[45] In the editions for both these pieces, which can be found in part 2 of this thesis, the missing parts have been supplied editorially in a style matching that of Cooke's compositional process.

of the Chapel, Dr Walter Jones, it is once again the second of these instances that would appear to be the most plausible.

Many of the complete ritornelli are squeezed into spaces which are too small, which is emblematic of the inconsistent *mise en page* which indicates an early stage of the compositional process.[46] There are two categories of missing music within Bu 5001 that must be discussed: *Petite reprises* with too few voices; and sections where entire portions of music are missing.



Example 4 – Henry Cooke, *Come we shepherds* (bb.32–9), showing the ending of the first chorus and following ritornello, which reuses the thematic content from the last portion of the chorus.

[46] It should be noted, however, that the absence of music does not immediately place a manuscript as a 'fowle originall'. In the case of Cfm MS 88, a Purcell autograph, the internal parts of *Rejoice in the Lord alway* are left blank, not because this was Purcell's first version, but because he had intended to rewrite them. See Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 136; and Robert Manning, 'Revisions and Reworkings in Purcell's Anthems', *Soundings* 9 (1982), 29–37.

The first and sixth ritornelli in *Rise thou best and brightest morning*, mentioned above, demonstrate the first of these categories, as does *The Lord hear thee in the time of trouble*, where a *petite reprise* is indicated following 'sacrifice' in b.44 (f.89v), but with the preceding section only featuring bass verse and continuo, leaving us without music for the second treble instrument in the band (figure 16). The same is true in *We have sinned and committed iniquity* (figure 17), where the indicated ritornello following 'thee' in b.67 (f.78v) leaves only two instruments where three would have, presumably, been needed. The fact that Cooke exclusively writes for the full instrumental forces available to him in all the written-out ritornelli makes it doubtful that any other ritornelli (even those simply indicated as *petite reprises*) would follow any other logic. Whether this was oversight on Cooke's part, not realising that an instrument was left short of music, or simply shorthand to write it out at a later time, it is clear that a second version of the piece would have provided the opportunity to provide the music in all forces.

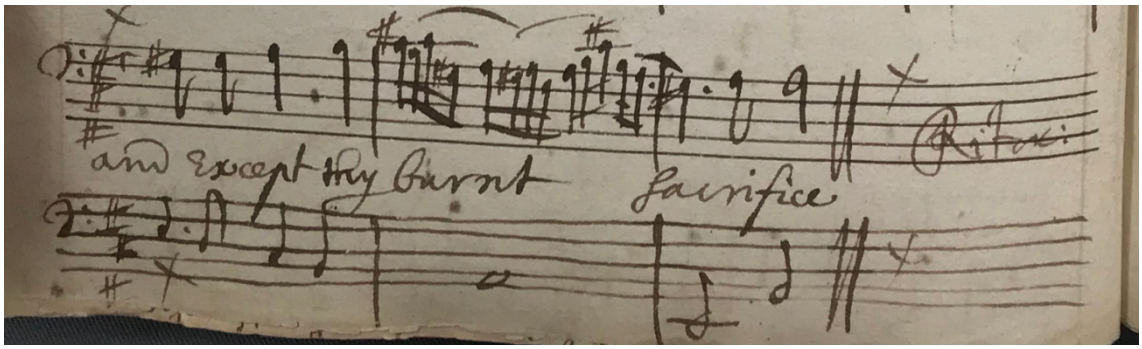


Figure 16 – Henry Cooke, *The Lord hear thee in the time of trouble* (Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham, Bu 5001, f.89v), indicating a *petite reprise* following 'sacrifice'.

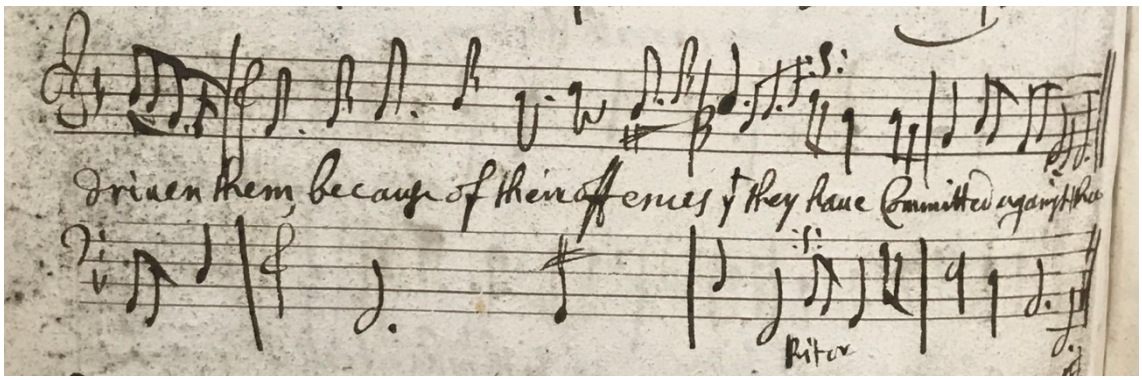


Figure 17 – Henry Cooke, *We have sinned and committed iniquity* (Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham, Bu 5001, f.78v), indicating a *petite reprise* to follow 'thee'.

The second category of music missing from Bu 5001 is more literal – music that is entirely absent in some form. This category itself has two subcategories: missing musical lines, and movements that should exist, but do not. An example of this first subsection can be seen in *Come let us pray and God will hear*, following 'include' b.60 (figure 18), where space has been left, and 'Ritor' written above, but no music inserted. Of examples cited above the ritornello after the second prelude in *The King shall rejoice* also shows this same phenomenon, albeit with the omission of the upper voices, electing to write out the intended continuo part (figure 19).

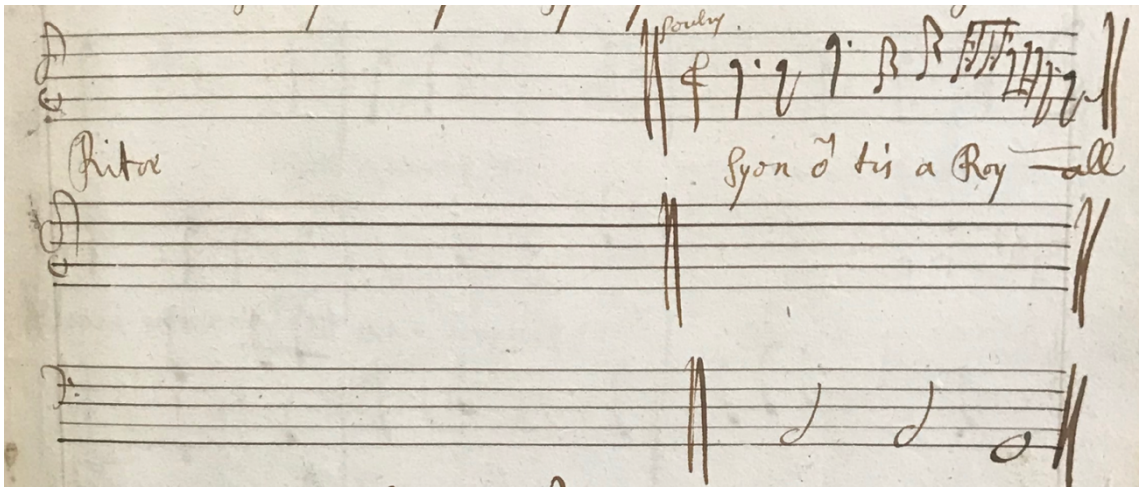


Figure 18 – Henry Cooke, *Come let us pray and God will hear* (Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham, Bu 5001 f.92r), indicating a ritornello, but with no music provided.

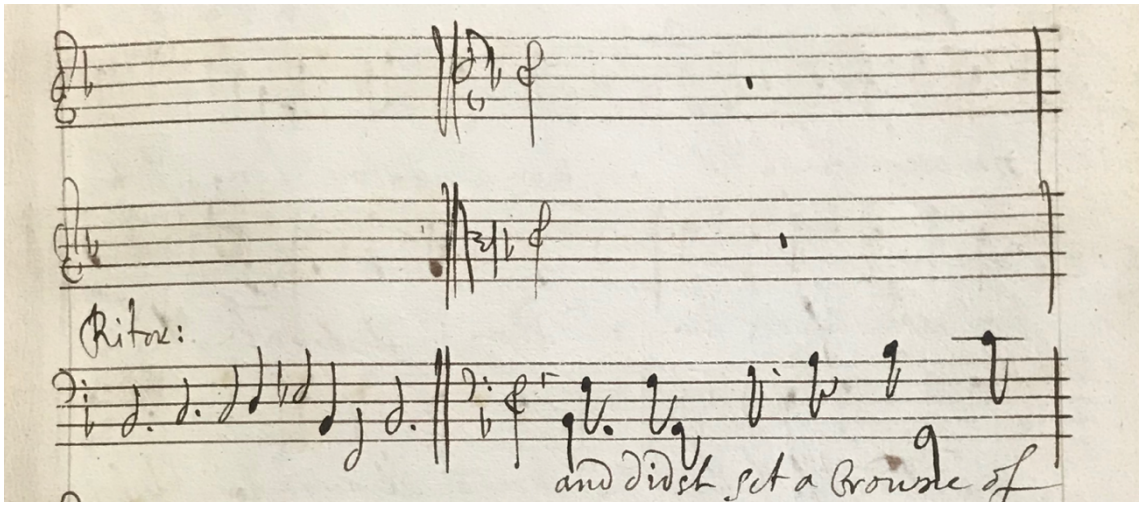


Figure 19 – Henry Cooke, *The King shall rejoice* (Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham, Bu 5001, f.82r), showing a ritornello with only the continuo provided.

This ritornello (f.82, bb.89–94) is left with only a bass line, but with two vacant treble parts above. For which the clefs have been restated, and clearly changed on purpose with the second treble part reverting to a C3 clef following the portion of the system set aside for the ritornello. This happens again later in the piece bb.152–8 (f.83v), exhibiting the same clef change and vacant bars.

Missing music in the first subcategory is also not isolated to ritornelli. In *Behold, O God our defender*, the final chorus has staves for Contra-tenor and Tenor in the top system and Contra-tenor in the second system but has no notated music and no rests to indicate that the voices are tacet. This could simply be a matter of poor *mise en page* but, given the context of the piece as one of the anthems for Charles II's coronation, it would appear incredibly odd to not employ all the vocal forces in the build-up to the final cadence. Although the portion in question (figure 20) is intended for verse (which is exclusively treble and bass to that point), the inclusion of empty staves indicates that Cooke intended to write music for contra-tenor and tenor verse too. Indeed, the fact that the written clefs in the first two systems change without any correction shows that Cooke was conscious of the content that might populate the space. If this were just an error with the allocation of pre-ruled saves, then we might expect to see some level of correction or, at the very least, the same clefs written on all three systems.



Figure 20 – Henry Cooke, *Behold, O God our defender* (Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham, Bu 5001 f.69r), with space left for potential contra-tenor and tenor verse.

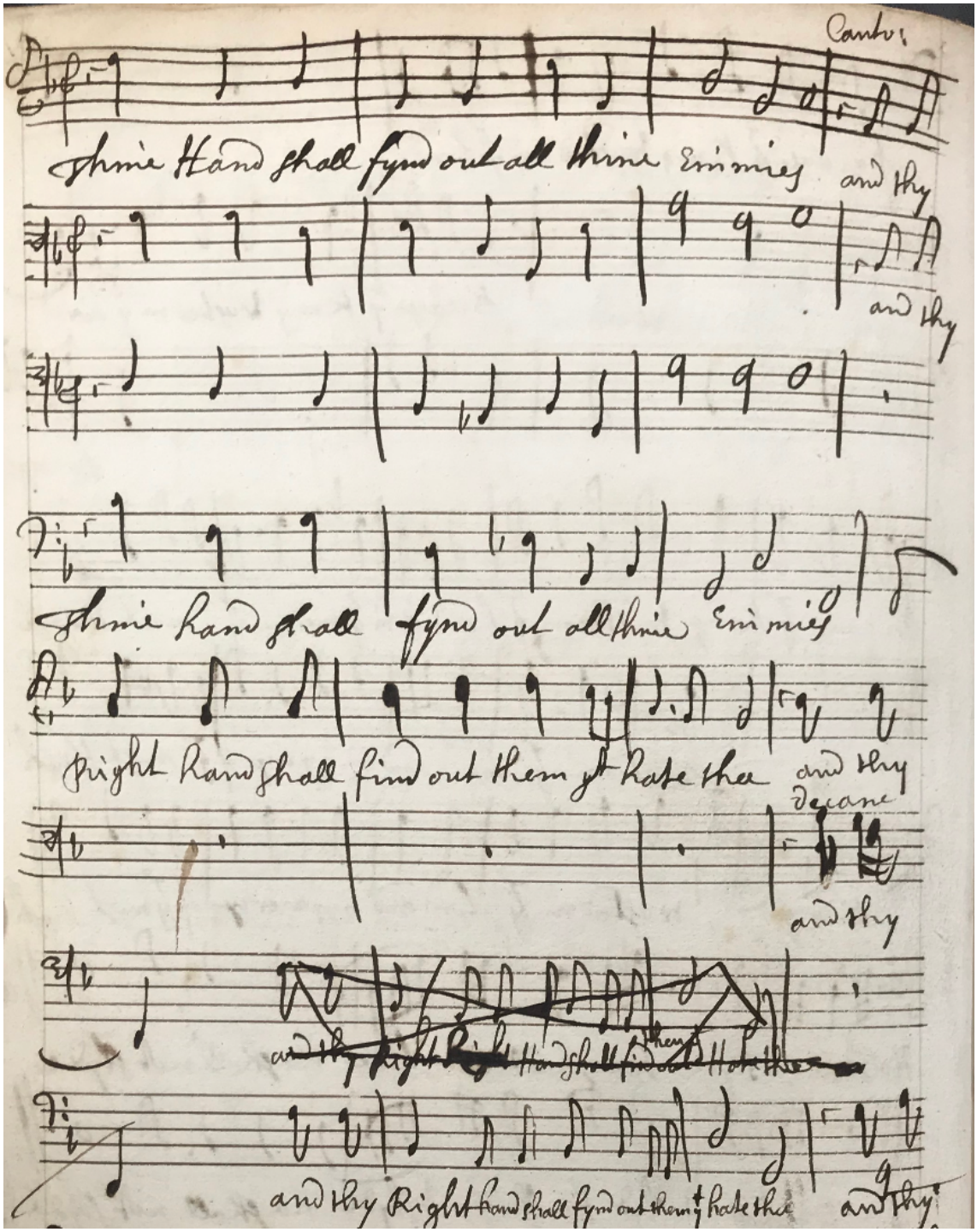


Figure 21 – Henry Cooke, *The King shall rejoice* (Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham, Bu 5001, f.84v), showing the absence of an contra-tenor line, despite beginning a line which doubles the trebles down the octave.

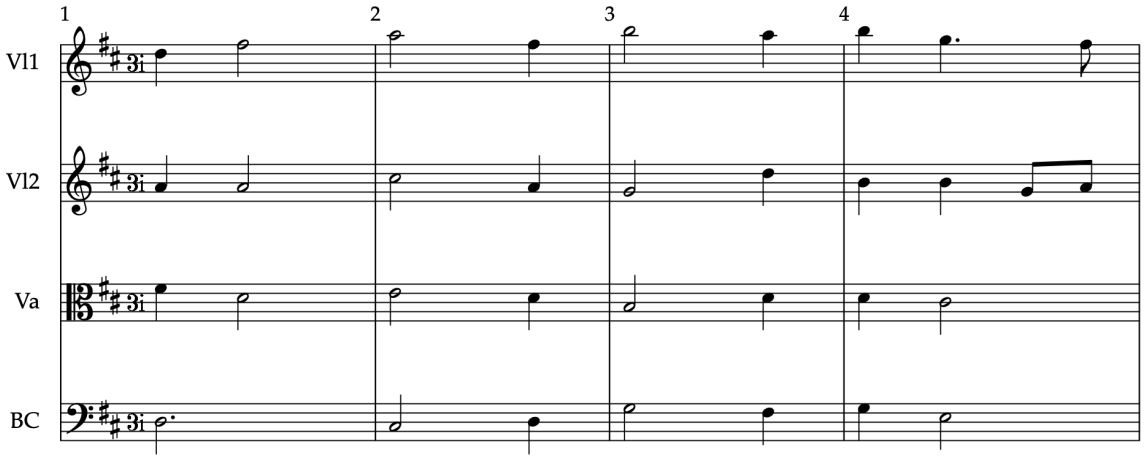
Perhaps the best example for this first subcategory of entirely absent music can be seen *The King shall rejoice*. Here the final chorus, one of the very few moments where the full forces of the choir are employed, is left with an exceptionally thin texture, sung by only the cantoris

trebles and basses. Whilst there are rests marked in the blank bars, the fact that Cooke left the contra-tenor line incomplete (see figure 21) indicates that this was not the initial design and was intended to be revisited in a later revision from which parts would have been copied. The contra-tenor line begins in sixths with the trebles. If this were an error—such as we might have expected from a line written at the octave—Cooke's fastidious attitude to correcting his work would surely have resulted in it being either crossed or scratched out, much like we see with the tenor in the second system. That it is a musical line clearly written with the intention of moving in harmony with the trebles, and that there was no discernible effort to remove it from the score, suggests that the music is simply missing, rather than an error. When we consider the overall level of incomplete writing evident in *The King shall rejoice* in isolation, and the fact that this indicates Cooke would have intended to revisit the piece in a second compositional pass, this strengthens the hypothesis that the ending of the piece may be incomplete. Additionally, looking to those final bars of the piece, it is striking that Cooke adopts a completely different approach to every other anthem which remains extant. Every other anthem ends with a section sung by the full choir; thus, it seems odd that Cooke decided not to adopt the same for this anthem. There is no obvious purpose to dropping the tenor voice until the antepenultimate bar, thus we might deduce this as further evidence that the finished composition is not represented by the content in Bu 5001.

Moving to the second subcategory, we find an example of music that should exist but does not, through a missing prelude in *The Lord hear thee in the time of trouble*. We have already discussed the collation of *The Lord hear thee* above, with the prelude written in Humfrey's hand probably representing the first prelude due to the direct quotation of material (examples 5 and 6, below), but if we look to every other symphony anthem (including the two in DRc MS B1) they all exhibit medial preludes/symphonies – thus, it is logical to assume there

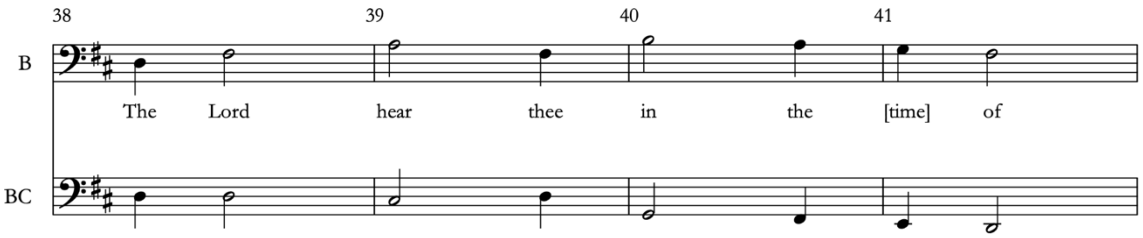
would have been a second prelude that is not extant.[47] Whether this prelude was lost in the, seemingly, confused process of putting together Bu 5001 for these specific materials, or whether a loose folio containing the prelude (as we see with some of the other anthems, like *Christ rising again* and, indeed, the opening prelude for *The Lord hear thee*) was separated from the rest of the manuscript is unknown. It is equally probable that the missing medial prelude was written at a later stage and included with a second version of the rest of the anthem, from which parts would have then been copied.

This begs the question as to whether more instrumental music was included in the final version of these anthems. Immediately one might look at the absence of an opening prelude to *Thou, O God art praised in Sion* and assume this an example, but this is simply an example of a single (i.e. not symphony) anthem being included amongst the others. It will likely remain impossible to determine whether there are any further movements of instrumental music missing from those anthems contained in Bu 5001 but, given the degree of incomplete and outright missing music demonstrated above, this possibility cannot be disregarded.



Example 5 – Henry Cooke, *The Lord hear thee in the time of trouble* (bb.1–4).

[47] An editorial second prelude has been provided in the editions, employing material from the latter portion of the anthem in a similar manner to the opening prelude.



Example 6 – Henry Cooke, *The Lord hear thee in the time of trouble* (bb.38–41).

Returning, briefly, to figure 16 (and, to a lesser degree, figure 17) one might have noticed the return of a familiar-looking mark: a cross. This is the only time Cooke uses this symbol to indicate from which point the *petite reprise* to follow should begin, with a similar symbol used on the systems above on the same folio (f.89v, in *The Lord hear thee in the time of trouble*, figure 22), and the ***:s:*** symbol seen in figure 17 also being employed only once (on f.78v, in *We have sinned and committed iniquity*). In every other instance, a *petite reprise* is simply indicated by the writing of 'Ritor' at the beginning of a passage a few bars before it is restated again (at which point the *reprise* is to be inserted).

The isolated usage of these symbols would suggest that this was not common practice for Cooke, and therefore might represent something different to the normal process he applied to ritornelli. It would be easy to speculate that the combination of indicating a *petite reprise* whilst also using a correction cross (or variant of) might demonstrate that Cooke intended to come back and rewrite/newly compose these segments entirely in a second pass; a possibility that cannot be ruled out.



Figure 22 – Henry Cooke, *The Lord hear thee in the time of trouble* (Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham, Bu 5001, f.89v) showing the use of a circled cross symbol to indicate a *petite reprise* ritornello.

Excursus: A Note on Time Signatures

The time signatures which Cooke employed throughout his work are fairly consistent (table 11), relying solely on 𝄵 for passages of music in duple time, and a selection of signatures for those in triple. Whilst there are four different triple-time signatures which can be witnessed in the sources for Cooke's surviving music, it must be immediately noted that Cooke himself only seemed to employ two of them, **3** and **3i**, in his autographs (see table 11).[48]

Title	𝄵	3	3i	3I
Behold, O God, our defender	x	x	x	
Christ rising again	x	x	x	
Come, let us pray and God will hear	x	x	x	
Come we shepherds	x	x	x	
Funeral Sentences	x			
Good morrow to the year	x	x	x	
O give thanks unto the Lord	x	x	x	
O Lord, thou has searched me out	x			
Put me not to rebuke	x		x	
Rise thou best and brightest morning	x	x	x	
The King shall rejoice	x	x	x	
The Lord hear thee	x	x	x	
Thou, O God art praised in Sion	x	x	x	
Turn thou us, O good Lord	x		x	x
We have sinned	x	x	x	
We will rejoice in thy salvation*	x		x	

Table 11 – Anthems by Henry Cooke and their time signatures, with autograph materials (Bu 5001) shaded.

Herissone has discussed that, as suggested by contemporary treatises, barlines may have one of served two purposes during the seventeenth century: as a method for part alignment during composition, and to aid musicians in keeping time.[49] The latter of these two usages is beyond what we might expect to see in Bu 5001 due to the early stage of the compositional process the materials represent which has been demonstrated above. At the very least, the fact that many of these pieces were probably written out again would have allowed for the insertion of barlines for the benefit of performers to occur at a later stage: therefore, the use

[48] Aside from the anthems and odes, there is evidence of mensural signatures in 'Adjuro vos', where *imperfectum maior* is indicated above a **3I** time signature. The four pieces in Playford, *The Musical Companion* (1667) all share a 𝄵**3** time signature.

[49] Rebecca Herissone, 'The Theory and Practice of Composition in the English Restoration Period', PhD Thesis, Emmanuel College, University of Cambridge, 1996, 11.

of barlines as an aid for compositional alignment would seem the more probable usage within the autographs.

Irregular barring within Cooke's work is far more prevalent within triple-time segments; his use of duple time is fairly consistent, with $\frac{4}{4}$ as the basic unit.[50] The difference between **3** and **3i** therefore is not simply a case of the former indicating $\frac{3}{4}$ and the latter $\frac{6}{4}$ (or vice versa). The identical treatment of **3** and **3i** in several of the Bu 5001 anthems demonstrates that, at least in Cooke's mind, there was no relationship between the number of beats in each bar and the given time signature of a passage. Therefore, the relationship between barring and metre in Cooke's notational practice would appear to be largely casual, merely indicating loosely the duple or triple nature of the passage, with barlines being inserted wherever felt necessary for the vertical alignment of parts.

In addition to the conclusions that can be reached at this juncture—that Cooke's usage of barlines had no relation to the given time signature—his attitude to the difference between the two triple-time signatures he employed, **3** and **3i**, might also be interrogated. When marking the time signature at the beginning of a section (or, indeed, changing it in the middle of a section) Cooke often wrote a combination of **3** and **3i** across the given parts. However, given that the parts given under a **3** time signature (seen in table 12) are, in every instance with more than two parts in the texture, demonstrates that this was clearly shorthand (or perhaps just sloppiness on Cooke's part). The most that can be deduced is that Cooke had a clear preference for **3i** as a triple-time signature.

[50] Herissone, 'The Theory and Practice of Composition', 17.

Table 12 – Examples of different triple time signatures being given at one time.

No	Piece	Bar	3	3i
10	*Come we shepherds*	22	Contra-tenor	Treble, Tenor, Bass
11	*Good morrow to the year*	165	Bass	Continuo
12	*Rise thou best and brightest morning*	1	Continuo	Violin 1, Violin 2
15	*Behold, O God our defender*	26	Treble	Contra-tenor, Tenor, Bass
16	*Christ rising again*	1	Continuo	Violin 1, Violin 2
17	*Come let us pray and God will hear*	1	Violin 1	Violin 2, Continuo
23	*Thou, O God art praised in Sion*	72	Continuo	Bass
25	*We have sinned*	47	Violin 2	Violin 1, Continuo

Non-Bu 5001 Anthems

Having discussed the nature of Cooke's autograph materials in Bu 5001 and that they probably represent the earliest stages of compositional drafts, rather than 'fowle originall' copies intended for copying, it is worth looking to the other manuscript sources for Cooke's anthems: those at Christ Church, Oxford, which exclusively contain *Turn thou us, O good Lord*, and Durham Cathedral, MS B1 (DRc MS B1), which contains two further anthems: *O Lord thou has searched me out* and *Put me not to rebuke*.

The anthem, *Turn thou us, O good Lord* (part 2, no. 24) is something of an outlier in Cooke's extant repertoire, as it is the only extended work for which we have several sources. Despite none of these materials being in Cooke's autograph, the fact that Och Mus. 14 is the autograph of John Blow and clearly a fair copy of the work places it closely enough to Cooke to trust that it is a true reading of the anthem. As it is a full anthem, like *Thou, O God art praised in Sion*, there are no instrumental sections for us to observe – for this, we must turn to the Durham manuscript.

The instrumental writing in both the anthems seen in DRc MS B1 are of the same style as Cooke's symphony anthems in Bu 5001. However, in one of the anthems, *O Lord thou has searched me out*, we see a different kind of interaction between the sections of instrumental and

vocal music than is exhibited in Bu 5001, where the two often run into one another, rather than being separated by double barlines (figures 23 and 24).

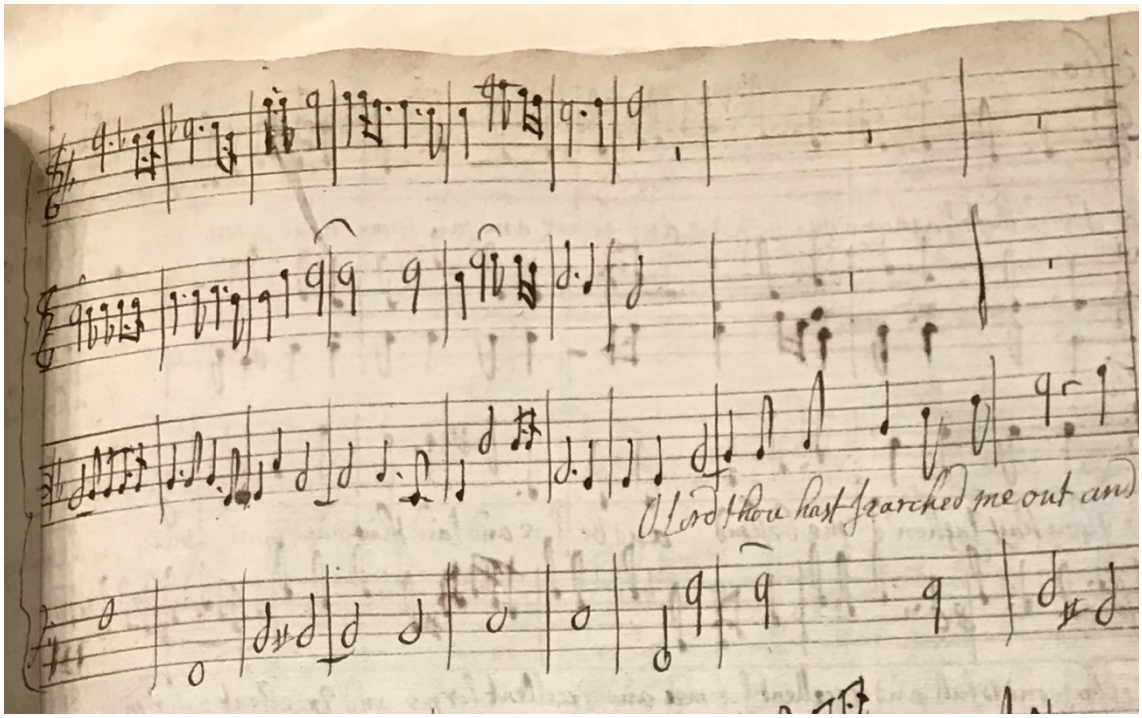


Figure 23 – Henry Cooke, *O Lord thou has searched me out* (DRc MS B1, f.71r) showing the opening vocal music beginning during the final beat of the opening symphony.

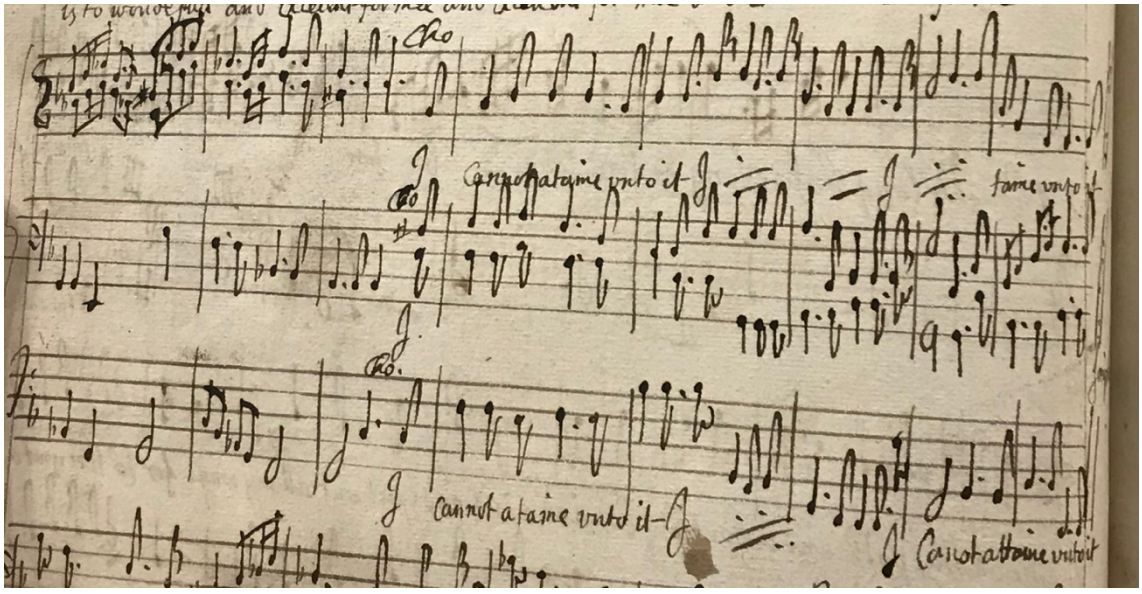


Figure 24 – Henry Cooke, *O Lord thou has searched me out* (DRc MS B1, f.71v) showing the end of a ritornello running into the following vocal music.

This having been demonstrated, one single example from Bu 5001 should be discussed: *Christ rising again*. In this anthem, there is one instance where the beginning of a ritornello is elided into the ending of the preceding portion of vocal music (figure 25). Here we see a *petite reprise* indicated to follow 'him' but, in a triple time passage, the content for said *reprise* is clearly given with the upbeat such that it will overlap with the final beat of the vocal music.

This example serves two purposes: firstly, it demonstrates that this was a technique which Cooke did employ in his autographs and that the examples seen in *O Lord thou has searched me out* were probably Cooke's own intention rather than any form of compositional invention by a copyist. Secondly, the lack of any other examples of this technique in the works in Bu 5001 (compared to 50% of Cooke's contributions to DRc MS B1) further reinforces the fact that the materials represent a truly nascent stage of compositional drafts, that may have featured more integrated segues between the instrumental and vocal sections (and vice versa) in their subsequent revised and reworked versions. Indeed, comparing figures 24 and 25, it is clear that this form of *petite reprise* ritornello, eliding the vocal and instrumental music, was something that was retained in the final versions of the anthems.

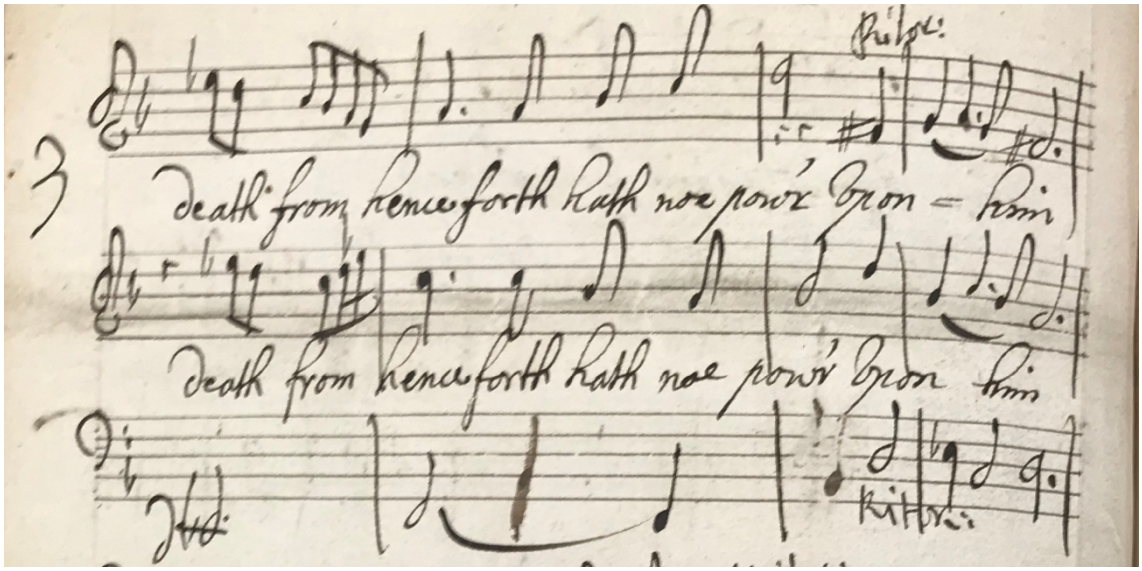


Figure 25 – Henry Cooke, *Christ rising again* (Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham, Bu 5001, f.71v) showing an indicated *petite reprise* including an upbeat that overlaps with the final beat of the vocal music when inserted.

The overall quality of much of the Cooke's content in Bu 5001 tells much the same story. Whilst pieces like *Christ rising again* and the Funeral Sentences exhibit marked reductions in the number of perceived mistakes, resulting in them appearing to represent more 'finished' works, this is not the case for the majority of the surviving repertoire. The autograph materials often demonstrate a lack of harmonic direction and weak key structure (*Come we shepherds* and *Behold, O God our defender*, in particular), parallel intervals as a result of poor part writing (for example: *Behold, O God our defender*, bb.17–18; *O give thanks*, b.108 and b.141), and awkward word setting. These are not troubles exclusive to Cooke—Henry Lawes often demonstrates a predisposition towards parallel intervals—but the levels to which these are displayed in the contents of Bu 5001 further supports that the materials represent working drafts of the pieces, and not their final versions.

Indeed, the presence of the non-Bu 5001 pieces—as well as the finer examples of work within that manuscript, *Christ rising again* and the Funeral Sentences—demonstrate Cooke's competence as a composer, and grant us a small glimpse of what we might have expected to hear if the finished versions of the music begun in Bu 5001, and those pieces for which we only have textual sources, remained extant.

Reassessing Purcell's Autographs

Having uncovered Cooke's scribal and compositional processes as evinced by his autograph material in Bu 5001, one might turn to the other autograph manuscripts of the period defined as 'fowle originall', with the burden of proof resting heavily on the autographs of Henry Purcell. [51]

[51] These materials have been ascertained from a combination of two sources: Herissone, 'Fowle Originalls', 574–6 and 586–8; Herissone, *Musical Creativity*, Appendix: Catalogue of Restoration Music Manuscripts. The materials consulted are as follows: Lbl Add 30932; Lbl Add 30934; Lbl Add 31458; Lbl Add 31468; Lbl Egerton MS 2956; Ob MS Mus. c. 26; Ob MS Mus. Sch. C. 123; Ob Mus. a. 1; Och Mus 1215(1).

The two key differences seen between Purcell and Cooke's 'fowle originalls' are the quantity of corrections evident in the autographs, and the stages at which they were implemented. Purcell's *Let mine eyes run down with tears* (Ob MS Mus. c. 26, ff.4–9) features limited corrections in the form of scratchings and a small degree of crossing out and, despite being copied stratigraphically, the score remains neater than Cooke's autographs. There are extensive reworkings in piece, but these have been made using pinned paper slips, indicating a later stage of recomposition separate to the immediate corrections we see with Cooke's work. The same is true of *In thee, O Lord* (ff.10–17) and *Hail! Bright Cecilia* (ff.21–6) which are, barring a few examples of crossing out, both exceptionally neat. As discussed above, the presence of annotated correction crosses across both (for *Hail! Bright Cecilia*, see figure 9) demonstrates that these piece was intended for copying by scribes, as the annotations give explicit instruction. This is something Cooke never does, which further indicated that the materials we see in Bu 5001 were intended for his personal use only. Additionally, unlike the corrections in Cooke's autographs, those seen in *In thee, O Lord*, and *Hail! Bright Cecilia* are unambiguous, which would have allowed a copyist to accurately create parts in a less rushed manner, and without missing music.

Lbl R.M. 20.h.8 is considered one of Purcell's great autographs, containing authoritative versions of many of his pieces.[52] That the copying order for his work in Bu 5001 is the same as in the great autograph—*The Lord is my light*, *I was glad*, and *My heart is fixed*—suggests that the former was used as the (or a) source for the later file copy.[53] For one of the other great autographs, Lbl Add 30930, Herissone remains undecided on whether the instrumental music at the reverse end of the manuscript represents 'fowle orignalls' or file copies.[54] Given the similar number of corrections in the vocal music at the other end of the manuscript, I

[52] Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 4, 126–43.
[53] This is identified by Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 142–3.
[54] Herissone, ""Fowle Originalls" and "Fayre Writeing"", 576.

would conclude the latter. The few mistakes that do exist are all corrected and would seem to just be scribal error. Scratching here seems to be preferred to the scribbling and crossing out seen in other manuscripts, probably as it is meant to be a neat file copy. An exception to this, however, can be seen at p.31–3^{rev}, with the music quite clearly being an incomplete draft of an instrumental piece. Regardless, in summation: the few messier segments are overshadowed by the greater number of neat corrections.

It has been largely agreed that Purcell was conscious of what he was going to commit to the page before writing in the majority of his autographs.[55] The two autographs of *Behold now, Praise the Lord* (Lbl Add 30932, ff.121–5) and *Who can from joy refrain?* (Lbl Add 30934, ff.80–97), both considered 'fowle originall' by Herissone, would appear to support this fact. Both have messier segments of writing, but are complete in their content, with corrections that are limited to crossing out and overwriting. The lack of scratching as a corrective practice, and the same paucity of active reworking at the earliest stages of writing seen in the other manuscripts above, further separates them from what is seen with Cooke's autographs. However, in two of Purcell's autographs, I would contend that we see striking similarities to Cooke's work in Bu 5001.

Purcell's *Benedicite in B* (Ob Mus. a. 1) and the ode *Of old, when heroes* (Lbl Egerton MS 2956) both exhibit a huge number of scribal and compositional fingerprints seen in Cooke's autographs of Bu 5001, including extensive corrections (of all types described above), the use of doubled noteheads (in the former), and correction crosses (in the latter). Considering the substantial evidence presented above from Cooke's oeuvre, I might suggest that these materials sit closer to the scribal practice which Cooke exhibited in his autograph materials.

[55] 'All the manuscripts show Purcell's ability to write down exactly what he meant straight away' Manning, 'Revisions and Reworkings', 29; Herissone, '"Fowle Originalls" and "Fayre Writeing"', 581.

That is to say, that they sit toward being compositional drafts more so than copying materials.[56]

Links to Oxford and Christ Church Manuscripts[57]

Of the fifteen surviving manuscript sources containing Cooke's repertoire, eleven exhibit origins in Oxford (table 13). Thus, it would seem that the city served as something of a nexus for Cooke's repertoire, with several of the post-Restoration singing men of the Cathedral serving as the copyists for the surviving manuscripts. The known copyists were Richard Goodson Sr, William Husbands, Charles Husbands Jr, and Francis Withy, with brief biographies of each to follow below. The library at Christ Church remains a key location for Cooke's music, as the special collections contain a majority (7) of the surviving manuscripts.

Table 13 – Manuscripts containing Cooke's repertoire, and their copying locations.

Manuscript	Description	Copyist Responsible for Cooke Repertoire in Source	Copying Location
Bu 5001	Chapel Royal guardbook	Henry Cooke	London (Whitehall Palace)
DRc MS B1	Organ book	Richard Hosier	Dublin
Lbl Add 14399	Pedagogical study book		
Lbl Add 29396	Collection of vocal music	Edward Lowe	Oxford
Lbl Add 31460	Scorebook of solo voice music	Richard Goodson, William Husbands, Charles Husbands Jr	Oxford (Christ Church)
Lbl Add 33234	Scorebook of sacred and secular music	Charles Morgan	Oxford (Magdalen College)
Lbl Egerton MS 2960	Scorebook of sacred and secular music by English and Italian composers		Oxford
Ob MS Mus. Sch. d. 217	Miscellaneous notes, scores, and bass parts	Francis Withy	Oxford (Christ Church)
Och Mus. 12	Anthems and contrafacta for choir with continuo	Charles Husbands Jr	Oxford (Christ Church)
Och Mus. 14	Sacred and secular music by English and Italian composers	John Blow	London
Och Mus. 22	Scorebook	Richard Goodson Sn	Oxford (Christ Church)
Och Mus. 49	Composite score of English and Italian vocal music		Oxford?
Och Mus. 598	Collection of songs and keyboard pieces	Richard Goodson Sn	Oxford (Christ Church)
Och Mus. 1205 (A)	*Sleep downy sleep* copied in score	Richard Goodson Sn	Oxford (Christ Church)
Och Mus. 1246	Tenor partbook from Christ Church	Francis Withy	Oxford (Christ Church)

[56] Indeed, Robert Shay referred to Ob Mus. a. 1 as a 'working copy' in a 2017 review, rather than adhering to any categorisation as 'fowle originall'. See Robert Shay, 'Review: Sacred Music by Purcell', *Notes* 74/2 (2017), 301.

[57] An earlier version of this portion of the thesis was published as Samuel Teague, 'Chapel Royal Links in Oxford: The Music of Captain Henry Cooke at Christ Church', *Christ Church Library Newsletter* 13/1–3 (2021–22), 16–19. The content has been significantly reworked since then.

William and Charles Husbands were brothers and choristers at Christ Church (1673–82 and 1677–84, respectively) before becoming singing men and organists of the Cathedral until their deaths, both in 1692. During their adult years, they were employed to copy pieces for use in the Cathedral, which may have been the original purpose of Och Mus. 12 and Lbl Add 31460.[58]

Francis Withy had a similar career to Charles and William Husbands, serving as a singing man 1670–1727. During this period, he was regularly called upon to copy music for both the cathedral and University,[59] and was responsible for the Bodleian manuscript, MS Mus. Sch. d. 217 containing the bass part to the anthem 'Turn thou us, O good Lord'.[60]

Richard Goodson Sr served as a singing man at Christ Church 1667–81, succeeding Edward Lowe as Heather Professor of Music.[61] In 1692, he took up the post of organist at Christ Church which he held until c.1714, when he left his duties to his son, also named Richard.[62] Two of the Christ Church sources which Goodson copied, Och Mus. 22 and Mus. 598, found their way into the Cathedral via the Goodson bequest, which was made by his son c.1743.

The plentiful sources linked to Christ Church might seem to indicate that Cooke himself had a personal link with the cathedral and/or college. However, there is little evidence to suggest that Cooke had any real links with the city or its institutions prior to his trip to Oxford for choristers in 1660/1 as concluded in chapter 2. Furthermore, Cooke's level of contemporary

[58] John Milsom, ed. 'Mus. 11'. *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*. 2004; H. Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1538* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1991), 211.
[59] Robert Thompson. 'Withy family [Withie, Wythey]'. *Oxford Music Online*, 2014.
[60] Indeed, this is the only manuscript held in the Bodleian containing music by Cooke.
[61] An endowed chair within the University of Oxford.
[62] Robert Thompson. 'Goodson, Richard (i)'. *OMO*. 2001.

fame (at least within certain London-centric music-literate circles) makes it probable that any affiliation with an institution in Oxford following—or indeed preceding—the period of civil war and Commonwealth would have been noted.

Looking in another direction, considering whether any of the copyists had a connection to Cooke, only one of the four Christ Church men had a direct link to the Chapel Royal: Charles Husbands Jr. He was a chorister in attendance of the King at Windsor in 1683, which overlap with his recorded dates as a chorister at Christ Church.[63] This stint in the Chapel was much later than Cooke's tenure, but would have seen Husbands working under the care of John Blow as master of the children, thus providing us with a reasonably solid link to Cooke's legacy in the Chapel, if not necessarily his repertoire. This link, however, may have been facilitated through their father, as Charles Sr was a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal contemporaneous with Cooke.[64]

This being said, we might consider two far more probable conduits for Cooke's repertoire at Christ Church: Edward Lowe and Sampson Estwick. Lowe was contemporaneous with Cooke in the Chapel, and they probably knew each other (or at least of each other) prior to the Civil Wars. Indeed, it is possible that Lowe identified for Cooke some of the boys who would go on to sing with the Chapel Royal – although one questions how willing he would have been to actively encourage Cooke to press children who would otherwise would have (presumably) sung at Christ Church. Estwick, as discussed in chapter two, is described as having been a child under Cooke who left the chapel in matriculated into Christ Church in

[63] Lna LC 5/144, 400–401; *RECM*, i, 205–6.
[64] It is possible that Charles Sr was among the extraordinary gentlemen of the Chapel, as his appointment is not formally recorded, but he is paid for singing at Windsor on more than one occasion. *Ibid.*, 109, 136, & 143.

1674. He served as chaplain 1679–1711,[65] therefore placing him in the ideal position to promote the music of his former master.

Whilst of the seven Christ Church manuscripts are in Cooke's autograph, but Mus. 14 as an autograph of John Blow does exhibit a single degree of separation from him. As demonstrated in chapter 2, Blow was one of Cooke's original choristers and thus would have had the opportunity to gain a more intimate knowledge of Cooke's repertoire than that of the later generations of the English Restoration School. Therefore, this indicates that the reading in Mus. 14 is fairly authoritative, possibly having been copied from an autograph source which is no longer extant.

Table 14 – Christ Church manuscripts containing repertoire by Cooke.

Manuscript	Cooke Content	Bequest
Mus. 12	*Turn thou us, O good Lord*	Aldrich
Mus. 14	*Turn thou us, O good Lord*	Aldrich/Goodson
Mus. 22	*Turn thou us, O good Lord*	Goodson
Mus. 49	*As on a river's side; Awake my soul; Sleep, downy sleep*	Aldrich/Goodson
Mus. 598	*Turn thou us, O good Lord*	Goodson
Mus. 1205(A)	*Sleep, downy sleep*	-
Mus. 1246	*Turn thou us, O good Lord*	Christ Church Choir Library

Concerning the provenance of the manuscripts it is worth noting that none of the materials, save Mus. 1246, came from the cathedral at Christ Church itself; rather, the materials belonged to the individuals who were a part of the institution. Their eventual deposit in the special collections coming through the Aldrich and Goodson bequests (see table 14).[66]

The Aldrich bequest comprises a large proportion of an earlier collection, that of the Hatton family, who rose to particular prominence during the English Civil War, whilst Charles I was based in Oxford. This is the same Hatton family whom Cooke worked for during the 1650s

[65] Thompson. 'Estwick, Sampson'. *OMO*.
[66] These two major bequests comprise around eighty-five percent of the total music collection and deposited extensive holdings of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English and Italian music.

(see chapter 1), and it has been suggested that his work with the Hatton family and the access to the musical materials at Kirby Hall contributed to his noted affinity with Italian repertoire.[67]

The Goodson bequest represents an excellent selection of music from a diverse collection of Oxford sources, principally members of other Oxford colleges. Dictated by the identical career trajectory of the father and son, this bequest has a particular focus on performing material. Also included are several autograph compositions by Goodson Sr, as well as materials used for the tuition of choristers in the cathedral, from both father and son. Thus, whilst the materials were not held by the cathedral prior to their deposit in the library, one should not presume that they did not see use within the institution.

As can be seen in table 14 most of the Christ Church manuscripts contain the verse anthem *Turn thou us, O good Lord*. Without the existence of Mus. 1246, one could argue that the anthem was known to some of the cathedral's singing men, but it did not feature as a part of the cathedral repertoire. However, as the piece featured in both the cathedral's partbooks (in this instance, only the tenor partbook survives) and the private collections of the singing men, it can be assumed that this anthem was performed at Christ Church in a liturgical context. Additionally, due to the copying dates of the manuscripts, it is clear that this piece of Cooke's repertoire enjoyed a prolonged performance life in Oxford from 1670 (at the latest) until at least 1705[68] – well beyond the duration of his music being performed in the Chapel Royal.

[67] Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 25. Wainwright does later note that Cooke's first exposure to Italianate music may have been during the 1620s, following Wood's assertion that Cooke was 'bred up originally in the Kings Chappel', see Wainwright, 'Precedents for the Symphony Anthem', 221. Cooke's upbringing has been questioned in chapter 1, with an argument for his early years being spend at the Abbey, and not the Chapel. This draws into question the potential for exposure under the likes of Walter Porter and Henry Lawes, especially considering that Porter's tenure as Master of the Children at the Abbey did not begin until 1639; which I would suggest to be after Cooke's choristership would have ended.

[68] This latter date has been ascertained from the copying dates of Ob Mus. Sch. d. 217, copied by Francis Withy.

Looking to manuscripts which are not held at Christ Church, but which appear to have had their origins at the college, we see a similar case of a prolonged shelf life with Cooke's solo song pair, *Awake my soul* and *Sleep, downy sleep* contained in Lbl Add. 31460 (these songs to be discussed at length in chapter 4). The manuscript features *Awake my soul* and two versions of *Sleep, downy sleep* (in D and C minor, respectively), with the hands unidentified – the potential attribution of the hand will be discussed in the following chapter. This emphatically demonstrates a strong link between the repertoire seen in this manuscript and that which is contained within those now held at Christ Church.

The manuscript materials held at Christ Church demonstrate that Cooke's music (or, at least this one anthem) saw a prolonged and reasonably successful position within the cathedral's repertoire, with a conservative estimate carrying the performance of his music into the beginning of the eighteenth century. The fact that the singing men copied the repertoire for both personal and institutional usage also illustrates that, whilst the cathedral was a centre for the activity, the repertoire was also most probably used within other contexts in the city. Chapter 1 hypothesised that some degree of Cooke's song repertoire may have been composed for the purposes of his teaching during the late 1640s and 1650s. Therefore, it is possible that some of the songs were already in the oeuvre of Oxford musicians during this period, possibly to be heard at some of the musical meetings documented by Anthony Wood. This, in turn, might explain why Wood knew of Cooke, despite having no known acquaintance.[69]

[69] For further discussion on music in Oxford during the latter-seventeenth century, see Myles Christian Hartley, 'Networks of translation: a contextual study of Latin motets in seventeenth-century England, with focus on works by William Child', PhD thesis, University of York, 2022, 111–57.

Conclusions

The evidence presented in the chapter above demonstrates that Cooke's contributions to Bu 5001 represent the earliest stage of compositional drafts, quite separate from the concept of 'fowle originalls', and that in many cases further revisions and reworkings were needed. The fortunate existence of the two copies of the opening symphony for *Come we shepherds* demonstrates without question that Cooke produced revised versions of his work, often employing small correction crosses to indicate specific areas in need of revisiting. These marks, evident in the autographs of his pupils and contemporary—Humfrey, Purcell and Lowe—provide a small insight into how Cooke and musicians of his generation approached the early stages of composition, and perhaps how this was also taught to their pupils. We might also hypothesise that Cooke's content now contained within Bu 5001, representing personal compositional drafts, may have survived due to their removal from Whitehall Palace before the fire in 1698, which would have destroyed the complete versions of the anthems.

Some additional indications of Cooke's initial compositional process can also be drawn from the evidence, where several different stages of revision and reworking can be seen in the various methods of correction throughout the autograph materials. The fact that these techniques would have occurred at different times during the compositional process (specifically in regard to the inked corrections and scratchings) demonstrates that these materials were working copies subject to several passes before, I would argue, ultimately being written out into a form from which performing copies could be made for other musicians. The reassessment of Purcell's autographs also suggests that a separation in consideration between the two sets of materials should be considered, and that in some limited instances the scribal and compositional habits on display might suggest a practice closer to that of Cooke and his drafts than to the more established hypotheses of 'fowle originalls'.

Two of Cooke's contributions to Bu 5001 do appear in an altogether neater and less-corrected form than his other compositions in the manuscript—the Funeral Sentences and *Christ rising again* (the latter featuring a title page)—and thus may well represent these later revisions from which parts would have been copied. Indeed, the latter of these exhibits compositional fingerprints, through the segueing of the *petite reprises*, that we might consider representative of later versions of Cooke's work. These more 'polished' pieces are in the minority, and future research into the chronology of the extant works may aid in further determination of their compositional status.

That the non-Birmingham sources exhibit music that one might consider to be of a higher quality than the autograph offerings further support the fact that this process of reworking before producing some form of a fair copy was common practice for Cooke, and that the Bu 5001 autographs simply represent a collection of these earliest, pre-revision drafts.

The role that the performance practice of Restoration repertoire has played in the reception of Cooke's music (as well as his contemporaries) might also be considered in future research. Earlier performances of music of this period have had a habit of emphasising the worst aspects of the writing; highlighting awkward inner parts and sectional jumps that appear disjunct if approached in an unidiomatic manner. The recordings of the two Durham anthems by Harry Christophers and *The Sixteen* (CORO, 2006)—as well as a more recent recording of *Behold, O God our defender* by Edward Higginbottom and the *Instruments of Time and Truth*, which does a lot with the poorer material—are incredibly effective and prove that sensitive treatment of the music can often draw out expressive and engaging performances.

That *Turn thou us, O good Lord* enjoyed performance in the repertoire of Christ Church cathedral, Oxford into the beginning of the eighteenth century raises questions as to the

potential longevity of his other repertoire, such as the songs, which will be explored at length in the following chapter.

Chapter 4 – Songs & Stage Work

Outside the context of his sacred compositions for use in the Chapel Royal, Henry Cooke enjoyed a career both pre- and post-Restoration as a singer, as well as a composer of songs and stage works. As we saw in chapter 1, several first-hand accounts mark him out as the finest singer of his generation, in demand as a performer and teacher. In 1660 Cooke was appointed to two major roles in the newly restored Royal Music: Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal and Master of the Boys in the Private Musick,[1] as well as a musician in the ordinary for lute and voice.[2] He would later be appointed as a composer for the voices in the ordinary in 1664.[3] The latter appointment required Cooke to provide music for, and to participate in, a number of extra engagements beyond his usual work in the Chapel. It is within this capacity that we may be able to locate and evaluate some of Cooke's non-Chapel output—encompassing his solo songs—providing another avenue for this repertoire aside from his teaching in the late 1640s and 1650s, as discussed in chapter 1. The work which Cooke did for the stage—*The First Dayes Entertainment at Rutland-House* & *The Siege of Rhodes*—and his partsongs as published in *Catch that catch can* (1667) need also to be considered, but sit in a different context, either falling within the period of Commonwealth (and thus resolutely without link to the royal musical institutions), or contained within publications aimed at a non-courtly audience.

Nine songs by Cooke are extant (table 1). Three, for solo voice, make use of sacred texts – *Awake my soul*, *Sleep, downy sleep*, and *Where shall my troubled soul*; two are secular solo songs – *As on a rivers side* and *Margarita first possess'd*; and the other four are partsongs.

[1] It would seem that Cooke's purview as Master of the boys in the Private Musick, at least in the first instance, only saw him teaching one boy, as the record clearly states 'a boy' in the singular. However, come 9 May 1661, we see Cooke appointed fully in the place of Thomas Day, with the oversight of 'the education of two children' as well as the £40pa attached to this role; see, Lna LC 3/2; Lna LC 5/137, 244; Lna LC 3/33, 55; *RECM* i, 4, 6, 17.
[2] Lna LC 5/137, 244; *RECM*, i, 6.
[3] Appointed in the place of Charles Coleman, 7/8 July 1664; *RECM*, i, 55.

Table 1 – Henry Cooke, extant song repertoire.
*This piece differs in construction to the others, featuring a bipartite structure with a chorus (C) as a coda.
† Text features in Anon., The New Academy of Complements (London: Samuel Speed, 1669) and in subsequent editions until 1698.

Song	Text	Scoring	Source	pp./ff.
As on a rivers side		Voice, Continuo	Och Mus. 49	pp.141-4
Awake my soul	Thomas Flatman	Voice, Continuo	Lbl Add. 31460; Lbl Add. 33234; Och Mus. 49	ff.83v-84r; ff.32r-32v; pp.111-3
Sleep, downy sleep	Thomas Flatman	Voice, Continuo	Lbl Add. 31460; Lbl Add. 33234; Och Mus. 49; Och Mus. 1205 (A)	ff.82v-83r, 84v-85r; pp.113-4; ff.1v-2r
Margarita first possess'd	Abraham Cowley	Voice, Continuo	Lbl Add. 29396	f.99r
Where shall my troubled soul[4]	Edward Herbert	Voice, Continuo [not extant]	Lbl Add. 14399	ff.29v-31r
Long have I thought		3 voices	*Catch that Catch can*[5]	p.201-3
Be thou that art	†	3 voices	*Catch that Catch can*	p.204-6
Poor Artaxander	†	3 voices*	*Catch that Catch can*	p.207-9
Quickly, quickly drawer		3 voices	*Catch that Catch can*	p.210-2

The chapter begins with an overview of the song styles prevalent in England during the seventeenth century, providing definitions for many of the terms which will be used throughout the rest of the discussion. Continuing with the detailed manuscript study of chapter 3, an evaluation of the sources of Cooke's songs will follow in order to both establish a chronology and to further determine the longevity of the repertoire. An examination of the song texts follows and facilitates commentary concerning the paucity of Cooke's works in contemporary musical miscellanies. The concepts of filiation and recomposition are addressed next in order to facilitate the significant examination of evidence which follows, presenting the case for the reattribution of the song *Sleep, downy sleep* from Pelham Humfrey to Henry Cooke.

Following this, a comprehensive analysis of Cooke's contributions to the first English opera, Sir William Davenant's *The Siege of Rhodes* (1656) will be presented. This will build upon several pieces of scholarship in order to facilitate the most detailed breakdown of the internal format of the work to date. From there, Cooke's extant repertoire, alongside post-Restoration works by his contemporaries, can be used to propose potential cognates for what may have been composed for *The Siege of Rhodes*.

[4] Peter Dennison and Bruce Wood's entry on *Grove Music Online*, incorrectly states that the three devotional songs are written for two voices. See Dennison and Wood. 'Cooke, Henry'. *Grove Music Online*. 2001.
[5] John Playford, *Catch that Catch can: Or the Musical Companion* (London: William Godbid, 1667).

An Overview of Seventeenth-Century English Song Forms

The style in which Cooke composed his song repertoire seems to have been a continuation of established native forms; namely, the declamatory ayre. Whilst various attempts to define this genre have been presented in scholarship (to be seen below), there persists an overall confusion as to where this genre sits in the contemporary English tradition, how one might define it and, indeed, whether it is distinct enough from surrounding forms to truly warrant its own name. In turn, this may lead one to question the utility of such genre/style terms in the categorisation of repertoire. The danger of attempting to overturn or recast stylistic-/genre-specific terminology is such that an attempt to do so inevitably causes confusion when first established. Given that the business of this thesis is not to overturn such terminology, it has been deemed that these terms will be retained.

As a starting point, one might turn to the following definition of the declamatory ayre:[6]

> …the rhythmic forms of the words largely governed the rhythmic shape of the music: the voice-line had qualities obviously relating it to full recitative…The declamatory ayre's voice-line, like that of the recitative but to a less degree, models itself on the time-movement, and to a certain extent the pitch-movement, that the words would have if given spoken declamation. The result is a song-form more tuneful than early recitative proper—that is, its music makes a greater contribution in its own medium to the total song—but none the less the effect it frequently produces is, like recitative, that of musically heightened speech.
>
> Declamatory ayre settings are largely syllabic. Parts of the text are seldom or never repeated to let the music increase its contribution at certain places; its units of meaning are usually presented once only, separated by cadences. The music thus tends to break the lyric into sections, based on units of meaning (often no more than verbal phrases), and as simple end-stopped verses are chosen, the resulting effect is often as if the text has been set a line at a time. The harmonic pattern of the accompaniment, too, often shows little concern for continuity, but is satisfied in underscoring the voice-line; we enter the era of continuo song.

One would be forgiven for reading the above (with appropriate omissions) and assuming that the definition is for recitative, but the fact that it has qualities of both full recitative (*stylo*

[6] McDonald Emslie, 'Nicholas Lanier's Innovations in English Song', *Music & Letters* 41/1 (Jan 1960), 20–21.

recitativo) and a purely melodic air has seemed to qualified it for its own distinct terminology in the literature.[7] The result of this is theoretically, a form of song melodically richer than full recitative, but which retains the textual expression of the form on which it builds more so than an ayre. For the purposes of the unfolding discussion, full recitative might be best defined as follows: music where the text is not generally repeated, marked by harmonic change which varies to emphasise poetic accent and text (often making use of dissonance) in an overall slow rhythm and a largely static bass line, all towards the impression of declamatory freedom.[8]

The declamatory ayre developed in parallel to the English styles of monody, examples of which may have been extant as early as 1617, devised by Nicholas Lanier (1588–1666) in two masques written by Benjamin Jonson. However, this would seem to have been more of a declaimed monody rather than the Italian-style/Florentine Camerata recitative that it claimed to imitate.[9] There has been some debate as to whether Lanier's music to Jonson, *Lovers Made Men* (1617) was sung in this *stylo recitativo*, due to a comment in the preface to the 1640 edition which states as such.

Lanier first travelled to Italy during 1611, not 1625 as stated by older scholarship.[10] However, despite the fact that Lanier had been to Italy prior to 1617, in the light of a severe lack of surviving music for these productions, this introductory date remains largely speculative.[11] Indeed, the little extant music surviving for Jonson's other 1617 masque, *Vision of Delight*,

[7] John Hawkins describes the form as 'neither recitative nor air, but in so precise a medium between both that a name is wanting for it', *A General History*, iv, 49.
[8] Dale E. Monson, Jack Westrup, and Julian Budden. 'Recitative (Fr. *récitatif*; Ger. *Rezitativ*; It. *recitativo*)'. *Oxford Music Online*. 2001.
[9] Ellen T. Harris, *Henry Purcell's Dido & Aeneas* (2nd edn; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 99.
[10] Emslie suggested that Lanier had first travelled to Italy in 1625, ('Innovations in English Song', 16) which would have limited his direct exposure to the Italian song forms, but it has been identified that Lanier travelled to Venice as an envoy for the government, possibly alongside William, Viscount Cranborne; see Ian Spink. 'Lanier, Nicholas (ii)'. *OMO*. 2001
[11] For further reading, see Emslie, 'Nicholas Lanier's Innovations in English Song', 13–14.

represents something more akin to what we might define as declamatory ayre (see below).[12] The nascent native form of recitative (distinct from *stylo recitativo*) is thus best exemplified by the *Hero's Lament*, representing the first surviving usage of a true form of recitative in England.[13]

This work was probably completed in 1628, upon Lanier's return from several trips to Italy in order to buy artwork for Charles I.[14] It is Roger North who details the composition of the *Hero's Lament*, describing it as 'the first of the recitative kind to grace the English language', and confirming it was written upon Lanier's return from buying art on the Continent. It was through his desire to imitate the *stylo recitativo* that he had heard, and the King's own approval of this, which led to the spread of an English style of recitative, separate from the pre-existing declamatory ayre and,[15] whilst the two forms are similar (indeed, they seek to achieve similar aims), they should be considered separately.[16] The development of this English recitative is, as with many things, difficult to trace through the years of the Civil Wars and Commonwealth, largely due to the limitations inflicted upon staged works across the period and the lack of extant music for those productions falling within the Commonwealth-era such as Sir William Davenant's *The Siege of Rhodes*.

When performed, the differences between English recitative and declamatory ayre are often difficult to discern, with the metrical freedom of the latter making it appear to an audience simply as a slightly more tuneful recitative. Lanier can be credited with the first datable declamatory ayre in England with *Bring away this sacred tree* for a 1612 masque by Thomas

[12] Ian Spink, *English Song: Dowland to Purcell* (2nd edn; New York, Taplinger Press, 1986), 46.
[13] Peter Walls, *Music and the English Courtly Masque, 1604–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 87.
[14] Greater detail into Lanier's activities during his time in Italy are given in Emslie, 'Innovations in English Song', 16–17.
[15] Roger North, *The Musicall Grammarian 1728*, ed. Mary Chan and Jamie C. Kassler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 205–6, further corrections and additions from GB-Lbl Add. 32536 regarding Charles I's approval of the style feature in Hilda Andrews (ed.) 1925 edition of the text, 19.
[16] Walls, *Music and the English Courtly Masque*, 94.

Campion, with further examples (such as *Do not expect*) spanning the next decade, which suggests the development of the nascent declamatory ayre during the waning years of lutesong (the period for which is considered to have ended in 1622).[17]

These types of work then persist through the following decades, cross-pollinating and co-existing with the tradition of pastoral dialogue,[18] and developing into something of a set of prototypes for the song forms required for sung-through works, such as Davenant would begin to produce in 1656.[19] The pastoral dialogue is another form of native English song which bears several similarities to recitative and declamatory ayre but featuring several voices in dialogue (as one might expect). The form can be traced throughout musical history[20] and would seem to have arrived on English shores to be developed by Thomas Morley in his *First Booke of Ballets* (1595) before later being developed further by Alfonso Ferrabosco the younger, Nicholas Lanier, and Henry Lawes. The earliest forms of the style feature the voices alternating outside the constraints of musical phrase, instead submitting to the necessities of the text being set; an accompaniment akin to what we might identify as standard continuo; and a lean towards the declamatory rather than the melodic.[21]

The beginnings of the Civil Wars, naturally, obscure much of the musical scene in 1640s England, but the early publications of John Playford in the 1650s represent a retrospective of popular song from the preceding decades, and indeed, we see no fewer than three collections of *Ayres and Dialogues* by Lawes published throughout the 1650s by John Playford.[22] And, here we should consider that this repertoire of declamatory ayres and

[17] Emslie, 'Nicholas Lanier's Innovations in English Song', 23.
[18] See Ian Spink, 'English Seventeenth-Century Dialogues', *Music & Letters* 38/2 (April 1957), 155–63; and Spink, *English Song*, 46–53.
[19] Spink, 'English Seventeenth-Century Dialogues', 157.
[20] As Spink points out, 'English Seventeenth-Century Dialogues', 155.
[21] *Ibid.*, 158.
[22] These three publications were released in 1653, 1655, and 1658, respectively. Spink comments on the fact that the poetry contained within these, as well as Playford's other early 1650s prints feature poetry that was

pastoral dialogues represents the type of music to which Cooke would have been exposed as a chorister, as well as during his formative years as a young musician in London and across England.

Finally, we must discuss the ballad. By the time of Pepys' London, the ballad had become a common sight, in the form of the broadside ballad: a single-sheet print, featuring the title, text split into verses, suggested tune(s) to which the verses could be sung, as well as woodcut pictures illustrating the content of the ballad.[23] This musical style was perhaps the most pervasive of all musical forms across seventeenth-century England:[24] if one were to be dropped onto a random street in 1660s London, it is probable that the first music you would encounter—possibly on that very street—would be a ballad. This also is true of instrumental repertoire of the century, where many composers employed popular ballad tunes as the basis of compositions.[25] In his seminal publication, *The English Dancing Master* (1651), John Playford provides the foundations for extensive cross-pollination of dance tunes and balladry.[26]

The broadsheets would often be printed without a notated tune, with the user having to work out how the texts fit. This would not have caused significant issue, as popular tunes, by their very nature, were well known, with texts following regular metric and verse patterns, as well as employing systems of rhyming couplets or alternate rhyme.[27] Indeed, it would seem that ballad-writers would usually have had a tune in mind when planning out the framework for

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either contemporary or earlier, which indicates that much of it (if no longer extant) existed in manuscript, and had probably circulated through musical circles, prior to publication. 'English Seventeenth-Century Dialogues', 161.

[23] Christopher Marsh, 'Best-Selling Ballads in Seventeenth-Century England', in Delia da Sousa Correa, ed., *The Edinburgh Companion to Literature and Music* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), 202.

[24] Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 225.

[25] Such composers include William Byrd, Orlando Gibbons, and Thomas Morley; see Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1966), xii.

[26] Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, 342.

[27] The introduction to Natasha Würtzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) provides good context to the basic literary forms of the ballad form in England.

a new ballad text.[28] This tradition was initially oral, and as such the extent to which empirical versions of contemporary ballad tunes can be identified is somewhat fragile. Additionally, whilst evidence from broadsheets would suggest that the ballads were often performed in theatres,[29] the extent to which they were incorporated into the tradition of masque and early English opera prior to John Gay's *Beggars Opera* (1728) is unclear. As will be explored further below, the ballad is considered by Matthew Locke in 1675 to be an integral part of the style of English opera, which suggests that the incorporation of these popular songs (and styles) into the stage works of the period was common practice.[30]

Song Sources

In order to date the six manuscripts in which Cooke's solo songs can be found—Lbl Add. 14399, Add. 29369, Add. 31460, Add. 33234; Och Mus. 49 and Mus. 1205 (A)—a few methodologies can be applied. The first of these is in the identification of copyist, which will allow one to determine the period in which they were active, and therefore a probable period in which the manuscript was copied. Secondly, and in conjunction with the identification of the copyist, the provenance and ownership of a manuscript can narrow this range further. The study of watermarks can also aid in ascertaining the date of a manuscript. However, there are some caveats to this technique, most notably that watermarks of this period can indicate wide timespans, and that the use of older paper stock (that had been stored for a while before its use) can signal an incorrect early copying date. The descriptions which follow detail the song-specific contexts and detail for each manuscript; full synoptic descriptions of each source, complete with physical information, can be found at the beginning of part 2.

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[28] Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad*, xi.
[29] Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, 231–2.
[30] Locke states that 'ballad, single air, and recitative' comprise the main components of English opera: *The English Opera, or The Vocal Musick to Psyche* (London: T. Ratcliff; N. Thompson, 1675), v.

Whilst all secondary literature presumes that the extant songs were composed after the Restoration, this argument rests principally on the fact that the manuscripts in which they are contained were all copied after 1660. However, none of these manuscripts are autograph and it cannot be assumed that it precludes the composition of these songs prior to Charles II returning to England. In fact, it seems likely that Cooke was involved with the activities of the 'Old Jewry Musick Society', which operated from the latter years of the Commonwealth,[31] which would have put him in a position where solo vocal music may have been appropriate prior to his appointment in the Private Musick upon the Restoration. The association between Cooke and the Old Jewry musicians is suggested by Playford's 1667 publication, *Catch that Catch Can: Or the Musical Companion*, in which four of Cooke's partsongs are printed, which was dedicated to the members of the 'late Musick-Society and Meeting, in the Old Jury, London.'[32]

There is little information concerning Lbl Add. 14399 and Add. 29369, aside from their entries on the British Library catalogue.[33] The former is a collection of mostly English songs copied in the second half of the seventeenth century. Some of the content was copied in autograph by Matthew Locke, although Cooke's piece in the manuscript, *Where shall my troubled soul*, is not (hand unidentified). It is worth noting that *Where shall my troubled soul* has been incorrectly described as a soprano line from an anthem ('Coro S') on RISM, where it is actually a solo devotional song. One would hypothesise that this misattribution stems from 'Eccho [sic]' being written above the text of the piece in Lbl Add. 14399, which was presumably interpreted to indicate that there was a chorus of voices underneath. However, it is clear from looking at the original text of the poem, 'Echo in a Church' by Edward

[31] Ian Spink, 'The Old Jewry 'Musick-Society': A 17th-Century Catch Club', *Musicology Australia*, 2 (1967), 37–42; I have previously theorised that the group began operating earlier than the cited year of 1658, Teague, 'Musicians' Livelihoods'.
[32] Playford, *Catch that Catch can* (1667).
[33] At the time of writing, the catalogue remains unavailable due to the October 2023 cyber-attack.

Herbert (1583–1648), First Baron Herbert of Cherbury, that the written echoes are a device intended to create the echo effect one might hear in a church.[34] In the text, it indicates the syllable that is to be repeated (echoed), while in the music the text was probably included as an indicator for the softer dynamic of the repeated syllable on which the echo is placed (see figure 1).

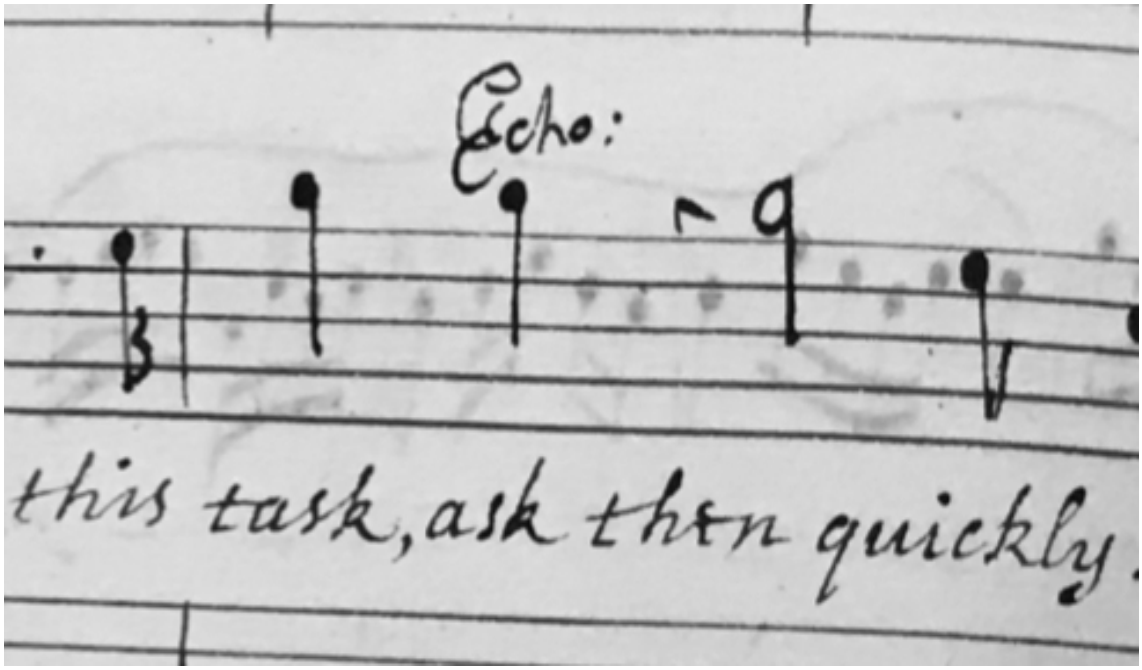


Figure 1 – Henry Cooke, *Where shall my troubled soul* (Lbl Add. 14399, f.30v).

Add. 29396 is another collection of English songs, copied by Edward Lowe across the period 1678–82. He was organist of the Chapel Royal whilst Cooke was in his posts and quite a few of the songs included are also extant in contemporary printed miscellanies. It is the sole source for *Margarita first possess'd*.[35]

Lbl Add. 33234 is a scorebook of sacred and secular music, thought to have been copied between 1680 and 1682 by Charles Morgan of Magdalen College, Oxford.[36] The foolscap watermark, (not to be confused with the paper-size) with 'AJ' beneath and 'PB' countermark

[34] G. C. Moore Smith, ed., *The Poems English and Latin of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1923), 47–8.
[35] *British Library Archives and Manuscripts Catalogue*.
[36] Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 124.

could indicate a copying date as early as *c.*1665, but this does not fit in the context of Morgan's time at Magdalen and therefore should not be considered in the probable dating of the manuscript.[37] The manuscript contains copies of *Awake my soul* and *Sleep, downy sleep*.

Add. 31460 contains three copies of Cooke's songs – *Awake my soul* and two copies of *Sleep, downy sleep*, in D and C minor, respectively. The dating of Add. 31460, a scorebook of solo vocal music, is less clear than that of Add. 33234. The manuscripts owner, Simon Child, claims via inscription that he was the organist at Christ Church, Oxford before Richard Goodson. However, documentary evidence indicates that he was officially a singing man there between 1688 and 1694, and then organist at New College, Oxford from 1702 until his death in 1731.[38] It is perhaps more probable that he was a capable keyboardist and thus deputised at Christ Church, when necessary, as William Husbands was receiving the official organist stipend from 1684 until 1692, at which point Goodson took over.[39] There are five hands present in Add. 31460: Henry Bowman, Edward Hull, Richard Goodson, William Husbands, and *Oxford A* (who is suspected to be Charles Husbands), and each example of Cooke's repertoire in the manuscript has previously been described as being in a different hand.[40] The existence of these diverse hands makes dating the manuscript difficult, with the proposed copying date being 1693 at the latest.[41]

Och Mus. 49 is a composite score of English and Italian vocal music (also some English keyboard music) and features three of Cooke's pieces: *As on a rivers side*, *Awake my soul*, and *Sleep, downy sleep*. There are eight sections to the manuscript, with all of Cooke's repertoire

[37] Andrew Ashbee, Robert Thompson, and Jonathan Wainwright, *The Viola Da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music*, 2 vols (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), ii, 279.
[38] Shay & Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 271; and Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 211 and 390.
[39] Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 211.
[40] Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 251.
[41] Shay & Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 267.

being included in the fifth. This section exhibits a foolscap watermark which indicates, along with the composers of the contents, a copying date in the late seventeenth/early eighteenth century.[42] The fact that none of the included pieces were composed by Purcell would indicate that this dating could perhaps be refined to the third quarter of the seventeenth century, most likely before, or shortly after, Cooke's death in 1672 – possibly earlier than any of the British Library sources. The copyist is unknown but their hand bears little resemblance to Cooke's material in Bu 5001, thus ruling out any tantalising possibility of a lost autograph.

Och Mus. 1205(A) was copied by Richard Goodson Sr during the late seventeenth century, with little else known concerning provenance.[43] It consists of a few loose folios, which include the lowest pitch copy of *Sleep, downy sleep* in A minor. Using this manuscript as evidence, I would suggest that Richard Goodson Sr was probably the copyist for at least the first version of *Sleep, downy sleep* in Lbl Add. 31460, if not both, as the continuo reading is identical,[44] as well as various palaeographic indicators such as the tails of semiquavers, the form of rests, and the handwriting of the underlying text. Comparing Och Mus. 1205(A) and the first reading of *Sleep, downy sleep* in Lbl Add. 31460, it must immediately be noted that the latter was written more neatly. However, looking to figures 2 and 3, the similarities in the hand are evident, with particular attention to be paid to the word 'beholding', and the identical manner in which the words are constructed in both manuscripts. In the case of the former, 'beh' has been written in one continuous stroke, following an identical formation pattern in both manuscripts (in the case of Och Mus. 1205(A), the loop on the ascender of the 'h' is difficult to view when not in person) with exactly the same being true of 'old'. The 'ing' has then been written in three strokes—one for each letter—and again in an identical

[42] Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 378–82.
[43] John Milsom. 'Mus. 1205(A)'. *Christ Church Library Catalogue*. 2004.
[44] The second version in Lbl Add. 31460 has some minor differences, but these are exclusively restricted to instances where there is an octave jump – thus, the harmonic implications are minimal, and the choice was probably made in relation to range.

fashion across both manuscripts. The same, however, cannot be said of the form of 'beholding' in the second version of *Sleep* in Add. 31460 (figure 4).

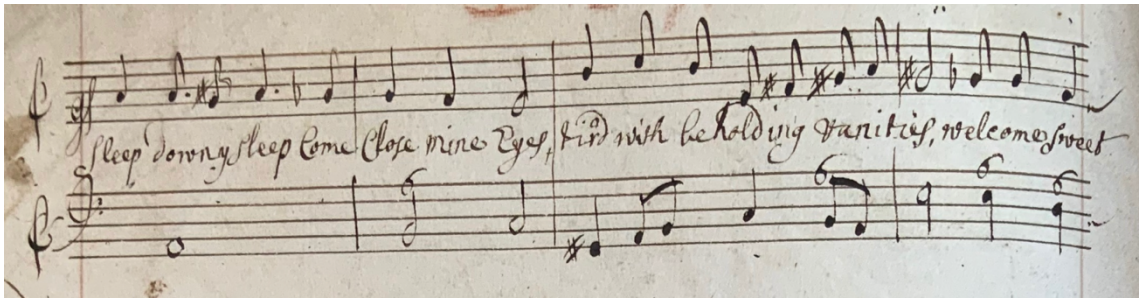


Figure 2 – Henry Cooke, *Sleep, downy sleep* (Och Mus. 1205(A)).

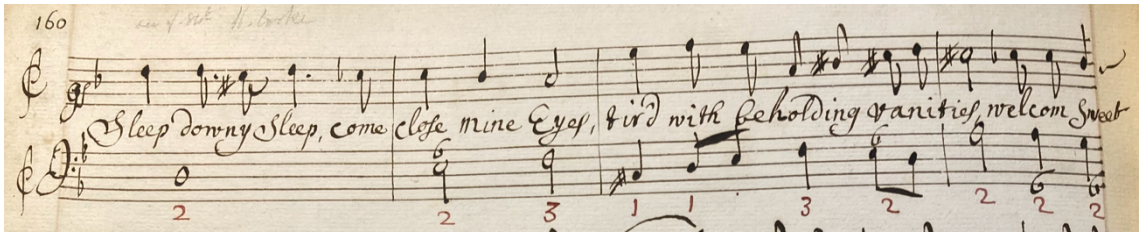


Figure 3 – Henry Cooke, *Sleep, downy sleep* (Lbl Add. 31460, f.82v).

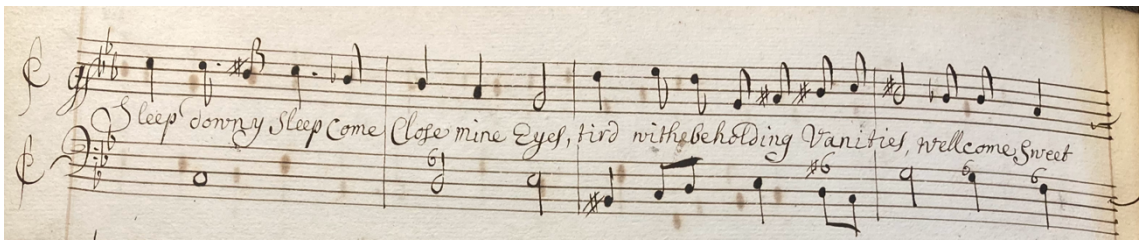
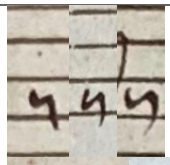
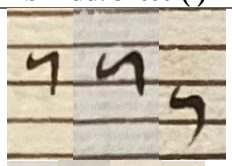
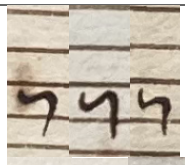
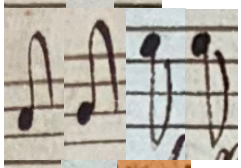
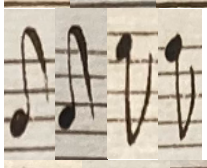
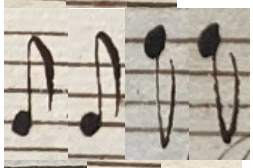
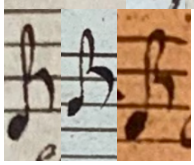
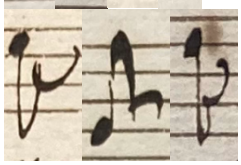
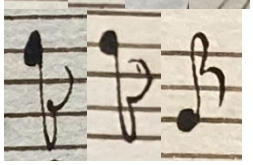


Figure 4 – Henry Cooke, *Sleep, downy sleep* (Lbl Add. 31460, f.84v).

However, by looking at the palaeographic indicators in the music itself—the forms of the quaver rests, quavers, and semiquavers—it would seem that all three examples of the piece were written in the same hand (table 2). In the case of the quaver rests, these are all formed identically in a slanted 's', written in a continuous stroke. The forms of the quavers are also identical across all three versions: note that the junctions between the stems and the tails are formed in a continuous stroke when the stem is ascending, but with a returning stroke when descending. Similarly, whilst the ascending stems always sit on the very right-hand side of the notehead, the descending stems always meet the notehead somewhere between halfway across, and the right-hand side. Finally, looking to the formation of the semiquavers, the

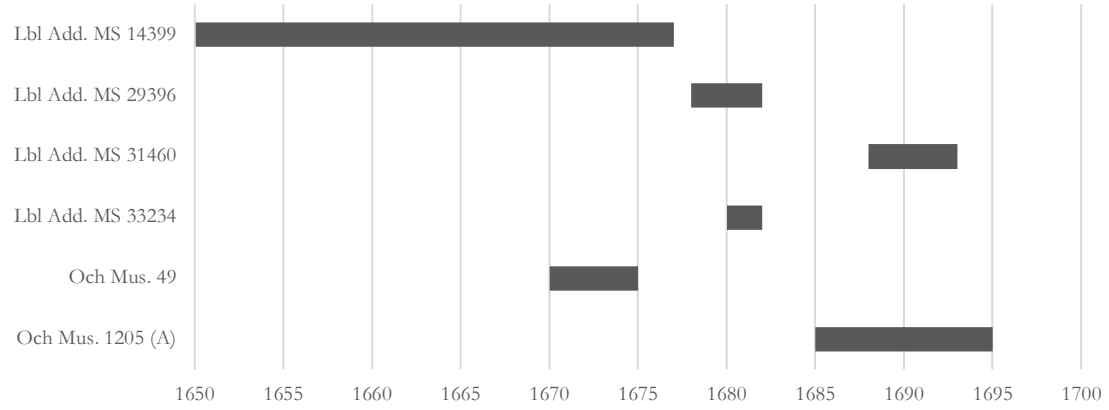
rules for the quavers also apply, but the secondary flick on the tail is provided, in nearly all instances, with a separate stroke at a hard junction – in some instances the pen has been lifted from the paper, and in others the second stroke continued without removing. This difference is seen primarily in the second version of *Sleep, downy sleep* in Add. 31460 which, rather than indicating the copyist was not Goodson Sr, may suggest that the copying of the two versions was not contemporaneous – accounting for small changes in handwriting.

Table 2 – Forms of quaver rests, quavers, and semiquavers in *Sleep, downy sleep*, Och Mus. 1205(A) and Lbl Add. 31460.

	Och Mus. 1205(A)	Lbl Add. 31460 (i)	Lbl Add. 31460 (ii)
Quaver rests			
Quavers			
Semiquavers			

Compiling the data from the sources, one can see that the majority of Cooke's extant songs were copied after his death in 1672 (graph 1). This confirms two things: firstly, the solo repertoire continued to be popular enough to warrant copying in manuscripts for nearly three decades; secondly, that there must be lost autograph manuscript sources from which these pieces were copied – perhaps one of the manuscripts Cooke produced for his students in the 1650s.[45]

[45] See discussion in chapter 1; SHE Hartlib 29/5/36B.



Graph 1 – Copying dates for the manuscripts containing the extant solo song repertoire of Henry Cooke.

The surviving manuscripts, as well as contemporary accounts of his activities, would seem to indicate that popularity was maintained whilst he was alive and up until the turn of the century. The copying dates of the manuscripts (graph 1, above) show that the majority of the extant solo repertoire was copied after Cooke's death, which clearly indicates his music retained a position within the consciousness of his contemporaries for a while after his death, even if it did not occupy a prominent position within the contemporary repertoire.

The lack of Cooke's music in contemporary printed miscellanies is still something of a mystery. When one compares Cooke's song output to that of his pupils, the difference is quite stark – Humfrey, Blow, and Purcell all vastly outstrip his song output. If one were to look at the composers of a similar generation, Matthew Locke and Henry Lawes in particular, then the situation is much the same as Cooke's pupils. It is quite clear that Cooke did not enjoy the same level of prolonged popularity as his contemporaries or pupils. A simple, and oft cited, answer to this would be that his compositions were not as good, but it has been shown that whilst printed collections did not feature his work, the manuscript transmission of his pieces continued for a while. It is quite probable that a large proportion of his song repertoire (along with the sacred, too) was lost during the fire at Whitehall Palace in 1698

which marked the end manuscript transmission from those sources.[46] The fact that the sources in which Cooke's song repertoire survives mostly hail from Oxford (see the final portion of chapter 3) is in distinct contrast to his contemporaries and pupils, who all enjoy much increased corpora of extant music – with high proportions of this exhibiting London-based origins.[47] Another possibility is that Cooke desired more control over the dissemination and performance of his work, preferring manuscript transmission to print. Within this there is, perhaps, the implicit desire to continually alter and improve the music,[48] explaining the radical differences in the readings of some of the pieces.

Indeed, the six sources containing *Awake my soul* and *Sleep, downy sleep* (their radical variants to be discussed further below) illustrate that Cooke's solo repertoire, or at least these two songs, was still being actively transmitted up to almost 30 years after his death. Therefore, it may be the London-centric view of history that obscures the true picture in Restoration England. Nearly all the printed miscellanies of the time were produced in London, but the fact that quite a few of the surviving manuscripts have origins or histories primarily outside the capital indicates that Cooke's apparent erasure from the canon in the 1670s may have only been the case within London, evinced by the surviving sources largely originating in Oxford or elsewhere. This may explain why Cooke's song repertoire persisted in some circles, perhaps through the music-meetings in Oxford during the 1650s and 60s,[49] but not in the printed miscellanies of the seventeenth century that were largely based on the tastes within the capital. Further to this, we can hypothesise that a larger degree of Cooke's post-1660 output may have been composed for the Privy Chamber and thus would have been lost in the Whitehall Palace fire of 1698.

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[46] Ian Cheverton, 'Captain Henry Cooke (c.1616-72)', 74, fn.1.
[47] Herissone, *Musical Creativity*, Appendix: Catalogue of Restoration Music Manuscripts
[48] Herissone, *Musical Creativity*, 209.
[49] I discuss these at length in Teague, 'Musicians Livelihoods", 15–29; see also Ester Lebedinski, 'Roman Vocal Music in England, 1660–1720', PhD Dissertation, Royal Holloway, 2014, 146–56.

Song Texts

Cooke's choice of texts may be one of the most intriguing facets of his song repertoire. Of the five solo songs, the lyricists are known for four – *Awake my soul* and *Sleep, downy sleep* were written by Thomas Flatman (1635–88) and were first published in his *Poems and Songs* (1674) and conceived as a pair;[50] *Where shall my troubled soul* sets the aforementioned poem, 'Echo in a church', by Edward Herbert (1583–1648); and *Margarita first possess'd* provides a tune for the verses of Abraham Cowley (1618–67), *The Chronicle. As on a rivers side* is the only one for whom a lyricist/poet cannot be identified. It would appear that Cooke's poetic tastes were refined yet varied. The output of Cowley and Flatman writing has often been considered to possess a elevated degree of imagery than their contemporaries,[51] but both oeuvres similarly exhibit examples of bawdy topics we have also come to expect for the period.

The song texts by Cowley and Herbert are reasonably self-explanatory, the former a humorous and (seemingly) fictitious recounting of previous love-interests, and the latter is the encapsulation of a prayer being said into an empty church. What is more telling is the political leanings of both men. Cowley was a staunch Royalist and followed the court into exile in France and later operated as a secret correspondent for the party.[52] An aging Herbert, on the other hand was quite on the fence at the outbreak of the conflict—instead committing his sons to the Royalist cause rather than voicing support himself—but as a landowner was eventually forced to surrender and offer his allegiance to parliament.[53]

Despite their earliest extant publication in 1674, the two texts by Flatman had clearly been written some years prior, evinced by Cooke's setting them to music before he died in 1672.

[50] Thomas Flatman, *Poems and Songs* (London: S. & G. B., 1674).
[51] Spink, *English Song*, 154.
[52] Alexander Lindsay. 'Cowley, Abraham'. *ODNB*. 2021.
[53] David A. Pailin. 'Herbert, Edward, first Baron Herbert of Cherbury and first Baron Herbert of Castle Island'. *ODNB*. 2009.

As Cooke set Flatman's texts before their first printing in 1674, I might hypothesise that the two men may have known each other. They both lived (or at least had property) in London post-Restoration and it is possible that they were able to exchange manuscript copies of texts which are no longer extant. Flatman's poems, and their musical settings will be explored in greater detail below.

As stated above, *As on a rivers side* stands apart from the other songs, as the text currently has no known source. It has been suggested that the text could have been Cooke's own translation of a poem from another language.[54] However, without any particular indications of an original language (giveaway novel diction, for example), the precision of scansion and the internal rhyme scheme indicates nothing more than that it was written by a competent poet (example 1). Each stanza opens and closes with a couplet in iambic pentameter, with the four internal lines in iambic tetrameter. The rhyme scheme does differ between each stanza, but every line is part of a rhyming pair.

1 As on a rivers side I chanc't to stay,
2 Musing on Sylvia's late ingratitude,
3 Upon a sudden as I lay [*break added*]
4 my tears mixt water with the floud,
5 The angry Brook was soe disturbd,
6 It murmur'd at the drops that fell,
7 And seem'd to say those passions must be curbd
8 That quiett streams with guilty grief doe swell.

9 Alas! Said I, and can your quiet find
10 more trouble from my tears then from the wind?
11 That rudely comes to discompose [*break added*]
12 the sweet tranquillity you keep;
13 My tears alas! are some of those,
14 That wou'd within your bosome sleep;
15 With that me thought the Riv' let [*break missed*] silent stood
16 and sorrowing took them all into her floud.

17 Sylvia cry'd I and shall each gentle wave,
18 Receive my tears with sorrows like mine own,
19 Whilst thou art so obdurate grown,
20 That senceless things more pity have;
21 I'll be reveng'd, and when my store [*break added*]
22 of tears is spent I'le borrow more [*break added*]
23 from them, and weep a deluge at thy feet,
24 Till thou relent and weep thy self to see't

Example 1 – Anon., 'As on a rivers side'.

[54] This was during a conversation with Dr Thomas MacFaul at St Edmund's Hall, Oxford.

Songs for Domestic or Private Music(k)?

With regard to the composition of songs, the formal positions Cooke occupied within the King's Music were part of the Private Musick (Lutes and Voices), where he replaced Nicholas Duvall as a lutenist and singer, and Thomas Day for the keeping and tuition of a singing boy (and later for the keeping of two singing boys).[55] Cooke's roles within the Private Musick, especially as tutor for the singing boys (who were, at least in the early years of the Restoration, almost certainly John Blow and John Loggins),[56] would have probably required him to produce some compositions, both for the training of the children in his charge as well as the everyday repertoire of the Private Musick following his appointment as a composer for the voices in 1664.[57] Indeed, as Master of the Boys in the Private Musick, Cooke may have been expected to provide music for the boys in the Private Musick before his official appointment as a composer in the vocal music. As discussed in chapter 1, Cooke's activities as a singer and teacher across the country have confirmed that he was actively composing some degree of song repertoire for pedagogical purposes. However, the degree to which this might be exhibited by the surviving songs remains unclear.

Sadly, no poly-vocal pieces for the Private Musick would appear to have survived, but we may be able to turn to his surviving two-part Latin motet, *Adjuro vos filia Jerusalem*, as a cognate for Cooke's style of consort composition. It is also worth discussing how this links to the *concertato* motets of Cooke's predecessors, and the Latin-texted repertoire written by his pupils.

Concertato motets were pioneered in England by Richard Dering during the first three decades of the seventeenth century, and can be typified by a few stylistic features: (1) imitative

[55] Lna SO 3/14; *RECM*, v, 27.
[56] *Pepys*, viii, 393–4.
[57] Lna LC 5/138, 390; *RECM*, i, 55.

sections which contrast with homophonic writing; (2) contrapuntal sections characterised by the interplay of short, rhythmic motifs; (3) the use of standard harmonic formulae, with consonance and dissonance regulated by regular stresses; (4) changing metre for purposes of contrast; (5) voices supported by the basso continuo.[58] When we look to *Adjuro vos*, it is clear that Cooke's composition falls within these stylistic boundaries and demonstrates, by extension, that Cooke was proficient with the English *stile nuovo*. In fact, this single example is somewhat more advanced than Dering's oeuvre. Where Dering's *concertato* motets largely double the basso in the lower voice,[59] the lower line of *Adjuro vos* differs from the basso quite a bit, especially in the contrapuntal sections and solo passages. This, perhaps, is not too surprising, given that Cooke was writing after Dering and was therefore progressing a pre-existing style. However, this does raise a few questions: does this situate Cooke within a more 'progressive' group of English? Might this signal some Catholic leanings (cf. the gold crucifix in his will)?

What is most striking is that *Adjuro vos* may well represent a missing link between the *concertato* compositions of Dering, and the later repertoire of John Blow. This is especially obvious when one looks at Blow's *Cantate Domino* and *Laudate nomen Domini*, which both begin with the same alternating soli-lines as seen in *Adjuro vos*. It is a shame that no more Latin-texted repertoire has survived for Cooke, as it might have facilitated deeper discussions into his role in the development of another national style of composition, as well as provided further indications as to the compositional circles in which he operated and aspects of his own faith.

Adjuro vos may have written for use in the Catholic Chapel of Catherine of Braganza whilst at St James's Palace, as the Latin text would seem to have no place within the English-texted

[58] Jonathan Wainwright, 'Richard Dering's Few-Voice 'Concertato' Motets', *Music & Letters* 89/2 (2008), 171.
[59] *Ibid.*, 172.

repertoire of the early-Restoration Chapel, as evinced by Lbl Harley MS 6024 and Ob MS Rawl. Poet 23.[60] These two Chapel Royal anthem books (texts only) contain no Latin texts, which suggests that the Chapel Royal in the early years of the Restoration employed little, if any, Latin-texted music.[61]

Samuel Pepys sheds light upon to the kind of performance one might expect to have taken place within the Private Musick where, in 1663, he describes Cooke singing Italian songs with two boys.[62] This indicates that the treble and bass texture for *Adjuro vos* is indeed a probable cognate for Cooke's compositions for the Private Musick. Within the single source for *Adjuro vos*, the vocal lines are exceedingly ornate. When one compares the broad stylistic features to other extant pieces, *Where shall my troubled soul* would appear to bear the largest number of similarities to *Adjuro vos*. Both pieces make use of long, virtuosic semiquaver runs, as can be seen in examples 2 and 3.

To turn to an example, Ben Jonson's *Vision of Delight* (1617) (example 4), features a surviving treble line which is ornamented in a similar manner to what we see in Cooke's song.[63] It is clear that this example is the transcription a simpler musical line which has been embellished by the singer, and whilst this does not suggest an insular and direct progression from this earlier repertoire to Cooke's songs, it perhaps indicates that the music for *Where shall my troubled soul* is a similar transcription of a normal declamatory ayre, but including many of the ornamentations which a performer (or, indeed, the performer from whom this transcription

[60] Alternatively, it might be hypothesised that the foremost court composers and musicians may have been engaged by the main embassy chapels in London, which may present an alternate avenue for the Latin-texted compositions of Cooke and his successors.
[61] This is certainly true of newly composed music from the likes of Cooke. The extent to which older repertoire from the late-Elizabethan and early-Stuart Chapel may have been employed remains unknown.
[62] 21 December 1663: 'And after that was done, Captain Cooke and his two boys did sing some Italian songs, which I must in a word say was fully the best Musique that I ever yet heard in all my life - and it was to me a very great pleasure to hear them.' *Pepys*, iv, 428. It has been speculated that Pepys may have been conflating Latin and Italian repertoires here: see, Hartley, 'Networks of Translation', 187.
[63] Spink, *English Song*, 46–7.

was taken) might have added to the music. Not only this, but it provides a glimpse at the kind of ornamentation one could expect to have been applied to all like examples from Cooke's corpus. What must be noted, however, is the freedom with which the ornamentation has been applied and notated in the excerpt from *Vision of Delight*, ignoring any form of barring; something which is present in both the transcriptions of *Adjuro vos* and *Where shall my troubled soul*.



Example 2 – Henry Cooke, *Where shall my troubled soul* (bb.22–3).



Example 3 – Henry Cooke, *Adjuro vos filiæ Jerusalem* (bb.72–5).



Example 4 – Nicholas Lanier, *I was not wearier* (bb.1–3), from Ben Jonson, *Vision of Delight* (1617).[64]

Of course, the two examples from Cooke (examples 2 and 3) represent commonplace seventeenth-century ornamentation—something of a *lingua franca* in European music that developed from performance practice into compositional devices and not devices which should be considered inherently English—such that one might be able to deduce that the version of *Adjuro vos* is similarly an aural transcription taken from an ornamented performance of the piece. Particularly telling are the semiquaver *échappés* seen in example 3, which fill out what would otherwise be stepwise descending movement in quavers. More striking ornamentally is the flicked semiquaver figure in the second bar of example 2. This is the only example of that particular ornament in the piece, and perhaps indicates that it is

[64] Transcribed from Spink, *English Song*, 46.

either an error in the aural transcription of the manuscript, or an odd ornament added by the singer from whom the transcription was presumably taken.

Two further pieces, *Awake my soul* and *Sleep, downy sleep*, remain elusive in their compositional origins. Their overtly sacred texts, as well as the fact that they remain extant in manuscripts that had connections to religious institutions (whether by their purpose or their owner, see below), might have made them suitable for the more intimate engagements that Cooke would have had to oversee, such as the Private Musick. Similarly, these could just have been texts Cooke decided to set in order to exercise his own compositional desires. However, what can be said, is that the dating of the texts to the 1660s at the earliest (to be discussed below) probably precludes these two songs from being potential candidates for his teaching repertoire during the late-1640s and early-1650s.

Of the five extant solo songs, *Margarita first possess'd* stands apart as a singular ballad setting (of *The Chronicle: A Ballad* by Abraham Cowley) against the far more fluid and through-composed settings exhibited by the other four – all which fall strongly into the category of declamatory ayres. The four partsongs published in John Playford's 1667 miscellany, *The Musical Companion*, are contained within a sections for 'ayres and ballads of 3 voc.', and on inspection of both the texts and the music, I would assert that *Poor Artaxander* and *Be thou that art my better part* fall into the former category of ayres, with *Long have I thought* and *Quickly, quickly drawer* safely in the latter category of ballads; albeit a more refined form of the tradition of broadside ballads, not least as these are written for more than one voice.

The music of the three-part ayres stands apart from the ballads given its greater complexity. There is a larger use of shorter note-values in *Be thou that art* (where the two ballads move with nothing shorter than a quaver), as well as changes of mensuration (between triple and

duple in *Be thou that art*, and with ritardandi in *Poor Artaxander*) – all requiring a greater level of musicianship. *Poor Artaxander* also makes use of a verse-chorus structure, where the voice proceeds through the next line of text before the chorus repeats in harmony – in much a similar manner to what can be seen in many of Cooke's anthems. When considering the texts, we also see a divide: *Quickly, quickly drawer* and *Long have I thought* adopt far more common ballad tropes of drinking and fate, respectively, whilst *Poor Artaxander* is a narrative (not even to be considered particularly declamatory in style), and *Be thou that art* seemingly a paraphrase on Song of Solomon 8:6–7 (example 5). These differences illustrate a difference in intended audience: where the two ballads would have been fine additions to the repertoire of a music-meeting in a tavern, the two ayres are slightly more refined both musically and textually, perhaps indicating a more elite audience. What should be noted, however, are the forces for which all four are written: two trebles and a bass. Whilst this is the standard format for much of the repertoire within the three-voice section of *The Musical Companion*, perhaps it is no coincidence that these are the exact forces Cooke had at his disposal in the Private Musick, as well as the forces which we know (from accounts like Pepys') that he employed at private events around London.

Be thou that art my better part, a seal impressed upon my heart, may I thy fingers signet prove for death is not more strong than love, the grave not so insatiate as jealousies enflame debate	Set me as a seal upon thine heart, as a seal upon thine arm: for love is strong as death; jealousy is cruel as the grave: the coals thereof are coals of fire, which hath a most vehement flame.
Should falling clouds with floods conspire, their waters could not quench loves fire, nor all in natures treasury the freedom of affection buy.	Many waters cannot quench love, neither can the floods drown it: if a man would give all the substance of his house for love, it would utterly be contemned.

Example 5 – *Be thou that art my better part* displayed against Song of Solomon 8:6–7 (AKJV).[65]

[65] *The Bible: Authorized King James Version*, Robert Carroll & Stephen Prickett, eds, *Oxford World's Classics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 764.

Filiation and Recomposition

Of course, variance between musical sources of any period will always demonstrate a spectrum of variants from utterly insignificant (usually limited to scribal error) to recasting that could be considered as not only stemmatically significant, but indeed as recomposition. It is through *Sleep, downy sleep* that we find an example of the latter. In striving to answer how we may best assess these issues of variance, there may be some utility in considering the concept of 'serial recomposition', which Herissone altered from Harold Love's 'serial composition', itself coined in reference to contemporaneous literary texts in England.[66] Love explains that the repeated copying of literary materials encouraged a culture of revision by scribal authors that resulted in texts often being perceived as 'flexible and malleable'.[67] This serial recomposition, however, is often difficult to distinguish from interventions by copyists as they attempted to make presentational changes—this category, at least, serving little utility in the discussion of music, given that presentational changes would not usually constitute significant variance— and corrections to perceived errors.[68] Herissone comments on serial recomposition as a by-product of recopying music, rather than a conscious process in which composers engaged.[69] Whilst this may well have been the case for variants introduced by covering haplographic errors, one should also acknowledge that it was commonplace for composers to revise works in the seventeenth century (and beyond). It seems that the focus on individual pieces and composers has perhaps obscured serial recomposition as a widespread practice, as examples occur in relation to some of the most prominent composers

[66] Harold Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Anhurst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 53; Herissone recasts the term in order to avoid confusion with the serial composition of the twentieth century, which a musician might initially think of when reading the term, *Musical Creativity*, 209–10.
[67] *Ibid.*
[68] Alan Howard defined these copyist-introduced variants as 'background variation' to explain minor differences in rhythmic patterns, melodic ornamentation (including accidentals, in some instances), and the disposition of the continuo; see 'Understanding Creativity', in Rebecca Herissone, ed., *The Ashgate Research Companion to Henry Purcell* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 65–113; Herissone, *Musical Creativity*, 245.
[69] Herissone, *Musical Creativity*, 244.

of the day: Locke, Blow, and Purcell.[70]

Awake my soul and *Sleep, downy sleep*, stand apart within Cooke's extant corpus due to their existence in multiple sources, an aspect that is only shared with one other piece; the anthem *Turn thou us, O Good Lord.*[71] One expects a degree of variation between manuscript sources, but looking to the extant versions of the two songs then the radical differences between them become truly evident, to a seemingly unprecedented degree for Restoration music. A closer analysis of *Awake my soul* and *Sleep, downy sleep* within their six manuscripts clearly indicates a clear bipartite division in the source stemma, which will be explored in far greater detail below.

Herissone argues that the lack of autograph readings makes it difficult to ascertain if variations are background additions by scribes or serial recomposition by the composer.[72] This may be true of pieces which differ in minute detail, but the scope of the variants one can see in *Awake my soul* and *Sleep, downy sleep* is so great that it strongly indicates the presence of recomposition directly from Cooke. Not only this, but we can presume that this was a compositional practice he employed, and possibly passed onto his pupils. Looking to the work of Blow and Purcell, examples of recomposition are woven throughout their extant repertory. The reasoning behind their recomposition varies. Haplographic errors occur when there is an inadvertent omission of a repeated bar or set of notes – such is the case in Blow's anthem *Jesus, seeing the multitudes* in Och Mus. 14, where to cover such an error, he recomposed the subsequent beats of a bar to keep the manuscript neat.[73] In the instance of Och Mus. 14, the recomposition is unobtrusive, but examples from Purcell's repertoire show more

[70] *Ibid.*, 214.
[71] *Turn thou us, O Good Lord* is extant in five manuscript sources held at Christ Church, Oxford. See chapter 3.
[72] Herissone, *Musical Creativity*, 272.
[73] Herissone, *Musical Creativity*, 212–3.

extensive and noticeable examples of compositional changes – with his Funeral Sentences being the finest example, as multiple sources contain the work in autograph. Rhythmic and harmonic changes are common, as well as adjustments to the text underlay in regard to repeated passages.[74] However, neither of these examples adequately captures the degree of recomposition seen within the example of Cooke's two songs. Haplographic error is simply not a possibility, and although some of Purcell's repertoire exhibits larger changes, the overall length of the pieces remains consistent, unlike the difference in length observed with the variants of *Awake my soul* and *Sleep, downy sleep*.

Reassessing the Ascription of *Sleep, downy sleep*

As discussed, of Cooke's nine extant songs *Awake my soul* and *Sleep, downy sleep* are due particular attention. They set to music a poem pair by Thomas Flatman, a poet contemporary with Cooke, and potentially an acquaintance. Whilst this may, initially, seem like a simple definite ascription to Cooke as composer, the situation has been complicated by the fact that *Sleep, downy sleep* is ascribed to Pelham Humfrey in two manuscript sources.

Pelham Humfrey has benefitted greatly from the research of Peter Dennison, whose doctoral thesis and subsequent monograph shed a great deal of light onto the composer. However, there is still a paucity of available information. As a result of the lack of intense focus on either Cooke and Humfrey, *Sleep, downy sleep* has been ascribed to both composers without anyone having examined the issue in detail before. Dennison does note an ascription to Cooke in Lbl Add. 33234, but dismisses it without comment. There is, however, a strong case for re-evaluating the ascription of *Sleep, downy sleep*, based upon manuscript evidence, the poem (both text and the sources), and finally the compositional style.

[74] Robert Ford, 'Purcell as his Own Editor: The Funeral Sentences', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 7/1 (1986), 47–67.

Dennison's research (thesis, following monograph, and edition, *Complete Devotional Songs*) was concerned with four of the six manuscripts in which the song is contained; those which are held at the British Library. It is worth noting that the ascription in half of these sources, Add. 31460 and 33234, is to Cooke, and not to Humfrey, with the attribution of the former seemingly having been ascertained from the ascription Cooke by Charles Morgan in Add. 33234 by G. E. P. Arkwright.[75] However, the most significant aspect of the research that must be addressed is Dennison's description of Add. 29396, which he states is 'in the hand of Lowe with Humfrey's signature at the end.'[76] This makes it clear that Dennison believed the ascription of the piece was verified and made absolute by Humfrey's autograph (figure 5).

Table 3 – Manuscripts containing *Sleep, downy sleep.*

Manuscript	Date of copying	Copyist	Ascription (RISM)
Lbl Add. 19759	*c.*1681–5	Charles Campelman	Pelham Humfrey
Lbl Add. 29396	*c.*1660–82	Edward Lowe	Pelham Humfrey
Lbl Add. 31460	1688–93	Richard Goodson, William Husbands, Charles Husbands Jr	Henry Cooke
Lbl Add. 33234	1677–82	Charles Morgan	Henry Cooke
Och Mus. 49	1670–75		Henry Cooke
Och Mus. 1205 (A)	1685–95	Richard Goodson Sn	Henry Cooke

Mary Chan discusses Add. 29396 in detail,[77] first arguing for the redating of the manuscript from A. Hughes-Hughes' initial range 1678–82,[78] and in the second instance, presenting a comprehensive inventory (included as an appendix to that same article). Neither article questions the ascription to Humfrey—although Chan does note that it is Lowe's ascription, rather than referring to it as an autograph—but similarly, Chan does not choose to mention

[75] G. E. P. Arkwright, *Catalogue of Music in the Library of Christ Church Oxford* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1915), 29.
[76] Peter Dennison, 'The Life and Work of Pelham Humfrey', 2 vols, DPhil Thesis, Magdalen College, University of Oxford, 1970, ii, 394.
[77] Mary Chan, 'Edward Lowe's Manuscript British Library Add. MS 29396: The Case for Redating', *Music & Letters* 59/4 (1978), 440–54; also see Mary Chan, 'Drolls, Drolleries and Mid-Seventeenth-Century Dramatic Music in England'. *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 15 (1979), 117–73.
[78] A. Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum* (London: 1906–9), ii, 478.

Dennison's claim of autograph nature which predates her work by nearly a decade, and Elise Bickford-Jorgen's by almost two.[79] *Sleep, downy sleep* still remains ascribed to Humfrey on *Oxford Music Online*, and is not even mentioned on Cooke's article—perhaps unsurprising given both were written by Dennison—thus this strong claim has remained ignored by more recent scholarship.

The copyist for Add. 29396, Edward Lowe, would have known both Cooke and Humfrey in some capacity.[80] Lowe was appointed as one of the three organists to the Chapel Royal (alongside Christopher Gibbons and William Child) early in the Restoration, but it is unclear how much time he spent at Whitehall. He is listed amongst those who received expenses for 'extraordinary attendance' whilst Charles II was on progress,[81] but since said progress was largely in Oxford, this would not have been much of an issue for Lowe. Having succeeded John Wilson as Heather Professor in 1661, he was an integral part of the music school at the University by this point. Additionally, Lowe was also Organist at Christ Church, Oxford (to which he had first been appointed around 1641) and University organist; posts which he held until his death in 1682.[82] Given these three Oxford-based positions, Lowe would not have had a great deal of time to spend in London. Whilst one might stop short of calling his position a sinecure, the 1663 'Orders for the Attendance of the Gentlemen of his Majestes Chappell'[83] make clear that only two of the three organists were required to be permanently present, with the third required only for solemn times and certain high feasts. Additionally, as Child was the most senior of the three, Lowe would not have been required to play on the eve and day of solemn feasts (Christmas, Easter, St George's Day, Whitsuntide), which would

[79] Elise Bickford Jorgens, *English Song, 1600-1675, v. Add. Ms. 29396 (Songs in the Hand of Edward Lowe)* (New York; London: Garland, 1986).
[80] For a detailed account of Lowe's activities in Oxford, once again see Lebedinski, 'Roman Vocal Music', 146–56.
[81] Lna LC 5/138, 186; *RECM*, i, 69.
[82] Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 210.
[83] Old Cheque Book, f.45v–46r; *CBCR*, i, 123–6.

have allowed him to execute his duties in Oxford on these occasions. This having been established, whilst Lowe undoubtedly spent time in London during the Restoration, it can be posited that Lowe's exposure to Cooke and the Choristers of the Chapel would have been more limited than that of the regular Gentlemen.

Returning to the question of the autograph ascription, examples of Humfrey's hand can be studied from three other sources – firstly, his will; secondly, the minute book of the Corporation of Musick (Lbl Harley MS 1911); and finally, Cfm MS 152.[84] The letter forms exhibited between the known autographs and the signature found in Add. 29396 are similar, but there are a number of distinctive differences that would indicate the latter is not autograph. (See figures 5–8.) In addition to this, when we compare the letterforms in the ascription against other examples of Edward Lowe's hand from the manuscript, it is quickly clear that they are the same (table 4).

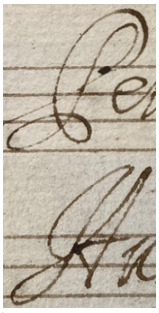
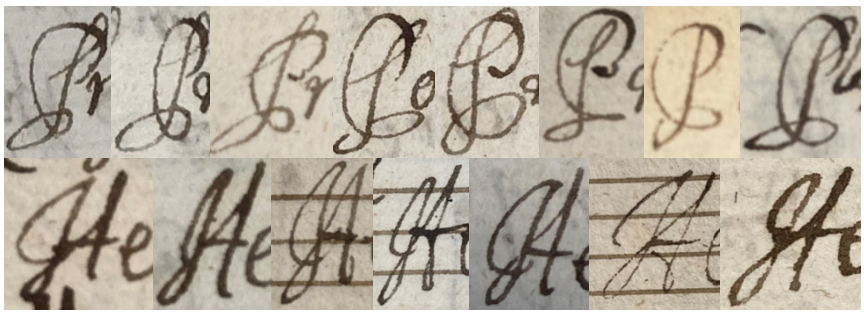
Humfrey "autograph" Letterforms	**Letterforms belonging to Edward Lowe**
	

Table 4 - Letterforms for majuscule 'P' and 'H' in Lbl Add. 29396.

The form of the majuscule 'P' is unlike any of Humfrey's proven autographs. Instead of being formed in two discrete strokes, the 'P' in the Add. 29396 ascription is formed in one continuous stroke. This results in a slightly more fluid capital character, that stands apart

[84] Peter Dennison, 'The Will of Pelham Humfrey', *RMA Research Chronicle* 7 (1969), 28–30.

from those autograph characters. Additionally, the form of the capital ‘P’ is consistently repeated throughout the manuscript in portions that were undoubtedly written by Edward Lowe.

The form of the majuscule ‘H’ also differs. Humfrey’s autographs are quite tightly bound with a wide cross-stroke that either captures or underlines the upper curve from the left-hand side of the character, whereas the character seen in Add. 29396 does not exhibit the same wide cross-stroke and has an upper curve terminal that merges back with the body of the character, rather than remaining separate as it does in all the autograph examples. Again, comparing the ascription to examples of Lowe’s hand in Add. 29396 shows stark similarities. Looking to the double ‘l’, the bottom curves in the autographs are consistently rounded, having been completed in a single stroke. Contrast this with Add. 29396, in which the stroke has quite clearly been stopped at the base of the first ‘l’ before continuing upwards – resulting in an angle rather than a smooth curve. A feature also seen on some of the autograph double ‘l’s is a cross-through (see figures 6 and 7.). This is not present in Add. 29396. Additionally, the minuscule 'e' graph begins with a horizontal (or even slightly downward) movement in Add. 29396, but in Humfrey's hand it is slanted upward (/), contributing to the somewhat more rounded presentation of his hand. Unlike the scribe of Add. 29396, Humfrey also omits the small (serif-like) upstroke (like a printed serif) with 'u', instead beginning with a stroke straight down; this, too, makes his hand feel more rounded and less like earlier seventeenth-century italic.

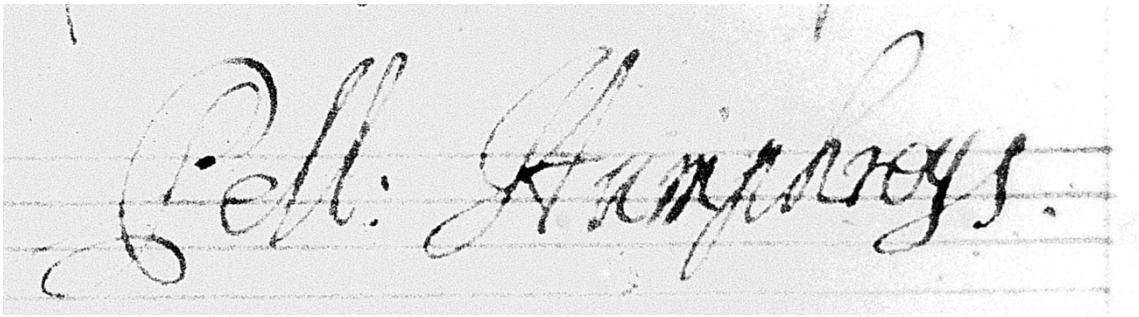


Figure 5 – Ascription to Pelham Humfrey (Lbl Add. 29396, f.73v).

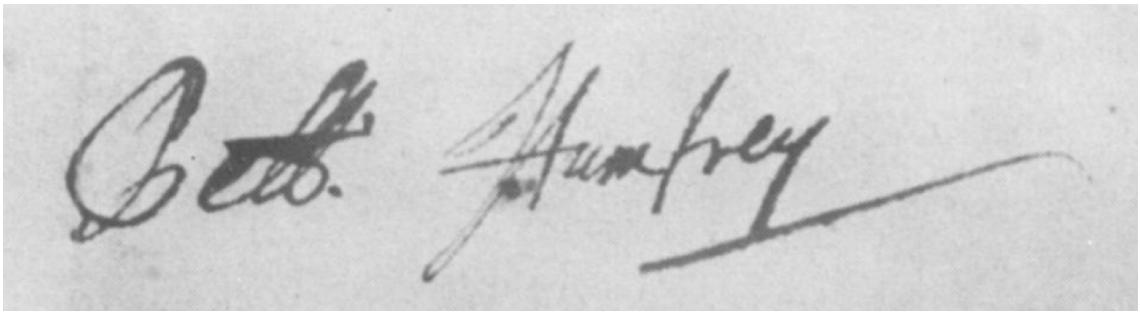


Figure 6 – Pelham Humfrey, known autograph signature from his will.

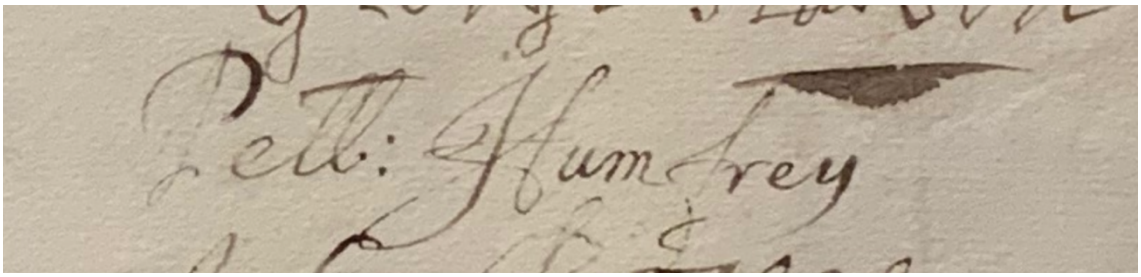


Figure 7 – Pelham Humfrey, known autograph signature (Lbl Harley MS 1911, f.9r).

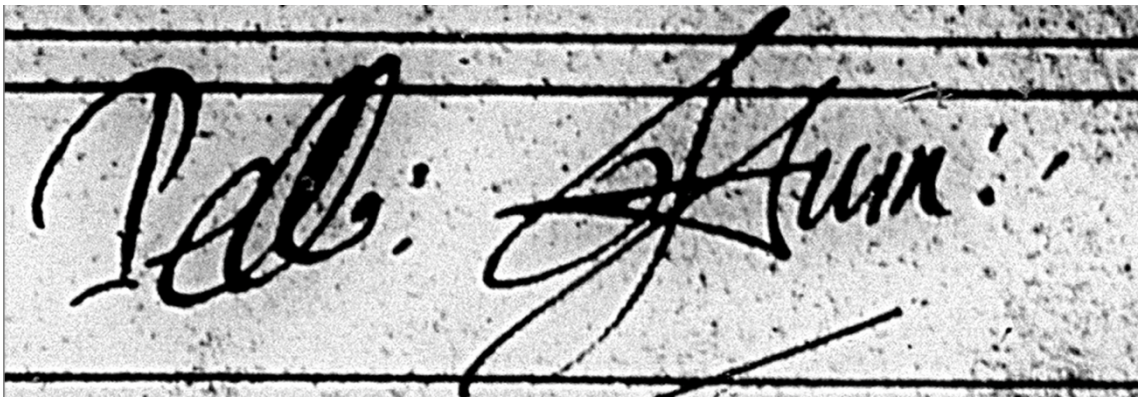


Figure 8 – Pelham Humfrey, known autograph signature (Cfm MS 152, f.9r).

One might also consider that the spelling is not consistent with the known autographs, where Humfrey spells his name with an 'f' rather than a 'ph', and without an 's' at the end – with both of these incongruous characteristics exhibited in Add. 29396. The substitution of 'ph'

for an 'f' may be argued, as they represent the same phoneme, but it is reasonable to assume that Humfrey himself would use the same consistent spelling for his own name – a consistency that can be seen across his will and Lbl Harley MS 1911.

It should be acknowledged that the standardisation of spelling was still nowhere near absolute by the 1670s, which may, at first be seen to undermine the evidence above. I would, however, contend that the spelling of a gentleman's own signature was far more consistent in the English musical sphere at this point in history than has previously been conceded – this hypothesis being based on the evidence seen in Lbl Harley MS 1911.[85] From the first autograph entries on 3 February 1672 to the final entry on 20 July 1679 the names of 20 of the marshals and officers of the Corporation on Musick appear in the manuscript. It is important to note that, across 23 meetings where signatures were written at the end of the minutes, the spelling for all the names remains consistent (table 5).[86] For some of the more distinctive, and therefore identifiably autograph, hands – John Hingeston, John Strong, Alphonso Marsh, John Lillie, and George Hudson – it is plain to see that their personal spelling was consistent, even amongst this older generation who lived through the Civil Wars and Commonwealth.

[85] A complete transcription of the MS is provided in *RECM*, v, 254–69.
[86] The signatures on f.15, spanning 24 June–23 July 1674, seem to be in the hand of the scribe, not of the attendees, apart from Henry Gregory's signature. There is a good example of the secretary's hand due to John Roger's name being struck through on f.20, indicating an error on the part of the person taking the minutes. From this, we can ascertain which of the signatures are autograph, and which are not.

Name (in order of initial appearance)	30 February 1672	2 March 1672	24 June 1672 (1)	24 June 1672 (2)	18 July 1672	19 November 1672	4 December 1673	23 July 1674	16 April 1675	10 June 1675	24 June 1675	24 June 1676	1 July 1676	6 July 1676	21 September 1676	7 [?] 1676	4 January 1677	8 February 1677	25 June 1677	6 August 1677	24 June 1678	24 June 1679	20 July 1679
John Hingeston	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x	x	x	x	x
John: Clement	x																						
Rob[b]: Stronge	x	x					x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x
John. Strong#	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x					x							
John Lillie	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x		x	x	x			x		x	x	x		
John Harding	x	x	x	x	x									x	x	x		x	x				
Allphonso Marsh	x		x	x	x	x				x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	
George Hudson		x	x	x																			
Pell: Humfrey		x	x	x	x	x	x																
John Rogers		x	x	x	x				x	x	x			x									
Antoni Robert		x	x	x	x	x																	
Hum[fy]: Madge		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x				x
T[homas] Purcell					x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x			x		x
John Blow						x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
Willm Gregory							x		x	x	x					x	x		x	x	x	x	x
Henry Gregory#								x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x
Robert										x	x												
Theo: Ffitz													x			x		x			x		
Will: Turner													x			x					x	x	
Ed: Hooton													x				x	x	x	x			x

Table 5 – Signatures for the wardens and officers of the Corporation on Musick from 30 February 1672–20 July 1679 (Lbl Harley MS 1911).

Red crosses indicate signatures which appear to have been written in non-autograph hands.

In itself, the fact that half a century of scholarship has been presented since Dennison's work necessitates renewed research. However, when the ascription in Add. 29396 is compared with other examples of Edward Lowe's hand, it is without question that the ascription below *Sleep, downy sleep* belongs to Lowe, not Humfrey. Dennison's argument for an autograph ascription can be dismissed.

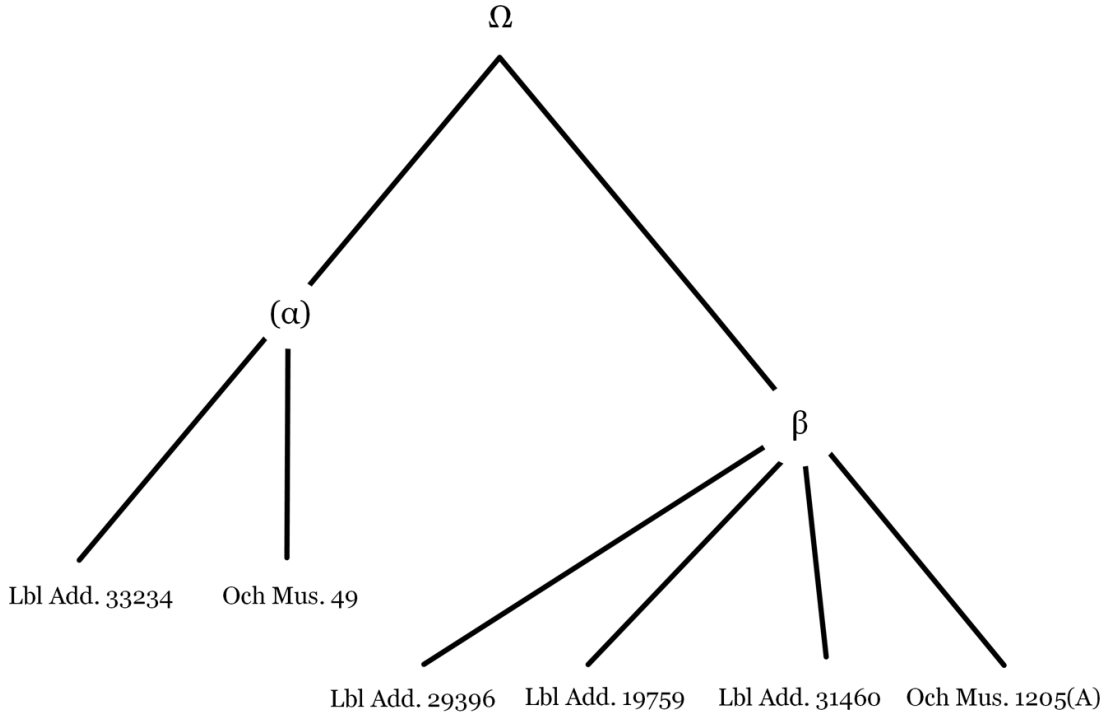
Returning then to Lowe's ascription of *Sleep, downy sleep* to Humfrey, one might assume that it may have stemmed from the song being in the taught repertoire of the Chapel children. With Cooke taking on fewer responsibilities as time progressed, it is quite possible that Lowe simply heard Humfrey teaching the song to one of the younger choristers and assumed–due to his lack of regular attendance in the Chapel–that it was of Humfrey's own composition.

One interesting facet of the manuscripts that contain *Sleep, downy sleep* is that they all originated in Oxford (links with Oxford having been explored in chapter 3), with the possible exception of Add. 19759. The ascription to Cooke in Lbl Add. 33234 is written in a more rushed hand than that of the title, but this is still assumed to be that of Charles Morgan,[87] contrary to Dennison's attribution of the ascription to a different hand. The ascription to Cooke in Och Mus. 1205 (A) is based on Morgan's ascription and reads: 'Capt Cook. Cf BM Addl 33234'. This is written in pencil on the manuscript's cardboard wrapping, and it is probable that this belongs to Arkwright: 'Cf. B. M. Add. MS. 33234'.[88] The same hand wrote 'Capt Cooke' in Och Mus. 49, so it might be assumed that Arkwright was also responsible for this. It seems likely that this series of ascriptions is the basis for the given description of Add. 31460.

[87] Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 260.
[88] Arkwright, *Catalogue of Music*, 29.

As discussed above, I would suppose that Och Mus. 1205 (A) and Lbl Add. 31460 were both copied by Richard Goodson Sr. Compiling all this manuscript evidence, and with greater analyses of the individual readings of *Sleep, downy sleep* within each of the six manuscripts, a bipartite division in the source stemma quite clearly emerges (graph 2). The first branch ends with Lbl Add. 33234 and Och Mus. 49. The second ends with Lbl Add. 19759, Add. 29396, Add. 31460, and Och Mus. 1205(A) through a lost manuscript source, β.

The manuscripts of the first branch are undeniably all related, but it is unclear if they originated from the original copy, Ω, or from a lost intermediary manuscript, α. However, it would seem that the second branch transmits a slightly different, possibly later, revision of the song. The versions of *Sleep, downy sleep* across the two branches remain similar – with variation almost exclusively being exhibited in rhythms – until the very end of the piece, but if we look at the examples of *Awake my soul*, the piece is 39 bars long in the first branch, but 43 in the second.



Graph 2 – Source stemma for manuscripts containing *Sleep, downy sleep.*

Considering all the scribal evidence from the manuscripts which contain *Sleep, downy sleep*, it can be concluded that the ascription found in Add. 29396 is not an autograph and that the overall ascription of the piece to Humfrey is not conclusive. Similarly, the ascriptions to Cooke do not, at this juncture, provide any conclusive evidence, as they are largely non-contemporaneous with the manuscripts, and rely on the single ascription of Charles Morgan. To support the case for the reascription to Cooke, further evidence must be sought from the texts.

The only extant sources of Flatman's two poems are the four editions of his own publication, entitled *Poems and Songs*, which was first published in 1674, and then through three other editions until 1686. This might appear to create a strong argument in favour of the ascription to Humfrey, as Cooke had been dead for nearly two years by the time of the first publication. However, this assumption would be misleading. The text for the musical settings of *Sleep, downy sleep* is clearly of a different, and presumably earlier, version than the poem printed in the 1674 miscellany. There are multiple divergences in the text between the printed poem and the six readings from the manuscripts, which almost entirely agree in the reading of the text, with only the occasional exchanging of single words (see table 6). Given Cooke's and Humfrey's respective date of death (1672 and 1674), it can be assumed that this, presumably earlier, version of the poem predates that of the 1674 print, regardless of which ascription is correct.[89] It should also be noted that Dennison was not aware of Flatman as the author of the poems during the writing of his thesis or following monograph: 'The poem, by an unknown author, is rich in simple images, and Humfrey responded with one of his most beguiling simple songs.'[90]

[89] It should be noted that it was common for texts set to music to have variations from the published texts on which they were based. However, in this instance, due to the Cooke ascription putting composition prior to July 1672 (even if composed by Humfrey), it seems likely that the text used for the song was a pre-publication version.
[90] Peter Dennison, *Pelham Humfrey* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1986), 90.

Thomas Flatman, *Poems and Songs* (1674) Sleep! downy sleep! come close my eyes, Tyr'd with beholding vanities! Sweet slumbers come and chase away The toiles and follies of the day: On your soft bosom will I lie, Forget the World and learn to die. O *Israels* watchful shepheard spread Tents of Angels round my bed; Let not the spirits of the aire, While I slumber, me ensnare, But save thy suppliant free from harmes, Clasp't in thine everlasting armes. Clouds and thick darkness is thy throne, Thy wonderful Pavilion: Oh dart from thence a shining ray, And then my midnight shall be day! Thus when the morn in crimson drest, Breaks through the windows of the East, My Hymns of thankful praises shall arise Like incense, or the morning sacrifice.	**Lbl Add. 19759** Sleep downy sleep come close my eyes, Tyr'd with beholding vanitys, Wellcome sweet sleep that drives away the toyles and follyes of the day, on thy soft bossom will I lye; forgitt the world and learn to dye, O Israls watchfull sheepard spread, Tents of Angells round my bed, Let not the spiritts of the Air, Whilst I slumber, me ensnare But guard thy supplyiant free from harmes Clasp'd in thine everlasting arms, Clouds and thick darkness is thy throne Thy wonderfull pavilion, O dart from thence a shining raye, And then my midnight shall bee day, Thus when the morne in crimson drest, Breaks [x2] throw the windows of the East, My hymns of thankfull prayses shall arise Like incence or the morning sacrifice.	**Lbl Add. 29396** Sleep downy sleep: come close mine eyes, Tir'd with beholding vanities, Wellcome sweet sleep, that drivs't away the toiles and follies of the day, on thy soft bosome will I lye; forget the world and learn to dye, O Israells watchfull shepherd spred, Tents of Angells round my bedd, Let not the spirits of the ayre, Whilst I slumber, mee ensnare But guard thy suppliant free from harmes Clasp't in thy everlasting armes, Cloudes and thick darkness is thy throne Thy wonderfull pavillion, O dart from thence a shineinge ray: & then my midnight shall bee day, Thus when the morne in crimson drest, Breaks through the windowes of the East, My Hymns of thankfull praises shall arise Like incence or the morninge sacrifice.	**Lbl Add. 31460** Sleep downy sleep, come close mine eyes, Tir'd with beholding vanities, Wellcome sweet sleep, that drivs't away the toiles and follies of the day, on thy soft bosome will I lye; forget the world and learn to dye, O Israells watchfull shepherd spread, Tents of Angells round my bed, Let not the spirits of the Aire, Whilst I slumber, me ensnare But guard thy suppliant free from harmes Clasp in thy everlasting armes, Clouds and thick darkness is thy throne Thy wonderfull pavillion, O dart from thence a shining ray, And then my midnight shall be day, Thus when the morne in crimson drest, Breaks through the windows of the East, My hymnes of thankfull praises shall arise Like incence or the morning sacrifice.	**Lbl Add. 33234** Sleep downy sleep come close myn eyes Tir'd with beholding vanities Welcome sweet sleep that drivest away The toyles and follies of the day On thy soft bosome will I ly, Forget the world and learn to dye Tho Isreall's watchful shepherds spread Tents of Angels round my Bed, Let not the spirits of the Air Whilst I slumber me ensnare But guard thy suppleant free from harms Claspt in thyne everlasting Arms Clouds and thick darkness are thy throne Thy wonderfull Pavilion O dart from thence a shining Ray And then my Midnight shall be Day Thus when the morn in Crimson drest Breaks thro the windows of the East My Hymns of thankfull praises shall arise Like incens of the morning sacrifice.
	Och Mus. 49 *Sleep, downy sleep*, come close mine Eyes, Tir'd with beholding vanities Welcome sweet sleep that drivs't away The toils and follies of the day; On thy soft bosome will I lye, Forget the world and learn to dye. Thou Israells watchfull Shepherd spread, Tents of Angells round my Bed; Let not the Spiritts of the Air, Whilst I slumber, me ensnare. But guard thy suppliant free from harms, Clasp't in thine everlasting Arms. Clouds and thick darkness are thy throne, Thy wonderfull Pavillion. O dart from thence a Shining ray, And then my midnight shall be day; Thus when the morn in Crimson drest, Breaks thro the windows of the East, My Hymns of thankfull praises shall arise, Like incence of the morning sacrifice	**Och Mus. 1205 (A)** Sleep downy sleep Come Close mine Eyes, Tir'd with beholding vanities, Welcome sweet sleep that drivs't away The toiles and follies of the day, On thy soft bosome will I lye Forgett the world and learn to dye, O Israells watchfull shepherd spread, Tents of angels Round my head, Lett not the spirits of the Aire, Whilst I slumber mee Ensnare, But guard thy suppliant free from harms, Clasp in thy Everlasting Armes, Clouds and thick darnkness is thy throne Thy wonderfull pavillion O dart from thence my shining ray, And then my midnight shall be day, Thus when the morn in Crimson drest, Breaks through the windows of the East, My Himes of thankfull praises shall arise Like incense or the morning sacrifice.		

Table 6 - All extant MS texts for *Sleep, downy sleep*, compared to Thomas Flatman's published version in *Poems and Songs* (1674).

Given that it was probably in circulation prior to publication in 1674, the nature of the poem additionally lends support to Cooke's authorship of the song. The printed poem anthologies and three of the manuscripts (Lbl Add. 31460, Add. 33234, Och Mus. 49) reveal that *Sleep, downy sleep* is only half of a pair – the first portion being the song *Awake my soul*. Flatman entitles the two as 'Hymne for the Morning' and 'Anthem for the Evening' (*Awake my soul* and *Sleep, downy sleep*, respectively). A deeper link in the scansion demonstrates that both poems conform to the same uniform tetrameter for the entire text until the final pentameter couplet; the identical pattern of lexical stress is maintained throughout the two poems by the insertion of caesurae at the beginning of lines eight and ten in the 'Anthem for the Evening' (example 6). One thing that is also worth noting is that the rhyme scheme for the opening couplet is identical, as well as the fact that they both open with verbs, have four syllable opening half-lines, and are addressed in apostrophe.

Example 6 — Printed texts for the two poems, taken from Thomas Flatman, *Poems and Songs* (1674).

	Hymne for the Morning.	***Anthem for the Evening.***
1	Awake my Soul! Awake mine eyes!	Sleep! downy sleep! come close my eyes,
2	Awake my drowsie faculties;	Tyr'd with beholding vanities!
3	Awake, and see the new born Light	Sweet slumbers come and chase away
4	Spring from the darksome womb of night!	The toiles and follies of the day:
5	Look up and see th'unwearied Sun,	On your soft bosom will I lie,
6	Already is his Race begun:	Forget the World and learn to die.
7	The pretty Lark is mounted high,	O *Israels* watchful shepheard spread
8	And sings her Matins in the skie;	[,] Tents of Angels round my bed:
9	Arise my Soul! And thou my voice,	Let not the spirits of the aire,
10	In Songs of praise early rejoice	[,] While I slumber, me ensnare,
11	O great Creator! Heavenly King!	But save thy suppliant free from harmes,
12	Thy Praises let me ever sing!	Clasp't in thine everlasting armes.
13	Thy Power has made, thy Goodness kept	Clouds and thick darkness is thy throne,
14	This senceless body while I slept,	Thy wonderful Pavilion:
15	Yet one day more hast given me	Oh dart from thence a shining ray,
16	From all the Powers of darkness free:	And then my midnight shall be day!
17	O keep my heart from Sin secure,	Thus when the morn in crimson drest,
18	My Life unblameable and pure,	Breaks through the windows of the East,
19	That when the last of all my dayes is come,	My Hymns of thankful praises shall arise
20	Cheereful, and fearless I may wait my doom.	Like incense, or the morning sacrifice.

That the poem/song pair is preserved in three sources indicates that this may have been the original conception of the piece: as a pair of songs. The fact that *Sleep, downy sleep* survives separately in three other manuscripts can then be explained through the fact it is the more

successful composition of the two, which would explain why it was then chosen to be copied into the personal compendiums of Charles Campelman (Add. 19759), Edward Lowe (Add. 29396), and Richard Goodson Sr (Och Mus. 1205 (A)). When you consider on top of this that the only contemporary ascription of the complete pair in manuscript is to Cooke in Add. 33234, the strength of the ascription to Cooke over Humfrey is increased.

Dennison notes from the outset that *Sleep, downy sleep* is unlike any of the other devotional songs which Humfrey wrote:

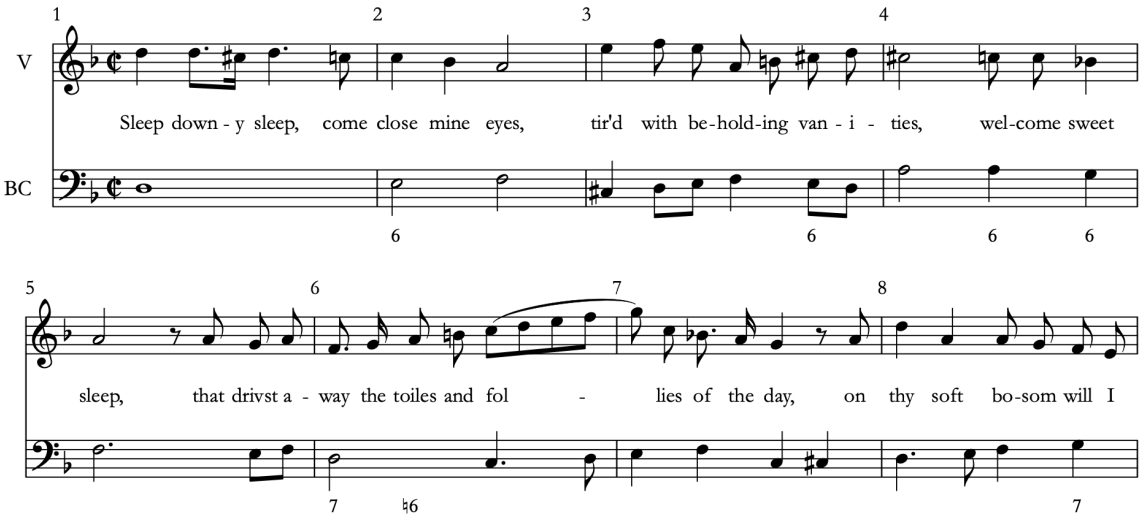
> The only purely lyrical devotional song is 'Sleep downy sleep come close mine eyes', a bi-sectional through-composed setting of a very beautiful anonymous poem. In contrast to the others of this category its duple section is made up of long lyrical lines with only occasional suggestions of the declamatory idiom… The lyrical idiom occasions some melodic patterns unusual in Humfrey's work, particularly, the successions of alternating thirds. This and other recurrent features give the melodic line a degree of organisation uncommon in the songs… Although this is one of Humfrey's least typical songs, it has an intrinsic expressiveness bourne [sic] of a sensitive reaction to a fine text.[91]

Reading this with the perspective of the evidence which has been presented above, the answer to the question Dennison stops short of asking is clear: the piece is unlike Humfrey's other devotional songs because it is not one of his compositions; it is one of Cooke's. In his monograph, he goes on to highlight the change into triple time for the section beginning 'O dart from thence':

> It is the only devotional song to venture into triple time. Each section is made up of a cumulative succession of short, regular phrases, and the modest melodic intensifications of the song are all contained within a rigorously controlled symmetry.[92]

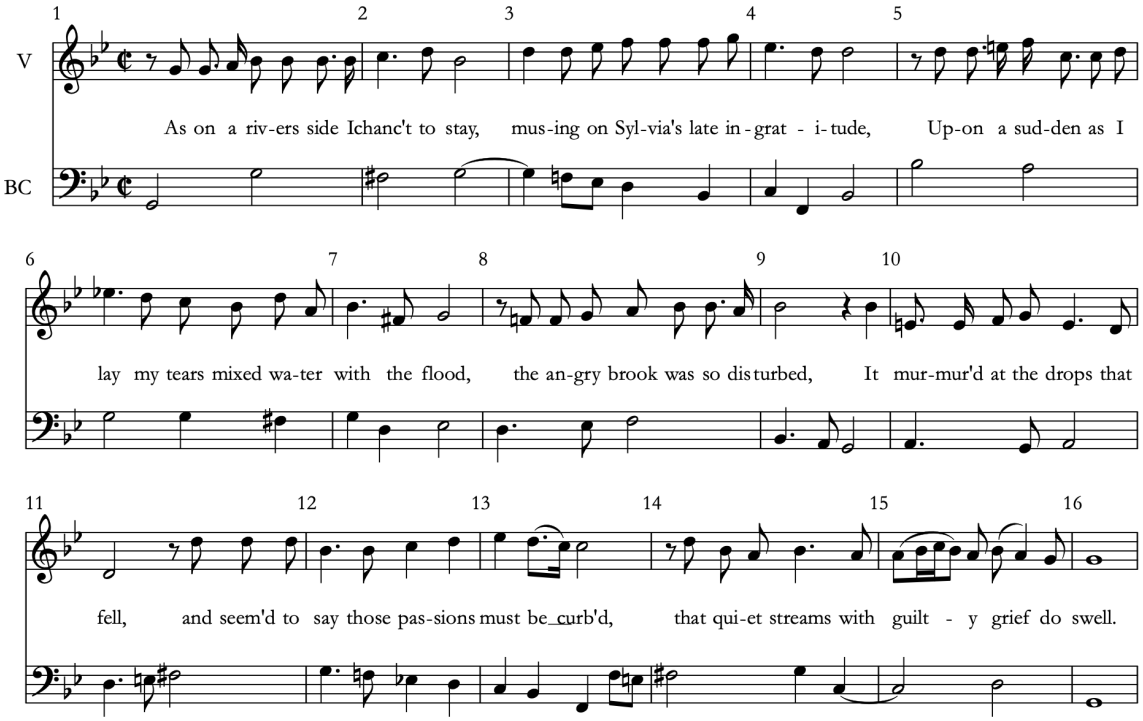
[91] Dennison, 'The Life and Work of Pelham Humfrey', i, 309–10.
[92] Dennison, *Pelham Humfrey*, 90.

Whilst this change into triple time may be uncommon in Humfrey's devotional songs, this is a feature that we do see in Cooke's extant corpus – in *As on a river's side* (Och Mus. 49), where the overall structure of the piece is remarkably similar. It would appear that by 'a cumulative succession of short, regular phrases,' Dennison is referring to the one and a half, and two bar phrases that follow on from one another often without rest, or with only a quaver rest (see example 7).



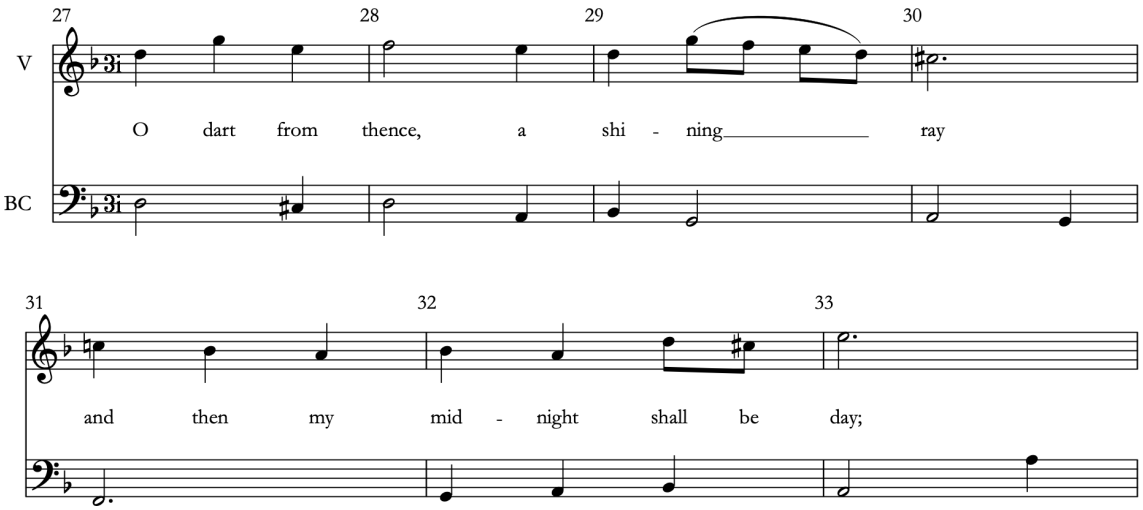
Example 7 – Henry Cooke, *Sleep, downy sleep* (Lbl Add. 31460; bb.1–8), numbering below the basso is bass viol fingering.

Comparing the openings of *Sleep, downy sleep* from Dennison's copy text, Lbl Add. 31460 (example 7, above) and *As on a rivers side* (Och Mus. 49, example 8), and it is clear that the two share a very similar phrasing structure, with this cumulative succession of short, regular phrases.



Example 8 – Henry Cooke, *As on a rivers side* (Och Mus. 49; bb.1–16), particularly bb.8–16.

The modest melodic intensification most likely indicates the extension of ambitus and the use of a higher tessitura within the phrases throughout the piece. The initial invocation of *Sleep, downy sleep* centres on D, with a C# lower neighbour note, whereas the final phrase on 'Like incense of the morning sacrifice' soars across nearly an entire octave (a seventh). Whilst the opening phrase for *As on a rivers side* is not quite as restrained as *Sleep, downy sleep*, the same increase in melodic intensity is exhibited – finishing with a soaring line that, again, spans a seventh. As for 'rigorously controlled symmetry', phrases of intense melodic activity are almost immediately followed (and therefore preceded) by a phrase with a simpler melodic line, such as in example 9, where the latter phrase does not exhibit the same level of melodic interest generated by the melisma on 'shining', or the harmonic interest of the C#. One might conclude that the striking similarities between *Sleep, downy sleep* and *As on a rivers side* could only be explained by having the same composer.

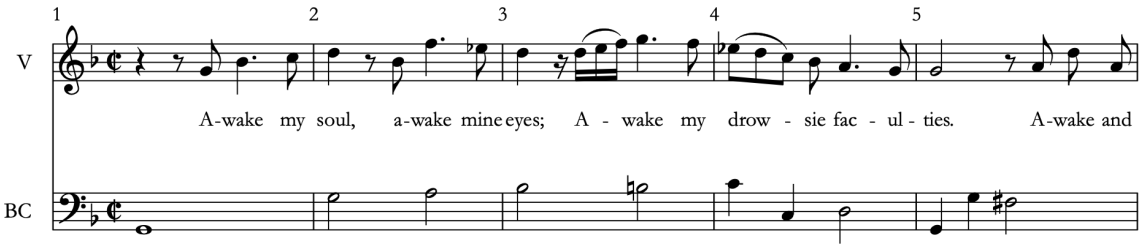


Example 9 – Henry Cooke, *Sleep, downy sleep* (Och Mus. 49; bb.27–33).

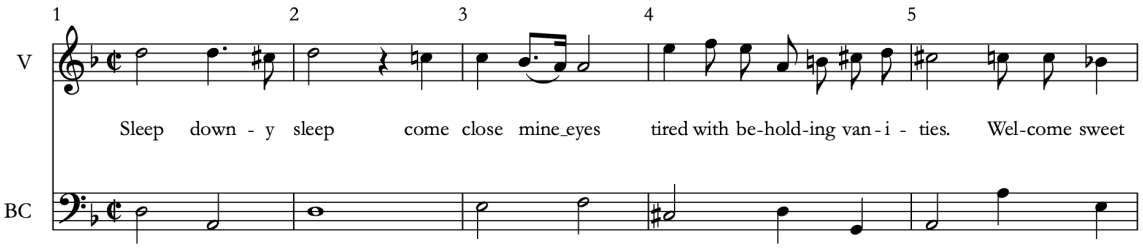
Whilst *Awake my soul*—the song with which *Sleep, downy sleep* forms a pair—does not exhibit a shift into triple time, much of the same also applies: short, regular phrases, with gradual melodic intensification moderated by symmetrical phrasing – clearly one side of the same coin.

Looking to the first five bars of both *Awake my soul* and *Sleep, downy sleep* (examples 10 and 11), the parallels are stark. Both begin with a four syllable, three-word half line, separated from the next half of the line with a rest, with the difference in rhythm and melody is consistent with the difference in the text. The following four syllables are also a self-contained utterance, leading into a longer, more melodically intense phrase that ends halfway through the fifth bar. Additionally, until bar 26 of each piece (at which point *Sleep, downy sleep* transitions into triple time), the ends of phrases fall within half a bar of each other without fail. This is, perhaps, not hugely surprising, as the poem texts (as explained above) follow the same scansion throughout. However, one would expect settings of different texts by different composers to have far fewer obvious similarities than these two songs exhibit.

Finally, let us look closely at the harmony of the first five bars of *Awake my soul* and *Sleep, downy sleep* (examples 10 and 11). At the end of the first line of text, they both go to what the listener hears as the relative major rising from the final by a third. *Awake my soul* has a G final yet finishes the line with a Bb in the bass; and *Sleep, downy sleep* a D final, but finishes the line with an F in the bass. Similarly, the first note of chromaticism in the bass falls at exactly the same moment in both texts – the beginning of the second lines. The fact that within these initial five bars the two pieces exhibit a near identical harmonic framework – separate from the melodies which differ to suitably fit the mood of each text – indicates that the two were conceived and composed by the same person.



Example 10 – Henry Cooke, *Awake my soul* (Och Mus. 49; bb.1–5).



Example 11 – Henry Cooke, *Sleep, downy sleep* (Och Mus. 49; bb.1–5).

Considering the evidence presented in this segment of the chapter, the attribution of the composition of *Sleep, downy sleep* can now be fully reconsidered.

Firstly, the autograph ascription to Humfrey, asserted by Dennison in his work, can be dismissed. The weight of evidence against the ascription being the autograph of Edward

Lowe is too great to be ignored, and, as a result, we can begin to question the absolute ascription of *Sleep, downy sleep* to Humfrey as presented in Dennison's Grove article. Further to this, the paired nature of the two poems by Thomas Flatman and the likelihood of the text being a pre-publication version provides further reason to question the ascription and brings with it the distinct possibility of falling well within Cooke's lifetime.

Finally, the music itself provides us with strong musical evidence that demonstrate close compositional ties between not only *Sleep, downy sleep* and *Awake my soul*, but also *As on a rivers side* as one of Cooke's other devotional songs.

Whilst absolute reascription of *Sleep, downy sleep* to Cooke from Humfrey, may be dismissed by some, it is the contention of this author that the ascription to Humfrey is far from absolute, and that a confluence of manuscript, contextual, and analytical evidence has sufficiently demonstrated that the piece probably belongs to Cooke's corpus of work, rather than Humfrey.

Stage Work and Issues of Dating

As set out in chapter 1, Cooke enjoyed an extensive musical career across the country during the 1650s, working as a teacher for voice, viol, and theorbo. His teaching, as demonstrated in the earlier chapter, was certainly profitable, but would probably have been predicated on a successful career as a performer and singer in order to command higher fees from his pupils. This is born out through his involvement with two major Commonwealth-era productions: William Davenant's *The First Dayes Entertainment at Rutland-House* (May 1656) and *The Siege of Rhodes* (September 1656). Contemporary evidence in the form of the early-1656 ballad, *How Daphne pays his Debts*, might suggest that Davenant had been putting on private entertainments in as many as four locations prior to the performances at Rutland House: Apothecaries Hall, a location in the precinct of Clerkenwell Priory, Gibbon's Tennis Court at Lincoln's Inn Fields, and at The Cockpit on Drury Lane (Davenant's own theatre),[93] but no further evidence regarding he content or even titles of such events remains extant.

Despite the fact that it may have been preceded by similar events, *The First Dayes Entertaiment* was significant in so far as it more actively defied the restrictions on theatre and music which were imposed at the time, as it was (semi-)public. Davenant converted a long and narrow room in his own residence of Rutland House for the occasion,[94] and the invitation of a paying audience at 5$^{s.}$ a head would appear to have been successful enough for him to approach a larger endeavour later in the year, that being *The Siege of Rhodes*.

The Siege of Rhodes holds many distinctions within the canon of the English stage, despite the

[93] Leslie Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage* (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 1928), 144–7. The ballad, *How Daphne pays his debts*, was written as defamatory piece directed at Davenant following accusations of fraud – the author is unknown.

[94] It is worth noting that Davenant had previously been living on Tothill Street, Westminster, which would have been in close proximity to Cooke's residences of the same period. Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, 139.

fact that none of the music is extant, with only a libretto as a source of information. Many might consider the production to be the first English opera.[95] Indeed, Davenant himself refers to it as such in a letter to Bulstrode Whitelocke on 3 September 1656.[96] Whitelocke had been in charge of the music for James Shirley, *The Triumph of Peace* (1634), and at the time of the letter was preparing to be called for the second protectorate parliament as a representative for Buckinghamshire;[97] as such, he held considerable sway within the government, and may have been instrumental in securing permission for Davenant to publicly perform plays at The Cockpit from 1658.

Whilst the date of the first performance is almost universally accepted as 1656, this is refuted in a thesis of 1967, written by John Buttrey, in which it is asserted that the date of the first performance of the Siege of Rhodes was not 1656.[98] The evidence presented in the course of the argument is compelling at first glance and given the absence of engagement from more recent scholars, and as a vehicle for reviewing the facts of the production, warrants assessment. The argument presented is threefold: firstly, *The First Dayes Entertainment* had been a commercial failure; secondly, Davenant had been censored from producing further entertainments by the Puritan authorities; and thirdly, that a proclamation delivered by Oliver Cromwell on 6 September 1656 would have precluded the performance of *The Siege of Rhodes* entirely. *The First Dayes Entertainment* had begun ten (or perhaps eleven) days of performances at Rutland House on 23 May 1656, and with a five-shilling entrance fee with a total capacity of around 400,[99] this could have made Davenant a upper-ceiling profit of £1000. An official

[95] Margaret Laurie. 'Davenant, Sir William'. *OMO*. 2001.
[96] Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, 151.
[97] Ruth Spalding. 'Whitelocke, Bulstrode, appointed Lord Whitelocke under the protectorate (1605–1675), lawyer and politician'. *ODNB*. 2004.
[98] John Buttrey, 'The Evolution of English Opera Between 1656 and 1695: A Re-investigation', 2 vols, PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1967, i, ii. (Further entries should be considered to be taken from the first volume, unless otherwise stated.)
[99] John Protheroe, 'Not So Much an Opera… A Restoration Problem Examined', *The Musical Times* 106/1471 (September 1965), fn.3, 666.

state account (replicated below) was written marking this event, which grants us the majority of our evidence.[100] However, Buttrey takes the existence of this account as evidence of the venture's failure, as well as intent from the authorities to shut down Davenant's operations.

The Bills for Sr Will: Davenants
Opera are thus Intitled ./.
The Entertainment by Musick and Declarations after the manner of the
Ancients./.

The Scene Athens

Upon friday the 23 of May 1656 These foresaid Declarations began att the Charterhouse and 5 [shillings] a head for the entrance. The expectation was of 400 persons, but there appeared not above 150 auditors. The roome was narrow, at the end of which was a stage and on ether side two places railed in, Purpled and Guilt, The Curtayne also that drew before them was of cloth of gold and Purple./.

After the Prologue (w[hich] told them this was but the Narrow passage to the Elizium theire Opera) Up came Diogenes and Aristophanes, the first against the Opera, the other for it. Then came up A Citizen of Paris speak-ing broken English — and a Citizen of London and reproached one another w[ith] the Defects of each Citty in theire Buildings, Manners, Cus- tomes, Diet &c: And *in fine* the Londoner had the better of itt, who concluded that hee had seene two Crocheteurs in Paris both w[ith] heavy burdens on theire backs stand complementing for [the] way w[ith], ceste a vous Mons[eur]: Mons[eur]: vous vous Mocquies de Moy &c: which lasted till they both fell down under their burden./.

The Musick was above in a loover hole railed about and covered w[ith] Sarcenetts to conceale them, before each speech was consort Musick. At the end were songs relating to the Victor (the Protector) The last song ended w[ith] deriding Paris and the french, and concluded.

And though a shipp her scutchen bee
yet Paris hath noe shipp at sea./.

The first song was made by Hen: Lawes, [the] other by D[octor] Coleman who were the Composers. The Singers were Cap[tian] Cooke, Ned Coleman and his wife, another wooman and other inconsiderable voyces. It lasted an howre and a haulfe and is to continue for 10 dayes by w[hich] time other Declamations wilbee ready./.

[100] State Papers. Domestic. Interregnum. 18/128, no.108. Transcribed in Hotson, 150.

The account does suggest that the run of ten performances (/eleven, depending whether the 'continue for 10 dayes' includes the opening night) were not as profitable as they could have been, and certainly not as successful as Davenant would have preferred, yet it does not suggest abject commercial failure.[101] Additionally, none of the content of the report would suggest any form of impending censure. As such, I believe these first two aspects of Buttrey's argument can be disregarded.

As previously stated, Davenant sent a letter to Bulstrode Whitelocke on 3 September, with which he evidently provided a copy of the 1656 libretto. The letter reads as such:

> MY LORD,
> When I consider the nicety of the Times, I fear it may draw a Curtain between your Lordship and our Opera; therefore I have presumed to send your Lordship, hot from the Press, what we mean to represent; making your Lordship my supreme Judge, though I despair to have the Honour of inviting you to be a Spectator. I do not conceive the perusal of it worthy any part of your Lordship's leisure, unless your antient relation to the Muses make you not unwilling to give a little entertainment to Poetry; though in so mean a dress as this and coming from, my Lord,
>
> Your Lordship's,
> most obedient Servant,
> WILLIAM DAVENANT.

This letter indicates that *The Siege of Rhodes* was all but ready to be performed in early September 1656. However, Buttrey identifies what he believes to be a flaw in the accepted history of the production; that being a proclamation delivered by Oliver Cromwell on 6 September. Cromwell was in the process of calling the Second Protectorate Parliament, which would formally open on 17 September and, fearing potential trouble caused by prominent Royalists, issued an edict which expelled 'all persons who have been in arms, or assisted in the wars against the State' from the cities of London and Westminster. Such an edict, at first glance, would surely have affected Davenant, and indeed Cooke too (presuming

[101] Buttrey, 'The Evolution of English Opera', 21.

his Captaincy was as a Royalist, as seems probable), but buried within the text of the broadsheet, we discover that this only expelled those whose permanent residence did not dwell in the city:

> … depart out of the said Cities of London and Westminster, and the late lines of Communication and all places within twenty miles thereof (unless it be the place of their constant habitation and residence for themselves and their families)…[102]

As Davenant was a permanent resident of London (indeed, the performance was taking place within said residence at Rutland House), this proclamation would have had little impact upon him, or the musicians who comprised the cast. Additionally, there is no mention of restrictions being placed upon gatherings for those who were resident in the cities, which would otherwise have affected the premiere of the work.

Further physical evidence for the performance of *The Siege of Rhodes* in 1656 can be found on the titlepage of the 1656 libretto Lbl Thomason E.498.(6.), which features an annotation which reads '7ber [i.e. September] 29th' in a contemporary hand. This indicates beyond reasonable doubt that the copy of the libretto in question was used for a performance of *The Siege of Rhodes* on 29 September 1656.

In select copies of the 1656 libretto, there exist inserts of a revised cast-list.[103] This new list shows that several of the parts had, at the time of publication, been split between two singers – 'double parted', which I would assume to imply that the singers alternated the roles on successive nights, rather than both played the part during each performance. It should be noted that Cooke and Mrs Coleman were the only two cast members to not be double parted,

[102] GB-Lbl Thomason 669.f.20.(30.)
[103] Possibly GB-Lbl Ashley 3025. All other British Library copies of the 1656 libretto have been consulted, with this final copy being on restricted access following a cyber-attack in late 2023. It seems a further copy exists in private ownership but is unclear whether there are multiple examples; see Peter Holman, 'Thomas Baltzar (?1631-1663): The Incomperable Luciber on the Violin', *Chelys* 13 (1984), 6, fn. 9.

perhaps indicating their level of contemporary stardom. However, the most significant aspect of this insert is that it names the members of the band:

> The Instrumental Musick is perform'd by Mr. William Webb, Mr. Christopher Gibbons, Mr. Humphrey Madge, Mr. Thomas Balser, a German, Mr. Thomas Baites, Mr. John Banister.[104]

This list gives us a good indication as to the forces employed for the instrumental music. Given the instruments which the six musicians were known to have played, it seems probable that the music was written in four parts, with two violins (Baltzar and Banister), viola or tenor viol (Madge), and bass viol (Bates) above a continuo comprising theorbo and keyboard (Webb and Gibbons, respectively).[105] This writing would make it comparable to the music of similar post-Restoration works, such as for Matthew Locke's *Psyche* or *The Tempest* (albeit with smaller bands).[106] If the music was written in three parts, then it seems probable that there were two violins, bass viol, above a continuo of two theorboes and harpsichord (with Webb playing the additional theorbo in this configuration given that he is listed variously as a viol player and theorbist).[107] Both configurations were common for reduced-size instrumental theatre music at the time.[108]

Buttrey suggests that this insert gives us the 1659 revival cast inserted into libretti from 1656, so as not to waste old stock.[109] However, this cannot be the case. William Webb was buried on 16 March 1657,[110] proving that this cast list must have been for the 1656 season, and combined with the evidence above, disintegrates the assertion of a non-1656 premiere.[111]

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104 As transcribed in Buttrey, 'The Evolution of English Opera', 47.
105 This is the instrumentation suggested by Holman, first in 'Thomas Baltzar (?1631-1663)', 6; and then again in *Before the Baton*, 198.
106 The exceptional size of the band for *Psyche* in particular must be noted.
107 Given his appointments as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal and a noted singing teacher, Webb was most probably a lutenist as well as a singer; Holman, 'Thomas Baltzar (?1631-1663)', 6.
108 Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 142.
109 Buttrey, 'The Evolution of English Opera', 47.
110 Ian Spink. 'Webb, William.' *OMO*. 2001.
111 Peter Holman suggests that the reason for this later insert was due to the instrumentalists being fixed at a later point than the singers; 'Thomas Baltzar (?1631-1663)', 5.

Given that the space at Rutland House was severely restricted, it is difficult to ascertain whether there was a separate chorus of singers for the choruses at the end of each entry, or if the named performers were expected to join together. Hedbäck suggests that the latter of these options is correct, taking evidence from a scene added to the fourth entry in 1663, which directs 'Pirrhus, Rustan in Chorus,' which she takes to be a universal direction for the named characters singing together.[112] I would, however, be cautious of such a literal reading of this direction, not least as there is a direction for the characters to exit immediately following this portion of the scene before the 'Chorus of Wives' sings the closing portion of the entry present since 1656.[113] That 'chorus' was used to direct the characters on stage to sing together in pastoral dialogue cannot be doubted, such as the two lines preceding Alfonso singing 'How bravely fought the fiery French', but there is little evidence to suggest that there was not a separate group of singers for the choruses which end each entry. It is certainly possible that a small group of singers could have been secreted behind, below, or above the stage, in much the same way as the band (obviously also present, but unnamed in the libretto) were either located behind or in a gallery-like space above the stage.[114] This hypothesis bares more weight when the evidence of the later cast list is taken into account: with twelve singers (opposed to seven in the original listing), it seems probable that the chorus was comprised of those singers who were not performing named roles on that evening.

The way in which *The Siege of Rhodes* is described is something of an enigma in itself. The entry into the Stationers' Register in 1656 lists the work as 'a maske',[115] but on the title page of the surviving libretto, Davenant proudly states that the 'Story [is] sung in Recitative

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112 Ann-Mari Hedbäck, ed., *Sir William Davenant: The Siege of Rhodes, A Critical Edition*, University of Uppsala, 1973, lxxv–vi.
113 William Davenant, *The Siege of Rhodes* (London: Henry Herringman, 1663), 33.
114 Edward J. Dent, *Foundations of English Opera: A Study of Musical Drama in England during the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Da Capo, 1967), 61.
115 W. W. Greg, *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*, 4 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1939–59), ii, 868.

Musick'[116] with reference to changing mensuration to differentiate said recitatives 'for variation of *Ayres*'[117] throughout the performance. The combination of the two statements (and the lack of any further markings to suggest purely spoken parts throughout the libretto) makes quite clear that the entire performance is to be sung. As noted above, Davenant himself privately referred to the work as an opera and, indeed, it has been suggested that this decision to refer to *The Siege of Rhodes* as an opera, rather than play or masque, was intended by Davenant to obfuscate the theatrical nature of the work from the Puritan public who would otherwise have only been familiar with the aforementioned terms,[118] or as a method by which to circumvent the Parliamentary censure of theatre.

Davenant's use of the term 'opera' when referring to *The Siege of Rhodes*, and his intentions therein, may be questioned. It has been suggested that Davenant could not have known the precise meaning of the term, certainly not *opera musicale*, when using it, and thus simply meant to infer that it was a dramatic work.[119] This conclusion was reached as are no records of Davenant having visited Italy prior to the premiere of *The Siege of Rhodes*, which would have limited his exposure to the necessary Continental operatic forms.[120] It is a fallacy to suppose that Davenant's definition of 'opera' did not imply the musical: the *Glossographia* of Thomas Blout (1656) proves that a contemporary understanding of the word in England included music.[121] There is little reason to suspect that Davenant was not aware of this, despite having not travelled to Italy. Indeed, it would follow that the audiences which Davenant was targeting would also be conscious of the artistic aspects implicit within the word, thus

116 William Davenant, *The Siege of Rhodes* (London: Henry Herringman, 1656), i.
117 Davenant, *The Siege of Rhodes* (1656), vi.
118 J. W. Tupper, *Love and Honour, and The Siege of Rhodes by Sir William Davenant* (Boston; London: D. C. Heath & Co., 1909), xxxix.
119 Buttrey, 'The Evolution of English Opera', 51–2.
120 *Ibid.*
121 Janet Clare, 'William Davenant, The Siege of Rhodes (1656)', in Ingo Berensmeyer, ed., *Handbook of English Renaissance Literature* (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2019), 627; Steven Watkins, 'The Protectorate Playhouse: William Davenant's Cockpit in the 1650s', *Shakespeare Bulletin* 37/1 (2019), 7.

weakening the supposition that to set *The Siege of Rhodes* to music was purely an act of obfuscation.

The physical aspects of the converted space in Rutland House—namely the absence of a proscenium—were perhaps contributing factors to the lack of dancing interludes, which would have ultimately identified the performance as a masque rather than opera.[122] Indeed, Davenant apologises to the reader of the libretto for the constraints of the space:

> It has been often wisht that our Scenes (we having oblig'd our selves to the variety of Five changes) according to the Ancient Drammatick distinctions made for time) had not been confin'd to eleven foot in height, and about fifteen in depth, including the places of passage reserv'd for the musick… We conceive, it will not be unacceptable to you if we recompence the narrowness of the Room, by containing in it so much as could be conveniently accomplisht by Art and Industry: which will not be doubted in the Scenes by those who can judg that kind of Illustration and know the excellency of Mr. *John Web*, who design'd and order'd it.[123]

Despite these restrictions, another distinction the production holds is that of the first public stage work in England to employ scenery.[124] Original drawings by John Webb survive, granting a detailed view into what the stage would have looked like, as well as the precise dimensions of each screen, and the distances between the three sets of wings. Davenant's statement about the 'passage reserv'd for the musick' should be analysed further; as Dent identified, a small band may well have been able to fit behind the stage, but the state papers concerning the *First Dayes Entertainment* suggest that the musicians could have been placed in an elevated space above the stage.[125]

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[122] Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, 154.
[123] Davenant, *The Siege of Rhodes* (1656), iii–v.
[124] Eric Walter White, *The Rise of English Opera* (New York: Da Capo, 1972), 33.
[125] Dent, *Foundations of English Opera*, 61; Michael Burden, 'Where did Purcell Keep his Theatre Band?', *Early Music* 37/3 (2009), 432.

The Siege of Rhodes – Cooke's Contributions

The composition of *The Siege of Rhodes* was a collaboration between Cooke, Henry Lawes, and Matthew Locke for the vocal music, and Charles Coleman and George Hudson for the instrumental portions.[126] Cooke was responsible for the composition of the music for the second and third entries (acts), with Lawes composing the first and fifth, and Locke composing for the fourth; there is no indication of which particular parts of the instrumental music Coleman and Hudson composed. We can see that each entry was preceded by what we might describe as an overture. It is worth noting that, in addition to his compositional contributions to the production, Cooke also originated the role of Solyman. Turning to Pepys' diary and recalling an entry from 13 February 1667 where Cooke is present at a dinner hosted by Dr Clerke, it could be surmised that Cooke's role within the composition of the music for *The Siege of Rhodes* was more pivotal than at first considered. During said meal, Cooke is reported to have claimed that he was the one to instruct Davenant in how to metre his libretto in order to allow it to better be set to music. Whilst Pepys writes that Cooke is acting vainly and pretentiously, he does not seem to disregard the statement, concluding by saying that 'he sings and composes so well.'[127]

Buttrey casts doubt on whether the work was sung throughout but his argument seems to spring from a straightforward misreading of the titlepages. He contests that Davenant used the same description on the title pages for *The Siege of Rhodes* and *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru* (1658) and therefore, as the latter production features vocal and instrumental music alongside spoken dialogue, the same must be true of the former.[128] This is not true as the title page for *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru* describes the work as 'Exprest by Instrumentall

[126] Davenant, *The Siege of Rhodes* (1656), 41.
[127] *Pepys*, viii, 58–9.
[128] Buttrey, 'The Evolution of English Opera', 64.

and Vocall Musick',[129] whereas we have already seen that Davenant makes clear reference to the 'Recitative Musick' in which the story for *The Siege of Rhodes* is sung. Reference to music in *The Siege of Rhodes* is made in at least two other near contemporary publications: first by John Dryden in his essay prefixed to *The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards*, where he commented that it was 'writ in verse, and perform'd in Recitative Musique… he [Davenant] review'd his Siege of Rhodes, and caus'd it to be acted as a just Drama,'[130] clearly stating that it was (at least initially) performed musically. Secondly, the preface to *The Fairy Queen* (1692) speaks for itself:

> That Sir William Davenant's Siege of Rhodes was the first Opera we ever had in England, no Man can deny; and is indeed a perfect Opera: there being this difference only between an Opera and a Tragedy; that the one is a Story sung with proper Action, the other spoken.[131]

Additionally, one might draw on two features of the production: firstly, that no fewer than five composers were involved in crafting the music; and secondly, the 1656 cast (accounting for those on the inserted list) comprised, in so far as can be ascertained, entirely of professional singers. If *The Siege of Rhodes* was not set entirely to music, why would you require the services of five composers, let alone a cast comprised of professional singers (seemingly the best available, going by contemporary accounts)?

The libretto does not indicate the musical form for which each section of the performance was sung, but by looking at contemporary works we can hypothesise the format of the two entries for which Cooke composed the music (see table 7). Where there are multiple characters singing in metres other than consistent heroic couplets, this seems probable to have been set as pastoral dialogue—to allow for greater flexibility—whereas the

[129] William Davenant, *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru* (London: Henry Herringman, 1658), 1.
[130] John Dryden, 'Of Heroique Playes. An Essay' prefixed to *The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards* (London: T.N., 1672), x.
[131] Henry Purcell, *The Fairy Queen* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1692), iii.

aforementioned passages of heroic couplets represent the native form recitative as used in earlier English forms of masque, and the kind of style seen in the later operatic works of Matthew Locke, such as *Psyche*.[132] The portions of the libretto which represent the ayres are largely determined by the context of the surrounding text, where a marked change in metre or rhyme scheme implies an intention to present something different. For instance, there are several passages where the text is in strict sets of heroic couplets for an extended period, which would seem to lend itself to a protracted passage of recitative, albeit where characters may be in dialogue. Example 12 presents an excerpt from Act 4, Scene 2 of Locke's *Psyche*, which shows a passage of recitative in heroic couplets.

Table 7 – The contents of the Second and Third Entries of Davenant, *The Siege of Rhodes*.

Entry	Scene	Lines	Title	Characters	Type (Speculated)
2		1-26	The blood of Rhodes grows cold	Villerius, Admiral	Recitative
		27-50	How bravely fought the fiery French	Alphonso	Declamatory ayre
		51-4	He can at most but once prevail	Villerius	Declamatory ayre
		55-6	Let us apace	Admiral	Recitative
		57-60	So greatly do, that being dead	Villerius, Admiral, Alfonso	Chorus (Ayre reprise)
		61-94	What sudden halt hath stay'd	Solyman, Pirrhus	Recitative
		95-106	In honour's orb the Christians shine	Solyman	Declamatory ayre
		107-145	Great Sultan, Hail!	Mustapha, Ianthe, Solyman	Recitative
		146-9	If beauty vail'd so virtuous be	Solyman	Declamatory ayre
		150-180	Your bassa swore	Mustapha, Ianthe, Solyman	Pastoral dialogue
		181-198	May Solyman be ever far	Ianthe, Solyman	Declamatory ayre (duet)
		199-216	Let us live, live!	Chorus of women	Chorus
3	1	1-12	Pirrhus, draw up our army wide	Solyman	Declamatory ayre
		13-16	It shall be done	Pirrhus, Mustapha	Recitative
		17-24	These Rhodians	Solyman	Declamatory ayre
		25-57	'Tis well our valiant prophet	Pirrhus, Mustapha, Solyman	Pastoral dialogue
		58-67	Dispatch a trumpet	Solyman, Pirrhus	Recitative
	2	68-91	When we, Ianthe	Villerius, Admiral	Pastoral dialogue
		92-108	Indeed I think, Ianthe	Alphonso, Ianthe	Declamatory ayre (duet)
		109-22	Oh ripe perfection	Villerius, Admiral, Alphonso, Ianthe	Pastoral dialogue
		123-141	Ianthe after all this praise	Alphonso	Declamatory ayre
		142-161	Take heed, Alfonso	Ianthe, Alphonso	Pastoral dialogue
		162-181	It seems that what the Bassa of me said	Ianthe, Alphonso	Recitative
		182-190	This Christian Turk amazes me	Ianthe, Alphonso	Pastoral dialogue
		191-215	She is all harmony and fair as light	Alphonso	Declamatory ayre
		216-31	The wives all that are	Chorus	Chorus

[132] Eric W. White, *A History of English Opera* (London: Faber & Faber), 72.

That Davenant was cultivating the English form of opera is the view adopted by Elizabeth Gardner,[133] where she suggests various exemplars to which we might turn to identify compositional styles which may have been exhibited within *The Siege of Rhodes*. The supposition is that *The Siege of Rhodes* was the first run at a purely national style of opera. Looking to Locke's 1675 publication, *The English Opera* (containing the music for *Psyche* and *The Tempest*) he states that vocal music in the tradition of 'The English Opera' can be characterised by ballad, single air, and recitative.[134] In applying this to *The Siege of Rhodes*, Gardner suggests that the English forms to which we can look are the ballad, declamatory ayre [air], and pastoral dialogue.[135] However, in order to better make the distinction between various modes of declamatory idiom, I would suggest that the forms to which we might look are the ballad, recitative, declamatory ayre, and pastoral dialogue. What should be noted is that Davenant's assertion of the performance of the work in 'recitative-musick' is in specific reference to the, then novel, English form of recitative used for what would have previously been spoken text. This is in addition to the various other forms of declamatory idiom (as discussed above) which featured across the work, covering the gamut of native song styles prevalent during the 1650s. That *The Siege of Rhodes* included different native song forms is evinced by the description of the vocal music used in the 'to the reader' of the 1656 libretto:

> But when you are an Auditor you will finde that in this, I rather deserve approbation then need excuse; for frequent alterations of measure (which cannot be so unpleasant to him that reads as troublesome to him that writes) are necessary to *Recitative* Musick for variation of *Ayres*.[136]

[133] Elizabeth Gardner, 'Operatic Innovations in the Stuart and Caroline Masques', PhD Dissertation, Rutgers University, 1996. Gardner builds on the work of Eugene Haun, which lacks detailed musical discussion and Hedbäck, *The Siege of Rhodes, A Critical Edition*, which likens portions of *The Siege of Rhodes* to Italian Models, without ever presenting specific examples to carry the hypothesis.
[134] Locke, *Psyche*, v.
[135] Gardner, 'Operatic Innovations', 232.
[136] Davenant, *The Siege of Rhodes* (1656), iv.



Example 12 – Matthew Locke, *Song of the God of the River* (bb.1–9) from *Psyche* (1675).

Through the analysis of the metre of both *The Siege of Rhodes* and *Psyche*, the passages of true recitative can be seen, marked by heroic couplets, delineating the portions of metrical distinction quite clearly. This can be clarified with an example from the second entry, where the instrumental overture is followed by Villerius and the Admiral in a long segment (26 lines) of monody in 13 heroic couplets. One might compare this to a similar portion of text in *Psyche*, *Song for Envy and the Furies*,[137] which gives an example of the style of music which may have accompanied the passage in *The Siege of Rhodes*: several characters in a protracted dialogue, opening with a series of heroic couplets, and ending with the characters in chorus. (See example 13 and table 8.)

[137] Matthew Locke, *Dramatic Music*, ed. Michael Tilmouth (London: Stainer & Bell, 1986), 109.



Example 13 – Matthew Locke, *Song for Envy and Furies* (bb.1–16) from *Psyche* (1675).

Envy		Envy 'gains Psyche such black storms shall raise,	10
	A	As all her powerful beams shall n'er dispel:	10
	B	Beyond her strength shall be her suffering;	10
	A	Her to the greatest misery I'll bring,	10
	B	And e're I've done, I'll send her down to Hell.	10
Fury I		In Hell too late she shall relent	8
		And all her arrogance repent	8
Fury II		We Furies will torment your soul	8
		And you shall weep and howl	6
Fury I		And at the sight of ev'ry snake	8
		Tremble and quake	4
Fury II	A	There you shall mourn eternally	8
	B	And to the quick shall feel each lash we give	10
Envy	A	There you shall always wish to die,	8
	B	And yet in spite of you shall always live.	10
Chorus	(A)	There you shall always wish to die,	8
	(B)	And yet in spite of you shall always live.	10

Table 8 – Text from Matthew Locke, *Song for Envy and the Furies* from *Psyche* (1675).

Much literature speculating upon the musical setting of *The Siege of Rhodes* suggests that it was written in the style of Italian recitative.[138] However, this assumes that Davenant was attempting to import Continental opera into England, rather than to cultivate and further a distinct English form which had been in existence for several years by this point. Indeed, in the preface to the libretto, Davenant makes his intention to advance the English artform quite clear the audience:

> The Musick was compos'd, and both the Vocal and Instrumental is exercis'd, by the most transcendent of *England* in that Art, and perhaps not unequal to the best Masters abroad, but being *Recitative*, and therefore unpractis'd here; though of great reputation amongst other Nations, the very attempt of it is an obligation to our own.[139]

Indeed, this would match Davenant's libretto, where he adopts a five-act structure to the work rather than the three-act structure prevalent on the Continent.[140]

As mentioned above, Davenant makes distinct reference to the music being sung in varying

[138] See Hedbäck, *The Siege of Rhodes, A Critical Edition*, lxxv–vi; and Janet Clare, *Drama of the English Republic 1649–60* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 186.
[139] Davenant, *The Siege of Rhodes* (1656), v.
[140] Elizabeth Gardner, 'Operatic Innovations in the Stuart and Caroline Masques', PhD Dissertation, Rutgers University, 1996, 212; and Eugene Haun, *But Hark! More Harmony; The Libretti of Restoration Opera in English* (Michigan: Eastern Michigan Press, 1971), 68.

song forms, and 'How bravely fought the fiery French' is an example of this difference. The six stanzas are numbered, and the metre is a consistent 8.6.8.6. A transcription of the text is provided below, with number of syllables indicated at the close of each line.

1. How bravely fought the fiery French, (8)
Their Bulwark being storm'd: (6)
The colder Almans kept their Trench, (8)
By more then Valour warm'd. (6)

2. The grave Italians paus'd and fought, (8)
The solemn Spaniards too; (6)
Study'ng more Deaths then could be wrought (8)
By what the rash could do. (6)

3. Th'Avergnian Colours high were rais'd; (8)
Twice tane, and twice reliev'd. (6)
Our Foes, like friends to Valour, prais'd (8)
The mischiefs they receiv'd (6)

4. The cheerful English got renown; (8)
Fought merrily and fast; (6)
'Tis time, they cry'd, to mow them down, (8)
Wars Harvest cannot last. (6)

5. If Death be rest, here let us dye; (8)
Where weariness is all (6)
We daylie get by Victory, (8)
Who must by Famine fall (6)

6. Great Solyman is landed now; (8)
All Fate he seems to be; (6)
And brings those Tempests in his Brow (8)
Which he deserv'd at Sea. (6)

Immediately following this are six lines of text sung by Villerius which, whilst not consistent in metre, maintains the alternate rhyme scheme of 'How bravely fought the fiery French', as well as the iambic tetrameter. Thus, it might be that Villerius' entry was intended to either continue the same musical content (in the style of the ayre) or perhaps declamatory or recitative in style.[141] What is almost certain is that single stanza chorus beginning 'So greatly do, that being dead' a few lines later, was to be sung to a chorus refrain of 'How bravely fought the fiery French', as it directly mimics both the metre and rhyme scheme.

Recitative returns following this segment of more melodic ayre, with 17 heroic couplets (34 lines) between Solyman and Pirrhus. 'How bravely fought' was the only segment of the work which Edward J. Dent was willing to definitely identify as an ayre due to the regularity of metre.[142] However, 'In honour's orb the Christians shine', also in the second entry, shows all the hallmarks of an ayre, consisting of three quatrains: two in iambic tetrameter (8.8.8.8.) and

[141] Later Restoration opera made common use of repeated musical material in this fashion. Michael Burden, 'To Repeat (Or Not to Repeat)?; Dance Cues in Restoration English Opera', *Early Music* 35/3 (2007), 404.
[142] Dent, *Foundations of English Opera*, 73.

the final quatrain in iambic pentameter (10.10.10.10). This format is similar, if not identical, to the Thomas Flatman's poems which Cooke sets for *Awake my soul* and *Sleep, downy sleep* – providing possible cognates for the kind of melodic composition which may have been for setting this text.

Gardner shies from discussing Cooke's music in relation to the opera, quite emphatically stating that his music exhibits 'minimal talent when compared to that of Lawes and Locke.'[143] As demonstrated in the preceding chapters this is not necessarily the case, and we can identify further pieces which may represent the same compositional styles as exhibited in *The Siege of Rhodes*. The portion of the second entry—for which Cooke composed the music—beginning 'May Solyman be ever far' is probably also another example of a declamatory ayre (a duet, in fact) with three sestets in iambic tetrameter. This is separated from the preceding section (itself possibly pastoral dialogue given the lack of uniformity in the rhyme and metre, as well as the frequency of passing dialogue between characters) by a triplet, which implies a change in style to follow. Looking back to 'How bravely fought the fiery French', we might compare this to Cooke's *Magarita first possess'd* (example 14), potentially likening the song in *The Siege of Rhodes* more closely to the ballad tradition than to that of the declamatory ayre – that 'So greatly do, that being dead' is assumed to be a refrain would certainly not preclude this possibility.

[143] Gardner, 'Operatic Innovations', 256, fn.19.



Example 14 – Henry Cooke, *Margarita first possess'd* (v.1).

Attention might additionally be turned to the two ballads printed in *The Musical Companion* (1667): *Long have I thought* and *Quickly, quickly drawer* as cognates for both the marked choruses and the refrain on 'So greatly do'. Both exhibit a regularity of metre in the text which is not present in the choruses in *The Siege of Rhodes*, but surely represent a style of vocal writing indicative of the other secular poly-vocal work Cooke would have produced. It is of note that Cooke's only printed work is included in a miscellany which heavily features ayres and ballads by Lawes and Locke—his fellow composers for the vocal music in *The Siege of Rhodes*—and thus may tie these works more closely in style to works which we know to be representative of the ballads, ayres, and dialogues one may have heard during one of the 1656 performances.

The separation of recitative and ayres in the vocal writing is an echo of earlier writing in English masques such as James Shirley, *The Triumph of Peace* (1634). Around halfway through the masque,[144] there is a large amount of dialogue between multiple characters, which then breaks into a series of songs, each performed by a soloist. The songs exhibited in *The Triumph of Peace* are all shorter, on average, than those in *The Siege of Rhodes*, but one may attribute this

[144] James Shirley, *The Triumph of Peace* (London: John Norton, 1633), 9–16.

to the more wholly musical nature of the latter in comparison to the former.

The second part to *The Siege of Rhodes* was entered into the Stationers' Register in 1659 and,[145] despite only having extant libretti from 1663, it seems probable that it was written to premiere as part of the revival that year.[146] Samuel Pepys' account on 2 July 1661 gives the first reference to the second part being performed,[147] and John Evelyn would see it a few months later on 9 January 1662.[148] The expanded libretto, including the second part, would appear to have been initially composed in the same manner as the first—the Stationers' Register reads that it was to be 'sung in recitative musicke'.[149] But this seems to have been short-lived, as gradually all but the instrumental music was cut. The 1663 libretto states that each entry still has a preceding instrumental overture, but scant else is mentioned in regard to music.[150] Thus, it would seem that the glorious musical origins of *The Siege of Rhodes* were gradually shed for the purposes of catering to theatre audiences post-Restoration. However, the argument that Davenant thus did not introduce opera to England unfairly undermines the significance of *The Siege of Rhodes*.[151] Whilst later composers would revisit this form during the later years of the Restoration—such as Matthew Locke, as has been oft cited above—Davenant and his cabal of composers surely laid a foundation and constructed framework upon which distinctive English opera would later be based. Davenant's exposure to masque and native song forms are pivotal, as he was not attempting to import operatic style from the Continent but was rather germinating a distinct national form.

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145 Greg, *Bibliography*, ii, 869.
146 It has been suggested that the 1659 entry into the Stationers' Register may be erroneous in its contents; meaning to describe a second edition of the first (and original) part of the production rather than the newly composed second part, which would only be published in 1663; Buttrey, 'The Evolution of English Opera', 47.
147 *Pepys*, ii, 130.
148 *Evelyn*, iii, 309.
149 Greg, *Bibliography*, ii, 869.
150 White, *The Rise of English Opera*, 33.
151 Buttrey, 'The Evolution of English Opera', ii.

Conclusions

Henry Cooke's contributions to non-court music, particularly in the context of songs and stage works, demonstrate both his versatility and his ability to navigate the changing musical landscape in England across the period of Civil War, Commonwealth, and Restoration. Upon first consideration, Cooke's surviving song repertoire would understandably appear to be negligible, especially when compared to the far more expansive corpus of anthems and court odes. However, as demonstrated within this chapter, the implications of that small number of pieces are perhaps more impactful than that of the anthem and ode repertoire.

In analysing the manuscripts and tracing the origins and dissemination of Cooke's songs, it becomes apparent that his music retained a presence within certain circles – especially in Oxford, where many of his works were copied and preserved. This geographical shift away from London, where his contemporaries such as Matthew Locke and Henry Lawes enjoyed greater visibility, may explain why Cooke's music has been somewhat overshadowed in historical accounts. Additionally, as evinced by the survival of his song repertoire in various sources, Cooke's works remained relevant for decades after his death, suggesting a lasting appeal, albeit one largely confined to manuscript circulation rather than inclusion in popular printed miscellanies of the later-seventeenth century.

Through a study of the manuscript sources and choices of texts we have been able to ascertain a probable chronology for the copying of the surviving song repertoire. This, in turn, has allowed for a degree of commentary as to why Cooke's music does not appear in contemporary miscellanies.

In the case of *Sleep, downy sleep*, it has also been demonstrated how the song had formerly been misattributed to Pelham Humfrey, through a series of misreadings and misassumptions,

and how a combination of manuscript, textual, and musical evidence brings to bear a convincing argument for the reattribution of the piece to Cooke as its true composer.

Furthermore, Cooke's role in William Davenant's production of *The Siege of Rhodes*, affirms his engagement with the early English operatic tradition and his crucial role in providing the foundations on which composers such as Matthew Locke and Henry Purcell would later build for their own operatic ventures. Although much of the music for *The Siege of Rhodes* has been lost, the examination of the opera's structure through the surviving libretto has allowed the manner in which Cooke may have composed his contributions to be hypothesised, through drawing comparisons with near-contemporaneous repertoire of Matthew Locke's *Psyche*.

Despite the limited extant sources, Cooke's surviving repertoire provides critical insights into the development of English vocal music during the mid- to late-seventeenth century. The manuscript evidence, coupled with some limited stylistic analysis of his songs (primarily *Sleep, downy sleep* and *Awake my soul*) and his contributions to *The Siege of Rhodes*, suggests that Cooke was not only a skilled teacher and performer but also a composer whose works continued to influence his pupils and the broader musical community in England. His legacy, though diminished in comparison to his more widely recognised contemporaries and successors, remains significant in understanding the evolution of English song and stage music during the Commonwealth and Restoration periods.

Conclusion

Amidst the political and socio-economic turmoil of the seventeenth century, this thesis has thoroughly reassessed several key aspects pertaining to Henry Cooke. By examining (and completely recasting) Cooke's biography, his role in shaping the personnel of the Chapel Royal post-Restoration, his scribal and compositional practices evident from the autographs contained within Bu 5001, and his involvement in secular music and stage works, a more complete and nuanced picture of Cooke's life and contributions to music in Restoration England has emerged.

Biographical Insights and Methodological Approaches

In chapter 1, new documentary evidence was presented in order to provide significant biographical insights into Cooke's early life. This has revealed various connections with Westminster Abbey and has invited the hypothesis that Cooke was musically linked, probably as a chorister, with the Abbey rather than the Chapel Royal. His activities as a music teacher during the late-1640s and 1650s were already suspected prior to this thesis being written, evinced by the advertisement in Playford's *Musical Companion* (1651) and the letter (Lbl Add. 29550, f.275) which mentions his employment with the Hatton family at Kirby Hall in 1656. However, the new evidence presented through the legal battle with William Style and the mention of Cooke in the Hartlib Papers demonstrates that Cooke's private employment across this period was wide-ranging in terms both of dates and number of pupils, all of which would have generated a fairly substantial income on a par, if not in excess, of what he saw from his court positions following the Restoration.

Cooke's property ownership in Westminster further draws into focus the question of his affluence. This is especially the case when one considers the newly presented documentary

evidence which shows that he owned the freehold to a substantial 21 messuages on Longditch alongside the leasehold of a large 12-hearth property on Millbank – this is before considering the property he owned in Hampton Court (for which no documentary evidence has been forthcoming), and Kent. These properties indicate that Cooke's income must have outstripped that of his peers, both during the Commonwealth and after the Restoration.

Through identifying the maiden name of Cooke's wife Mary—Bettenham—it has been possible to fully explore the properties which were brought into the marriage in Pluckley, Kent, as well as the discovery of their marriage date on 2 October 1646 at St Nicholas's Church, Newington next Hythe, Kent. Legal documents held by the National Archives have been consulted at length and transcribed (see appendix A), revealing a series of prolonged court cases between Henry and his wife, and Francis Bettenham, her brother, over this land. Exploration of documents at the Kent County Archives lends credence to Cooke and Mary's case by providing parallel documents which suggest that an indenture was drawn up for Mary by her father well in advance of his decease. The legal documents are exceptionally detailed and, whilst it has not been possible to pinpoint the exact location of these lands in today's landscape, the scale of the land is extensive, indicating that Cooke's income through this stream could have been considerable.

This consideration of wealth was explored further through his issue and the items left to them in his will, leading to the hypothesis that Cooke may have been a member of the minor gentry, suggested by the social status of his wife, hints at his social position through reference in legal documents, and the implications of his wealth and property ownership – all of which might facilitate some explanations for his commission as an officer during the Civil Wars, and his professional trajectory following the Restoration. Two potential pedigrees have been identified for Cooke. The first in Kent with the Cooke family of Mount Mascal, the surviving

records for which indicate that there was a Henry Cooke of the correct age, and might explain too why Henry and Mary met, and why so much of their lives—such as the baptisms of all three of their daughters—centred on Bromley. The second pedigree is suggested by the wax seal that can be found affixed to the original copy of his will, held at the National Archives (Lna PROB 10/1054). The arms which survive on the seal clearly reveal a coat of arms of Cooke impaling Bettenham, with the Bettenham arms being correctly quartered in line with Mary's known (and confirmed) pedigree. The Cooke arms here seem to indicate the Cooke family of Milton, Cambridgeshire (with additional holdings in Warwickshire), but records from the visitations of the seventeenth century cease without providing any useful information or, indeed, presenting any clear candidates for our Cooke. This latter possibility for Cooke's pedigree is far from watertight – examples of adopted arms without entitlement permeate the seventeenth-century visitations, and the fact that his seal displays 'his' arms impaled with his wife's raises questions as to whether his social status was reliant on, and elevated by, his marriage. Further research on the Milton Cooke family, primarily seeking out manuscript materials through the College of Arms, will be necessary in order to ascertain whether this poses anything more than a possible pedigree for our Cooke.

Future biographical research using the approaches adopted within this thesis could extend beyond Cooke to other Restoration-era composers. As suggested, archival resources such as rate books and other records of property ownership might yield further information about other figures like Pelham Humfrey and John Blow, both of whom may benefit from such an approach. The growing availability of digital archives also allows for a tailored, data-driven approach to revisiting figures whose biographies are considered 'complete', such as Henry Purcell. Reassessing their lives using these tools could uncover overlooked facets of their careers and influence future historiographical approaches to the study of Restoration music.

Institutional Structures and Compositional Legacy

Chapter 2 has pulled together various aspects of Cooke's known biography and supplemented them with new information, primarily exploring his role as Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal. Through an in-depth analysis of Cooke's activities, the chapter has shed significant light on the recruitment of the first generations choristers, the implications for musical pedagogy during this period, as well as Cooke's role in establishing the English Restoration School and emphasising the compositional legacy he left for the generations to follow.

The royal patent which Cooke was awarded in 1661 granted him the power to press boys from choirs across the country and it has long been established that he wielded this entitlement to great effect, seeking and recruiting boys who would become some of the finest composers and musicians of the period. This practice in the Restoration period has been analysed and used to construct the most comprehensive list to date of the choristers in the Chapel Royal of the early Restoration. In turn, this has revealed the probable origins of some of the boys of the Chapel—George Flexney and Thomas Price—placing them in Oxford where members of their family, presumably their brothers, sang at Christ Church Cathedral. This discovery attests to the fact that biographical information for many of the musicians in Restoration England may still be forthcoming and might be explored further using the approaches outlined in the first chapter.

A substantial question which remains unanswered in the musical scholarship regarding the seventeenth century looks to address the degree to which choristers could, and may, have been trained across the period of the Civil Wars and Commonwealth. Indeed, there are indications that John Blow and other boys in Newark may have been taught as one of ten singing boys at the Magnus Song School across the period of unrest – something worth

exploring in detail. Investigating the possibility of alternative training grounds for choristers, such as the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, or perhaps Eton or Windsor, could provide new perspectives on how musical education was maintained during the years when the Chapel Royal itself was inactive. A wide-spanning study in this vein for the entire country would prove invaluable, not simply in so far as revising what is known about music making across the period 1640–50, but as it would have significant ramifications as to the training of the boys of the Chapel Royal (and other choristers across the country) from 1660. Whilst this would not detract from Cooke's pedagogical legacy, it might place it within a different context and further aid in the reassessment of his role in the early years of the Restoration.

Cooke's accession to the role of Master of the Children has allowed for a study of the responsibilities of the role, through an analysis of the lists of codified responsibilities from bookending periods. It has been shown that Cooke was responsible for—or at least took upon himself—a wide range of duties in addition to the regular musical education of the boys. These duties included providing them with apprenticeships/opportunities upon their leaving the Chapel, as explored through the well-documented case of Thomas Edwards being apprenticed to Samuel Pepys, caring for them whilst sick, and potentially serving as their boarding-master too. The properties which he owned and leased in Westminster—the aforementioned 21 messuages on Longditch and 12-hearth property on Millbank—were both extensive and may well offer a probable location for the lodging of the early Restoration Chapel choristers in the absence of appropriately-sized rooms within the confines of Whitehall Palace itself. Additionally, coinciding with the removal of the court from London during the Great Plague of 1665, the expansion of the music rooms at Hampton Court lends support to the fact that Cooke was probably required to provide lodging for the boys – in the case of this particular excursion, the duration of the stay required significant alteration and repair to the fabric of a building that would have otherwise only been used sparingly.

Cooke's compositional legacy has also been reassessed – seeking to challenge some of the more pejorative historical stances which have been adopted since his death. His contemporary renown cannot be doubted, and we see this demonstrated through his engagement to compose for some of the largest events of the period—such as the coronation of Charles II, and the ceremonial installation of the Knights of the Garter—as well as the contemporary commentary provided by diarists such as Pepys. The pioneering role which Cooke played in establishing the symphony anthem has been discussed, and the contexts for the performance of this new genre of work analysed, beginning the discussions for a chronology of his surviving anthems. This has placed most of the content seen in Bu 5001 prior to 1667 due to the forces he utilised in their composition. Despite a positive contemporary reception of his music and the cultivation of the symphony anthem genre which his pupils would develop further after his death, Cooke's repertoire still suffered from an apparent complete erasure from the Chapel. This has led to the hypothesis that the lack of currency of the symphony anthem, paired with the ascendency of his pupils may have contributed to the disappearance of much of his Chapel Royal repertoire following 1672.

Building on the evidence of Cooke's anthems, and by looking to some limited examples within his own repertoire in comparison to the music of Henry Purcell, it has been suggested that his pedagogical fingerprints may be present in the work of his successors. Nods to the repertoire of Cooke's predecessors, echoes of his works present in *Dido and Aeneas*, as well as similarities in the utilisation of rhetorical devices seen in his setting of the Funeral Sentences all further elucidate the fact that Cooke's compositional legacy has been much marred by overzealous commentary, and that he had a provable ability to eloquently compose in at least four-voices.

Manuscript Evidence and Compositional Practice

Chapter 3 has presented a detailed study of Cooke's scribal and compositional process through the lens of Birmingham University, Music MS 5001 (Bu 5001). Through extensive investigation of the forms of correction which are evident in his autograph contributions to the manuscript, it has been suggested that these materials represent working drafts of his compositions which would have been subjected to at least one further compositional pass, thus resulting in later versions of the music being used for the copying of parts for performance. This has significant connotations for any further analytical study of Cooke's anthem repertoire, as it suggests that autograph works seen in Bu 5001 do not represent their 'final' forms.

The exploration of Cooke's scribal and compositional habits also has important implications for our understanding of how composers of the early Restoration Chapel and English Restoration School may have initially approached the compositional process. In particular, this challenges the categorisation of Cooke's works in Bu 5001 as 'fowle originall'. The identification of the similar usage of correction crosses as seen in Cooke's music in the autographs of his pupils, Humfrey and Purcell, further demonstrates fingerprints of his pedagogy, whilst also serving to draw into question the status of these materials too. This culminated in a short consideration of Purcell's autographs, which aimed to precipitate the future reassessment of the categorisation of some of these materials to a status more in keeping with Cooke's compositional drafts which display many similar characteristics.

The following section explored the connection between Henry Cooke's repertoire and the surviving manuscripts located in Oxford, with a special focus on Christ Church. Of the fifteen surviving manuscripts that contain Cooke's music, eleven originated in Oxford, emphasising the city's significance as a central point for the preservation of his work. The

largest holding institution, in terms of number of manuscripts, for Cooke's music is Christ Church Library, but despite the obvious links to music-making in the cathedral at Christ Church, it has been observed that most of these manuscripts were originally part of personal collections belonging to members of the institution, rather than the cathedral's official holdings. The manuscript evidence further suggests that his songs were performed not only in the cathedral but in other contexts around the city as well. The text also raises the possibility that Cooke's music might have been familiar to Oxford musicians in the 1650s, potentially through the documented musical meetings which took place during the Commonwealth, which could explain how figures like Anthony Wood became aware of Cooke, despite no known personal acquaintance.

That many of the manuscripts with origins in Oxford feature the verse anthem *Turn thou us, O good Lord* highlights its prominent position within the Christ Church repertoire, and thus it has been demonstrated that Cooke's music, at least encompassing the anthem aforesaid, was performed at Christ Church well into the eighteenth century, showcasing the lasting influence of his work in Oxford. That this full anthem has been demonstrated to have survived well beyond his symphony anthem repertoire also compounds the hypothesis seen in chapter 2, suggesting that the wider utility of the music played a crucial role in its longevity. Further research into the chronology of Cooke's works within Bu 5001 in particular may help determine whether some of the more polished pieces—such as *Christ rising again*—represent later revisions or whether they were composed under different circumstances, all contributing to the continuing discussion as to the categorisation of these materials. It is hoped that a deeper exploration of Bu 5001, including a renewed and complete analytical study of these surviving works, will yield further insights into both Cooke's compositional idiom as well as fingerprints of his pedagogy which may be traceable through his contemporaries and successors.

Songs and Contributions to English Opera

Chapter 4 explored the significant contributions Cooke made to the English song tradition through his surviving corpus of songs, as well as his involvement with William Davenant's productions during the 1650s, primarily *The Siege of Rhodes* (1656). Through his prestigious roles in the Chapel Royal and the King's Musick, Cooke played a central part in shaping the musical landscape of the Restoration period, but key to understanding Cooke's music is his use of the declamatory ayre, a genre developed from the beginning of the seventeenth century that allowed for expressive, text-driven musical settings. This chapter has examined some of the issues with this terminology—especially in regard to how it might have overlapped with other styles of the period—and how Cooke may have navigated the fine line between the declamatory ayre and these other native forms of song, such as recitative, contributing to the evolving English musical tradition. Cooke's mastery of this style is evident in both his surviving sacred and secular songs.

The chapter also undertook a thorough examination of the manuscript sources of Cooke's song repertoire. Cooke's music appears to have enjoyed lasting appeal in certain circles, particularly in Oxford, where many of his works were preserved. In so doing, a scribal attribution to Richard Goodson Sr has been suggested for Cooke's pieces in Lbl Add. 31460, evinced by comparisons to a known example of his hand in the same piece presented in Och Mus. 1205(A). This geographical shift away from London—where composers like Matthew Locke and Henry Lawes initially held sway, later giving way to Blow, Humfrey, and Purcell—may explain why Cooke's music has been somewhat neglected in historical accounts. We have also traced the survival and dissemination of Cooke's songs, revealing how they remained relevant decades after his death, albeit largely through manuscript circulation rather than printed collections. In conjunction with the discussions in chapter 2 and 3, this confirms that the broader utility of the repertoire played a huge part in the overall longevity of any

given piece – something which his songs and full anthem(s) possessed, but the symphony anthem repertoire of the Chapel did not.

An initial examination of the potential catalysts for Cooke's song composition has been presented. Given that Cooke's professional activities during the Commonwealth have now been proven to include the composition of songs for his pupils (as discussed in chapter 1), this obstructs the previously held assumption that all his solo song repertoire was composed for the Private Musick, whilst opening up new avenues for the exploration of his repertoire and the contexts in which it was used. The single surviving Latin-texted motet, *Adjuro vos filiæ Jerusalem*, is discussed, possibly representing a missing link in the English *concertato* motet tradition, and suggesting that potential performance contexts could be found in the Queen's Chapel of Catherine of Braganza, or the various catholic embassy chapels across London. This remains an area in much need of further study as, although the beginnings of an assessment of the use of Latin-texted music was approached by Ester Lebedinski in 2014, much is still unknown about this corpus of works to which Cooke and many of his pupils contributed.

A notable portion of this chapter has been dedicated to the reassessment of *Sleep, downy sleep*. This song has been previously attributed to both Cooke and Pelham Humfrey, but through analysing manuscript, palaeographical, textual, and musical evidence, a convincing case has been presented for the reattribution of this piece to Cooke. This not only strengthens the argument for Cooke's versatility as a composer but also underscores the fact that the attribution of works during this period is not necessarily absolute and might invite some degree of reassessment of other manuscript materials.

Furthermore, Cooke's involvement in William Davenant's *The Siege of Rhodes* affirms his role in the earliest developments of the English operatic tradition. The socio-political climate surrounding the first performance of the opera has been assessed, addressing and confuting comments which seek to undermine the date of the first performance, as well as the very sung-through nature of the work itself. The significance of this work, often considered the first English opera, lies in its influence on later composers – such as Locke and Purcell. Although Cooke's music for the opera has been lost, examining its structure through the surviving libretto and comparing it to contemporary works by the aforementioned composers has allowed us to hypothesise how Cooke might have approached the composition of his contributions. This line of investigation in itself could open avenues for future research into early English opera, particularly in reconstructing lost works through analysis of surviving libretti and related musical genres.

Part 2 of the thesis presents a substantial body of material which contributes to the study of Cooke. This material has served to underpin a number of key dialogues within the first portion of the thesis—such as the discussions of manuscript sources in chapters 3 and 4—and additionally compiles the most comprehensive corpus of bibliographic source material pertaining to Cooke's surviving repertoire to date. The presentation of clear, correct, and authoritative critical editions of Cooke's entire oeuvre should provide future scholars with the resources to undertake detailed analysis. This is not least true as the editions present Cooke's song, motet, and ode repertoire for the first time, as well as fixing many of the errors seen in earlier scholarship—both lists of contents for Bu 5001 and previous editions of his anthems in Cheverton's MA dissertation—such as rectifying the ordering of *The Lord hear thee in the time of trouble*, which was confused in the manuscript.

Future Directions for Research

Across all chapters, several promising areas for future research have emerged. The most immediate opportunity lies in extending biographical research and reassessment to other Restoration composers, with Pelham Humfrey and John Blow serving as excellent candidates. This perhaps even extends to Henry Purcell, due a reassessment himself nearly 30 years on from the tricentenary of his death, as the growing availability of digitised archival materials provides researchers with unprecedented access to primary sources that may have previously been overlooked. As proven with the potential discovery of the origins of George Flexney and Thomas Price, two of Cooke's earliest Chapel choristers, revisiting the lives of musicians of this period using new methods could uncover previously unknown biographical details and reshape our understanding of their individual careers and the institutions to which they belonged.

In terms of Cooke's compositional legacy, future studies could focus on tracing the transmission of his works through manuscript circulation, examining how and why certain pieces remained popular while others fell into obscurity. The critical edition presented in part 2 of this thesis aims to provide authoritative transcriptions of all Cooke's surviving repertoire, in order to allow for a detailed analytical study to take place. Similarly, the potential for an analysis of polemical messaging through anthem texts offers a rich area of inquiry. Investigating how Cooke and other composers of the period may have selected anthem texts to convey political and religious messages—perhaps towards the furtherance of a Restoration Narrative—could enhance our understanding of the broader cultural role of music at the time.

Cooke's role in the development of early English opera deserves further exploration. A detailed study comparing the surviving operatic works of his contemporaries and successors

with the libretto of *The Siege of Rhodes* could lead to further hypotheses concerning his own contributions to this work. This, in turn, could help situate Cooke within a broader narrative of the evolution of English stage music and the dawning of the native operatic tradition, contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of the genre's origins and development.

Lastly, future work should focus on what this thesis has not strived to complete: a technical and stylistic analysis of Cooke's repertoire. A genre-by-genre analysis of Cooke in comparison to his contemporaries and pupils can now be attempted, predominantly making use of the significant resources presented in part 2 of this thesis. This may then serve to greatly enhance and progress our overall understanding of compositional style, genre, and affect within the English Restoration School, perhaps towards the goal of a shared vocabulary for the analysis and description of works within this period.

This thesis has offered significant new perspectives on Henry Cooke's biography, roles in the Chapel, and his legacy, but it has also situated him within the broader context of the period in which he operated. By doing so, I have used him as a lens through which the individuals, institutions, practices, and music of the period might be reassessed. From his early career as musician (probably a chorister at Westminster Abbey) and his post-Civil Wars resurgence as a teacher and composer, to his pivotal role in shaping the Chapel Royal and his contributions to the beginnings of the English operatic tradition, Cooke emerges as a key figure whose influence and ability has been severely underestimated in previous scholarship. While much of his musical output remains to analysed in detail, the insights gained through this research demonstrate that Cooke's contributions were both significant and long-lasting, shaping the musical landscape of England for generations to come.

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Appendix A: Documents

This appendix presents the various documents which aid in significantly expanding Cooke's biography. Where translations of text are provided, these are given in italics. Where abbreviations have been expanded in latin text, these have been indicated with triangular brackets.

Will of Henry Cooke (d. 13 July 1672)
Lna PROB 10/1054 (Cf. Lna LC 9/258, f.83–5; Lna PROB 11/343/321)
Proved 19 November 1673

In the name of God Amen

I Henry Cooke of Hampton in the County of Middlesex [Windsor, LC 9/258] though weake in body yet of perfect mind doe by my own order make this my last will and Testament in forme and manner following

(1) ffirst I bequeath my soule to God my Creator & Redeemer, & doe stedfastly hope to enjoy those blessings which are promised to all just men that have a true faith & firme & humble hope in Christ Jesus expecting the Resurrection of the just at that great day which the Lord of his mercy grant.

(2)^{d} I desire my body may be interred in the Cloysters in Westminster next neerer to my daughter Mary Cooke; & would be neerer the Church, that there may be a grave left betweene for the interment of my wife.

(3)^{ly} Item I do leave my deare Wife my land at Pluckley, shee brought it with her; & after her decease I give it to my two daughters to be equally divided between them: I doe leave my wife my sole Executrix to order & dispose of things according to this my will for the good of my Children: also I give <to> my wife my second best peece of plate, & the furneture of a chamber in my house at Hampton which is the chamber where the dark colloured bed is; & likewise 200li at the time payable, as it is heareafter mentioned

(4)^{ly} Item I doe leave my house at Hampton with the furneture & land thereto belonging to my Daughter Katherine, except my plate & furneture before excepted; provided shee marry with the consent of her mother and my feofees in trust which I shall hereafter name: but & if shee should be disobedient to her mother & should marry without her consent then I leave her soly to her mother to give her any thing or not

(5)^{ly} I doe gyve unto my Daughter Amye Cooke my houses in Longditch provided she marry with the consent of her mother & my feofees in trust; but & if she shall be disobedient to her mother & should marry without her consent, then I leave her soly to her mother to give her any thing or not

(6)ly Item: I will that my land a Pluckley which came by my wife shall (after the decease of my wife) be equally divided betweene my two daughters: & I will that this land, & the houses & land before mentioned be to them & to their Heires Male forever: but if it should happen that either of my two daughters should have no Heire male or should dye before marriage that in this case the houses & land shall fall to Heire male of her sister: but if both should faile of heires Male that then the longest liver of the two sisters shall enjoy all

(7)ly Item: I have owing to mee now in the Kings exchequer 500li in Orders, & the last Midsummer one salary 188li: & 230li due to mee as being executor to Mr Thornell upon bill in the Treasury chamber: 112li which was for travelling wages the last year to Windsor 1671: & the remaining of a bill of about 50li there: & I am owed a bill not yet in the office for teaching the boyes of the lute & the virginalls, theire stringing & penning, & five pound for strings for theire Lutes with 20li alowance for fire & for the musick roome in the Chapell; this being due at our Lady day 1672: I am owed six liveries at the great wardrobe upon Mr Thornells account which is 96li-16s-, & at least 200li without they have set theire hand to the booke for me: In the Coffery I have due to mee next ensuing Michelmas 215li.

(8)th Item: I am indebted to my good friend Mr Boughey 200li & he has a Mortgage of my houses in Longditch for it; & it must be taken up by January next: & I doe now order that the next money received be disposed of for the present payment of Mr Boughey, & the writing to be taken up: for what I owe besides is but little which I will in a paper in this inclosed signifie.

(9)th Item: I doe further will that my daughter Katherine Cooke have 300li of the first 500li mentioned, & that my daughter Amye have 200li: also I give my daughter Katherine 120 broad peeces of gold now in the house provided my debts and funerall rights be discharged, & those small legaces I will leave which will be a Ring of 10s price to those of the gentlemen of the Chappell shall be at my Buriall. Also I give to my daughter Amye 200li more out of the first money that shall be payd in: also I give to my daughter Katherine two third parts of my plate, & one third part to my daughter Amye: also I give my Diamond ring my Torchoise ring a diamond sparke & a crucefix of gold to my daughter Katherine; & the rest of my Rings I give to my daughter Ayme: also I give to my wife 200li of the money that is to come in next after the 700li before given: also I give all the remaining money that is to come in unto my daughter Katherine

(10)ly Item for the Lease of my house at Westminster and its furniture, I will dispose of it by word of mouth before my death.

(11)th Item I give to my friend Dr Parney five pounds worth of my linen, the rest of my linnen is to be devided into 3 parts; whereof two parts I give to my daughter Katherine & one part to my daughter Amye.

(12)ly I give 5li a peece to my feofees in trust to buy them Rings

Lastly, I doe desire my good friends Mr John Whinyerd & Mr Thomas Blagrave to be my feofees & overseers of this my Last Will & Testament & I doe declare this to be my Last Will & Testament

Dated the 6th of July 1672. Henry Cooke

Witnesses
Anne Raynols
her mark
Elizabeth Plow
her mark
Mich: Parney

This inclosed note of my debts I mentioned in my will
I owe to my man Edward 20li upon bond & usuall interest.
I owe to <Mr> John Harding ten pounds

I am owed from Ned Hooton 4li
I am owed from Dr Constable of Dertford 5li
& Mr Marsh owes mee twenty shillings.

Memorandum Wheareas Henry Cooke Esq late of Hampton in the County of Midd[le]s[ex] deceased whilst he lived and being of sound mind and perfect Memory made and published his ~~last~~ Will and Testament in writeing bareing date the sixth day of July in the yeare of our Lord God One Thousand Six hundred seaventy two wherein amongest other things is set downe as ffolloweth vizt 10ly: Item for the lease of my house at Westminster and its furneture I will dispose of it by word of mouth before my death

The said Henry Cooke in percuance thereof being of perfect mind and sound memory did on or about the iynth day of July 1672 utter and by word of mouth declare his further will and mind as to the disposition of his said house att Westminster and its furneture in these words or words to the like effect (to witt) I give the Lease of my house at Westminster and its furneture to my deare wife Mary Cooke my Executrix which words or words to the like effect he the said Henry Cooke uttered and declared for and as part of his last Will and Testament in the presence of Michaell Parney Doctor of Phisicke
Mich: Parney.

Will of Mary Cooke (*née* Bettenham, d. March 1696)
Lna PROB 11/432/104

In the name of God Amen The Sixteenth day of March in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred ninety five and in the seaventh yeare of the reigne of our Sovereigne Lord King William. I Mary Cooke of the Parish of St Margaretts Westminster being of good and perfect memory thanks be to God Doe make this my last will and Tesetament in manner and forme following that is to say First I bequeath my soule and spiritt into the hands of Almighty God

my heavenly ffather by whom of his meere and only grace I trust to be saved and received into eternall life. My body in a full and certanie hope of a joyfull resurrection I commit to the earth to be decently interred with such charges as to my daughter Katherine shall seeme good as touching the distribution of my worldly goods. I dispose of the same as followeth that is to say ffirst I give and bequeath to my Daughter Amy now wife to Arthur Browne the sume of one shilling Item I give and bequeath to my fowre grandchildren the children of my said Daughter Amy by her husband Barthol: Tothill lately deceased the sume of fowre pounds in money that is to say to each of them the sume of one pounds to be laid out in fowre rings for them Item I give and bequeath to my Grandson Frederick my great Bible Item the residue and remainder of all and singuler my goods chattels debts and ready money whatsoever herein not bequeathed I absolutely and wholly give and bequeath to my said Daughter Catherine for her proper use and peculier enjoyment And I hereby constitute make and ordanie my said Daughter Katherine to be my full whole and only Executrix of this my last Will and Testament and I doe herebt utterly revoke and make said and of noe effect all former Wills and Testaments by me in anywise heretofore made or declared in Testimony whereof I the said Mary Cooke have subscribed this my last Will and Testament with my owne hand and thereunto put my seal the day and yeare first above written. Mary Cooke. Sealed declared and delivered up by the said Mary Cooke in the presence of these witnesses whose names are subscribed Tho: Morgan William May, Robert Sanderson.

Will of Thomas Ford (d. 1648)
Lna PROB 11/206/174

Inprimis I give to my friend Mr William Lake ten poundes in old gould I give likewise to his wife ten poundes in old gould I likewise give to Mr Walter Porter and my sone Edw Wormall ten poundes a peece in old Gould. I give to Mr Porter a blacke plush lineing fugard Satin and blacke sute, also to my son Marmall my tawny plush lineing and sute, and my black cloake lined with plush. I give to the oldest daughter of Mr Lake thirty poundes and to the youngest twenty poundes out of a bond of ffiftie poundes owed to me from Mr John Dawes, a Rent Charge for three years of fortie poundes a yeare in the occupations of John Crofts of Martin Abbey whatsoever is behind unpaid I bequeath to Mr Richard Lake the sone of Mr William Lake. I give to Mr Porter Mr Wormall all my bookes. I give my friend Mr Coggeshall my diamond Ring. I forgive Captaine Cooke the money hee oweth mee. I forgive my fellow Drew his debt. I likewise forgive Lewis Ecans his debt, whatsoever arreared are due to me out of the Exchequer, Wardrobe, ar else where. I give to my sister Joane Gray & John Gray and the rest of my kindred in equall proportions. I forgie my cozen John Meroble the debt hee oweth me. I give to my sister Jone gray liveinge in Canterbury five poundes for the present. Whatsoever goods I have besides I leave to my friends Walter Porter and Edward Wormall theire dispose. I did subscribe to the premisses the 12th day of November 1648 being in perfect memorie. All this I doe subscribe Thomas Fford. Tho: Maylard. The day: John Wooddington.

Will of Katherine Darcey (*née* Cooke)
Lna PROB 11/493/397

In the Name of God Amen this seaven an twentieth day of August in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand Six hundred ninety and eight I Catherine Darcy heretofore Katherine Humfry now of the Parish of St Andrews Holbourne in the County of Middlesex, widdow being in perfect health of body and of sound mind and memory doe make this my last Will and Testament in manner and forme following (that is to say) my Soul I comment into the hands of that gracious God who by his Almighty power dis first create it and afterwards by his incomprehensible goodness did redeem and rescue it from the power and dominion of sinn and Satan My body I commit to the Earth from whence it came to be orderly interred in such decent sort and manner as to my Sonn Frederick shall seem proper and convenient As to my Temporall Goods and Estate whether reall or personall I give devise and bequeath in such manner as shall be hereafter mentioned viz Imprimis I give devise and bequeath to my Sonn Frederick Darcy all that my house scituate in Lee Street near Redd Lyon Square with all the goods and appurtenances in and belonging to the same Item the residue and remaineing part of all and every my goods chattells debts or dues I give grant and bequeath to my said Sonn Frederick sole full and absolute Executor of this my last will and Testament And lastly I doe declare all other Wills or Testaments heretofore by me made by writing or otherwise And I doe declare this my last will and testament to be the only will and Testament to be executed by my said Sonn Frederick in Witnesse whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seale the day and year above written Katherine Darcy Signed sealed published and declared by the said Katherine Darcey for as her last will and Testament in the presence of the Witnesses who have subscribed their names hereto in the presence of the said Katherine Darcey Chris Davenport Herbert Haynes John Branson

Probatum fuit Testimoni apud London coram venti viro Johanne Exton legum doctore Surrogato ventis et egregii viri domini Richardi Raines Militis legum etiam Doctoris Curiae praerogativie Canturiensis Magistri Custodis sive commisearis estime conscrituti duodecimo die mensis Aprilis anno domini millimo septingenino septimo juramento Frederici Darcey filii dictae defunctae et Executoris in dicto Testamento nominat Cui commissa fuit Admistratio omnimuet singulorum bonorimi jurimuet creditorum dictie deftae devene et fideliter Adscrinido eabem ad Sancta Dei Evangelia Jurar exam

It was proved in testimony at London before the venerable John Exton, Doctor of Laws, Surrogate of the worshipful and distinguished Sir Richard Raines, Knight, also Doctor of Laws, Master, Keeper, or Commissary of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, on the twelfth day of the month of April in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seven, by the oath of Frederick Darcey, the son of the said deceased and Executor named in the said Testament, to whom administration of all and singular the goods, rights, and credits of the said deceased was granted, having been sworn well and faithfully to administer the same according to the Holy Gospel of God

Will of George Darcey
Lna PROB 11/423/71

In the Name of God Amen
I George Darcy of London Esquire being of sound and perfect mind memory and understanding thanks be given to God therefore doe make and ordain my last Will and Testament in manner following Imprimis I commend my Soule to God and my body to the Earth to be decently buried according to the discretion of my Executrix hereafter named And as for my worldly Estate I give will and devise the same as followeth That is to say All my Lands Tenements and hereditaments of whatsoever nature or quality they be And the reversion and reversions remainder and remainders thereof And the Rents issues and profits thereof And Annuity and Annuities Rent and Rents of whatsoever or wheresoever And also all my personall Estate whatsoever I will give and devise to my dear and well beloved wife Katherine and to her heires Executors Administrators and Assignes forever And doe hereby make her my full and sole Executrix of this my last Will and Testament And doe hereby revoke all other Wills by me heretofore made In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seale this 29th day of February in the six and thirtieth yeare of the reign of our Soveraign Lord King Charles the second over England &c Annoq Dmi 1683 G Darcy Signed sealed published and declared in the presence of Frances Empes, George Shyers, Mary Royston

Probatum fuit huinsmedi Testamentum Londini Coram Venerabili et Egregio Viro domino Ricardo Raines Milite Legum Doctore Curiae Praerogativae Cantuariensis Magistro Custode sive Commissario legitime conscrituto Tertio die menais Novembris Anno Domini Millesimo sexcentesimo nonagesimo quarto Juramento Catherinae Darcy Reliccae dicto defuncti et Executuiris in dicto Testamento nominat Cui commissa fuit Administratio omnia et singulorum bonorimi juras et creditorum dicti Georgii Darcy defuncti Excreptis quodam Judicio pro sumais nonagintar librar et sex librar, crederem solidor et quatour denarior pro expensas litis et Jeremium Elwes contra Willimum Teames Termino Hillarii Anno Domini Millimo sexcencesimo quinquagesima quarto in Curia vecata le upper Bench obtento et pestea dicto desto assiquato et excreotis etiam dictis summis nonagintar librar et sex librar tredecim solidor et quator denarior sic ut praefertur debitis debene et fideliter Administrand bona jura et credita dicti Georgii Darcy defunct (Exceptis semper praeexceptis) Ad sancta dei Evangelia vigore Commissionis jurat Literis Administrationis bonorum juriar et creditorar dicti defuncti quoad et quatenus concernebant dictuus judicin et pecumiar sumuras supramentionatas exinde debitas sed non ultra nec aliter Johanni Darcy Arm ultimo die mensis Maii Anno Domini Millesimo sexcentesimo octogesimo nono commissis et conceseis pratexactis Curiae liquet

This testament was proved at London before the venerable and distinguished Sir Richard Raines, Knight, Doctor of Laws, Master, Keeper, or Commissary of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, lawfully constituted, on the third day of the month of November in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and ninety-four, by the oath of Catherine Darcy, widow of the said deceased, and Executor named in the said Testament, to whom administration of all and singular the goods, rights, and credits of the said George Darcy, deceased,

was granted, excepting a certain judgment for the sum of ninety and six pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence, for the expenses of the litigation, and Jeremy Elwes against William Toomes in Hilary Term in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and fifty-four in the Court called the Upper Bench, and thereafter assigned to the said deceased; and also excepting the said sums of ninety pounds and six pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence, so as aforesaid owed. And she was sworn well and faithfully to administer the goods, rights, and credits of the said George Darcy, deceased (always excepting those things expressly excepted), according to the Holy Gospel of God by virtue of the commission. Letters of Administration of the goods, rights, and credits of the said deceased, insofar as they concerned the said judgment and the pecuniary sums mentioned above and owed therefrom, but not otherwise nor further, were granted and conceded to John Darcy, Esquire, on the last day of the month of May in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and eighty-nine, as is evident from the records of the court

Will of John Bettenham
MA PRC 17/70/711
(Latin sections translated by Lisa Libby)

[f.711v] In the name of God Amen the foure and twentith day of September in the three and twentith yeare of the Raigne of our Sovraigne Lord Charles by the grace of God of England Scotland France and Ireland Kinf Defender of the Faith &c Annoqr Domini 1647: I John Bettenham of Shurland in the parish of Pluckley and County of Kent Esqr being Sicke of body but of good and perfect minde and memory (Laud and Praise be given unto Almighty god therefore) Doe make and ordaine this my last will and Testament in manner and forme following First I give and bequeath my soule into the hands of the omnipotent God my Creator assuredly trusting to be saved through the onely merritts of Jesus Christ my most mercifull Saviour and Redeemer. And my body to the Earth from whence itt Came decently to be buried in a Christian like Manner in the parish Church of Pluckley aforesaid And for that temporall Estate which god of his infinite goodnes hath gratiously beene pleased to make me Steward over for a Season, I dispose of itt as hereafter is declared and expressed Vizt, I doe hereby make constitute and ordaine my welbeloved sonne Francis Bettenham the sole Executor of this my present will and Testament Item I give and bequeath unto my said sonne Francis all my Moveable goods Cattles and Chattles whatsoever od which I am now possessed of with this provisoe neverthelesse and condition following: vizt, that he his heires Executors Administrators or Assignes or some of them shall beare discharge and pay all my Funerall charges and Expences, and all other my debts; As alsoe the severall Legacies & Annuities by me in theis presente hereafter mentioned Item I give and bequeath unto John Bettenham my Eldest Sonne the full summe or yearely Rent of Ten Pounds for and during the terme of his naturall life to be issuing and goeing out of my Mannor of Share=land and Lands thereto belonging, and to be paid halfe yearely att the two usuall Feasts of the Annunciation of our Lady and St Michael the Archangell, and with power for the said John Bettenham or his assignes to distraine on the premisses for non payment thereof at the time or times aforesaid Item I give and bequeath unto Stephen Bettenham another of my sonnes one other Annuitye or yearely Rent of Forty pounds per Annum to be issuing and goeing out of that my Mannor of Sundridge in the said County of Kent & Lands thereto belonging for and during the terme of his naturall life to be paid yearely during the said Terme at the said Feaste of the Annunciation of our Lady and St Michael the Archangell by equall portions, And with power likewise for the said Stephen to distraine for non payment thereof att the times aforesaid Item I give and bequeath unto Peter Bettenham another of my sonnes All that my messuage or Tenements with the Appurtenances scituate at a place called Melpyn Hill in Pluckley aforesaid, And all those Lands Meadow and pasture caled Searelands and Trubbmeade with the Appurtenances conteyning by estimation Thirty Acres more or lesse to the said Messuage belonging, And that Messuage or tenement with the Appurtenances called Colmane Towne with other Lands there Conteyning by estimation Eleaven Acres more or lesse To have and to hold unto the said Peter Bettenham his heires and assignes forever; with this Provisoe neverthelesse and Condition following, that the said Peter Bettenham and his heires shall at any time be minded to grant Alien or sell the same, that it shall be to the said Francis Bettenham his heires or Assignes and to noe other person or persons whatsoever, he the said Francis Bettenham his heires or Assignes paying therefore

the Summe of Foure hundred pounds of Lawfull momey of England Item I give and bequeath unto the said Francis Bettenham my Executor that Messuage or Tenement and Ten acres of Land more or lesse thereunto belonging now in the occupation of Henry Bettenham or his assignes and wherein the said Henry now liveth, scituate in Pluckley aforesaid To have and to hold unto the said Francis Bettenham his heires & assignes forever, Item I give and bequeath unto Anthony Bettenham another of my Sonnes All that my Mannor of Sundridge alias Sondridge with the Appurtenances together with the Messuages Tofts gardens Lands Meadows pastures Woodes Rents Services and other hereditaments whatsoever to the same belonging scituate lying and being in Bromley Chiselhurst and Mottingham in the said County of Kent To have and to hold unto the said Anthony Bettenham and his assignes for and during the Terme of his naturall life (paying out of itt yearely the Annuity herein before granted to Stephen Bettenham in manner and forme aforesaid, And after the decease of him the said Anthony to the onely use and behoofe of the said Francis Bettenham and his heires forever And Whereas I have already by deed & deeds Conveyance and Conveyances given and granted divers Lands and Tenements with the Appurtenances scituate lyinge and being in the County aforesaid unto Francis Bettenham Stephen Bettenham Henry Bettenham Anthony Bettenham and George Bettenham my aforesaid sonnes, as alsoe to John Bettenham, my youngest Sonne, and Mary Bettenham my daughter, I doe hereby ratify Establish and Confirme the aforesaid seeds and Conveyances to be good and effectuall in the Law to them and their heires forever, According to the true intent and meaneing of the said Deedes and Conveyances Item I give and bequeath and it is my will and meaning that Alice my Loveing wife shall have receive and enioy to her owne proper use and behoode all that bedd with every of the Appurtenances which belonged unto her in the time of her Widdowhoode, and the one half of all those goods and Chattles which likewise belonged to her att the same time, which said goods are now standing and being in the Mannor of Sondridge aforesaid Item I give and bequeath unto Elizabeth Bettenham my Daughter the Annuall summe of Sixe pounds to be yearely paid her during her naturall life at the Feaste of the Annunciation of our Lady and St Michael the Archangell by equal portions out of my said Mannor of Share=land and with power to distraine for non payment thereof, And likewise itt is my will and meaneing that my said Executor shall during all the said Terme of her naturall life allowe and give sufficient Lodging and meate and drinke unto my said daughter Elizabeth, or if he shall refuse soe to doe that then he shall yearely pay or cause to be paid unto her the summe of Tenn pounds of Lawfull money of England during her natuall life Item itt is my will and meaneing that if any of my Sonnes or Daughters to whom (by deed or this my present will) I have given any Messuage Lands goods or Annuities, shall by any waies or meanes endeavour to procure any more to them selves of that which I have given and bequeathed from any of their brothers or Sisters, That then he or they soe endeavouring to procure shall not receive any benefitt in any wise to him or them by vertue of the said Deedes or any of them or by vertue of this my present will but that his or her parte or portion soe endeavouring shall equally be devided between All such of them as rest satisfied with their parte or partes In wittnes whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and Seale the day and yeare first above written memorandum that all the interlineations were donne before the sealeing hereof John Bettenham Signed sealed and published for the last will and testament of me the said John Bettenham in the presence of John Creswell Lucretia Reve :/

Probatum fuit huiusmodi suprascriptum Testamamentum Johannis Bettenham nuper dum vixit parochia de Pluckley Archidiaconati Cantuariensis armigeri defuncti Quarto die mensis Octobris Anno domini 1647o Coram magistero Rufo Rogers Clerico serviento nostro legitimo Juramento Francisci Bettenham filii dicti defuncti et executoris in eodem Testamento nominati Ac inde Approbatum et Insinuatum Onusque executionis eiusdem testamenti Comissum fuit dicto Executori prius in debita Juris forma Juratum ad tota sacrosancta dei Evangelia salvo Jure Cuiuscunque Interesse habentis &c Datum &c./

The above written Will of John Bettenham was proved during his lifetime in the parish of Pluckley, Archdeaconry of Canterbury, deceased, on the fourth day of October, in the year 1647, by Master Rufus Rogers, Cleric, serving as our lawful Oath, Francis Bettenham, the son of the said deceased, and the executor named in the same Will. the execution of the same testament was commissioned to the said Executor before in the due form of the Law Sworn to all the sacred Gospels of God save the Law of any one having the Interest &c Given &c./

Exaiatur et Concordat cum originali facta prius vera et fideli collasione per me Leonardum Browne Notarius publicum

Let it be read and agreed with the original facts before true and faithful Collation by me Leonard Browne Notary public

1:mo Augusti 1650
Received back the originall will of the said John Bettenham according to the Judges decree in that behalfe this day made faire and uncancelled
By me Francis Bettenham

In the presence of:
Ri: Alleyn Surrogatus
Le: Browne no:ry <notary> publique
John Allen

Cooke vs Bettenham (1648)
Lna C 9/2/51
Plaintiffs: Henry Cooke and Mary Cooke
Defendants: Francis Bettenham
Subject: Property in Pluckley Hill, Kent

[f.1] 19º April 1648

Haley

To the Honorable the Comissonors for the keeping of the Great Seale of England

Humbly complaining shewe unto your good honours your suppliants and daly orators Henry Cooke of Westminster within the County of Middelsex Esqr and Mary his wife which said Mary was daughter of John Bettenham late of Pluckley within the Countie of Kent Esquier deceased That whereas the said John Bettenham heretofore in his life time being seised in his demeseine as of ffee (amoungst other things) of and in severall messuages scittuate lying & being in or upon Pluckly hill And of and in one Barne & certaine other lands their lying in the said County of Kent comonly called or knowne by the names of the Parke Lands contaning in the whole about Thirtey Six Acres more or lesse togeather with a way leading from Pluckly hill to the said lands And of & in one messuage and tenement with the appurtenances called or knowne by the name of Copt hall scittuate & being one Pluckly Hill aforesaid togeather with a yarde of land thereunto belonging and used therewith all And Two other messuages scittuate lying & being upon the aforesaid Pluckly hill And of & in certaine parcells of land called & knowne by the name of Culverton And of & in one other severall parcell of land called & knowne by the name of Reynards Crofte Containing about tenn Acres be it more or lesse And one messuage one Pluck-ly hill aforesaid now in occupacon of Henry Bettenham brother to your orratrix And if & in two closes or Parcells of Arrable land or Pasture all which are of the cleare yearely value of threescore pounds or thereabouts, And the said John Bettenham being so thereof seised and having an Intention to make some provision for your said orratrix in case hee should happen to Dye and Intending good Advaincement to your said oratrix did hereto-fore and about Sixteene or Seaventeene yeare since in and by his Indenture under his hand & seale Lawfully Executed And made betweene him the said John Bettenham of the one parte and your said orratrix Mary by the name of Mary Bettenham & one William Fist of the other parte for & in consideracon of the naturall Love & Affection which hee then had & Bore unto your said orratrix And for her better Advancement & Preferment in Marriage or otherwise did covenant promise & grannt to & with your said orratrix & the said William Fist That hee the said John Bettenham & his heires should & would at all times hereafter stand & be seised of and in Evry the aforesaid messuages lands and premisses with their & evry of their Appurtenances to the use and behoofe of him the said John Bettenham & his Assignes for and During his naturall life And from & after his decease their to the use & behoofe of your said orratrix Mary; heir heires & Assignes for Ever As in & by the same Indenture or Conveyance if your orators had or could produce the same to this Honourable Court it would & might more plainly and att large amonngst severall other things appeare But the true and precise Date or more particuler

contente thereof our said orators for want of having the same Deeds or any coppey or counterparte thereof cannot sett forth By vertue whereof & of the Statute of Transferring uses into Possession the said John Bettenham became seised of the said premisses with the Appurtenances to & for the use of himselfe for life with Remainder over to your orratrix & her heires for ever and about the monnth of September which was Anno Dom 1646 there was a treaty for and concerning a marriage to be had and solempnised betweene your orators Henry Cooke and Mary now his wife by Marrage in October then next following tooke effect & was solempnised by & with the good liking approbation & consent of the said John Bettenham father to your orratrix And your orators further shew the said John Bettenham kept in his owne hands & custody as well the said Deede of covenants & uses aforesaid as alsoe all & only other the Deeds writings & Evidences which did any way touch & concerne the said premisses But did often say and affirme that he had setled the said premisses one your said orratrix & that after his Death your said oratrix ought to hold & Enjoy the said premisses And afterwards (viz) about Michaelmas last dyed seised of said premisses for such an estate for his life with Remainder over to your oratrix in fee as aforesaid By & after whose Death all & evry the said Messuages Landes Tenements Hereditaments & premisses did & as by Law ought accrewe Remaine & come unto your said orrators in the Right of your oratrix Mary And your orrators Ever since ought to have had & Injoyed the same & Received the Rents issues & profits thereof to their owne uses in Right of your orratrix Mary And ought to have had Delivered unto them aswell the said Deeds of Covenants as also all & evry other the Deeds writings & Evidences which do touch & concerne the said premisses or any parte thereofes without the Disturbance or Interupcion of any person or persons whatsoever But soe it is May it please your good honours that Francis Bettenham sonne of the said John Bettenham now his heire & brother of your said orratrix although hee very knoweth all & evry the premisses to be true in such sorte & manner as is before herein sert forth And had & Received a very good advaincement in Lands & otherwise by the Death of the said John Bettenham his Father yett having (as it semeth) taken some Causelesse Displeasure against your said orrators And minding & Intending as it semeth as much as in him Lyeth their Disinherison to that End and Purpose. hee the said Francis Bettenham Shortely after the Death of the said John Bettenham his Father did possesse himselfe of all & Evry the Deede writings Escripts & Minyments which were in the custody or Possession of the said John Bettenham And amonngst others of the said Deeds of Covenants herein before menconed whereby your orratrixes Estate was Covenanted of & in the said premisses & of other Deeds that concerne the same And although your said orrators have offten times in friendly manner Requested & Intreated him the said Francis Bettenham to Deliver the Aforesaid Deed of Covenants to them to whome the same doth properly appertaine as also all other the Deeds & writings that concerne the same yett soe to doe the said Francis Bettenham hath & Still doth utterly Deny & Refuse & in Stead thereof hath not only Cancelled cutt Slashed and Defaced the said Deeds of Covenants or made the same privately away but also the further to vexe & trouble your said orrators hath of late (unlawfully & without any Colour of Tytle of & unto the same) made some Entry in to the said Messuage & Tenement now in the occupation of Henry Bettenham one of the sonnes of John Bettenham Deceased which messuages and two Closes Adjoyning Scittuate Lying & being one Pluckly hill and Called and knowne by the names of Colverton & Renards Crofte the yearely vallue whereof being Twenty pounds or theire abouts And upon Confidence & Encouraigement of having the

said Deeds of Covenants & all other the Deedes writings & Evidences which concerne the same for as much hee well knoweth that without the said Deed your orators cannot make any Title unto the same at the common law and therefore hath & Still doth deny and Refuse to Render or yeild unto your said orrators that quiet possession thereof and giveth out in speeches That your said orrators have noe Right or title unto the same Messuages tenement & premisses nor any parte thereof nor shall ever Enjoy the same But that hee the said Francis Bettenham will Receave the Issues & profitts thereof as hee hath done since Michaelmas Last past All which the Doeings and Demeanors of the said Francis Bettenham in & touching the premisses are Contrary to all right & Equity & good Conscience & tend much to your orrators greate Damage and Determent if not to ~ their utter Disinherision In tender Consideracon of all which premisses & for that your orrators for want of the said Deed of Covenants & having no meanes to gaine the Possession of the Aforesaid Lands or the profitts theireof soe as aforesaid Detained from then att and by the Strickt Rules of the Common Law or the said other Deeds and writings that Concerne the same Landes in Regarde they knowe not the number certaine Dates or Contents thereof or where the same and or whether in Bagg Box or chest locked or unlocked sealed or unsealed are no way Esnabled to bring any Accon for the Recovery of the said premisses but are properly and naturally to be Reseived in this Honourable Court Therefore to the End & Intent that the said Francis Bettenham may in his answer uppon his Corporall Oath in this Court to bee hereunto taken expresse & Declayre the truth of all & Evry the premisses And may sett forth whether the said John Bettenham maid such Deede and Conveyance of the said Lands and premisses to such uses as aforesaid or to any and what other uses And whether any such Deed ever came to his hands or to the hands of any other person by his Delivery Privity or Consent & knowledge & what is become of the same & how disposed of & by and to whome & where the same now Remaineth and is & may sett fowth what timber or wood hath binn by him Cutt downe & Carried away & Conveyaed to his one use & of what value the same is And whether hee the said Francis Bettenham or any & what other person or persons have Slashed Cancel-led or Defaced the same And may Shew Cause (if he cann) why hee should not produce & bring fowrth the same Into this honorble Court with all the Rest & Residue of the said Deeds writings & Evidences which doe ~ touch & Conscerne the said Messuages Lands Tenements Hereditaments & Premisses herein before menconed And why hee should not yeild & deliver up unto your orrators the quiett possession of the said Messuages Tenements lands & Premisses & should not Recompense them for such Damages as they have or shall sustaine from the time of such Entry and Detayner untill orators shalbe Established in the quiett ~ possession thereof by order and Decree of this Court And to the End that the said Francis Bettenham may true & Perfect Answere make to all & singuler the promises And had your orators may be herein ~ Releived as to Justice & Equity doth appertaine your said orators therefore humbly pray your good Honors to grannt to them his Majesties most Gracious proces of supra to be Directed to the said Francis Bettenham therein and thereby Commanding him att a certaine Day and under a Certain Paine therein to be limitted that hee bee and personally appeare before your honors in his Majesties Court of Channcery then & there to Answer the premisses uppon Oath and further to stand to & Abide such order and Direction herein as to your honors shall seeme to stand with Justice and Equity And your said orrators (as neverthelesse in duty bound) will ever Pray for your honors good health and hapines longe to Continue.

Ra: Worthington

[f.2] Jur: 8º Junij 1649 {8 June 1649}
John Page

Smythe

The answere of Francis Bettenham gent defendant to the bill of complaint of Henry Cooke Esquire and Mary his wife complainants

The said defendant all benefit and advantage of exception to the incertainty & insufficiency of the said bill of complaint to him now and at all times hereafter saved and reserved for answere thereunto saith That beleeveth it to bee true That John Bettenham Esquire deceased in the bill named (father of the complainant Mary & of this defendant) was in his life time lawfully seised in his demesne as of fee of and in the mesuage lands ~ tenements and way in the bill mentioned But hee doth not beleeve that the same are of the yeerely value of threescore pounds as in the same bill is alleadged nor of above the yeerely value of forty pounds (as hee taketh it) neither doth hee know that the said John Bettenham did (by any such Indenture as in the said bill is mentioned) convey, setle or estate the said mesuages lands & premisses to such uses as by the said bill is set forth But - - - hee doth beleeve it to bee true that about the time in the bill mentioned there was a treaty for and concerning a marriage then to bee had and solemnized betweene the complainants Henry Cooke & Mary now his wife And that the said marriage in or about october then next following tooke effect & was solemnized by and with the good liking approbation and consent of the said John Bettenham (as hee taketh it) And hee doth beleeve it to bee true That the said John Bettenham then or shortly afterwards had in his custody an Indenture sealed to which the name of John Bettenham was subscribed But whether or no the same was so subscribed and sealed by the same John Bettenham this defendants father hee for his part doth not know But hee doth beleeve that the same was the Indenture meant & intended by the complainants in theire said bill And doth beleeve it to bee true that the said Indenture did beare Date on or about the nine and twentith day of March which was in the yeere of our Lord one thousand six hundred & thirty and was to such effect as by the said bill is set forth And hee further saith that in the said Indenture there was a certaine proviso & power reserved unto the said John Bettenham that hee might at any time then afterwards during his naturall life revoke and make voyd the said Indenture and all the uses & estates therein or thereby limitted if hee should bee minded so to do (as by the said Indenture remaining in the custody of the complainants as this defendant beleeveth to which for more certainty in the premisses hee doth refer himselfe may appeere And hee further saith that the said John Bettenham being minded (as this defendant concieveth) to revoke & make voyd the said Indenture & the uses and estate therein or thereby limitted did about one yeere before his death (as this defendant beleeveth) at the request of the complainants by his deed under his hand & seale convey settle & assure unto and upon the complainant Mary and her heires — all and every the said mesuages lands & premisses (other then & except the mesuage on Pluckley hill (mentioned in the said bill to bee in the occupation of Henry Bettenham) and the tenne acres of land in the bill likewise

mentioned to be called Culverton & Rainards croft conteyning tenne acres And other then & except one peece of meadow called lady meade (as by the said deed to which for more certainty in the premisses this defendant doth refer himselfe may appeere) And hee also saith that afterwards in or about the month of September which was in the yeere of our Lord one thousand six hundred forty & seaven the said John Bettenham for further ~ confirmation of his intent to revoke & make voyd the said Indenture and all the uses & estates therein or thereby limitted did in this defendants presence cancell & cut off the - - - seale of and from the said Indenture ~ And hee further saith That after such time as the said John Bettenham had so cut off the seale of the Indenture before mentioned as is aforesaid Hee the said John Bettenham by his last & testament in ~ writing bearing Date on or about the fower and twentith day of the above mentioned month of September did give & bequeath the said mesuage and tenne acres of land unto this defendant and his heires And — of his said will did make him this defendant sole executor (as by the said last will & testament to which for more certainty in the premisses hee doth refer himselfe may appeere) And hee doth confesse that the Indenture before mentioned to bee cancelled was at the time of the death of the said John Bettenham (which was about the time in the bill mentioned) in the custody of him the said John And hee then also had in his custody divers other deeds writings & evidencs which did touch & concerne the mesuags lands & premisses in the bill mentioned But hee doth deny that hee doth know that the said complainants or either of them ought, ever, or at any time since the death of the said John Bettenham to have had & enjoyed all and every the mesuags lands and premisses in the bill mentioned as in the said bill it pretended or any more thereof then onely so much as by the deed before mentioned to bee made unto the said Mary about one yeere before the death of the said John Bettenham) was conveyed and settled unto & upon her as aforesaid And this defendant doth confesse That by reason of his being executor of his said fathers will as aforesaid hee did become possessed of the said cancelled Indenture And divers deed writings & evidencs which do touch and concerne the mesuags lands and premisses in the bill mentioned And so still hath all the same in his custody (other than and except the said cancelled Indenture (which since the time of the complainants exhibiting of theire said bill hee did at the request of the complainant Henry Cooke cause to bee delivered to the said Henry and hee hath the same in his custody as hee has since confessed unto this defendant) And hee further saith that hee is and will bee ready to deliver unto the complainants or either of them all and every other the said deeds writings and evidencs which do touch or concerne only any of the mesuags lands or premisses in the bill mentioned other the & except such deeds writings & evidencs as doe concerne the messuage and lands so given unto this defendant by the said will as aforesaid and other then & except such deeds writings and evidencs as do concerne the said land called lady meade, which deeds writings and evidencs before excepted this defendant doth confesse hee hath denyed to deliver unto the complainant and so still doth deny to deliver the same (as is lawful and fitting for him as he conceiveth to do) for that (as this defendant conceiveth) the same do not-belong unto the complainants And hee doth deny that hee did cancell cut slash or deface the deeds of covenants in the bill mentioned or any of them And hee saith that hee hath not as yet entred into the said — — mesuage & lands so devised unto him as aforesaid But hee doth confesse that hee doth intend within short time to endeavour by law to recover his right and title therein in case the complainants will not quietly permit him to enjoy the same And hee doth deny that the same are of the yeerely value of twenty pounds or above the yeerely

value of twelve pounds (as he taketh it) And hee doth confesse that hee doth give out in speechs (and that justly as hee concieveth for the reasons aforesaid) that the complainants have no right or title thereunto But doth deny that since the death of his said father hee hath cut downe any timber or wood which did stand or grow upon any of the lands or tenements in the bill mentioned without that that any other matter or thing in the said bill of complaint conteyned materiall or effectuall in the law for him this defendant to make answere unto and not herein or hereby sufficiently answered unto confessed and avoyded traversed or denied is true to the knowledge of this defendant All which matters hee is ready to aver & prove as this most honorable court shall award And doth humbly pray to bee dismissed the same with his reasonable costs and chargs by that occasion layd out & susteyned.

Ellw Scolman

Bettenham vs Cooke (1650)
Lna C 2/ChasI/B162/41
Plaintiffs: Francis Bettenham, Henry Bettenham, Elizabeth Bettenham
Defendant: Henry Cooke, Mary Cooke (née Bettenham), Stephen Bettenham
Subject: Subject: Property in Pluckley, Kent

The replication of Francis Bettenham gent and Henry Bettenham gent And Elizabeth his wife complainants to the answere of Henry Cooke Esquire Mary his wife and Stephen Bettenham gent defendants.

The said repliants (all benefit and advantage of exception to the incertainety and insufficiency of the said answere of the said defendants to them now and at all times hereafter saved and reserved) For and by way of replication thereunto say in all and every matter and thing as they before in theire said Bill of complaint have said And do and will aver justify maineteyne and proove theire said Bill of Complaint and all and every matter and thing therein conteyned to bee true certaine and sufficient in the Law in such manner as in and by the same is set forth and alleadged And that the answere of the said defendants is very untrue uncertaine and insufficient in the law to bee replied unto without that that any other matter or thing in the said defendants answere conteyned materiall or effectuall in the law to bee by them theis complainants replied unto And not herein or hereby sufficiently upheld unto is true All which matters they are ready to aver and proove as this most honorable Court shall award And do humbly pray as they before in theire said Bill of complaint have prayed.

Smythe Trud 1650

Bettenham vs Cooke (July 1650)
Lna C 10/5/14
Plaintiffs: Francis Bettenham, Henry Bettenham, Elizabeth Bettenham
Defendant: Henry Cooke, Mary Cooke (née Bettenham), Stephen Bettenham
Subject: Subject: Property in Pluckley, Kent

[f.1] Primo die Julij 1650 {1 July 1650}

To the right honorable the Lords Commissioners for the Custody of the great Seale of England

Shall humble manner complaining shew unto your honors Francis Bettenham of Pluckley in the County of Kent gent and Henry Bettenham of Pluckley adoresaid gent and Elizabeth his wife That whereas John Bettenham Esqi deceased father of your orators Francis and Henry was in his life time lawfully seised in his demesne as of fee of and in a mesuage barne outhouses buildings and gardens with thappurtnance at a certaine place Called Pluckley hill in Pluckley aforesaid And sold off peeces of land in Pluckley aforesaid called Culverton and Raynards croft conteyning by estimation tenne acres with thappurtenances all now in the occupation of your said orator Henry Bettenham & of the yeerely value of twelve pounds And the said John Bettenham being of the said message and premisses with thappurtnants so seised as aforesaid and willing to provide a portion for Mary his daughter now the wife of Henry Cooke of Bromley in the said County of Kent Esquire for her better preferment and advancement after the death of the said John Hee the said John Bettenham by Indenture bearing Date the nine and twentith day of March which ws in the Sixth yeere of the Raigne of the late King Charles did setle and estate the said mesuage and premisses with theappurtnance (among other lands & tenements) To the use of him the said John Bettenham & his assignes for and during his naturall life without impeachment of or for any manner of [wasc] And after his decease to the use of the said Mary her heires & assignes for ever under a certaine provisio nevertheles in the said Indenture conteyned That yf the said John Bettenham should at any time afterwards (during his naturall life) bee minded to revoke & make void the said Indenture and the uses and estate therein conteyned And should deliver arrange to bee delivered unto the said Mary and William Fist gent therein named or one of them theire or one of theire heires one payre of Gloves with declaration of such his mind That then immediately from thenceforth the said Indenture all the estate & uses therein or thereby limitted should bee revoked and void And that then and from thenceforth the said John Bettenham his heires and assignes should stand & bee seised in fee [simple] of and in all the said premisses with thappurtenances After the making of which said Indendure and setlement that is to say in or about the month October which was in the yeere of our Lord one thousand six hundred forty and six the said Mary tooke to husband the said Henry Cooke And within short time after theire intermarriage (they taking notice of the said Indenture and settlement & observing that they could have no benefit thereby) untill after the death of the said John Bettenham & that by reason of the proviso aforesaid it was in the power of the said John at any time during his life to make void the said Indenture and the uses thereby limitted and being desirous to have assurance of lands to bee setled upon the lands Mary in present whereby might presently enioy the benefit thereof in the life of the said John They

did often sollicite & inpertune him to setle some estate in lands or otherwise in present upon her faithfully promising him that if hee would so to they would thankfully accept thereof & demand no other part of his lands or other estate after his decease But the said John Bettenham having great occasions for the use of the rents & profile of all his lands during his life in respect of his age great family & charge was very unwilling to consent thereunto but delivered & so declared unto the said Henry & Mary that they would rest contented with the benefit of what which would acrue unto them after his death by vertue & reason of the Indenture & settlement aforesaid yet notwithstanding upon & at the often and earnest request sollictation & importuning of the said Henry & Mary & upon theire promise aforesaid hee the said John did at last condiscend to theire said request & desires accordingly in or about the month of June which was in the yeere of our Lord one thousand six hundred forty and seaven did bt good and sufficient conveyance & assurance in the Law convey assure & setle unto & upon the said Mary & the heires [assignes] lawfully begotten severall mesuages lands & tenenments in Pluckley aforesaid of the clear yeerly value of thirty pounds & upward which they the said Henry & Mary did thankfully accept of & thereupon did againe declare and promise that they would [be] satisfied therewith & clayme no other part of the Lands or other estate of the said John Bettenham after his decease And by vertue of the said last mention & conveyance & assurance they the said Henry & Mary did enter into & upon the said last[—] mesuage lands & tenements so as aforesaid conveyed assured & setled upon her the said Mary & have ever since peaceably enioyed the same & had received and taken the rents issues & profits thereof & so still do enioy the same And your said orators further sheweth unto your honors That afterwards that is to say in or about the month of September which was in the said yeere of our Lord one thousand Six hundred forty & seaven the said John Bettenham falling sick of the sicknes whereof hee died and being minded to revoke and make void the said first before mentioned Indenture & the uses & estates therein conteyned & to make his last will & testament & thereby to give & devise unto your orator Francis Bettenham the said mesuage and premisses herein first before mentioned to be in the occupation of your said orator Henry Bettenham hee the said John Bettenham did therefore cancell the said Indenture or caused the same to bee cancelled & did also deliver or cause to bee delivered unto the said Mary & William Fist or one of them a payre of Gloves with declaration of such his mind according to the said provisio And afterwards that is to say on or about the fower & twentith day of the said month of September the said John Bettenham made his last will & testament in writing And thereby did give & bequeath unto your said orator Francis Bettenham & his heires the said mesuage & premisses herein before mentioned to be in the occupation of your said orator Henry Bettenham And thereby did ratify establish and confirme the aforesaid second conveyance & assurance so as aforesaid by him made to the said Mary & the heires of her body at & upon her request as is before set forth Allwich the said Henry & Mary do well know to bee true And shortly afterwards the said John Bettenham died And your orator Francis Bettenham shortly after his decease entered into & upon the said mesuage and lands so devised unto him as aforesaid & expected to have held enioyed the same the rents issues & profits thereof according to the true & meaning of his said fathers will & as in right hee ought to do But now so it may please your honours That the said John Bettenham being dead & the witnesses that should proove the before mentioned importunityes sollicitations & promises of the said Henry Cooke & Mary his wife & the making of the before mentioned conveyance assurance & setlement upon the

said Mary by the said John Bettenham thereupon theire acceptance thereof as aforesaid & the said cancelling of the said first before mentioned Indenture & the said revocation of the uses thereby limitted & said delivery of Gloves and declaration thereupon as aforesaid being most of them dead & the rest of them gone beyond the seas or into places remote & unknowne unto your orators And the said Henry Cooke and Mary his wife having by some Casuall or other meanes got into their possession the said last before mentioned Indenture & all the deeds evidences & writings touching & concerning the said mesuage & premisses herein before mentioned to bee in the occupation of your said orator Henry Bettenham And combining and confederating with Stephen Bettenham of Bromley aforesaid gent They do now give out in speeches That the said Indenture and the uses & estate therein conteyned & thereby limitted are still in full force unrevoked And do deny that [they] or either of them did ever make any such importunityes sollicitations or promises as is before set forth or any other promises to that or the like effect or that the said John Bettenham did thereupon make any such second converyance assurance or setlement unto or upon the said Mary or that they or either of them did accept thereof or that the said John Bettenham did at any time cancell revoke or make coide the said first before mentioned Indenture or any the uses thereby limitted or did deliver or cause to bee delivered any gloves unto or to the use of the said Mary & William Fist or either of them for that purpose or did make any such declaration thereupon as is before set forth And they do now clayme the said mesuage & premisses (herein before mentioned to bee in the occupation of your said orator Henry Bettenham) by vertue of the said Indenture & they or one of them have lately made theire entry into the same And sealed a lease thereof unto the said Stephen Bettenham who hath entered thereupon & brought his action in the Court of Common pleas at Westminster against your said orators Henry Bettenham and Elizabeth his wife with intent to try the title of the same by way of [eieccdue firne] And to deprive & put out all your said orators of & from the possession thereof and put them unto extraordinary and unnecessary expences at Law in the defence of the [instright] & title of your said orator Francis Bettenham in & to the same of your said orators Henry & Elizabeth holding the possession thereof under him and his title And do with all violence presente the said action All which doings and proceedings of the said Confederates To [send] to the disinherision of your said orator Francis Bettenham and to the manifest wrong and iniury of all your said orators and are Contrary to right equity and good conscience In tender consideration of all which premisses And for that your orators (for want of such precise proofes of the same as by the Common Lawes of this land are required) are therein remediles thereby or elsewhere then in this honorable court [het] nevertheless they hope that the said confederates will discover the truth of all & evry the premisses in theire answere hereunto which that they may so do and that they may bee ordered by this honorable court to succease their said action & suite and to permit your said orator Francis Bettenham and your said other orators under him peaceably to eniou the said mesuage & premisses or shew good cause to this honorable court to the Contrary And that the said Henry & Mary may set forth in particular what deeds evidences or writings touching or concerning the same may [be] either of them have in theire Custody or in the Custody of any other person or persons to their use And may bee ordered to deliver the same unto your orator Francis Bettenham or likewise show good cause to this honorable court to the Contrary And that all your orators may bee releeved therein & in all other the premisses according to Justice & equity May it please your honors to grant unto your orators a writ of

subpena to bee directed to the said Henry Cooke Mary his wife and Stephen Bettenham thereby commanding [to] abd every of them at a certaine day and under certaine paine therein to be limitted personally to bee and appear before your honors in the high Court of Chancery Then & there to make full plaine direct and particuler answer unto all and every the premisses upon their corporall oathes And further to stand to and abide such further order and direction touching the same —— shall seeme to stand with equity & Justice And your orators shall pray for your honors in all happines long to continue./.

Cooke vs Bettenham (1658)
Lna C 6/146/45
Plaintiffs: Henry Cooke and Mary Cooke
Defendants: Francis Bettenham
Subject: Property in Pluckley, Kent

[f.1r] Richard Lord protector of the Commonwealth of England Scotland and Ireland and the domimion and Territories thereto belongeing To Henry Whitfeild Richard May — John Crane Edward Herst and Giles Watiner gentlemen greeteing whereas Henry Cooke gent plainant hath exhibitted his — Bill of Complaint before us in our Court of Chancery against Francis Bettenham Esqr — Deft And whereas wee have by our writt lately comanded the said deft that hee should appeare before us in our said Court of Chancery att a certaine day now past to answere the said Bill & nowe yee that wee much trusting to your fidelities doe give unto you three or two of you power and authoritie to examine diligently the said Deft upon the matter of the said Bill, the tenor thereof wee send you enclosed in theis presente And therefore wee comand you three or two of you that att such certaine day and place as you thinke fitt you goe to the said defte if hee cannott conveniently come to you And diligently examine him upon his Corporall oath to bee taken before you three or two of you upon the holy Gospells of god touchinge the matter of the said bill And that you take his answere to bee made thereunto and reduce the same into writing in parchment And when you have soe donne that you send the same distinctly and plainly closed upp under the seales of you three or two of you to us in our Court of Chancery without delay — where so ever itt shall then bee together with the tenor aforesaid And this writt wittnes ourselfe att Westminster the xth day of November in the yeare of our lord 1658 Lenth: Hales

[f.1v] The execution of
this write doth
appeare in A
Certayne —
schedule —
here unto
Annexed/
Jo: Cranes:
Hen: Whitfild

[f.2] May 1658
To the Right honorable the Lords Comhs for the custody of the greate Seale of England

Humbly complayneing sheweth unto your your Lordshipps your orator Henry Cooke of London gent and Mary his wife That whereas hearetofore that is to say in the yeare 1630 John Bettenham of Pluckley in the County of Kent Esqr late father of your Oratrix Mary was seized in his demeasne as of ffee of and in all that messuage with the apertenances there to belonging being at A place called Pluckley Hill in Pluckley aforesaid then or late in the tenure of [—] harte togeather with a newe house but upon parte thereof & of all those Lands the one called Culverton and the other called Raynerds close conteyning by Estimation tenne

Acres more or lesse with the appertenances lyeing in Plackley aforesaid then or late in the tenure of Richard Davy or of his Assignes and of Land in other Messuage or Tenement lyeing att Pluckley hill aforesaid comonly called Coptall with one yarde of Lands more or lesse with the appertenances in the tenure of the [W]illiam Paine and George Pent or there assignes and of one other Messuage with the appurtenances lyeing at Pluckley Hill aforesaid in Pluckley aforesaid and of and in one Name and all those Lands comonly called the Park and all other Lands in the one way leadein from Pluckley to the meadowe aforesaid conteyning in the whole by estimation 36 Acres more or lesse then or late in the tenure or Occupacon of John Eliner or his Assignes & the said John Bettenham being soe seized as aforesaid by his Indenture under the hand and sealed well and duely Executed beareing date the nyne & twentith day of March which was in the said yeare of our Lord 1630 for the naturall love which hee the said John Bettenham his heyres & Assignes should & would from tyme to tyme of and in all the aforesaid Premisses to therofe of the said John Bettenham and his assignes for and dureing his life & after his Death to the use of your said Oratrix Mary & her heyres & assignes for ever with A provisoe in the said Bill conteyned and should deliver unto your Oratrix Mary and William First or one of them theyre or one of theire heyres one paire of gloves with declaration of such his minde then the said Indenture and all the estates limitted should bee voyde as by the said indenture if produced would more fully appeare & your Orators further shewe unto your Lordshipps that John Bettenham did not dureing his life revoke or make voyde the said Indenture or make any declaration of such his Minde to your Oratrix Mary or William First but about [—] dyed & your Orator Henry Cooke haveing intermarryed with Mary the premisses are and by vertue of the said deede ought to come unto your Orator Henry Cooke in right of his said wife and they ought to enjoy the profitts thereof to theire owne use But nowe soe itt is may it please your Lordships that Frances Bettenham also sonne of the said John Bettenham deceased & then brother to your Oratrix Mary being the heyre att Lawe to your Oratrix late father deceased & by coller thereof haveing possessed himselfe aswell of the aforesaid deed made for the use of your Oratrix Mary & her heyres as alsoe of all other writeing concerneing the Estate of his said Father deceased And Frances Bettenham plotting howe to defraude your Orators of the premisses did cancell the said deede & keepeth & Conceiles all the Writings & Evidences which concerne the premisses & gvoeth out that his Father did in his lifetyme revoke the same & the said Frances Bettenham the better totall or such his pretences did after the decease of your Oratrix Father cause an entry to bee made of the premisses and pretends your Orators have been soe settled as as aforesaid by meanes whereof your Orators are utterly voyde of releefe whiche premisses otherwise in the premisses by the ayde of this honorable Court before your Lordshipps where your Orators hope the said Frances Bettenham being there unto called will upon his oath sett forth the trueth of the premisses To the end therefore that the said Frances Bettenham may upon his oath oath sett forth and discover the trueth of all the premisses & in perticuler whether the said John Bettenham did in his life tyme make the said deede of settlement of the premisses as aforesaid and whether hee the said Frances Bettenham did not conceale the same to bee cancelled & alsoe that the said Frances Bettenham may deliver up unto your Orators all such writeings & evidences as hee hath in his custody or came by which doe only concerne your Oratrix and that such writeings which doe anywayes concerne your Orators or either of them togeather with any other person or persons may bee brought into this Court for your Orators to have A viewe thereof and that

your Orators may bee by the order and Authority of this honorable Court examine theire Witnesses to perpetuate their trewe Testimoney and may bee releived in all and singuler other the premisses by the decree and Authority of this honorable Court according to Equity & good Conscience may itt therefore please your Lordshippss the premisses considered to grannt unto your Orators A writt of Supra to bee directed unto him the said Frances Bettenham thereby comanding him att a certayne day and under certaine day & under A certain pain &c

John Vincent

[f.3] The Answere of Francis Bettenham Esq: defendant to the bill of complaint of Henry Cooke and Mary his wife Complaynants

The said defendant now and att al times hereafter saveing to himself the benefitt of exception to the said bill of complaint for the incertaintie & insuffitiencie thereof for Answere thereunto for so much thereof as is materiall for him to Answere unto Saith that he takes itt to be true that John Bettenham Esq: deceased in the bill named late ffather of this defendant & of the complainant Mary was in his life time lawfully seissed in his demesne as of ffee of and in the messuages lands & tenements in the bill mentioned And this defendant hath hearde (but doth not know) that the said John Bettenham being soe seissed did in his life time by Indentures beareing date as in the bill is sett forth make some voluntary setlement & conveyance of the said messuages lands & premisses to the use of himself for his life & after his decease To the use of the pliant Mary & her heires with such provisoe or power to revoke & make voyde the said indentures & uses & estates therein conteyned as in the bill is sett forth or to such effect And this defendant saith that itt is true that afterwards the said Mary in the life time of the said John Bettenham did Marry & take to husband the said complainant Henry Cooke And this defendant saith that he takes itt & hoopes he shall be able to proove that shortly after the said Marryage had the said complainants being desireous to have some parte thereof or other lands in present possescion in lein and satisfection of the said messuages lands & tenements settled uppon the said Mary & her heires in — revertion or remainder after the death of the said John Bettenham & that thereupon John Bettenham did thereupon revoke and make voyde the said Indenture herein before mentioned & sett forth in the said bill of complaint according to the provisoe & power in the said Indenture conteyned or otherwise by and with the consent & assent of the complainants in order thereunto & for the manifestation of such his revocation the said John Bettenham in his lifetime did canocell the said Indenture & made the same voyde & accordingly the said Complainants had the present possescion of the said messuage lands & premisses soe settled by the second mencioned conveyance & did holde the same & received the rents & profitts thereof dureing all the lifetime after of the said John Bettenham & yet doe holde & enjoy the same as this defendant beleeves by & under the said second settlement thought itt bee true that the complainants have & doe conceale the said second settlement from this defendant & have sythence the death of the said John Bettenham who dyed aboute ten years since sett on foote the said first mencioned deede of settlement & claimed all the said messuages lands & premisses by coller of the said first mencioned deede & did sue att law & did obteyne a verdict against this defendant for the recovery of all the said messuages

lands & tenements in the said first mencioned deede mencioned & conteyned att the tryall – whereof this defendant this defendant not being then acquainted with the truth of the said matter & the complainants concealeing the said second mencioned deede from this defendant for want whereof this defendant was not then able to dastinguish what of the said lands were conteyned in the said second mencioned deede & what there was not within mencioned & this defendant not being then provided to prove the said agreement & revocation of the said first mencioned deede the said verdict passed against this defendant but this defendant saith that he having sythence discovered the matters & transactions aforesaid itt is true that this defendant hath & doth claime & make title unto the said other lands & tenements that are mencioned & conteyned in the said first mencioned deede & not mencioned & conteyned by the last mencioned deede as of right — belonging to this defendant as heire to his said ffather as he takes itt but this defendant hath not yet entered thereupon but intendes soe to doe & hopes to recover the same as of right belonging unto this defendant as he takes itt And this defendant saith that he beleeves that the said John Bettenham upon the sealeing & executing of the said second recited deede did declare his minde & intencion unto the complianants that he did intende to revoke & make voyde the said first deede & the estate & uses therein expressed & that he did accordingly revoke & make the same voyde & did himselfe in his life time with the privicie & consent of the complainants cancell the said first mencioned deede & put the complainants in present possescion of so much of the said lands & premisses as was conteyned in the said second mencioned deede And this defendant dothe absolutlty deny that this defendant did cancell the first mencioned deede or did cause the same to be cancelled & this defendant saith that the defendant hath in his custodie one parte of the said cancelled deede but denyes that he hath or ever had to his knowledge any deeds evidences or writtings concerning the said messuages lands & premisses that doe any way concerne or mencion the said lands & tenements that doe any way belong unto the complainants or to any way — manifest the complainants title unto the said messuage lands & premisses or any parte thereof without that that any other matter or thing in the said bill of — complainant conteyned & not herein & hereby confessed or avoyded traversed or deny or otherwise well & sufficiently Answered unto is to the knowledge or beleefe of this defendant true all wich matters & things this defendant is readie to aver & prove as this honorable Court shall awarde & humbly prayes to be dismised the same with his reasonable costs & charges in this behalfe most wrongfully susteyned.

Ffran: Lovelace.

This Answere was taken at the Citty of Canterbury the eighteenth day of November 1659 on the case of Ffrancis Bettenham the def:t being sworne upon the holy Evangelist before us.
Jo: Cranes:
Hen. Whitfeild.

Cooke vs Bettenham (1661)
Lna C 6/150pt1/39
Plaintiffs: Henry Cooke and Mary Cooke
Defendants: Francis Bettenham
Subject: Property in Pluckley, Kent

The replication of Henry Cooke: and Mary his wife complaints to the answers of Francis Bettenham Defendant

The said repliants for replication say in all and every thing and things as in their said Bill of Complaint they have formerly, and truly said, and do, and will averre justify maintain, and prove their said Bill of Complaint, and all, and every the matters, and things therein contained to be just true certain, and sufficient in the law for the defendant to make answer unto in such manner, & sort as the same are therein & thereby set forth, and declared, and that the defendants answers, and most of the matters therein contained, are untrue uncertain, and insufficient in the law by these repliants to be replied unto for divers manifest imperfections and uncertainties therein contained the benefit, and advantage of exception where unto being to these repliants both now, & at all times hereafter saved & reserved these repliants for further replication say, & do averre that John Bettenham deft in these repliants said Bill named this repliant Mary her late father did in his life time settle and convey the promises in the Bill mentioned (after his the said John Bettenham decease) to the use of this repliant Mary for her heirs, and assigns for ever without that that the said John Bettenham did at any time during his life time revoke the said indenture, or did deliver to this repliant Mary and William Fist in the said indenture named or to either of them a pair of gloves with any declaration to make void the said indenture and without that that the said John Bettenham did (upon the Marriage of these repliants) settle part of the promises to the use of this repliant Mary and her heirs, and revoke the said indenture in these repliant Bill mentioned as in the defendants answer is surmized and these repliants do traverse and say without that that any other matter, cause, or thing in the said defendants answer contained material or effectual in the law for these repliants to reply unto, and not herein, or hereby sufficiently replied unto confessed and avoided traversed, or denied to the knowledge of these repliants is true all which matters, and things these repliants are and will be ready to averre and, prove as this honourable court shall award and humbly pray as in their said Bill of Complaint they have formerly prayed.
Jo: Vincent

Copy of an Indenture gifting land to George Bettenham (1655)
MA U1107/L9/12
Subject: Property in Pluckley & Little Chart, Kent

[f.1] This Indenture made in the Nine & Twentieth day of March In the sixt yeare of the raigne of our Soveraigne Lord Charles by the Grace of God of England Scotland France & Ireland King defendor of the Faith &c Between John Bettenham of Pluckley in the County of Kent Esquier on the on part & George Bettenham on of the sonnes of the said John Bettenham & William Fiste of Pluckley aforesaid Gentleman on the other part Witnesseth that for the naturall Love & affeccion which the said John Bettenham beareth unto the said George Bettenham & for the better preferment & advancement of the said George Bettenham and his heires Hee the said John Bettenham doth by these presente for himselfe his heires & assignes & evry of them covenant & grant to & with the said George Bettenham & William Fiste & either of them their & either of their heires & assignes & evry of them That hee the said John Bettenham his heires & assignes shall & will from tyme to tyme & at all tymes hereafter stand & bee seised of & in All that Messuage or Tenement & all the houses buildings barnes stables courts yards Gardens orchards & all those thirty Acres of Land Pasture & woodland more or lesse with their appurtenances lyeing in Pluckley aforesaid & in Little Charte in the said County of Kent late in the tenure of John Deeds & now in the tenure of Andrew Bentley or his assignes And of & in All those thirty Acres more or lesse of Pasture called Merelands with the appurtenances lying in Pluckley aforesaid And of & in all those Fower Acres of Land more or lesse with the appurtenances commonly called Reed lieing in Pluckley aforesaid To the use of the said John Bettenham & his assignes for & during his naturall life without ympeachment of or for any manner of wast And after his decease To the use of the said George Bettenham his heires & assignes for ever Provided alwaies that if the said John Bettenham shall at any tyme hereafter during his naturall life bee minded to revoke & make void this Indenture & the uses [f.2] and estates herein contained & shall deliver or cause to bee delivered unto to the said George Bettenham & William Fiste or one of them their or one of their heires one payre of Gloves with declaration of such his mind That then Immediatly from thenceforth this present Indenture & All the estates & uses herein or hereby lymitted shalbee revoked & voyd And that then & from thenceforth the said John Bettenham his heires & assignes shall stand & bee seised in Fee simple of & in all the sad premisses with the appurtenances In witnes whereof the ptyes abovesaid have to these presents Interchangeablie pull their seales the daie and yeere first above written Annoy Dni 1630

This is a true copy witnesse my hand
George Bettenham

Signed by the above names George Bettenham and published as a true copy this 12th of May 1655 in the presence of us.
Francis Nowers
Henry Harris

Cooke vs Style (1654)
Lna C 7/435/33
Plaintiffs: Henry Cooke
Defendants: Sir Humphrey Style & Hester, his wife
Subject: Unpaid bill for teaching Dame Hester to sing and play the theorbo

The first folio has faded quite considerably, making the reading of some words difficult. Where words can be suggested or surmised, but not confirmed, these have been provided in brackets. Where readings cannot be made out, these have been provided as dashes within brackets.

[f.1] 6 Day of November 1654
To the Right Honourable the Lords Comissioner for the Greate Seale of England

Humbly Complayninge sheweth unto your Lordshipps your orator Henry Cooke of Bromley in the county of Kent master of musicke that whereas which Humfrey Stile Baronett and the Lady Hester his wife haveinge heretofore A desire that shee the said Lady Hester should learne to sing and play on the Theorbo Lute and that the said Sir Humfrey Stile and his said Lady knowinge or understandinge of your orators faculty in musicke did send unto and for your orator; & your orator beinge come unto them this or the said Sir Humfrey Stile treated [to] & your orator concerninge the premisses And the said Humfrey Stile [comesion] did or [what] the moneth of August in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred forty and nyne agree with and promise your orator to give him forty shillings a moneth to teach her the said Lady Stile to singe & play on the Theorbo Lute for soe longe tyme as shee should teach her or to such effect And there upon your orator relyinge the said promise did in or about the same moneth of August One thousand Six hundred fforty and nine begin to teach her the said Lady Stile and did continue in teachinge of her to singe & play as aforesaid for the tyme of three yeares or thereabouts from the tyme that hee first began to teach her as aforesaid beinge thirty and six moneths or thereabouts whereof for the most parte of the same tyme your orator came unto the house of the said Sir Humfrey scituate & beinge in or neere Bromley aforesaid by and some tyme unto the house or place where the said Sir Humfrey Stile and his said Lady lyved & inhabited and inhabited in or about London and did their teache her the said Lady Style as aforesaid wherein your orator did use his best art & still in teachinge and learninge of her And your orator sheweth that in presents of such agreement & promise as aforesaid and in parte of performance thereof the said Lady Stile by & with the [—] allowance approbacon and consent of the said Sir Humfrey Style (though not in his [pre]sents did pay unto your orator the sume of ffoure & twenty pounds duringe and for the first twelve monethes of the said tyme soe that there remaines due payable unto your orator from the said Sir Humfrey Stile for the learninge and teachinge of the said Lady Stile as from & by manner desired as well the said Lady as the said Sir Humfrey Stile to pay and satisfy unto your orator but the said Sir Humfrey Stile to beinge advantage that the said agreement and promise was either made in private betweene him & your orator nowe beinge present thereat but them two and the said Lady or that of any present or dyd knowe of the same that they were such servant or servants or other person or persons in the howse of Sir Humfrey Stile that your orator neither knowes his or her name or names nor where they now

live or be nor whether they be alive or dead nor doth your orator in [—th] knowe the same but the truth of the premisses as well knowne to the said Sir Humfrey Stile and to his said Lady And the deniall of the said Sir Humfrey Stile and his Lady is against all right equity & good conscience in consideracon of which premisses And for as much as your orator for the reuse as aforesaid And for that he cannot precisely prove how longe he continued in teaching the said Lady Stile as aforesaid & for the reuse aforesaid and for that musicke master doe not use to call witnesses to contracts of this nature nor to see the same performed especially where persons quality are concerned as the said Sir Humfrey Stile & his said Lady he your orator is without all remedy at or by the Comon Lawe of this lande and is without releefe in the premisses otherwise then by the [—] & power of this honourable Court in haveinge the [—thes] of the said Sir Humfrey Stile the his said Lady therein who your orator & [—] not but will confesse the truth if they bee legally brought upon their oathes to answere the premisses To then & therefore should the said Sir Humfrey Stile and his said Lady may upon their respective corporall oathes set forth whether your orator was not to have forty shillings [every] moneth as aforesaid aforesaid and how longe and for howe many monthes your orator did come unto & teach the said Lady Stile to singe & play as aforesaid and in whose presents or whether any were present thereat or not And bothe and that they may Answere all and singuler other the premisses And that your orator may be releived & therein accordinge to justice & equity may it please your Lordshipps the premisses consider & to grannt unto your orator the syll of the honourable court to be directed to the said Sir Humfrey Stile & the said Lady requiring them thereby at A certaine day And under a certaine paine therein to bee limitted personally to bee & appeare before your Lordshipps in the high Courts of chancery then & theire to Answere the premisses upon their corporall oathes & further to stand & abide such order & directed therein to this honourable court shall seeme meete & your orator shall pray [et]
Ja: Northfolke

[f.2]
Both sworne the 21st of November 1654
Robt Tylett
The joynt & severall Answere of Sir Humphry Style Knight & Baronet & dame Hester his wife defendants to the bill of complaint of Henry Cooke Master of musick complayneant

All mannenr of advantages of exception to the impertinencyes untruthes & other insufficiencyes of said complayneants said bill of complaint to the said defendants & either of them now & at all tymes heareafter reserved for a full true & direct answere to soe much & soe many of the matters & thinges therein conteyned as they or either of them concerne & are advised to bee any wayes materiall or doe in any manner concerne the said defendants or either of them to make answere unto They answere & say And first the said defendants Sir Humphrye Style doth say hee had not heeretofore a desire that the said defendants dame Hester his wife showld learne to singe & play upon the Theorboe Lute nor did nor did know or understand of the said complayneants facultye in musick otherwayes then by relation from the said defendant dame Hester his wife neither did hee the said defendant Sir Humphry Style send for the said complayneant or entertaine any treatye or make any promise or agreement with the said complayneant to give unto him ffowrty shillinges a moneth or any

other summes of monye wahtsoever to teach the said defendant dame Hester his wife to singe & play upon the Theorboe Lute as is by the said complayneant in his said bill of complaint untruely suggested & surmised But the said defendant Sir Humphry Style confesseth it to bee true that the said defendant dame Hester his wife haveing as shee affirmed unto him a greate desire a greate desire to learne to singe & recommending of the said complayneant unto him & desireing that hee might bee sent for to the intent to bee taught by him hee the said defendant Sir Humphry Style did give way or condisiend that the said complaynant showld bee sent for by hir for that purpose And the said defendant Sir Humphry Style doth likewise confess it to be true that shortlye after but whether at the tyme in the said bill of complaint mentioned the said defendant Sir Humphry Style knoweth not the said complayneant for some tyme after but how long the said defendant Sir Humphry Style knoweth not did teatch the said defendant dame Hester his wife to singe onelye & not to sing & play upon the Theorboe Lute as is in the sayde complaineants bill sett forth & that for some longer tyme afterwards but how long after he knoweth not did continue to teatch the said defendant dame Hester to sing & alsoe to play upon the Theorboe Lute but how often hee came unto hir or what tyme hee employed from tyme to tyme therein dureing that tyme or whether hee did use his best art & skill in the teatching of hir the said defendant knoweth not for that hee the said defendant Sir Humphry Style being much absent from home about more serious affaires did not neither could take any particular accompt or notice thereof And the said defendant Sir Humphrye Style doth denye that hee paid the said ffowr & twenty poundes in the said bill of complaint mentioned or any part thereof or any other summe or summes of mony whatsoever unto the said complayneant or to the said dame Hester in pursual of the said agreement in the said bill of complaint mentioned & expressed & therein untruelye suggested & surmised to bee made by the said defendant Sur Humphry Style with the said complaynant for the teatching of the said defendant dame Hester his wife to sing & play as aforesaid But the said defendant Sir Humphry Style doth confess it to bee true that hee did from tyme to tyme at severall tymes for the space of twelve moneths or thereabouts to his best remembrance next ensueing from the tyme that the said complaineant did first beginn to teatch the said defendant dame hester his wife to sing give unto hir the said dame Hester his wife divers & severall summes of mony by ffowrty shillinges at a tyme amounting in the whole to ffowr & twenty pounds at the least to his now best remembrance therewith to satisfy the said complaineant for his labour & paines bestowed in the teatching & instructing hir as aforesaid And the said defendant Sir Humphry Style doth likewise answere & say that about twelve moneths or thereabouts to his now best remembrance next after the said complaineant did first beginn to teatch the said defendant dame Hester to sing as aforesaid the said defendant Sir Humphry Style being unwilling that the said defendant dame Hester his wife showld learne to sing or play any longer did tell hir the said dame Hester his wife that hee conceived shee had now learned enough to sing & play & that shee needed noe more teatching & that hee was not willing to disburse any more mony for hir teatching & therefore desired hir to discharg the said compleineant from comeing any longer to watch hir or words to the like effect whereupon the said defendant dame Hester his wife made answere that shee had learned enough & needed noe more teatchinge & that from thenceforth the said complaineant being as shee then afirmed unto the said defendant Sir Humphry Style shortly after to travell beyond the seas would dureing the tyme hee was to stay in England come onely now & then to heare hir sing the songes hee had taught hir &

sometymes bring hir a new song but would take noe more mony of him the said defendant Sir Humphry Style for his soe doeing or wordes to the like effect whereupon the said defendant did from thenceforth cease from giving the said defendant dame Hester any more monye to give unto the said complaynant neither did the said defendant dame Hester ever after that aske or demannd any money at all for the said complaynants comeing to heare hir sing as aforesaid yett the said defendant Sir Humphry Style doth confess it to bee true that in pursuance of that which the said defendant dame Hester had towld him as aforesaid the said complaineant did accordinglye sometymes now & then when hee pleased but not constanlye as hee formerly did when hee taught hir but how many tymes nor for how long tyme after the said defendant Sir Humphry Style doth not know come unto the said dame Hester his wife to heare hir sing as aforesaid And the said defendant Sir Humphry Style denyeth that the said complaineant or any other person or persons whatsoever for him or on his behalfe did ever demannd the said eight & ffortye pounds in the said bill of complaint mentioned to bee due unto the said complaineant or any part thereof of the said defendant till within a short tyme before the exhibiting of the said complaineants said bill of complaint att which tyme the said complaineant did leave or cause to bee left a letter with the said complaineants hande signed with his name as hee conceiveth at the said defendants Sir Humphry Styles lodgeing in Ffleet Street London wherein hee did to the wonder of the said defendant Sir Humphry Style demannd the said eight & ffowrty pounds of him but the said defendant Sir Humphry Styles conceiving for the reasons aforesaid that theare was noething [owe] unto him either in law or equity from the said defendant Sir Humphry Style for the teatching of the said defendant dame Hester to sing & play as aforesaid then did & yett doth as hee hopeth it is and may bee under the favour of this Honorable Court lawfull for him to doe refuse to pay unto the said complaineant the said eight & ffowrty pounds or any part thereof And the said defendant dame Hester doth answere & say that it is true that shee the said defendant being about or not long before the said moneth of August in the said bill of complaint mentioned hearing of a gentlewoman singe whoe was at that tyme taught to sing by the said complaineant & conceving that that said complaineant had a more than ordinary faculty in teatching to sing had a desire to bee taught to sing by the complineant & did in persuance thereof as hir retorne home to hir howse or shortlye after acquaint the said defendant Sir Humphry Style hir husband theewith whoe thereupon did give way that the said complaineant should bee sent for to Langley the then & now dwelling howse of the said defendant Sir Humphry Style hir husband whereupon not long after hee was hee was accordingly sent for thither & upon his said sending for hee came over to Langley aforesaid from Bromley the place of his aboad being a mile & a halfe distance from Langley aforesaid And the said defendant dame Hester further saith that upon the said complaineants comeinge over to Langley as aforesaid shee the said defendant dame Hester did make hir said desire knowne unto him but shee the said defendant dame hester doth deny that deny that shee then or at any tyme afterwards did any otherwayes treate or make any agreement with the said complaineant for the teatching of hir to sing as aforesaid And the said defendant dame Hester likewise confess it to bee true that shortlye after the said complaineants comeing over unto Langlye & the said defendants dame Hester talkeing with him as aforesaid but how long after the said defendant dame Hester doth not now precisely remember hee the said complaineant did teatch the said defendant dame Hester to sing & not long after that to sing & alsoe to play upon the Theorbo Lute And the said defendant dame Hester ffurther saith

that for & dureing the tyme hee constanly taught hir which was for the space of twelbe moneths or thereabouts to hir now best remembrance & not longer shee the said defendant dame Hester with the knowledge & consent of the said defendant Sir Humphry Style hir husband give unto the said complaineant severall summes of money at severall tymes dureing the said space of twelve moneths or thereabouts by fowrty shillinges at a tyme for his paines in teatching of hir to sing & play as aforesaid but how much in the whole the said severall summes of mony doe amount unto shee cannot precisely remember And the said defendant dame Hester doth likewise say that the said complaineant after the expiration of of the said first twelve moneths or thereabouts after the said complaineants begineing to teatch hir to sing as aforesaid hee the said complaineant did divers tymes but not constantlye as before come unto hir & did heare hir sing but how many tymes nor how long after hee continued soe to doe shee the said dame Hester doth not now remember And the said defendant dame Hester doth say that is true that sometyme after the end or expiration of the said first twelve moneths but how long after shee cannot now remember hee the said complaneant did say unto hir the said defendant dame Hester that hee did expect satisfaction for his paines whereupon shee the said defendant did make answere unto him in these or like words which if yow expect any yow must ask it of my husband but she denyeth that the said complayneant did often or at any tyme ask or demannd of hir the summ of eight & ffowrtye pounds in the said bill of complaint mentioned or any other summe or summes of mony whatsoever Without that that any other matter or thing clame sentence or allogation in the said complaineants said bill of complaint mentioned declared or sett forth & any wayes materiall for the said defendants or either of them to make answere unto & not heerein or heereby fully answered unto confessed & avoided traversed or denyed to the said defendants knowled or either of them is true All which matters & thinges the said defendants & either of are ready to avow mainetaine & prove as this honourable court shall award & doe therefore humbly pray hence to bee dismissed with their reasonable costs & charges by them in this behalf most wrongfully susteyned.

William Style

Indenture (24 November 1690)
Lna C 54/4714
Parties: Amy Wilkes, Thomas Ashby, and Nicholas Doning
Subject: Property in St Margaret's, Westminster

Wilkes vis Ashby

This indenture tripartite made the four & twentieth day of November Anno Dmi 1690 and the second yeare of the Reigne of our Soveraign Lord & Lady William & Mary by the grace of God King & Queen of England Scotland France & Ireland Defenders of the Faith &c Between Amy Wilkes of the parish of St Margaretts Westminster in the County of Middlesex Widow of the first part Thomas Ashby Citizen & haberdasher of London of the second part and Nicholas Doning of London Gent of the third part Witnesseth that this Amy Wilkes for & in consideration of the summe of eighteen hundred pounds of lawfull money of England to her in hand at & before the sealing & delivery of these present by the said Thomas Ashby well & truly paid the receipt whereof she the said Amy Wilkes doth hereby acknowledge and thereof & of eny part thereof doth acquitt exonerate & for ever discharge the said Thomas Ashby his heires & executors & administrators by the these present hath granted bargained sold aliened enfeoffed released & confirmed and by these present doth fully clearly & absolutely grant bargaine sett alien enfeoffe release & confirme unto the said Thomas Asbhy his heires & assignes Att that peice of ground and att those severall tofts scituate lying & being in or neare a ceraine place or Alley called Garrisons Alley in Longditch in the parish of St Margarets in Westminster in the County of Middlesex Whereon or on part stood one & twenty messuages & tenements with they appurtenances and which were heretofore the freehold of William Ireland Gent Father of Richard Ireland & Thomas Ireland of Whome Captaine Henry Cooke late of the City of Westminster Esqr deceased late Father of the said Amy Wilkes purchased the same fronting or abutting East on the streete called Longditch West upon ground of the Right Honourable George {Legge} Earle of Dartmouth North upon ground & buildings now or late of the Widow Kirke & South upon the severall Innes known by the severall names or signes of the Cock the Fleece & the Swan {all on Tothill Street} And all other the messuages tenements tofts ground & hereditaments whatsoever of her the said Amy Wilkes in the parish of St Margarets Westminster aforesaid Whereof she is or at any time heretofore was seised of any estate of inheritance in possession reversion remainder or expectancy And att yards [uld] grounds wayes waters watercourses lights easements commodities emoluments hereditaments & appurtenances whatsoever unto the said severall tofts grounds messuages or tenements or any of them now or at any time heretofore belonging or in anywise apperteyning or accepted reputed taken or knowne demised held occupied or enioyed as part parcell or member of the same or any of them And the reversion and reversions remainder and remainders of att & singular the said premisses and att the estate right title interest use trust possession [treaty] clame & demand whatsoever of her the said Amy Wilkes of in to & out of the aforesaid peice of ground and severall tofts & premises & eny or any of them and of into out of eny part & parcell of them & eny of them and also all deeds charters evidences writings escripts & emuniments whatsoever touching or concerning the premisses or any part thereof which the said Amy Wilkes now hath in her custody & to have & to hold the said peice of ground & severall tofts and att and

singular other the premisses herein & hereby granted bargained sold aliened enfoeoffed released & confirmed or herein & hereby meant mentioned or intended soe to bee with their & eny of their appurtenances & any part & parcell of the same unto the said Thomas Ashby his heires & assignes To the only proper use & behoofe of the said Thomas Ashby his heires & assignes for ever And for the better assuring conveying & confirming of att & eny the said premisses unto the said Thomas Ashby & his heires the the [sic] said Amy Wilkes for her selfe her heires & assignes doth covent & agree to & with the said Thomas Ashby & Nicholas Doning & either of them they & either of their heires & assignes by these present that a good & perfect common recovery shalbe had of att & any the said ground tofts & premisses and for that purpose that it shall & may be lawfull to & for the said Nicholas Doning of or in this present michaelmas terme or on this side or before the end of hillary terme next to sue forth & persecute one or more writt or writts of entry sur disseisin [en leperst] &c [retoricable] before the King & Queenes majesties Justices of the Court of Common pleas at Westminster [agt] the said Thomas Ashby of the said ground tofts & premisses with thappurtenances by such apt & convenient name & names & other discriptions and in such manner & formes as by Councell learned in the lawes shalbe advised unto & upon which said writt or writts the said Thomas Ashby shall appeare & after appearance and defence made shall vouch to warranty the said Amy Wilkes who shall likewise appeare & enter into the warranty and vouch over to warranty the Common vouchee who shall also appeare & enter into the warranty & after imparlance make default and depart in contempt of the court that soe a common recovery with double voucher shall & may be had & perfected of the said premisses with the appurtenances [agt] the said Thomas Ashby according to the usuall Course of common recoveries for assurance of land in such cases uses which said recovery when had & perfected and att & eny other recovery & recoveries heretofore or hereafter to be had & perfected of the same premisses or any of them or any part of them by & betweene att the parties to these present or any of them is & are hereby declared to be & enure and the recoverer & recoverers and his & they heires after such recovery & recoveries had & perfected shall stand & be seised of all & singular the sad premisses & whereof such recovery & recoveries shalbee soe suffered To the use & behoofe of the said Thomas Ashby his heires & assignes for ever and to & for noe other use intent or purpose whatsoever And lastly that she the said Amy Wilkes her heires & assignes & all & eny other person or persons haveing or lawfully clayming any estates or title interest of or in or to the said premisses or any part thereof by from or under her the said Amy Wilkes or the said Henry Cooke deceased shall & will from time to time & att all times hereafter within the time & space of seven yeares from the date of these present at the request costs & charges in the law of the said Thomas Ashby his heires or assignes make doe acknowledge leavy suffer & execute or cause or procure to be made done acknowledged leavyed suffered & executed att & eny such further & other lawfull & reasonable att & all thing & things devices & assurances in the law whatsoever or the further better in or [ei] perfect & absolute assuring releasing suremakeing & conveying of the said premisses aforesaid with the appurtenances unto the said Thomas Ashby his heires & assignes as by him the said Thomas Ashby his heires & assignes or his or their Councell learned in the law shalbe reasonably devised or advised & required soe as such further assurances conteyne or imply noe further or other warranties then agt the partie or parties required to make the same his & their heires And soe as they any eny of them be not compelled or compellable to travell further then the Cities of London & Westminster or one

of them All & eny which further & other conveyances & assurances be the same by Feeoffment [sime] recovery release & confirmation or otherwise & the full force effect & execution of the same shall at all times from & after the makeing & perfecting of the same & of eny of them be & enure & shalbe [constrned] [admdged] deemed & taken to be & enure to [thouly] proper use & behoofe of the said Thomas Ashby his heires & assignes for ever & to & for noe other use intent or purpose whatsoever in witnesse whereof the parties first above named to these present Indentures interchangeably have sett their hands & seales the day & yeare first above written./

In memorand quod vicefino septimo die Novembr Anno Supscript prefat Amiria Wilkes verit corram dme Domino Rege et Domina Regina in Eam Suis et recog Indene predram at oia et singula in ead coutent et spific in forma supdra./ In dno decimo die Decembii Anno produco

Henry Cooke, Contemporary Biography
GB-Ob MS Wood D 19 (4)
Anthony à Wood - Notes for biographies of English Musicians

[f.46r] Cook ~~Rich~~ Henry bred up original-ly in the Kings chappel, & when the Rebellion began in 1642 he went out & served him in his Army & thro inferior Offices he became a Captanie. After the wars were [f.46v] he lived as occasion served and were terminated ~~at which time he had~~ little left to maintain him, ~~he was taken into the patronage of Sir Rob. Bolles of ——— where being a most singular encourager of musick did thru also, as before & after [*struck-through text too unclear*] musitian John Jenkins Christopher Simpson.~~ After the Resto-ration of his maj. K. Ch. 2 he [Capt. Cooke] was restored to what he had left, & was made master of the Boyes or children to the Kings chappell, & was esteemed the best of his time to sing to the Lute till Pelham Humphrey came up, and then as he said the captaine died in discontent & with greif.

He composed four parts to An Hym-ne to be sung in the procession at S. Georges Feast instead of the Letaney. The said four parts were by him composed by an order of the Soveraigne & the companions of the order of the Garter, in a chapt. held at Windsore, 17 Apr. 1661. [f.47r] This Hymne was printed in one sheet in quarto composed songs & anthems, but not extant

Petition of Henry Cooke, Master of Children of the Chapel Royal
Lna SP 29/124
State Papers Domestic, Charles II, Petitions A-H

[f.62] Petition of Captain Cooke Master of the Children of the Chappell-Royall

To the Kings most excellent Majestie

The humble petition of Henry Cooke Master of the children of your Majesties Chappell Royall

Most humbly sheweth

That in 61 your Majestie was gratiously pleasd that the Children of your Majesties chappell should be putt into your Majetie's liverye which was accordingly done and till now has soe continued to the great Reputation of your Chappell & the incouragement of the children; butt now I cannot tell whether it bee your Majesties command or not ther is order given that they must bee noe more in your Majesties Liverye which I hope your Majestie will bee pleased to Countermand; & that they may continue still as they did. ~

And if your Majestie will bee pleased that I may have the providing of their liveries; I will take halfe lesse then the last year's account comes too, and keep them as well or better then ever thay have bin if I may have money certainly assignd to bee payed quarterly, ether out of your Majesties great wardrobe or elsewhere and if your Majestie shall not bee pleased to like of this. I most humbly begg of your Majestie that you will grant your warrant to your great wardrobe that they may still con-tinue in the same liverye as the rest of your Majesties servants have in the alteration which is to bee

and your petitioner shall ever pray

Autograph Notes from the Chapel Royal
Ob MS. Autogr. c. 19
Guard-book of letters

[f.150]
Moneys disbursed for the Children of the Chapel Royal by me Capt Cooke

Shoes 7 pairs — 01-00-00
Shoes 3 pairs — 00-09-00
Shoes 2 pairs — 00-06-06
Bands 2 dozen — 01-05-00 4-19-00
Cuffs 2 dozen — 00-13-06
Gloves 12 pairs — 00-12-00
Ribbon for garters and shoe ties — 00-13-00

June 15th 1661

Received in full of this bill the sum of four pounds nineteen shillings — 4-19-00

Henry Cooke
[f.151]
May the 26: 1665

Received then of Thomas Townsend Esquire the sum of one hundred eighty seven pounds, four ~ shillings and eight pence in full of the contents above ~ mentioned being for several necessaries for the Children of his Majesties Chapel I say received

Henry Cooke

Letter from George Jeffreys to Lady Hatton, 11 December 1656
Lbl Add. 29550

[f. 275r] May it please your honor

I have acquainted Sir William with your desires, who first proposed that Mr Palmer would undertake for nexte Terme either a Decree or hearing. I told him it could not be reasonable for us to make any such thing to him but we came at last to this, he proposes you honor would within this fortnight send him a note under your hand, Mr Downhalls and the Trustees that the next Terme you would either goe to a hearing, or joyne in a Decree that if his money were not payd in June next that then he should have the Land without condition, this I promised my self to deliver to your honor this weeke haveing my horses come for that purpose, but the gentleman comands my stay upon some bussines though I yet do not know what it is, he Sir William wished me to go to Mr Palmen for som directions for a Note or Declaration under your hands, such wherby he might be sure, but Mr Palmen desired me to excuse it to Sir William being unwilling to medle as to that, I suppose your honor may advise with Mr Downhall, but the truth is (as your honor very well observes) a decree will not signifye much when he hath it.
For little Weldon, Mr Pevison hath undertaken to Solicitte Mr Greaves who as yet hath no tyme to thinke of it.
Your money for Mr Turner came very well, I paid him this morning, I thinke to his good content, he seemes to be Confident they will not stur further in the bussines
My sweet mistrisses have been to ask Blessing and are very well, Capt: Cooke came into your lodging yesterday to teach them, wher he promised me to do his utmost for them. The gentleman promised me yesterday to write to your honor himselfe with directions how to send, but I supose If I com away before your honors next letters if they bee inclosed in my mistrisses letter they will goe right.
I have been 20tie tymes at least importuning for the Deed of Corby, and I thinke I shall this day have a draught of it, Mr Palmen advises a Schedule of Debts as Weldon Deed hath, if your Honor be pleasd to thinke of it, and propose which of the Creditors upon Bond are fitt, because I suppose the gentleman cannot so well judge being a stranger, but his Deed will do nothing, but for future I doubt.
I should tell you, that Mr Tate hath adjoined me till nexte Terme, and Knight thorpe man will not pay a penny more then the 3 yeares ending at Mich. last, being since they Purchased, but I shall acquaint you honor more fully when I wayt upon you
And in the meane tyme do humbly remayne.
Madam your honors most humble servant
Geo: Jeffreys
11. Dec: 56.

[Postscript 1] I had forgott to insert, that in your honors note which Sir William expects, then must likewise be a promise that you will not fell any Timber, Also to acquaint you that Sir Thomas Style came to me last night, and declared that his expectation was, either to have his money, or that your Lady and my Master would give it under your lands, that in case my Lord should dye, you would see his debt payd, upon which he would stay for som tyme, his

words were very Civil and with much respect to your honor. I intend to acquaint my Master with it.

[Postscript 2] I shall not forgett to speake about Mr Reeves purses, though the account papers com to late Mr Pray being gon out of towne

[f.275v]
To the right honorable my Lady the
Lady Hatton at Kirby
These
Present

Probate Act relating to the Estate of George Darcey
Lna PROB 8/87

Georgius Darcy <Armiger>:
Tenore praesentium nos Johannes providentia divina Cantuar <Archiepiscopus>, totius Angliae <Primas> et <Metropolitanus>, notum facimus universis quod Tricesimo primo die mensis Maii Anno Domini millesimo sexagesimo octogesimo nono, Literae <Administrationis> bonorum, jurium et creditorum Georgii Darcy nuper parochiae Sancti Martini in Campis in Comitatu Middlesex, armigeri defuncti, quoad et quatenus concernébant <Judicium> quoddam pro summis nongentarum librarum et sex librarum tredecim solidorum et quatuor denariorum pro expensis <Litis> inter Jeremiam Elwes, <executorem> Testamenti Jeremiae Elwes defuncti, contra Millimum Toomes, Termino Hilarii Anno Domini millesimo sexcentesimo quinquagesimo quarto, in Curia apud Westmonasterium, tunc communiter vocata le Upper Bench, obtentum, et postea dicto Georgio Darcy, modo defuncto, assignatum, in usum tamen et beneficium Domini Willielmi Darcy, militis, et postea etiam dicto Domino Willielmo Darcy, militi, <prefato> Georgio Darcy assignatum, et quoad et quatenus concernébant dictas summas nongentarum librarum et sex librarum tredecim solidorum et quatuor denariorum (sicut praedictur debitas), sed non ultra, nec aliter, fuerunt <Auctoritate> Curiae nostrae praedictae cuidam Johanni Darcy, <parochiae Sancti> Dunstani in Occidente, Londoni, armigeri, <commissae> et concessae, prout ex <Actis> Curiae nostrae autedictae plenius loquet et apparet. Et ulterius notum facimus quod tertio die mensis Novembris Anno Domini millesimo sexcentesimo nonagesimo quarto, apud Londoni coram <venerabili> et <egregio> viro Domino <Richardo> Raines, milite et legum Doctore, Juriae <Praerogativae> nostrae <Cantuariensis> magistro <Custode> sive <Commissario> legitimo constituto, probatum, approbatum et insinuatum fuit Testamentum dicti Georgii Darcy <armigeri> defuncti (<praesentibus> annexum), habentis dum vixit et mortis suae tempore bona jura sive credita in diversis <Diocesibus> sive Jurisdictionibus, cujus obtentu ipsius Testamenti approbatis et insinuatis, <Administratioque> omnium et singulorum bonorum, jurium et creditorum dicti defuncti <Commissio>, necnon <Computi> <Calculo> sive <Ratiocinio> <Administrationis> <huiusmodi> <Auditio> finalisque <Liberatio> sive dimissio ab eadem ad nos solum et insolidum et non ad alium nobis inferiorem Judicem <nostrae> dignoscuntur pertinere. Et commissa fuit Administratio omnium et singulorum bonorum, jurium et creditorum dicti Georgii Darcy defuncti (exceptis Judicio et assignationibus ejusdem <supramentionatis> et dictis pecuniariis summis exinde debitis) Catherinae Darcy, relictae dicti defuncti et Executrici in <huiusmodi> Testamento nominatae, primitus de bona et fidei administratione eadem bona, jura et reditus. (Dictis Judicio et assignationibus ejusdem, et dictis pecuniariis summis exinde debitis semper exceptis), ac de pleno et fideli <Inventario> eorundem bonorum, jurium et creditorum (exceptis semper praedictis) conficiendo, et illud in Curiam <Prerogativae> nostrae Cantuar citra vel ante festum Ascensionis Domini nostri proximum futurum exhibendo, necnon de plano et vero <Computo> <Calculo> sive <Ratiocinio> inde ad reddendo, Ad Sancta Dei Evangelia vigore <Commissionis> juratae. Dat die mensis Anno Domini et Loco ultimo praedictis, nostrae consecratoris anno quarto.

George Darcy, Esquire:
By the tenor of these presents, we, John, by divine providence, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitan, make known to all that on the thirty-first day of the month of May in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and eighty-nine, Letters of Administration of the goods, rights, and credits of George Darcy, lately of the parish of St. Martin in the Fields in the county of Middlesex, Esquire, deceased, insofar as they pertain to a certain judgment concerning sums of nine hundred pounds, and six pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence for litigation expenses, between Jeremiah Elwes, executor of the will of Jeremiah Elwes, deceased, and Millimus Toomes, in Hilary term of the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and fifty-four, in the Court at Westminster then commonly called the Upper Bench, obtained and later assigned to the said George Darcy, now deceased, for the use and benefit of Sir William Darcy, knight, and later also assigned to the said Sir William Darcy, knight, and then to the aforementioned George Darcy, insofar as they concern the aforementioned sums of nine hundred pounds and six pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence (as is aforesaid owed), but no further, nor otherwise, were by the authority of our said Court committed and granted to a certain John Darcy of the parish of St. Dunstan in the West, London, Esquire, as is fully set out and appears in the Acts of our said Court.

Furthermore, we make known that on the third day of the month of November in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and ninety-four, in London, before the venerable and distinguished Sir Richard Raines, knight and Doctor of Laws, lawful Master, Custodian, or Commissioner of our Prerogative Court of Canterbury, the will of the said George Darcy, Esquire, deceased (annexed hereto), having while he lived and at the time of his death goods, rights, or credits in diverse dioceses or jurisdictions, was duly proved, approved, and inserted. Whereupon, by the approbation and insertion of the said will, administration of all and singular the goods, rights, and credits of the said deceased was committed, together with the hearing of the accounts, calculation, or reckoning of the administration of the same, and the final release or discharge from it, belonging solely and wholly to us and not to any other inferior judge of ours, as is duly recognized.

And administration of all and singular the goods, rights, and credits of the said George Darcy, deceased (except for the judgment and assignments of the same as aforementioned and the sums of money due therefrom), was committed to Catherine Darcy, widow of the said deceased and executrix named in the said will, first duly to administer the said goods, rights, and revenues. (The said judgment and assignments of the same, and the said sums of money due therefrom, always excepted), and to prepare a full and faithful inventory of the same goods, rights, and credits (always excepting those aforementioned), and to exhibit it in our Prerogative Court of Canterbury before or on the feast of the Ascension of Our Lord next forthcoming, and also to render a plain and true account, calculation, or reckoning thereof, under oath by the power of the commission sworn.

Given on the day of the month, year of our Lord, and place aforementioned, in the fourth year of our consecration.

Tothill vs Tothill (1705)
Lna C 8/611/53
Plaintiffs: Bartholomew Tothill
Defendants: Amy Tothill (*alias* Wilkes *alias* Browne *alias* Cooke)
Subject: Retrieval of money held in trust

Juras vicessimo sexto die Januarij 1705 [26 January 1705]

The Severall answer of Amy Tothill alias Wilks alias Browne to the Bill of Complainte of Bartholomew Tothill Complainnant

This Defendant now and at all times hereafter saveing and reserveing to her self all and all matter of Exception to the manifold Incertainties and Imperfections in the said Bill of Complaint Contained for Answere unto so much thereof as she this Deft is Advised is materiall for her this Defendant to make Answere unto She Answereth and saith that there being Atreatie of Marraige between the other Defendant Arthur Browne of London Gentleman and this Defendant Amy Wilks of London Widdow the Complainants mother who being minded to make some provision for her younger children the Complainant Bartholomew Tothill and his brother Henry Tothill and Anne Tothill now the Wife of Francis Attfen Vintner and Mary Wilkes this Defendants Daughter by her second Husband Did before her Intermarriage with the said Arthur by and with the privitie and Consent of the said Arthur Browne Pay or cause to be paid into the hands of William Smith of London Gentleman the summe of Nine Hundred Twenty and five pounds to be putt out and secured for her said Children and to be paid them at such Ages and equall shares and proportions as by the Bill is sett Forth And uppon such Deed of Trust) of which this Deft never received one penny or ever made any Declaration upon such Deed of Trust And this Defendant further saith that she believes it may be true that he the said William Smith did therewith pay off and discharge a mortgage made by the said Arthur Browne and Thomas Browne his Brother or one of them To one John Reynolds Citizen and Marchant Taylor of London of several [crossed through] messuages Lands and Tennements Scituate lyeing and being in the Counties of Derby and Leicester And this Defendant further saith that she believes it to be true that the said John Reynolds did Assigned over the said mortgage to the said William Smith and to one Thomas Baker of London Tobacconist To which Deed, or Deeds so Executed this Defendant for more Certainty referreth her self when they shall be produced And this Defendant Doth further say and believe it to be True that at the Executeing of such Deeds as aforesaid the said William Smith and Thomas Baker Did signe some Deed or Writeing Declareing or purport-ing the said mortgage or Assignement was made to them in Trust for the use of the Complainant his brothers and sisters And the moneys thereonsent were the proper moneys of this Defendants said Children as Aforesaid or some other Trust for the benefitt of the Complainant and his said Brothers and Sisters And this Defendant doth also believe it to be true that her son Henry Tothill afterward and before the time of payment of his share died an infant under the Age of Twenty one years and unmarried and that the said William Smith is alsoe Dead Haveing Francis Smith his only Son and heir at Law who is also his Executor or Administrator and that the said Francis Smith since the [the crossed through] Death of the said William Smith and Thomas Baker have or one of them Hath recieved the said sume of Nine Hundred Twentie and Five pounds so secured as Aforesaid together with Intrest for the same And this Defendant Doth also say that the Complainant hath Attained to his Age of one and Twentie Yeares and verilie believes he the Complainant is well intiuled to his share part or proportion of such moneys as are in the Bill mencioned and herein before sett forth together with the neat proceed thereof And this Defendant Denies all and all manenr of Combination and Confederacy to Decieve and

Defraud the Complainant with any person or persons whatsoever in any sort howsoever Without That That any other matter or thing in the Complainants Bill of of Complaint Contained Materiall or Effectuall for this Defendant to make Answere unto and not herein or hereby well and sufficienly Answered unto Coffessed or Avoided Traversed or Denied is True All which matters or things the Deft is ready to Averr Justifie and prove as this High and Honorable Court shall Award and humbly pray hence to be Discharged with her Reasonable costs and Charges in this behalf most Wrongfully sustayned

Richd: Osborne

Appendix B: Anthem Texts

Anthem texts:
The texts here have been transcribed largely from Lbl Harley MS 6346, a manuscript of anthem texts used in the chapel royal, featuring several post-Restoration additions of texts for anthems composed by Henry Cooke. Where applicable, these have been checked against the readings in James Clifford, *The Divine Services and Anthems Usually Sung in His Majesties* Chappell (2nd edn; London: Nathaniel Brooke, 1664), with significant alternate readings provided in square brackets. Spelling and format has been retained from the original sources, as some indication of the musical setting may be gleaned from the latter. Instances of the medial s, or print substitutions of i for j, and u for v, have been amended for ease of reading.

Blessed is he that considereth the poor (Clifford p.379–80)

ANTHEM CCCLV
Blessed is he that considereth the poor, &c.
Psal. 41. 1, 2, 3.

Verse.
1. Blessed is he that considereth
the poor, and needy: the Lord
shall deliver him in the time of
trouble.

Chorus.
Blessed is he that considereth, &c.

Verse.
2. The Lord preserve him, and
keep him alive, that he may be bles-
sed upon earth: and deliver not thou
him into the will of his enemies.

Chorus.
3. The Lord comfort him, when
he lieth sick upon his bed: make
thou all his be in his sickness.

Christ rising again from the dead (Harley f.103r; Clifford p.382)

Ver: CHRIST Rising againe from the dead
now dyeth not, death from henceforth hath
no power upon him.

Chor: Death from &c

Ver: For in that hee dyed, he dyed but once to put
Away Sin, but in that he liveth he liveth unto God.

Chor: And so likewise Count your selves dead un-
to Sin but living unto God in CHRIST JESUS
our LORD.

Darkness, a rest, the sun withdrew (Clifford p.388–90)

ANTHEM CCCLXII.
Darkness, a rest, the Sun withdrew, &c.
For *Easter-Eve.*

Verse.
Darkness, a rest, the Sun with-
drew his light
And all the world o reclad with dis-
mal night:
And could that creature glorious
See, his Creator mangled thus?
By whom? by wretched sin by us:
A boundless GOD wrong'd by a
boundless sin,
Boundless atonement must his fa-
vour win.
Man cannot pay, God cannot dye,
CHRIST, God a man must here
comply,
Thou knowst not how, no more
doe I.

Chorus.
Man cannot pay, God cannot dye, &c.

Verse.
Strike at an Oke at which Sun
beams display,
Thou cutt'st the Oke, thou cutest
not the Ray.
Death smote at Christ, man deified
Yet did the Godhead firm abide:
When manhood only bled and dyde
Yet as the fish with dainty bait
Well fed
By the sharp hook inclos'd is stran-
gled;
So Death which thus his Soul did
gnaw,
Swallowing the Godhead the nexe
saw,
Lost all her vigor, strength, and awe.

Chorus.
So Death which thus his &c.
Verse.
But, O vile man! Which after all
this pain
Bringst thy Creator to his Cross
again:
Thy sins are spittle, Reed and scorn
And all thy woes thy Christ hath
born,
Christ dyed indeed for sin, not to
maintain it,
But by his inward uncture to re-
strain it.
Examine men thy secret heart
If to live well resolv'd thou art,
This day hath clear'd thy guilt and
smart.

Chorus.
Examine man thy secret heart &c.

Down fell the glorious mystic flame (Harley f.101r)

Upon the Receiving of the Holy Ghost
And the Gift of Tongues Acts the 2[d]

DOWNE fell the Glorious mystick flame,
Downe through th'affrighted ayre it Came,
The Prince of the ayre Beheld it as it went,
He saw't and guest the great Intent.
He roard and trembled at the sight,
To see that fire his owne delight,
Which was in hell his cruell Instrument,
From Heaven should with gifts to men be sent.

2. When Moses came to teach the Law
A flaming bush unburnt hee saw,
But GOD a greater wonder chose,
By which the Nobler Godspell Rose
Th'apostles heads as bright appeare,
As fiery as the bush was there
But more then that each head here growes
Both unconsumed and oraculous.

3. There tongues a Holy Rapture doth inspire,
And words which they themselves admire
The wondring nations Round them come,
Heard, and Beleeved they were at home,
Great GOD how Mighty is thy pow'r:
For diffent Languages before
Distroyed th'accursed babels tow'r
But now at thy command they doe
To thy owne Church the best advantage grow.

Hear my cry, O God (Harley f.100v; Clifford p.367–8)

PSAL. LXI

Ver: HEARE my cry O GOD give eare
unto my prayer.
From the Ends of the Earth will I cry unto
thee when my Heart is opprest, Bring me
upon the Rock that is higher then I.
For thou hast bin my hope and a strong Tower.
against the enimie.

Chor. I will dwell in thy Tabernacle for ever and
my trust shall be under the covering of thy wings.

For thou O GOD hast heard my desires, thou
hast given an heritage unto those that feare
thy Name.

Thou shall graunt the King a long life his yeares
shall be as many ages.

He shall dwell before GOD for ever prepare
mercy & faithfulnesse that they may pre-
serve him.

Chor. So will I allwaies sing praise unto thy name
in performing my dayly vowes.

Hears't thou, my soul, what serious things (Harley f.18–19r; Clifford p.384–7)
Setting of text by Richard Crashaw

Hears't thou my soule what serious things,
Both the Psalme and Sibill Kings,
of a sure Judge from whose sharpe Ray,
The world in flames shall fly away.

2. O that fyre, before whose face
Heaven and earth shall find no place,
O those eyes: whose angry light
must bee the day of that dread night.

3. O that trumpet whose blast shall Run,
An Even Round with the Circling Sun
And urge the murmering graves to bring
Pale man Kind forth to meet her King.

4. Horror of nature Hell and death!
when a deep groane from beneath,
shall Cry we come, we come, and all
the Caves of night answer one call.

5. Ah then poor soule what wilt thou say,
and to what Patron chuse to pray,
when Starres themselves shall stagger, and
The most firme foot noe more then stand.

6. Deere Remember in that day,
who was the cause thou cam'st this way
Thy sheep was straid; & thou would'st bee,
Even lost thy selfe in seeking mee.

7. Shall all that labour all that cost,
Of love and Even that love be lost
and this loud Soule Judg'd worth no lesse
Then all that way and wearinesse.

8. Just mercie then, thy Reckoning bee
with my price & not with me
T'was paid at first with too much paine
to bee paid twice, or once in vaine.

9. Mercye (my Judge) mercy I Cry
with blushing cheeke and bleeding Eye,

The Conscious Colours of my sin
are read without the pale within.

10. O let thine owne soft bowels pay
Thy selfe and so discharge that day,
if sin can sigh, Love can forgive
O say the word my soul shall live.

11. Though both my prayers & teares Combine,
Both worthlesse are for they are mine,
but thou thy beauteous selfe still bee
and shew thou art by saving me.

12. O when thy last frowne shall proclaime
the flockes of goats to folds of flame
and all thy lost sheep found shall bee
let come yee Blessed then Call mee

13. When the dread Ite shall divide
Those limbs of death from thy left side
Set those life Speaking lipps Command
That I Inherit thy Right hand.

14. O heer a suppliant hart all Crusht
and crumbled into contrite dust
my hope my feare, my Judge my friend
take charge of me and of my End.

I will alway give thanks unto the Lord (Harley f.98v; Clifford p.373)

The first 4 Verses of the 34th PSALME.

Ver. I WILL alway give thankes unto the
LORD his praise shall be Even in my mouth.

Chor. My soule shall glory in the LORD the
Humble shall heare it and be glad.

Ver. Praise yee the LORD with me and let us
Magnifie his Name together.

Chor. I sought the LORD and he heard me, yea
He deliver'd me out of all my feare.

Let my prayers be set forth in thy presence (Harley f.96r; Clifford p.380)

Ver' LET my Prayers bee set forth in thy
Presence, like unto the Incence.
Let the liftinge up of my hands bee as
an Eveninge Sacrifice

Chor' Let the liftinge .&c

Ver' Alleluia.

Chor' Alleluia.

Look up, languishing soul (Harley f.95v–96r, repeated f.99; Clifford p.390–2)

Verse: LOOKE up languishing soule: lo where the faire
Badge of calls Back thy Care
And bids thee never forget
Thy life is on long debt
of love to him who on this painefull tree
paid back the flesh Hee tooke for thee

Lo how the streames of Life from that full nest
of loves, the Lord's too liberall Brest,

Chor. Flow in an amorous flood
Of water wedding Blood,
With these Hee washt thy staine transferd thy smart
And tooke it home to Hise owne heart.

Tall tree of life: Thy truth makes good,
what was till now ne'r understood
Through the Prophetick King
Struck loud his faithefull string
Chor. It was thy wood hee meant should make a throne
for a more then SOLOMON.

Large Throne of Love: Royally spread;
with Purple of too Rich a Redd,
Thy Crime is too much dutie
Thy Burthen too much Beautie,
Glorious orgrievous more thus to make good
Thy Costly Crueltye with thy King's owne blood.

Even balance of both worlds our world of sin
And that of Grace Heaven wag'd in him
Both with on price were weighed,
Both with on price were paid
Soone as the Right hand seale Reioict to prove
How much was death weighed more light than love,

Chor. Live O for Ever live and Reigne
The Lamb whom his owne love hath slaine
And let thy lost sheep Live for to Inherit
That Kingdome which thy Blessed death did merit.

My ravished soul, great God, thy praises sings (Harley f.101v; Clifford p.393–5)

Ver: MY Ravisht soule great GOD thy praises sings
Whom glory Circles with her Radiant wings,
And Majestie Invests, then day more bright
Cloth'd with the beames of new created Light
Ha life in all Infolding Cannopye
Framd the vast concave of the spangled sky,
And in the ayre Imbraced waters set
The basis of his hanging Cabinet
Chor: Who on the Clouds as on a Charriot Rides
And with a Reine the flying tempest guides
Ver: Bright Angells his attendant spirits made
By flame dispersing Seraphins obeyd
The Even fixed Earth cloth'd with the flood
In whose calme Bosom unseene mountaines stood
Chor: At his rebuke it shrunke with suddaine dread
And from his vowes Thunder swiftly fled
Ver: His riches fill the sea in whose great deepe
Innumerable sorts of Creatures creep
Bright sealed fishes in her Entrails glide
And Built shipps upon her bosome Ride
Chor: And whose sides the crooked Dolphin playes
And monstrous whales huge spouts of water raise.

Ver: My soule blesse thou this all commanding King
Yee men and Angells Alleluja sing

Chor: Alleluja

My song shall be alway (Harley f.100r; Clifford p.376–8)

Part of the 89th PSAL.

Ver: MY song shall be alway of the loving kind-
nesse of the LORD: with my mouth will I ever
be shewing thy truth from one generation to another.

Chor. For I have said mercy shall be sett up forever
thy truth shalt thou establish in the Heavens.

Ver. I have made a Covenant with my chosen. I have
sworne unto DAVID my servant.
Thy seed will I establish for ever: and sett up the
Throne from one generation to another.
O LORD the very heavens declare thy wondrous
workes & thy truth in the Congregation of the Saints.
For who is he among the cloudes that shall be com-
pared unto the LORD.
And what is he among the GODS: that shall bee
Like unto the LORD.

Chor. GOD is very greatly to be feared in the counsell
of the Saints and to had in reverence of all
them that are about him.
O LORD GOD of Hosts who is like unto thee:
thy truth most mighty LORD is on every side.

O clap your hands together (Harley f.98r; Clifford p.369–70)

PSAL. XLVII

Ver: O clap your hands together all yee people
O sing unto GOD with the voice of melody.
For the LORD is high & to be feared: he is the
great King upon all the earth
He shall subdue y^{e} people under us, and the
nations under our feet
He shall chuse out an heritage for us even
The worship of JACOB whom he loved.

Chor: He shall chuse &c

Ver: God is gone up with a merry noise & the
LORD with the sound of the trumpet.
O sing praises, sing praises unto our GOD
O sing praises, Sing praises unto our King.
For GOD is the King of all the earth, Sing praises
with understanding.
GOD reigneth over the heathen, God sitteth
upon his HOLY seat.
The Princes of the people are joyned unto
the people of the GOD of Abraham: for GOD which
is very high exalted doth defend the earth
as it were with a shield.

Chor: GOD reigneth &e

O Lord my God, why hast thou forsaken me (Harley f.102r; Clifford p.371–3)

Ver: MY GOD my GOD why hast thou forsaken
me, and art so farr from my health and from the
words of my complaint.
My soul is also sore troubled, but Lord how long
wilt thou thus punish me.

Chor: If thou LORD wilt be extreame to marke what
is done amisse O LORD who may abide it
but there is mercy with thee therefore shalt
thou be feared

Ver: Let my prayers O LORD come before thee & be
not deaf to my cry least if thou answer not I be
like unto them that goe downe into the pitt.

Chor: Incline thine eare & heare me O LORD hide not
thy face from me in the time of my trouble, but
have mercy upon me.

Ver: Unto thee O LORD doe I cry O my strength &
My Redeemer, Bow downe thine eare & hear me
O LORD, Lighten mine eyes that I sleep not in death.

Chor: The dead praise not thee O LORD neither they
That goe downe into the place of silence But wee
will praise thy Name for evermore; Praise
yee the LORD

O sing unto the Lord a new song (Harley f.96v; Clifford p.380–1)

Part of y^{e} 98th PSALME

Ver: O SING unto the LORD a new song
for He hath done marveilous things.

With his owne Right hand, and with his
holye arme hath he gotten himselfe thes victorye.

Chor. The LORD declared his salvation: His
Righteousnese hath he openlye shew'd in
sight of the heathen.

Ver. He hath Remembred his mercie & truth
toward the house of ISRAEL: and all the
ends of the world have seene the Salvation of
our God.

Shew your selves Joyfull unto the LORD,
all yee lands Sing Rejoice & give thankes.

Chor. Praise the LORD upon the harpe. Sing to
thes harpe with a Psalme of thanksgiving.

With trumpets also and Shawmes: O
Shew your selves Joyfull Before the LORD
the KING.

Praise the Lord, for it is a good thing (Clifford p.378–9)

ANTHEM CCCLIV
Praise the Lord, for it is a good thing, &c.
Psal. 147. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

Verse.
1. Praise the Lord, for it is a good thing to sing praises unto our God: [—] joyful and pleasant thing it is to be thankful.
2. The Lord doth build up Jerusalem: and gather together the outcasts of Israel.
3. He healeth those that are broken in heart: and giveth medicine to heal their sickness.

Chorus.
4. He telleth the number of the stars: and calleth them all by their names.

Verse.
5. Great is our Lord, and great is his power: yea, and his wisdom is infinite.
6. The Lord setteth up the meek: and bringeth the ungodly down to the ground
7. O sing unto the Lord with thanksgiving: sing praises upon the harp unto our God.

Chorus.
8. Who covereth the heaven with Clouds, and prepareth rain for the earth: and maketh the grass to grow upon the mountains, and herb for the use of men.

Sing and rejoice in the Lord (Harley f.102v; Clifford p.370–1)

Ver: SING and Rejoyce in the LORD, because
Chor: he is good for his mercy endureth for ever.

Ver: Let them which have bin Redeemed of the
LORD, shew how hee hath delivered them from
the hands of the Opressor.

Chor: If the LORD had not bin on our side when
wicked men Rose up against us then the wa-
ters had drowned us and the streame had gone
over our soule.

Ver: Praised be the LORD that hath not given us over
As a Pray unto them the LORD hath done
Great things for us whereof we now Rejoyce.

Chor: Let us therefore Confesse Before the LORD
His loving kindnesse and his wonferfull
workes before the sonnes of men.

The Lord is my shepherd (Harley f.97r; Clifford p.374–5)

Ver. THE LORD is my Shepheard
therefore can I lacke nothing.
He shall feed me in a greene pasture: and
lead me forth beside the waters of comfort

Chor. He shall convert my soule: & bring me forth
in the pathes of righteousnesse for his names sake.

Ver. Yea though I walke through the valley of the
shadow of Death, I will feare none evill:
for thou art with me thy rodd and thy
staffe comfort me.

Ver Thou shalt prepare a table before me
against them that trouble me: Thou hast
anointed my Head with Oyle and my
Cup shall be full.

But thy loving kindnesse & mercy shall
follow me all the days of all my life: and
I will dwell in the house of the LORD for ever.

The twelve apostles in a ring (Harley f.19v; Clifford p.395–6)

On the Sacrament.

The twelve Apostles in a Ring
Sate round the Table with their king,
who in hands himselfe did bring
feast and feast maker being one thing;
He blest he thankt he gave he fed
He gave himselfe a live as dead;
Saying his bodie was the bread
and that in Cup, his blood was shed:
He is in heaven we know it now,
Allthough thy Sences know not how,
His Reason true thou must a lowe,
And to his words thy Reason bowe:
Faith is the Eagle to Heaven towr's
the guide which leads thee to those bowr's
The fastning hand which makes him our's
man trime thy house for this great ghest
which onely in pure Hearts can Rest;
This heavenly food this Sacred feast,
is for the Angels not the Beasts:
Teares as spring water greefe as broome
where sin hath bin must cleanse the Roome
to the unprepared soule hee'l come
Not as her life but as her doome.

Unto thee, O Lord, do I lift up my soul (Harley f.97v, Clifford p.383–4)

Ver: UNTO thee O LORD doe I lift up
my soule.

Chor: Lead me forth in thy Truth, & teach me for
for thou art the God of my Salvation.

Ver. My God I will put my Trust in thee, O
let me not be confounded.

Chor: O let me not &c

Ver: Heare my voice when I cry to thee for
in thee O LORD doe I trust, Have mercie
upon me and heare me.

Chor: Remember O LORD thy tender mercies &
thy loving kindnes for they have bin for Ever.

St George's Feast Procession Hymn (Ashmole, *Noble Order of the Garter*, 1672, p.566–70)

An Hymn *to be sung in the* Procession *at St.* George's Feast *instead of the* Letany.

H*Ear, O ye Kings; give ear, O ye Princes: I, even I will sing unto the Lord; I will sing praises unto the God of* Israel. *Judg.* 5. 3.

The Lord is my Rock, my Fortress, and my Deliverer, my God my Strength, in whom I trust: my Buckler, the Horn of my Salvation, and my high Tower. *Psal.* 18. 2.

The Lord it my Strength, and my Song: and he is become my Salvation. *Exod.* 15. 2.

The Right hand of the Lord is become Glorious in Power: The Right hand of the Lord hath dashed in pieces the Enemy. 6.

In the greatness of thy Excellency thou hast overthrown them, that rose up against thee: who is like unto thee, O Lord, amongst the Gods: who is like unto thee, glorious in Holiness, fearful in praises, doing Wonders. 7.

Sing aloud therefore unto God, our strength: make a Joyful Noise to the God of Jacob. *Psal.* 81. 1.

CHORUS. I will sing unto the Lord: for he hath triumphed gloriously: *Exod.* 15. 1.

To day will we sing this Song, We have a strong City: Salvation will God appoint for Walls, and Bulwarks: *Isay.* 26. 1.

The Princes of the People are gathered together, even the People of the God of Abraham*: for the shields of the Earth belong unto God: he is greatly exalted.* *Psal.* 47. 9.

We will therefore rehearse the righteous Acts of the Lord: even his righteous Acts towards the Inhabitants of the Villages of Israel. *Judg.* 5. 11.

We will not hide them from our Children, shewing to the generations to come the praises of the Lord: and his Strength, and his wonderful Works, that he hath done. *Psal.* 78. 4.

That the generation to come might know them, even the Children, which should be born: who fall arise, and declare them to their Children. 6.

That they may set their Hope in God: and not forget the works of God, but keep his Commandments. 7.

Sing unto the Lord therefore, O ye Saints of his: and let us give thanks for a remembrance of his Holiness. *Psal.* 30. 3.

Sing aloud unto God, our strength: make a Joyful Noise unto the God of Israel. *Psal.* 81. 1.

CHORUS. The Lord is my Strength, and my Song: and he is become my Salvation: *Exod.* 15. 2.

We will be glad, and rejoyce in thy mercy, O Lord: for thou hast considered our trouble, and hast known our Soul in Adversities. *Psal.* 31. 7.

For our Sins thou didst cast our Crown to the Ground: thou powredst contempt upon our Princes, and causedst them to wander in the Wilderness, where there is no way. *Psal.* 107. 40.

Thou gavest us like Sheep appointed for slaughter: and didst scatter us among the Nations. *Psal.* 44. 11.

Thou madest us a reproach to our Neighbours: a Scorn, and a Derision to them, that are round about us. 13.

Thou madest us a By-word among the Heathen: a shaking of the Head among the People. 14.

Thou didst deliver thy Strength into Captivity, and thy Glory into the Enemies hand. *Psal.* 78. 61.

Thou gavest thy People over also unto the Sword: and wast wroth with thine Inheritance. 62.

Nevertheless, thou didst regard our Afflictions: and heardest our Cry, and didst repent, according to the Multitude of thy Mercies. *Psal.* 106. 44.

But, as the Lord was our hiding-place, and did preserve us in the midst of our trouble: so at last he hath compassed us about with Songs of Deliverance. *Psal.* 32. 7.

For the Lord did awake, as a man out of sleep: and like a Mighty man, that shouteth by reason of Wine. *Psal.* 78. 65.

His anger endureth, but a Moment; in his favour is life: Weeping may endure for a Night, but Joy cometh in the Morning. *Psal.* 30. 5.

God hath turned our Mourning into Dancing: he hath put off our sackcloth, and girded us with Gladness; 11.

To the end, that our tongues may Sing praises unto thee, O Lord; and not be silent: O Lord our God, we will give thanks unto thee for Ever. 12.

CHORUS. The Salvation of *Israel* is come out of Sion, the Lord hath brought back the Captivity of his People: Therefore shall *Jacob* rejoyce, and *Israel* shall be glad: *Psal.* 14. 7.

O! that men would therefore praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wondrous Works to the Children of Men: *Psal.* 107. 8.

Thou, O God, hast maintained my Right, and my Cause: thou satest in the throne, judging right. *Psal.* 9. 4.

Thou hast rebuked the Rebellious: thou hast destroyed the Wicked; and hast put out their Name for Ever and Ever. 5.

I have seen the Wicked in great power: and spreading himself like a green Bay-tree. *Psal.* 37. 35.

Yet he passed away, and, lo! he was not: I sought him, but he could not be found. 36.

Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright: for the End of that Man is Peace. 37.

Lord, thou hast been favourable unto thy Land: thou hast brought back, the Captivity of thy People. *Psal.* 85. 1.

Thou hast forgiven the Iniquity of thy People: thou hast covered all their sin. 2.

Thou hast taken away all thy Wrath: thou hast turned thy self from the fierceness of thine Anger. 3.

Therefore will we give thanks unto thee, O Lord, among the People: and Sing Praises unto thy Name in the great Congregation. *Psal.* 18. 49.

Sing aloud unto God, our Strength: make a Joyful Noise unto the God of Israel. *Psal.* 81. 1.

CHORUS. O give thanks unto the Lord; for he is good: for his Mercy endureth for Ever.

Let the Redeemed of the Lord say so: whom he hath redeemed from the hand of the Enemy: *Psal.* 106. 1, 2*. [**Psal.* 107. 2.]

O come hither, and behold the Works of the Lord: what Desolations he hath made in the Earth. *Psal.* 46. 8.

He maketh Wars to cease unto the ends of the Earth: He breaketh the Bow, and cutteth the Spear in sunder, and burneth the Charriots in the fire. 9.

He hath filled the noise of the Seas: the noise of their Waves, and the Tumult of the People. *Psal.* 65. 7.

He rebuked the Company of the Spear-men, the Multitude of the Bulls with the Calves of the People: till every one submitteth himself with pieces of Silver: He hath scattered the People, that delight in War. *Psal.* 68. 30.

He hath broken the Arrows of the Bow: the shield, the Sword, and the Battel. *Psal.* 75. 3.

O! come therefore, let us sing unto the Lord a new Song: for he hath done marvailous things: His right Hand, and his holy Arm hath gotten him the Victory. *Psal.* 98. 1.

For he hath given a Banner to them, that fear him: that it may be displayed because of the Truth. *Psal.* 60. 4.

CHORUS. The Lord is a Man of War: the Lord is his Name: *Exod.* 15. 3.

The Lord of Hosts is with us, the God of *Jacob* is our refuge: *Psal.* 46. 11.

O! clap your Hands therefore, all ye People: shout unto God with the voice of Triumph: *Psal.* 47. 1.

Great deliverance giveth he to the King: and shewed mercy to his Anointed, and to his Seed for evermore. *Psal.* 18. 50.

Then he made him, that remained, to have Dominion over the Nobles among the People: the Lord made him have Dominion over the Mighty. *Judg.* 5. 13.

And he shall be as the Light of the Morning, when the sun riseth, even a Morning without Clouds: as the tender Grass springing out of the Earth, by clear flitting after Rain. 2 *Sam.* 23. 4.

Thou, O Lord, that hast delivered him from the strivings of his people: Thou, that hast made him head of those, that rose up against him: *Psal.* 18. 43.

Let his Glory be still great in thy salvation: increase daily that Honour, and Majesty, which thou hast laid upon him. *Psal.* 21. 5.

Fasten him as a Nail in a Sure place: and let him be for a Glorious Throne to his Father's house. *Isay.* 22. 23.

And hang upon him all the Glory of his Father's house: the Off-spring, and the Issue. And let all the People say Amen. 24.

CHORUS. The Lord hear him in the day of his trouble; the Name of the God of *Jacob* defend him: *Psal.* 20. 1.

Send him help from the Sanctuary, and strengthen him out of *Sion*. 2.

Grant him according to his own Heart's desire: and fulfill all his Counsel. 3.

We will rejoyce in thy Salvation, O Lord, and in the name of our God will we set up our Banners: The Lord fulfill all his Petitions. [*Psal.* 20.] 4.

The King shall joy in thy Strength, O Lord: and in thy Salvation how greatly shall he rejoyce? *Psal.* 21. 1.

Thou hast given him his heart's desire: and hast not withheld the request of his Lips. 2.

For thou preventest him with the Blessings of Goodness: Thou hast set a Crown of pure Cold upon his head. 3.

Thou hast made him most Blessed for ever: Thou hast made him exceeding glad with thy Countenance. 6.

For the King trusteth in the Lord: and, through the mercy of the most high, he shall not miscarry. 7.

Thou wilt prolong the King's life: and his Tears, as many Generations. *Psal.* 61. 6.

CHORUS. O satisfie him with a long life: and shew him thy Salvation: *Psal.* 91. 16.

Keep thy mercy with him for evermore: and let thy Covenant hand fast with him: *Psal.* 89. 28.

Make his Seed also to endure for Ever: and his Throne as the days of Heaven. 29.

Cloath his Enemies with shame; but upon himself let his Crown flourish: *Psal.* 132. 18.

How excellent is thy loving kindness, O Lord: therefore the Children of men put their trust in the Shadow of thy Wings. *Psal.* 36. 7.

Whom have we in Heaven, but Thee, and there is none upon Earth, that we desire, besides Thee. *Psal.* 73. 25.

Many, O Lord our God, are thy wonderous Works, which thou hast done: and thy Thoughts, which are to usward, they cannot be reckoned up in order to Thee. If we should declare, and speak of them: they are more, then can be Numbered. *Psal.* 40. 5.

O Lord our God, thou art terrible out of thy holy places: The God of Israel it he, that giveth strength and power unto his people. Blessed be God. *Psal.* 68. 35.

CHORUS. Rejoyce, rejoyce, O ye People: for the Lord will be merciful unto his Land, and to his People: *Deut.* 32. 43.

The Lord will give Strength unto his People: the Lord will bless his People with Peace: *Psal.* 29. 11.

For who is God, save the Lord? or who is a Rock, save our God? *Psal.* 18. 31.

Blessed be the Lord God of Israel from everlasting to everlasting: and let all the people say *Amen*, Praise ye the Lord: *Psal.* 106. 48.

Glory be to the Father, &c. *Amen.*

‘That Orpheus of our Time’
A Reassessment of Henry Cooke (d.1672)



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Part 2

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Introduction

This portion of the thesis serves as an edition of all Henry Cooke's extant repertoire. The majority of these works exist in single sources but still require a degree of editorial intervention in order to decipher Cooke's intentions, often left quite messy in his autograph material. Preceding the editions are detailed descriptions of all the manuscript sources employed, the editorial principles by which these editions have been produced, and finally the critical commentary for each work.

The materials in this part of the thesis represent the most up to date and comprehensive collection of the manuscript materials concerning Cooke's surviving repertoire. Notably, and for the first time, all Cooke's surviving works—including the songs, motet, and odes—have been presented in critical editions. For the anthems, which have received a degree of focus from previous scholarship, the materials which follow represent clear, complete, and authoritative editions of the music, fixing issues which have persisted through catalogue and edition alike, such as the incorrect separation of *The Lord hear thee in the time of trouble* into two anthems, due to errors in compiling order evident in Bu 5001. Whilst the scope of this thesis was not such that it included a detailed and comprehensive analysis of Cooke's music, it is hoped that the materials presented forthwith will aid in facilitating that future study.

By presenting the editions in a separate volume, following much of the appendix material, it is hoped that they may serve to complement the reading of the part one, allowing the reader to consult the full editions of pieces simultaneously. This may be of particular interest to the reader for chapter three and four, which refer heavily to the surviving corpus of Cooke's compositional output.

Sources

Birmingham, University, MS 5001 (GB-Bu 5001)

Manuscript. Upright. 321 x 200mm. 178ff.

Edition material: 11 *Good morrow to the year*, ff.6–10r; 12 *Rise thou best and brightest morning*, ff.11–12, 12A, 13–14r; 10 *Come we shepherds*, ff.15, 15A, 16–20; 18 *O give thanks unto the Lord*, ff.52–9; 23 *Thou, O God art praised in Sion*, ff.60–63; 15 *Behold, O God our defender*, ff.66–69r; 16 *Christ rising again*, ff. ff.70, 70A,71–2; 14 Funeral Sentences ff.74–7; 25 *We have sinned and committed iniquity*, ff.77–9; 21 *The King shall rejoice*, ff.80–84; 22 *The Lord hear thee in the time of trouble*, ff.85–90r; 17 *Come, let us pray and God will hear*, ff.91–6.

Chapel Royal guardbook of anthems, funeral sentences and fragmentary instrumental music written in full score.[1] Twentieth-century binding of green leather, blind-tooled 'ANTHEMS' on front board – some material lost from text block in cutting down of pages. All vocal music is the autograph of the composer. Largest corpus of Cooke's surviving repertoire, containing autograph copies of 13 unique pieces representing early working drafts of the works. It has been suggested that this guardbook was one of a small number of materials saved from the 1698 fire at Whitehall Palace due to the institutional nature of the contents,[2] but discussions in chapter three have hypothesised that the nature of the material as working drafts may have removed them prior to the fire. Due to all the vocal compositions being autograph, all content up to f.96v certainly dates between 1660–72. However, the analysis of the source (see chapter 3) suggests that a window of 1660–68 is far more plausible.

[1] Iain Fenlon, *Catalogue of the Printed Music and Music Manuscripts Before 1801 in the Music Library of the University of Birmingham Barber Institute of Fine Arts* (London: Mansell, 1976), 113.
[2] H. Watkins Shaw, 'A Collection of Music Manuscripts in the Autograph of Henry Purcell and other English Composers, c.1665-85', *The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, 5/14 (1959), 129.

Durham, Cathedral, MS B1 (GB-DRc MS B1)

Manuscript. Upright. 345 x 224mm. 133ff.

Edition material: 20 *Put me not to rebuke*, pp.64–9[rev]; 19 *O Lord, thou has searched me out*, pp.70–74[rev].

Organ book containing anthems and services, *c.*1665–75. Non-contemporary binding of brown leather, gold tooled with 'ORGAN ANTHEMS & SERVICES' on spine. Pagination in both forwards and backwards directions. Probably one of the earliest surviving manuscripts containing Cooke's music due, in part, to the absence of Purcell from the contents. In the hand of Richard Hosier,[3] whose links to the two Cathedrals in Dublin could indicate a wider degree of musical exchange for Cooke's music than has previously been considered. It is possible that portions of the manuscript could date from shortly after the Restoration due to the inclusion of the consecration anthem 'Now that the Lord hath readvanced the crown' copied by Hosier (who also composed the anthem) early in the manuscript.[4] However, all forward items past Benjamin Roger's Canticles (pp.139–45) certainly date from after 1669, as this was the year in which he was awarded his doctorate, and is described accordingly in the manuscript.[5] The manuscript later came into the possession of John Blundeville, evinced by an inscription reading 'John Blunderfild' on the front fly-leaf, who probably transported the manuscript from Dublin to Durham.

[3] Brian Crosby, *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 23–4.
[4] Brian Crosby, 'An Early Restoration Liturgical Music Manuscript', *Music & Letters*, 55/4 (Oct. 1974), 461.
[5] *Ibid.*, 462.

London, British Library, Add. MS 14399 (GB-Lbl Add. MS 14399)

Manuscript. Upright. 220 x 323mm. 48ff.

Edition material: 5 *Where shall my troubled soul*, ff.29v–31r.

Secular and devotional songs, seemingly for pedagogical purposes, given instructions at the beginning of the manuscript. Contemporary black leather binding with gold-tooling. Spine was restored and retooled following accession to the British Library (then Museum) reading 'SONGS BY LOCKE ETC. | PRESENTED BY V. NOVELLO | BRIT. MUS. ADDITIONAL MS. 14,399'. Partially autograph by Locke with another unknown hand responsible for Cooke's inclusion. Approximated 1670s copying date.[6] The change in hand probably comes from a change of teacher, as these types of materials seem to have predominantly belonged to the pupil, not the teacher.[7]

London, British Library, Add. MS 19759 (GB-Lbl Add. MS 19759)

Manuscript. Upright. 245 x 322mm. 46ff.

Edition material: 4a *Sleep, downy sleep*, f.5v (p.6).

Songbook containing a collection of vocal music. Bound in modern half red Morocco. Paginated to p.87 alongside foliation to f.45. Copying date c.1681–5. Inscription on f.1r reads 'Charles Campelman his book June y^{e} 9. 1681', indicating both provenance and probable copyist. Nothing is known about Campelman.

[6] Herissone, *Musical Creativity*, 110.
[7] *Ibid.*, 112.

London, British Library, Add. MS 29396 (GB-Lbl Add. MS 29296)

Manuscript. Upright. 290 x 185mm. 113ff.

Edition material: 3 *Margarita first possess'd*, f.99r; 4b *Sleep, downy sleep*, f.73.

Collection of vocal music in autograph of Edward Lowe, copied *c.*1665–79.[8] Binding of red Morocco. Acquired by the British Museum in 1873, with the table of contents (ff.3–7) added during the nineteenth century by Thomas Oliphant.[9] As a commonplace book, the manuscript was used for transcribing music as heard in different informal settings.[10] There is a concordance with Add. 14399 in Pelham Humfrey's anthem *O the sad day*.[11] *Sleep, downy sleep* is attributed to Humfrey in this manuscript – see chapter 4 for discussion and reattribution to Cooke.

London, British Library, Add. MS 31460 (GB-Lbl Add. MS 31460)

Manuscript. Oblong. 292 x 225mm. 98ff.

Edition material: 4c *Sleep, downy sleep*, ff.82v–83r (pp.160–61); 2a *Awake my soul*, ff.83v–84r (pp.162–3); 4d *Sleep, downy sleep*, ff.84v–85r (pp.164–65).

A scorebook of solo voice music by English and Italian composers copied *c.*1670–90.[12] Modern binding. There are six hands: Henry Bowman, Edward Hull, Richard Goodson, William Husbands, *Oxford A* (who is suspected to be Charles Husbands), and an unknown hand responsible for bass viol fingering in red ink on select pieces. The existence of these

[8] Mary Chan, 'Edward Lowe's Manuscript British Library Add. MS 29396: The Case for Redating', *Music & Letters* 59/4 (Oct 1978), 449.
[9] Mary Chan, 'Drolls, Drolleries and Mid-Seventeenth-Century Dramatic Music in England', *RMA Research Chronicle* 15/1 (1979), 117. See also Elise Bickford Jorgens, ed., *English Song 1600–1675: V. Add. Ms. 29396*, (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1986).
[10] Herissone, *Musical Creativity*, 361.
[11] *Ibid.*, 384.
[12] Jonathan Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth–Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton* 1605–1670), 251–3.

diverse hands makes dating the MS difficult, with the proposed copying date being 1693 at the latest.[13] Each example of Cooke's repertoire in the MS is in a different hand, and it has been suggested above that the previously unattributed hand for both versions of *Sleep, downy sleep* belonged to Richard Goodson Sr. Fleur-de-lys watermark with countermark 'VI'.[14] The MS's owner, Simon Child, claims via inscription that he was the organist at Christ Church, Oxford before Richard Goodson. However, documentary evidence indicates that he was officially a singing man there between 1688–94, and then organist at New College from 1702 until his death in 1731.[15] It is perhaps more probable that he was a capable keyboardist and thus deputised at Christ Church, when necessary, as William Husbands was receiving the official organist stipend from 1684–92, at which point Goodson took over.[16]

London, British Library, Add. MS 33234 (GB-Lbl Add. MS 33234)

Manuscript. Upright. 255 x 337mm. 191ff.

Edition material: 2b *Awake my soul*, f.32; 4e *Sleep, downy sleep*, f.33.

(1682[17]) A scorebook of sacred and secular music by English and Italian composers owned and copied by Charles Morgan, *c.*1682–91.[18] (ff.175v-190, a mass setting, are in a different hand.) Modern binding, with original cardboard front cover preserved inside.[19] The MS would appear to have been bound post-copying and predates the majority of the content in the Purcell autograph, Add. 30930.[20] Foolscap watermark with 'AJ' beneath and 'PB'

13 Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principle Musical Sources* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000), 267.
14 Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 251–3.
15 Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 271; and Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1538* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1991), 211 [*Christ Church*]; 390 [*New College, Oxford*].
16 Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 211.
17 Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 124.
18 Herissone, *Musical Creativity*, 99; John Blow, *Latin Motets*, ed. Jonathan Wainwright (York: York Early Music Press, 2006), 47.
19 Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 261.
20 Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 18, 100.

countermark.[21] Possible attribution of countermark to Pierre Bernard of *Moulin de Beauvais*, which would be the same source as Egerton MS 2960 (and the master paper maker Jean Villedaris) although it must be acknowledged that the date range for the list of master paper makers from this mill is 1631–1745.[22] It is possible that the content of this manuscript formed repertoire for the Mermaid Tavern Club, of which Morgan was a member.[23]

London, British Library, Egerton MS 2960 (GB-Lbl Egerton MS 2960)

Manuscript. Upright. 257 x 392mm. 99ff.

Edition material: 13 *Adjuro vos filiae Jerusalem*, ff.80v–81r[rev].

Scorebook of sacred and secular music by English and Italian composers. Modern binding with original paper cover preserved inside.[24] Henry Bowman was the scribe up to f.53 (the first section) with a contemporary, yet unidentified, scribe copying the remainder of the MS. Fleur-de-lys watermark with countermark 'VI'.[25] Possible attribution of countermark to Jean Villedaris of *Moulin de Beauvais*, which would be the same source as Add. 33234 (and the master paper maker Pierre Bernard) although it must be acknowledged that the date range for the list of master paper makers from this mill is 1631–1745.[26] Bowman also copied the first portion of Add. 31460.

[21] Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 260-4.
[22] Alexandre Nicolaï, *Histoire des Moulins a Papier du Sud-Ouest de la France, 1300–1800*, 2 vols (Bordeaux: G. Delmas, 1935), i, 184.
[23] *Ibid.*, 100. (Typo on page names William Husbands, not Charles Morgan.)
[24] Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 282.
[25] *Ibid.*
[26] Nicolaï, *Histoire des Moulins a Papier du Sud-Ouest de la France*, i, 184.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mus. Sch. d. 217 (GB-Ob Mus. Sch. d. 217)

Manuscript. Upright. 292 x 226mm. 122pp.

Edition material: 24 *Turn thou us, O good Lord*, p.13.

Miscellaneous notes, scores, and bass parts collected by Francis Withy. Contemporary limp vellum binding with kid ties.[27] Previously Music School B. 6. 7. Falconer Madan's catalogue of the music school collection overlooks this volume completely, and misidentifies contributions to Mus. Sch. d. 220 by Richard Cooke (about whom very little is know) as being by Henry Cooke.[28]

Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. 12 (GB-Och Mus. 12)

Manuscript. Upright. 370 x 245mm. 92ff.

Edition material: 24 *Turn thou us, O good Lord*, pp.7–9.

Manuscript containing anthems and contrafacta for choir and continuo. Binding is of a dark brown leather, late seventeenth-century, with gold tooling reading 'VERSE ANTHEMS IN SCORE' on the spine. Copied in score by Charles Husbands Jr during his time as a singing man at Christ Church Cathedral (1688–92) as a partner to Och Mus. 11, containing unaccompanied choir works. Pagination ('1–163' across ff.1v–82r) added by Husbands himself. Paper pre-ruled with twelve staves per side of folio. Became part of the library's collection as part of the Aldrich bequest.[29]

[27] Bodleian Archives & Manuscripts. <https://archives.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repositories/2/resources/9522>.
[28] Falconer Madan, ed., *A Summary Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897), v, 214–15 & 222–3.
[29] John Milsom, ed. 'Mus. 11'. *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*. 2004.

Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. 14 (GB-Och Mus. 14)

Manuscript. Upright. 360 x 237mm. 143ff.

Edition material: 24 *Turn thou us, O good Lord*, ff.139v–140v

An autograph score in the hand of John Blow (1648?–1708) containing sacred and secular music by English and Italian composers, *c.*1675. Late-seventeenth-century binding, rebacked in the twentieth century. Pre-ruled with twelve staves per side of folio. Watermark shows fleur-de-lys with IHS countermark.[30] Proposed copying date between 1674–5.[31] Provenance either from Aldrich or Goodson bequests.

Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. 22 (GB-Och Mus. 22)

Manuscript. Upright. 353 x 227mm. 110ff.

Edition material: 24 *Turn thou us, O good Lord*, pp.66–88.

A composite scorebook from the collection of Richard Goodson (ii). Early-eighteenth-century binding of marbled paper over boards. Pre-ruled with twelve stave per side of folio. 1670–77. It was compiled with three layers: (1) ff.1–66 anthems and service music copied by Richard Goodson (i)[32] with an insert copied by Richard Goodson (ii) ff.43–4; (2) ff.67–8 a partial index and list of anthems; (3) ff.69-110 service music copied by Richard Goodson (ii) and other copyists. Provenance from Goodson bequest.[33]

Due to inscriptions reading 'Mr Blow', the first half of layer (to f.42) presumably dates from before 1677, the year in which Blow was awarded his doctorate; f.45-66 date from after this

[30] Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 366–8.
[31] Watkins Shaw, 'The Autographs of John Blow', *The Music Review* 25/2 (1964), 88.
[32] Shay & Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 219–22.
[33] Milsom, ed. 'Mus. 22'. *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*. 2004.

point, but the first two items, which include Cooke's 'Turn thou us, O good Lord', must be largely contemporary with the previous stage, as they share the 'Mr Blow' inscription.[34] The section containing Cooke's music therefore dates between 1667, when Goodson began singing at Christ Church, and 1677, when Blow was awarded his doctorate. However, it is more likely that the earliest date is a little later (as Goodson would have only been 12 in 1667); therefore it would seem probable that the copying of the manuscript did not begin until at least 1670.

Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. 49 (GB-Och Mus. 49)

Manuscript. Upright. 325 x 203mm. 243pp.

Edition material: 2c *Awake my soul*, pp.111–13 ; 4f *Sleep, downy sleep*, pp.113–14; 1 *As on a river's side*, pp.141–4.

Guardbook of English and Italian vocal music, as well as some English keyboard music, combining eight previously separate sections as an effort to protect unbound materials from the Aldrich and Goodson bequests. Binding of white parchment over board with a contrasting dark leather spine dates from late Eighteenth Century. Red leather inset tooled in gold reads: 'MASS / BY / CARISSIMI / &.C' (misattributing the content of the first section to the aforementioned composer).[35] There are eight sections to the MS, with Cooke's repertoire being included in the fifth. This section exhibits a foolscap watermark and can be dated to the late seventeenth/early eighteenth century.[36] Due to the complete lack of compositions by Purcell this dating can be refined to the third quarter of the seventeenth century, it is likely, therefore, that the manuscript dates between 1670-5 (the earliest date being only a few years prior to Cooke's death). The layers are as such: (1) pp.1-43A,

[34] *Ibid.*
[35] Milsom, ed. 'Mus. 49'. *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*. 2004.
[36] Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 378–82.

anonymous mass in C copied by Francis Smith, 1690s; (2) pp.44–7, seventeen chants by William Turner in autograph, late Seventeenth Century; (3) pp.48-65, four motets by Giovanni Felice Sances copied by Edward Lowe and Francis Withy, 1670s; (4) pp.66–87, three anthems by William Norris and Daniel Purcell, early Eighteenth Century; (5) pp.88–151, anthems, songs, and dialogues copied in score, late Seventeenth Century; (6) pp.152–91, further motets by Giovanni Felice Sances copied by Charles Husbands Sr, Edward Lowe, and Francis Withy (the latter two providing later additions), *c.*1670–80, partner to Mus. 1178; (7) pp.192–9, anthem by Orlando Gibbons, 'Behold thou hast made my days', copied by Francis Smith, 1690s; (8) pp.200–243, Organ music by John Lugge in autograph, 1640s.

Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. 598 (GB-Och Mus. 598)

Manuscript. Oblong. 205 x 155mm. 37ff.

Edition material: 24 *Turn thou us, O good Lord*, ff.35–6^{rev}.

A collection of songs and keyboard pieces copied in large by Richard Goodson Sr (alongside a number of other unidentified hands) for use as pedagogical materials – most likely for adult men; 1675–85. Early eighteenth-century binding of brown leather over boards, blind-tooled with fillets and small ornaments. Inscriptions reading 'John Rawlings His Book' are written on the inside upper and lower covers (deleted on the inside upper cover); which may point to the original owner or user. Stubs of excised folios indicate that the volume may once have been more extensive. Modern foliation in pencil (1–4, 4*, 5–36) with revisions made in 1989. Provenance from the Goodson bequest, which is assumed from the MS being written in Goodson's autograph. As a pedagogical tool, it seems likely that Goodson would have primarily used the MS before he was appointed Heather Professor at Oxford (1682), as the final item (no.29, Ground in C major) is a cognate of a piece printed in 1685, this gives us a reasonable end-date for the copying of the MS. The start date is a little more speculatory, but

around 1675 is probable, as he would have been an adult and singing man at Christ Church and would have wanted to swell his income by teaching privately.[37]

Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. 1205(A) (GB-Och Mus. 1205(A))

Manuscript. Upright. 373 x 245mm. Bifolio (formerly folded horizontally)

Edition material: 4g *Sleep, downy sleep*.

'Sleep downy sleep', copied in score by Richard Goodson (i) in the late seventeenth century. Pasted into a modern card folder during the twentieth century and stored with other sections of Mus. 1205 (B and C). Inscription on f.1v reads 'I desire you to set the like figures in the new Bass you intend to make, as are in former'. A different hand has inscribed 'Mr Pinnell' at the end of the score. Unknown provenance.[38]

Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. 1246 (GB-Och Mus. 1246)

Manuscript. Upright. 305 x 200mm. 84ff.

Edition material: 24 *Turn thou us, O good Lord*, pp.158–9.

Second tenor partbook from a set of probably eight or ten partbooks presumably copied for use in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, c.1670–77. Early-eighteenth-century binding of rough brown calf over boards with upper cover stamped '2', in gold.[39] Subsequent additions made in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At least twelve different hands identified across the MS and breaks and additions to pagination suggesting dismantling and

[37] Milsom, ed. 'Mus. 598'. *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*. 2004.
[38] Milsom, ed. 'Mus. 1205(A)'. *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*. 2004.
[39] Milsom, ed. 'Mus. 1246'. *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*. 2004.

alteration at least once. Pre-ruled with eight staves per side of folio. Probably transferred from the library of Christ Church Cathedral Choir, Oxford in the early twentieth century.

The tenor part to Cooke's 'Turn thou us, O Good Lord' was copied by Francis Withy, 1670-77.[40] Withy was appointed as a singing man at Christ Church Cathedral in 1670, giving the earlier copying date. Presumably the latter date is set by the same labelling of John Blow as 'Mr' (rather than 'Dr', as to which he was entitled post-1677) that we see in Och Mus. 22.

[40] Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 266; and John Milsom, ed. 'Mus. 1246'. *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*. 2004.

General Editorial Principles

Copy texts and versions

The selection of copy texts for the following editions was made substantially easier due to the fact that the majority of Cooke's surviving works survive in single sources. The only exception to this fact is the anthem *Turn thou us, O good Lord*, for which John Blow's autograph Och Mus. 14 has been selected as the copy text. As one of the first Chapel choristers of the Restoration, Blow's proximity to Cooke imparts a degree of authority to his manuscript, as well as the fact that it was probably copied during or shortly after Cooke's lifetime, in the first half of the 1670s.

In the case of *Awake my soul* and *Sleep, downy sleep*, parallel transcriptions have been chosen over one single edition of each piece. This decision has been made in order to best represent the significant differences represented by the two branches of the source stemma, as a single edition would have inevitably caused one strain to be preferred over the other. Given the integral nature of these two pieces to one of the central discussions in chapter 4, a transcription of each version of the two pieces has been provided, rather than an edition of each branch.

Accidentals

Use of accidentals has been brought in line with modern conventions, thus sharps and flats used as naturals have been modernised (i.e. represented as naturals). This principle will be employed throughout the editions, without comment, and has been extended to bass figuring. Editorial accidentals have been provided in small type, and are of three types: cautionary accidentals, those which cancel an accidental earlier in the bar as dictated by modern conventions, and those which are required stylistically but are not present in the copy text (or sources). Redundant accidentals have been omitted unless they serve a cautionary purpose.

Clefs

The following clefs are used in most of the sources: treble (G2), contra-tenor (C3), tenor (C4), bass (F4), and basso continuo (F4). Modern conventions—changing contra-tenor and tenor to transposed-G2—have been applied without comment. Instances where the performing forces have been written in different clefs in the source are noted in the commentary.

Key-signatures

Original key-signatures have been retained, although the practice of repeating the same sharp/flat at the octave within key signatures (a feature in a few sources) has not been adopted. Instances of this have been omitted without comment.

Time-signatures, barring, and note values

Original time-signatures have been retained from the sources. The signatures **3**, **3i**, and **ɔ3i** are all used for triple time, and have been represented as $\frac{3}{4}$ or $\frac{3}{2}$ in all instances where the tactus is in crotchets. For duple time ¢ is used exclusively and has been retained across the editions. Additional instances of irregular barring have been resolved without comment. Original note values have been retained.

Tempo indications

Tempo indications are most commonly denoted by the time signature, hence their retention in their original form. Instances where explicit tempo indications are written in manuscripts are transferred into the editions. No editorial additions are made in this regard.

Dynamic markings

Similarly, there are few examples of explicit dynamic marking. Any explicit dynamic markings are included within the editions. No editorial dynamics are included.

Articulation

Articulation within the sources is largely restricted to slurring. Where multiple source readings are available, the markings provided are reasonably consistent, but dashed slurs are used to indicate a reading from a secondary source, whilst slashed slurs represent editorial additions. Tied notes of the same pitch which are not split by a barline, editorial or not, have been presented as one note of the combined mensural value without comment.

Text

The spelling of text has been adapted, where appropriate (as determined by the editor), in line with certain textual sources. For liturgical texts, the appropriate source has been employed where identifiable, but otherwise the 1611 *Authorised King James Bible* (KJV) or the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* (BCP) have been used as copy-texts. Italicised text is employed to indicate text implied through the use of ditto marks, untexted passages after incipits, or below other texted parts. Brackets indicate editorially supplied text. Differences in text underlay between sources are noted in the commentary.

Where movement titles, such as 'Symfony' or 'Ritornella', or useful direction are given in the source, these have been provided in plain text in the editions. Other instances of staff text in the sources, such as use of 'ritor' to indicate the repeat of the last few bars of a vocal section, has been provided in italics, and matching the style of the source when done so (thus, 'Ritor:' instead of 'Ritornello'). Editorially added text, such as 'Bass verse', will be given in brackets. Part names are entirely editorial.

Editorial Intervention

Where editorial intervention has been required, such as when the BC part implies a vocal part but the note values are too long, or when *petite reprises* are indicated but the preceding material would leave them without a second treble part (see *Rise thou best and brightest morning* bb.45–52), these have been provided in small noteheads. Intervention has been kept to a minimum in order to present an accurate but diplomatic transcription. Editorial completions for ritornelli are simple, imitating surrounding style, and serve primarily to fill out harmony.

Additionally, where double noteheads are extant in the Bu 5001 source (see chapter 3), these have been provided in ossia staves. The decision as to which notehead to keep in the main stave has been determined by a combination of factors, including voice-leading, chord structure, and overall compatibility with the other forces.

Pitch

Pitches are described according to the Helmholtz system. Accidentals will be defined in the commentary, where necessary.

Abbreviations

Part Names

Tr – Treble
Ct – Contra-tenor
T – Tenor
B – Bass
V – Voice
Vl - Violin
Va – Viola
BC – Basso Continuo
All – All parts

Note Values

sq - semiquaver
q – quaver
q. – dotted quaver (etc.)
c – crotchet
m – minim
sb – semibreve
b – breve

General

text – Text underlay
tie – Notes tied
clef – Clef is different/changes in source
sl. – Slur present in source
s/o - Slur omitted in source
n/p – Pause omitted in source
om. – Note/time signature/key signature, etc. omitted in source
obsc. – Note obscured in score (by smudge, etc.)
k/s – Key signature (followed by number and then a sharp or flat, 2♭ = B♭ major/G minor; C major/A minor will be given as ♮)
t/s – Time signature

System of reference

Individual entries are constructed as follows: bar number, part, symbol number including rests, error/variant [Source Letter].

Where both the pitch and note value need defining, these will be provided as one entry. For instance, a dotted quaver middle C would read: c'*q*. Successions of notes will be separated by a space. For instance, a dotted crotchet d an octave above middle c, moving down in stepwise motion through a quaver c and then a minim b would read: d"*c.* c"*q* b'*m*

When referring to a string of symbols, the notes given apply to that string even if the note values do not fit properly in the bar (this is often the cause of the error). When a whole bar is being discussed, no symbol numbers will be given.

Critical Commentary

Solo Songs

1 As on a river's side
Source: Och Mus. 49
Text: Unknown

No editorial intervention.

2 Awake my soul
Sources: **2a** Lbl Add. 31460; **2b** Lbl Add. 33234; **2c** Och Mus. 49
Text: Thomas Flatman (1635–88)

No editorial intervention. Sources differ sufficiently that transcriptions of each have been provided, with the lettering of the separate transcriptions indicated by the sources, above. Editorial basso continuo has been provided for **2b**, based on the reading from Och Mus. 49.

3 Margarita first possess'd
Source: Lbl Add. 29396
Text: Abraham Cowley (1618–67)

No editorial intervention.

4 Sleep, downy sleep
Sources: **4a** Lbl Add. 19759; **4b** Lbl Add. 29396; **4c** **4d** Lbl Add. 31460 {2}; **4e** Lbl Add. 33234; **4f** Och Mus. 49; **4g** Och Mus. 1205(A)
Text: Thomas Flatman (1635–88)

Due to the complex development of this piece, as discussed at length in chapter 4, each version of the piece has been presented as a separate transcription, with the lettering of the separate transcriptions indicated, above. Editorial basso continuo has been provided for **4a**, based on the reading from Lbl Add. 29396.

4a Lbl Add. 19759:
7, V, 1, *c*

5 Where shall my troubled soul
Source: Lbl Add. 14399, ff.29v–31r
Text: Edward Herbert, First Baron Herbert of Cherbury (1583–1648), *Echo in a Church*

56, 10–11, *sq sq*

Partsongs

6 Be thou that art my better part

Source: John Playford, *The Musical Companion* (London: W. Godbid, 1667), pp.204–6
Text: Anon., *The New Academy of Complements* (London: Samuel Speed, 1669), p.96

16, C2, 3–4, *sl.*
30, C2, 1–2, *sl.*

7 Long have I thought

Source: John Playford, *The Musical Companion* (London: W. Godbid, 1667), pp.201–3
Text: Unknown

No editorial intervention

8 Poor Artaxander long hath wo'd

Source: John Playford, *The Musical Companion* (London: W. Godbid, 1667), pp.207–9
Text: Anon., *The New Academy of Complements* (London: Samuel Speed, 1669), pp.171–2

Ritardandi and *a tempi* are written as 'drag' and 'faster' in the source.

T, *clef,* C3
53, B, *text*, 'shall'

9 Quickly, quickly drawer

Source: John Playford, *The Musical Companion* (London: W. Godbid, 1667), pp.210–12
Text: Unknown

3, C2, 1, *m*
34, C1, 2, *m*
62, 1, *text*, 'keep'

Odes

10 Come we shepherds

Source: Bu 5001, ff.15[**A**], 15a[**B**], 16–20
Text: Richard Crashaw (1612-49), *In the Holy Nativity of our Lord*

Opening symphony is written twice: reading **A** (f.15r), inserted later, and reading **B** as part of the original score. Reading **A** is used as the copy text, as it is presumed to hold more authority.

1, All, 𝄡/*s* ♮ [B]
4, Vl1, 5, d♯"*q* c♯"*q* b'*q* a'*q* (written underneath d♯*m*) [B]
4, Vl2, 1, b'*c*., with scratchings and 'x's obscuring the rest of the bar [B]
6, Vl2, 6–7, f'*c* [B]
7, Vl2 4–7 b'*c* e"*c* [B]
7, BC, 2, A♯*c* [B]
8, Vl2, doubled octave down [B]
10, Vl2, 3–6, d♯"*q* e"*q* f"*q* g"*q* [B]
10, BC, 2, B [B]
11, Vl2, 1–3, b'*c* g'*c* (marked with 'x') [B]
12, Vl1, b'*q* c"*q* d"*q* e"*q* c"*m* [B]
12, Vl2, 1–4, e"*c*. c"*q* [B (1)]
12, Vl2, 1–4, b'*c* b'*q* c"*q* [B (2)]
13, Vl2, 2–3, e"*sq* d"*sq* [B]
14, Vl1, b'*m* e'*c* c"*q* d"*q* g'*c* d"*q* e"*q* (irregular bar – scratching and an 'x') [B]
15, Vl1, 1, f'+f"*c* [B]
15, Vl1, 5-6, a'*q*. b'*sq* [B]
16, Vl1, 1-4, b'*c*. b'*sq* [B]
18, Vl2, c"*c* d"*c* b'*c* c"*c* [B]
19, Vl1, d"*c*. c"*q* b'*m* [B]
38-39, Vl2, f'*m*. followed by crossed through b'*q* c"*q* d"*c*. c"*q* b'*m*
54, Ct, 1, *q*
64, B, 1, *q q*
67, Ct, 1, A♯
163, Tr, 1, c"
181, Tr2, 2–3, *sq sq*
214, B, *text* 'Forbear' is written under the stave, but the fermata suggests that this is erroneous
218, B, 1, g*m*.

11 Good morrow to the year

Source: Bu 5001, ff.6–10r
Text: Unknown

3, Vl1, 3, *obsc.* possibly an a" in source, but line seems to indicate a b"
7, Vl1, only two beats in bar, initial *q. sq* figure has been augmented to fill
28, Vl2, 1, *c tie c*
29, Vl1 + BC, 1, ♭ is scratched out in upper part, so figured bass has been omitted
49, BC, 1, *q*
64, BC, 2, *m*.
109, B, 2, *c*
208, T, 1, a
224, B, 2, G

12 Rise thou best and brightest morning
Source: Bu 5001, ff.11–12, 12a, 13–14r
Text: Richard Crashaw (1612–49), *Hymn for New Year's Day*

70 BC 1 *m*
81 Tr 3, flat is correct, clearly an attempt at word painting that doesn't work. Major would sound far better.
112–13 Vl1 *dc q q | m*

Motet

13 Adjuro vos filiae Jerusalem
Source: Lbl Egerton MS 2960, ff.80v-81r[rev]
Text: Song of Songs 5:8, 10, 14a (English translation – KJV)

Adjuro vos, filiae Jerusalem,	I charge you, O daughters of Jerusalem,
si inveneritis dilectum meum,	if ye find my beloved,
ut nuncietis ei,	that ye tell him,
quia amore langueo.	that I am sick of love.
Dilectus meus candidus et rubicundus,	My beloved is white and ruddy,
electus ex milibus.	the chiefest among ten thousand.
Et manus ejus tornatilis plena Jacintis	His hands are as rings set with the beryl

1, Tr, *clef*, C1
3, Tr, 5, f♭"
17–18, All, hollow quavers represent crotchets
19, B, 1, e♯
32, BC, 1, B♮
47 T 3: b♮'

Service Music

14 Funeral Sentences
Source: Bu 5001, ff.74–7
Text: Burial Service, *Book of Common Prayer* (1662)

14a I am the resurrection
14, T, 4, a

14b I know that my redeemer liveth
22, T, 1, *obsc.* a/g

14c We brought nothing into this world
No editorial interventions

14d I heard a voice from heaven
No editorial interventions

Anthems

15 Behold, O God our defender
Source: Bu 5001, ff.66–69r
Text: Psalm 84:9-10, 1; *Old Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal*

29, Tr Ct B, *sl.*
30, Tr Ct B, *sl.*
31, T, 1, *m*
61, T, 1, *m*
62, Va, 1+2, a' a'
83-5, Vl2, *clef* tenor
86, *t/s om.*
97, Ct T B, *sb*
102–4, Vl2, *clef* C3
102–4, Va, *clef* C4
116, BC, 2, *m.*

16 Christ rising again
Source: Bu 5001, ff.70, 70a, 71–72
Text: Anthem for Easter Day, *Book of Common Prayer* (1552, 1559)

The folio on which the first prelude is written (f.70v) has been cut in such a way that the initial clefs are trimmed; probably a result of the binding of the guard book. An inserted slip contains the second prelude (f.70a). Verso of f.70a has a single bracketed treble and bass system: the treble stave is blank with bass is filled in; the hand is immediately identifiable as different and later (18c) and would seem to have no relation to the content in which it sits.

5, Vl2, 2-3, *c c*
14, BC, 1, A♯ (respelled enharmonically)
32, Vl2, 1, *obsc.*
87, BC, 2, *c.*
106, BC, 1, *m*

17 Come let us pray and God will hear
Source: Bu 5001, ff.91–6
Text: Psalm 122 (paraphrase)

The Fenlon catalogue incorrectly splits the anthem in two at 'Hither the numerous tribes repair'. The prelude that precedes the second section is indicated at the end of the previous (f.93r). Where a ritornello has been indicated, but not supplied, at bar 61 the opening prelude has been repeated.

13, Vl1, 3, d
60, Ct, 1, *m*
97, Tr, 1, *m*
132, Vl1, 3–6, *sl.*
136, Vl2, 4–6, b c d
156, BC, 1, *m*
167, BC, 1, *m*
182, BC, 1, *m*
214, B, octave down

18 O give thanks unto the Lord
Source: Bu 5001, ff.52–59
Text: Psalm 105:1–7

1, Va, 4, a
15, Ct, 3, a♭
23, B, 3, *text* 'the'
24, Tr2, 7, *c*
33, B, 3, D
40, T, 1, c♯ (moved one note back to make the harmony match other parts)
67, Tr1, 3, *q*
67, Tr1, 5–6, *q q*
90, BC, *c. q c q q*
92, All, *m*
95, Tr3, 7–8, *q q*
102, Tr3, 2, a'
111, Ct, 2, g♯'
111, BC, r*c* r*c c*
112, Ct, 2, g♯'
121, Tr3, 7, *q.*
123, T, 5–6, *sl.*
127, Tr1, 5, e''
128, B, *text*, 'all' is repeated from previous bar
133, BC, *m tie c. q*

19 O Lord, thou hast searched me out
Source: Drc MS B1, pp.70–74[rev]
Text: Psalm 139:1–10

2, Va, 2, a
8, Va, 2-3, g
42, Ct, 4–5, *sq sq*
48, Va, 1–2, e
52, Ct, 1, *q.*
57, B, 2, *c c*
60, Ct + B, 5, *c*
64, T, 1, *c*
69, Ct, 4, a♯
76, Va, 3, *c*
78, Ct, 2-3, *q q*
124, BC, 2–5, C B♭ A♭ G (haplographic error from previous bar)

20 Put me not to rebuke
Source: Drc MS B1, pp.64–69[rev]
Text: Psalm 38:1–9, 21–22

1, Va, 1, g
19, Vl1, 4, f♮"
20, Va, 2–3, a a
21, Va, 4–5, b b
26, Tr, 6–8, *q c q*
48, Tr, 1–3, *obsc. q q q*
58, BC, 3, B♯
64, Tr, 7, *om.*
85, BC, B♯ B♭(/B♮)
90, BC, 3–4, B♯ B♭(/B♮)
91, B, 4, *c*
120, Tr, 1, *m*
139, Vl1, 4, f♮"
145, Tr1, 2, e♭"
150, B, 2, *m.*
176, BC, 1, *obsc. m* (water damage)
175, Tr, 1, *text* 'farr' ('thou' missed from underlay)
185, Tr2, 3, g♯'
186, Tr1, 4, *om.* d"*q*

21 The King shall rejoice
Source: Bu 5001, ff.80–84
Text: Psalm 21:1–8

10, Vl2, 2–3, *tie*
32, Ct, 2–3, *c. q*
32, B, 1, b
41, Ct, 3, *om.*
68, Vl2 1–2: *c c*
98, BC, 1, *m*
136, Ct, 6, *q*
137, Ct, 1, *c c*
154, Vl1, 3–4, *q q*
155, Vl2, 8–9, *q q*

22 The Lord hear thee in the time of trouble

Source: Bu 5001, ff.85–90r
Text: Psalm 20:1–8

The two halves of this anthem, *The Lord hear thee in the time of trouble* and *we will rejoice in thy salvation*, are presented out of order in the manuscript, with the latter preceding the former, a fact not identified in Fenlon's catalogue. The Fenlon catalogue incorrectly excludes f.85r, which features the beginning of the prelude/symphony. This entire second prelude (f.85r+v) is in the hand of Pelham Humfrey.

39, BC, 1, *m.*
41, B, 1, *text* 'day'
68, B, 4, a*q.* g*sq*
87, Ct, 5-9, *clef* C3, but written as if C4
88, Tr2, 6, e♭''
89, Tr1, 4–7, *sq sq sq sq*
91, T, 5, c♯'
92, B, 3–4, a g
94, Ct, 5–6, *tie*
110, T, 1–2, *sl.*
111, Tr2, 1, *c*
117, Tr1, 1–2, *sl.*
121, T, 1, f♯'
125, Va, 1, f♯'
152, Ct, 5, b♯
158, Tr1, 4–5, *c*

23 Thou, O God art praised in Sion

Source: Bu 5001, ff.60–63
Text: Psalm 65:1–6

Text block has been trimmed in binding, with some text lost on all folios.

12, B, 3, f♯
65, Ct, 3, b
68, T + B, 1–2, *c. tie q*
81, BC, 1–2, *m sb*
87, T, 5, *q*
89–92, B, *text*, trimmed from text block

24 Turn thou us, O good Lord
Sources: **A** Och Mus. 14; **B** Och Mus. 12; **C** Och Mus. 22; **D** Och Mus. 1246; **E** Och Mus. 598; **F** Ob MS Mus. d. 217
Text: Final collect of the Commination, *Book of Common Prayer* (1662)

5, Tr, 1, d" [B]
13, Tr, 4, *n/p* [AC]
13, BC, 2, *n/p* [AC]
14, B/BC, 3–4, *s/o* [C]
15, Ct, 3–4, *s/o* [C]
15, B, 2–3, *s/o* [AC]
16, Ct, 6, *s/o* [A]
16, T, 1–2, *s/o* [C]
18, Tr, 2–3, *s/o* [C]
21, BC, 2, d [B]
23, Tr, 1, d" [B]
40, Tr, 1, e" [B]
49, Tr, 1, *n/p* [A]
49, BC, 1, *n/p* [A]
50, BC, 2, *om.* [B]
54, B/BC, 4, A♮ [B]
56, B, 3–4, *s/o* [C]
57, B, 4–5, *s/o* [C]
59, Ct, 1, b♮*c.* [BC]
59, All, *n/p* [A]
63, Tr, *s/o* [B]
67, Tr, 1–2, *c. q* [B]
78–9, Ct, *add.* d [ABC]
80.4–82, Ct, *add.* d [ABC]
80, All, *text*, 'Christ our Lord, our' [B]
83, All, 2, *n/p* [A]

25 We have sinned and committed iniquity
Source: Bu 5001, ff.77–79v
Text: Psalm 20:5–6

The Fenlon catalogue records this piece as beginning at f.77v but ignores the prelude on f.77r.

3, Vl2, 4, e♭"
15, B, 2, *q*
17, Ct, 2, c♭'
37, Ct, 1, *m*
51, Vl2, 2, *c*
72-7, B, BC duplicated
72, BC, 1, *om.* F*m.*
84, Ct, 3–4, *c c*
89, T, 3–4, *m*
92, S, 1–2, *c c*

1–5 Solo Songs

1 *As on a rivers side*




21
more trou - ble from my tears then from the
25
wind? That rude - ly comes to dis - com - pose
29
the sweet tran - quil - i - ty you keep; my tears a -
33
las! Are some of those, that wou'd with -
37
in your bo - som sleep; With that me


41
thought the riv' let, Si - lent stood and
45
sor - rowing took them all in - - to her
49
flood. Syl - via cry'd I and shall each gen - - tle
53
wave, re - ceive my tears with sor - rows
57
like mine own, whilst thou art so ob - du - rate


61
grown, that sense - less things more pi - ty have;
65
I'll be re - veng'd, and when my store
69
of tears is spent I'll bor - row more from them,
73
and weep a del - uge at thy feet,
77
till thou re - lent and weep thy self to see't.

2a *Awake my soul*

Lbl Add. 31460

Thomas Flatman (1635-88)




16
and sings her mat - tins in the sky a - rise my soul
19
and thou my voice in songs of praise ear - ly re - joice
22
O great cre - a - tor heav'n - ly King thy prai - ses let me ev - er
25
sing thy pow'r has made thy good - ness keep my
28
sense - less bo - dy while I sleep, yet one day


31
more_ hast__ thou set me from__ all____ the___ works_ of____ dark - ness
4 ♯3 7
34
free; oh keep my heart from sin, se - cure my
6 6 ♯3
37
life un - blam - a - ble and pure that when the last of all my days are
6 7 6 ♯3 ♯3
40
come cheer - ful and fear - less I, I_____ may____ wait my doom.
6 6

2b *Awake my soul*

Lbl Add. 33234

Thomas Flatman (1635-88)




20
a - tor, heavn' - ly King, thy prai-ses ev-er let me sing. Thy pow'r hath made thy_ good-ness_kept this_
25
sense-less_ bo-dy whilst I slept, yet one day_more thou hast set me from all__ the_ pow'r of_dark ness__
31
free. O keep my heart from sin se - cure, my life un - blam - a - ble and pure, that
35
when the last of all my days are come, cheer-ful and fear - less, I may wait my doome.

2c *Awake my soul*

Och Mus. 49

Thomas Flatman (1635-88)




20
a - tor, heavn' - ly King, thy prai-ses ev - er let me sing. Thy pow'r hath made thy
24
good - ness kept this sense - less bo - dy whilst I slept, yet one day more thou
28
hast set me from all the pow'r of dark - ness free. O keep my
32
soul from sin se - cure, my life un - blam - a - ble and pure, that when the last of all my
36
days are come, cheer-full and fear - less, I may wait my doome.

3 *Margarita first possess'd*

Abraham Cowley (1618-1667), *The Chronicle: A Ballad*




21
broke, and still new fav - o-rites she chose, till up in arms my pas-sions rose, and cast a - way her yoke.
25
Ma-ry then and gent-le Anne, both to reign at once be-gan; al-ter-nate-ly they sway'd; and some-times
30
Ma - ry was the fair, and some-times Anne the Crown did wear, and some-times I both o - bey'd.
33
An - o - ther Ma - ry then a - rose and did rig - o-rous laws im-pose; A might-y ty - rant
37
she! Long, a - las! should I have been un-der that iron-scep-ter'd Queen, had not Re-bec-ca set me free.
41
When fair Re-bec-ca set me free, 'twas then a gold-en time with me: but soon those plea-sures fled; For the gra


46
cious__ prin - cess dy'd, in her youth and beau - ty's pride, and_ Ju - dith_reigned in her stead.
49
One month, three days, and half an hour, Ju-dith held__ the sov-reign power: Won-drous beau-ti-ful her
53
face! But so weak and_small her wit, that she to gov-ern was un-fit, and so Sus-an - na took her place.
57
But when Is - a-bel - la came, arm'd with a re-sist-less_flame, and th'art-ill - 'ry of her eye; whilst she_
62
prou - dly march'd a-bout, great - er con-quests to find out, she beat out Su - san by the bye.
65
But in her place I then o - bey'd black - eye'd Bess, her vice-roy - maid; to whom en-su'd a va - can-


69
cy: Thou-sand worse pas-sions than pos-sest the in-ter - reg-num of my breast; bless me from such an an-arch-y!
73
Gent-le Hen-ri - et - te then, And a third Ma-ry, next be-gan; Then Joan, Jane, and Au - dri-
77
a; and then a pret-ty Tho-ma-sine, and then an - oth-er Kath-a-rine, and then a long et - cet - e-ra.
81
But should I now to you re-late, the strenght and ri-ches of their state; the pow-der, pat ches, and the
85
pins, the rib-bons, jewels, and the rings, the lace, the paint, and war-like things, that make up all their mag - a-zines.
89
If I should tell pol-i-tic arts to take and keep men's hearts; the let-ters, em-bas-sies, and spies, the frowns, and


94
smiles, and flat - te - ries, the quar - rels, tears, and per - ju - ries (num - ber - less, name - less, mys - te - ries!)
97
And all the lit - tle lime - twigs laid, by Mach i - a - vel the wait - ing - maid; I more vol - um'-nous should
101
grow (cheif - ly if I like them should tell all change of wea - thers that be - fell) that Ho - lin - shed or Stow.
105
But I will brief - er with them be, since few of them were long with me. An high - er and a nob - ler
109
strain my pre - sent Emp'-ress does claim, Hel - 'on - ra first o' thy name; who God grant long to reign!

4a *Sleep, downy sleep*

Lbl Add. 19759

Thomas Flatman (1635-88)




24
throne thy won-der, won-der - ful pav - il - li - on. O dart from thence a
29
shin - - ing ray, and then my mid - night shall be day,
34
thus when the morn in crim-son drest breaks through the win - dows of the
39
East, my hymns of thank - ful praises shall a - rise, like
43
in - cense or the morn - ing sac - ri - fice.

4b *Sleep, downy sleep*

Lbl Add. 29396

Thomas Flatman (1635-88)




17
slum - ber, whilst I slum - ber me en - snare, but guard thy sup-pliant free from
21
harms clasp in thy ev - er - last - ing arms, clouds and thick dark - ness is thy
24
throne thy won - der, won - der - ful pav - il - li - on. O dart from
28
thence a shin - - - ing ray, and then my


32
mid - night shall be day, thus when the morn in crim - son
36
drest breaks_ through the___ win - dows_ of the East, my___
40
hymns of thank - ful___ praises___ shall a - rise, like___ in - cense or the
44
morn - - ing_____ sac - - - - - ri - fice.

4c *Sleep, downy sleep*

Lbl Add. 31460(i)

Thomas Flatman (1635-88)




17
slum - ber, whilst I slum - ber me en - snare, but guard thy sup-pliant free from
21
harms clasp in thy ev - er - last - ing arms, clouds and thick dark - ness is thy
24
throne thy won - der, won - der - ful pav - il - lion. O dart from
28
thence a shin - - ing ray, and then my


32
mid - night shall be day, thus when the morn in crim - son
36
drest breaks_ through the___ win - dows__ of the East,
40
my___ hymns_ of thank - ful___ prai - ses___ shall a - rise like___
44
in - cense__ of___ the morn - ing___ sac - ri - fice.

4d *Sleep, downy sleep*

Lbl Add. 31460(ii)

Thomas Flatman (1635-88)




17
slum - ber, whilst I slum - ber me en - snare, but guard thy sup-pliant free from
21
harms clasp in thy ev - er - last - ing arms, clouds and thick dark-ness is thy
24
throne thy won-der, won-der - ful pav - il - lion. O dart from
28
thence a shin - - ing ray, and then my


32
mid - night shall be day, thus when the morn in crim - son
6 ♮3 ♭3 6 6 6
36
drest breaks through the win - dows of the East,
40
my hymns of thank - ful prai - ses shall a - rise like
6 ♮3 ♮3 6 ♮6
44
in - cense of the morn - ing sac - ri - fice.
♮3 ♮3

4e *Sleep, downy sleep*

Lbl Add. 33234

Thomas Flatman (1635-88)




16
let not the spi-rits of the air whilst I slum - ber, whilst I slum - ber me en snare.
20
But guard thy sup-pliant free from harms clasp in thine ev-er-last-ing arms. Clouds and thick dark-ness are thy
24
throne, thy won - der, won - der-ful pa - vi - li - on. O dart from
28
thence, a shi - ning ray and then my


32
mid - night shall be day, thus when the morn in crim - son
36
drest breaks_ through the___ win - dows__ of the East my___
40
hymns of thank - ful___ prai - ses shall a - rise like___ in - cense_ of___
44
the morn - ing_____ sac - - ri - fice.

4f *Sleep, downy sleep*

Och Mus. 49

Thomas Flatman (1635-88)




17
air whilst I slum - ber, whilst I slum - ber,
19
me en - snare. But guard thy sup - pliant free from harms clasp'd in thine
22
ev - er - last - ing arms. Clouds and thick dark - ness are thy throne, thy won - der,
25
won - der - ful pa - vi - li - on. O dart from thence, a
29
shi - ning ray and then my


32
mid - night shall be day; thus when the morn in crim - son
36
drest breaks_ through the___ win - dows__ of the East, my
40
hymns_ of thank - ful___ prai - ses shall_____ a - rise, like___
44
in - cense__ of the morn - ing_____ sac - - ri - fice.

4g *Sleep, downy sleep*

Och Mus. 1205(A)

Thomas Flatman (1635-88)




17
slum - ber, whilst I slum - ber me en - snare, but guard thy sup-pliant free from
21
harms clasp in thy ev - er - last - ing arms, clouds and thick dark - ness is thy
24
throne thy won - der, won - der - ful pav - il - lion. O dart from
28
thence a shin - - ing ray, and then my


32
mid - night shall be day, thus when the morn in crim - son
6
6 6 6
36
drest breaks_ through the___ win - dows__ of the East,
40
my___ hymns_ of thank - ful___ prai - ses___ shall a - rise like___
6
6 ♯6
44
in - cense__ [of]___ the morn - ing___ sac - ri - fice.

5 *Where shall my troubled soul*

Edward Herbert, First Baron Herbert of Cherbury (1583-1648)
Echo in a Church




37
sires re - form my
echo
will I
40
will O may that will and voice be blest that
43
yields such com - fort un - to one dis - - tressed more
46
bles - sed yet wilt thou thy self un-mask
49
or tell at least to un - der- take this task, ask then
echo
52
quick - ly speak since now with cry - ing I am grown so
55
weak I shall want force ev'n to crave thy name
58
O speak, O speak be - fore I whol - -
61
- - - ly wea - - - - ry
63
am Here I am

6–9 Partsongs

6 *Be thou that art my better part*

John Playford, *The Musical Companion* (1667)



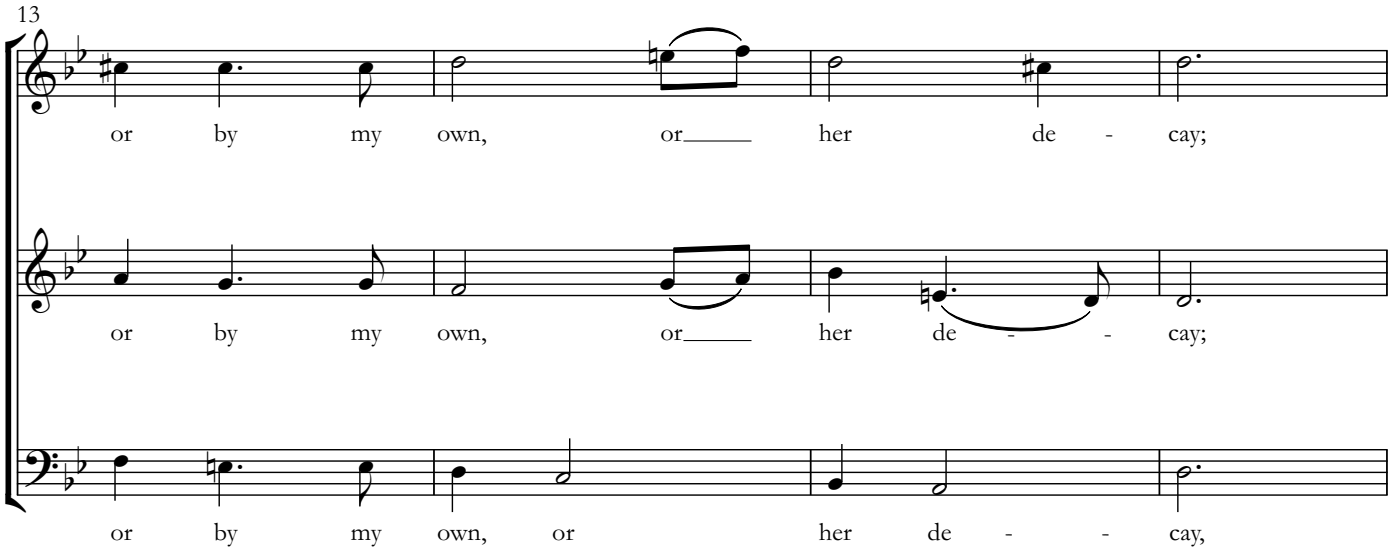

14
grave not so in - sai - tiate as Jea - lou - sies en - flame de - bate.
grave not so in - sai - tiate as Jea - lou - sies en - flame de - bate.
grave not so in - sai - tiate as Jea - lou - sies en - flame de - bate.
18
Should fal - ling Clouds with Floods con - spire, their
Should fal - ling Clouds with Floods con - spire, their
Should fal - ling Clouds with Floods con - spire, their
21
Wa - - ters could not quench Loves
Wa - - ters could not quench Loves
Wa - - ters could not quench Loves

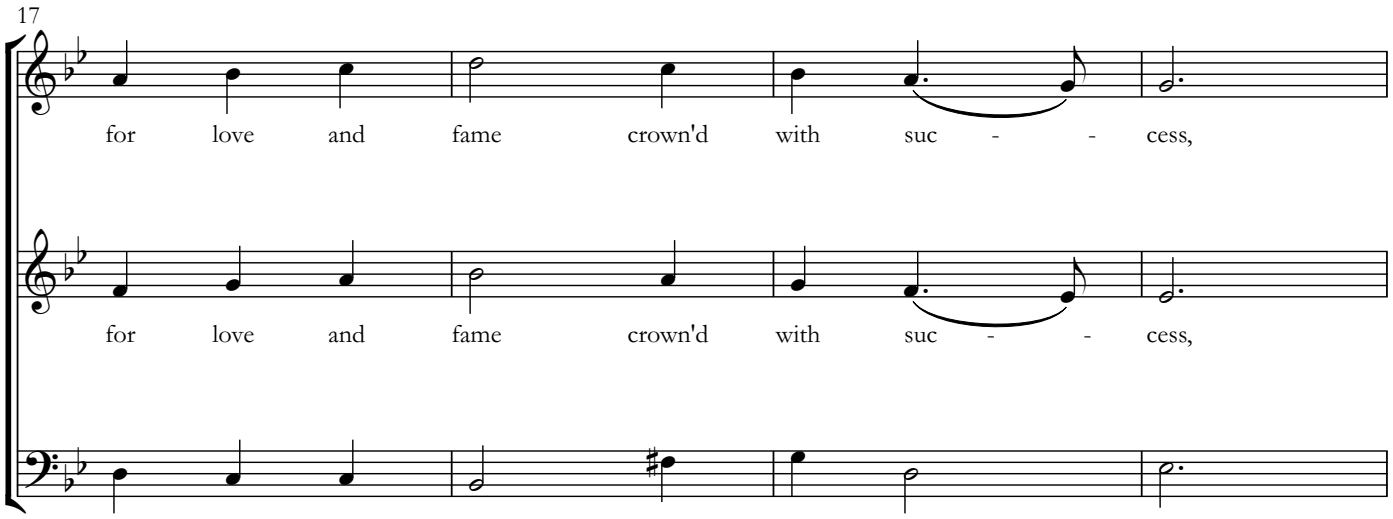

24
fire, nor all in Na - tures
fire; nor all in Na - tures
fire; nor all in Na - tures
27
Trea - sur - y the free - dom of the free - dom
Trea - sur - y the free - dom of the free - dom
Trea - sur - y the free - dome of the free - dom
29
of Af - fec - tion buy.
of af - fec - tion buy.
of af - fec - tion buy.

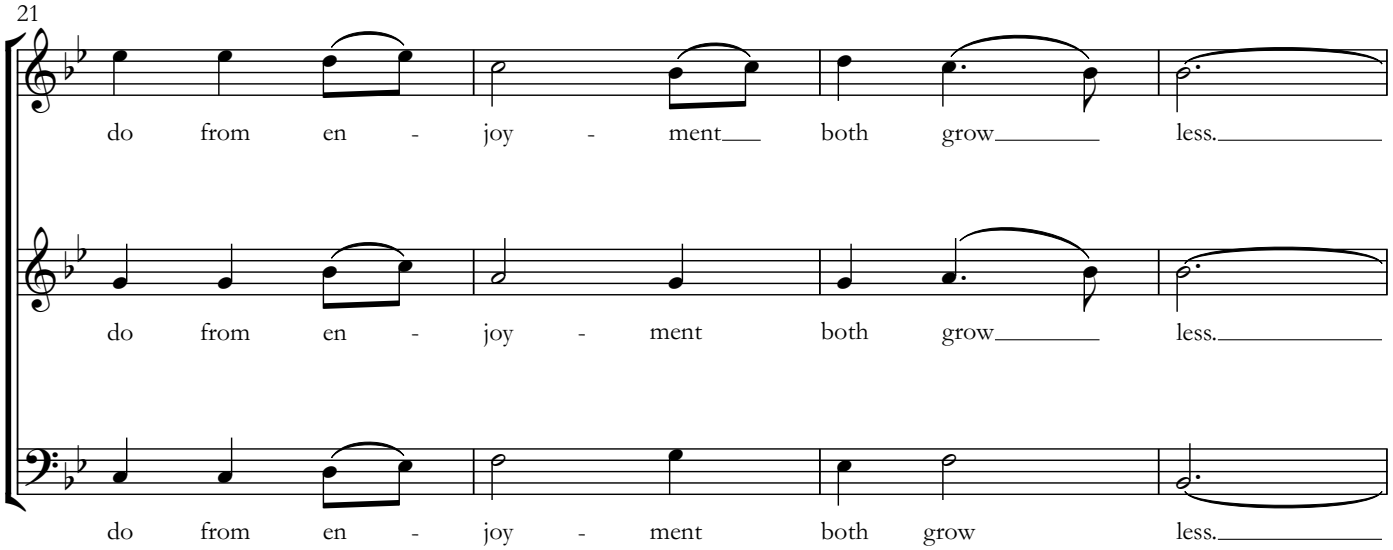
7 *Long have I thought*

John Playford, *The Musical Companion* (1667)

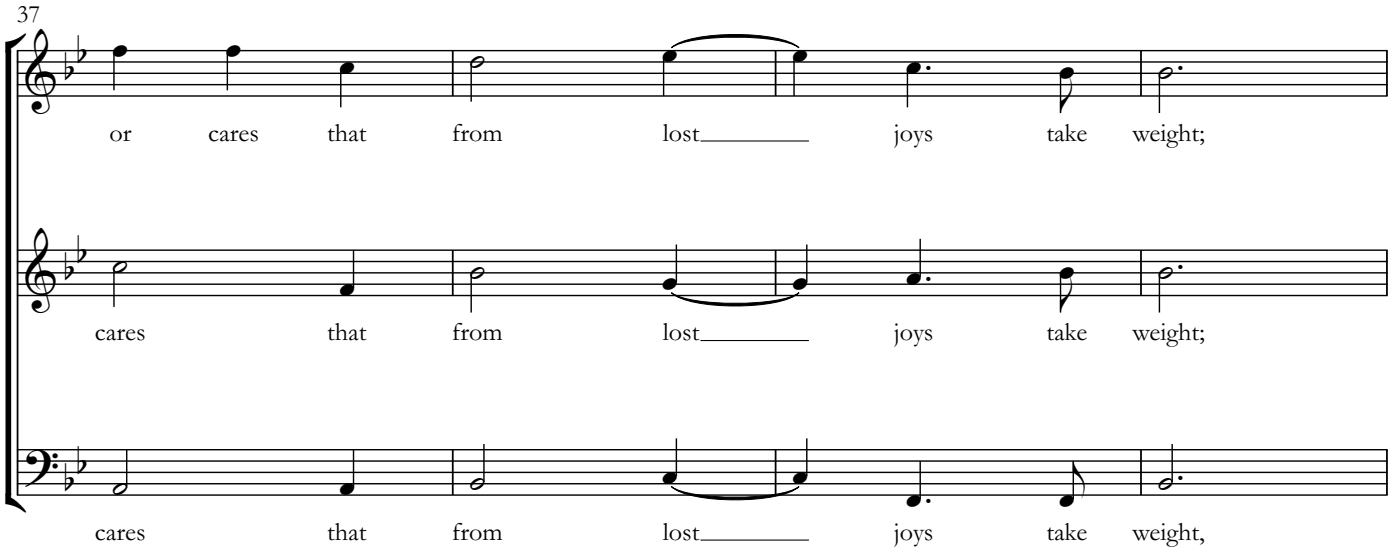


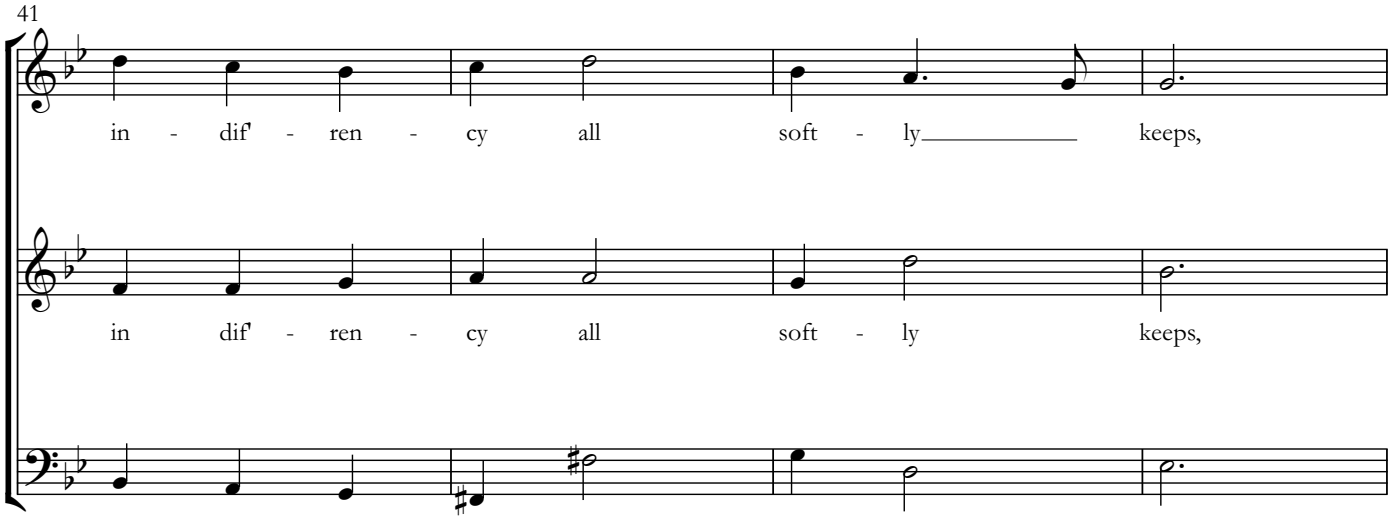

13
or by my own, or her de - cay;
or by my own, or her de - - cay;
or by my own, or her de - - cay,

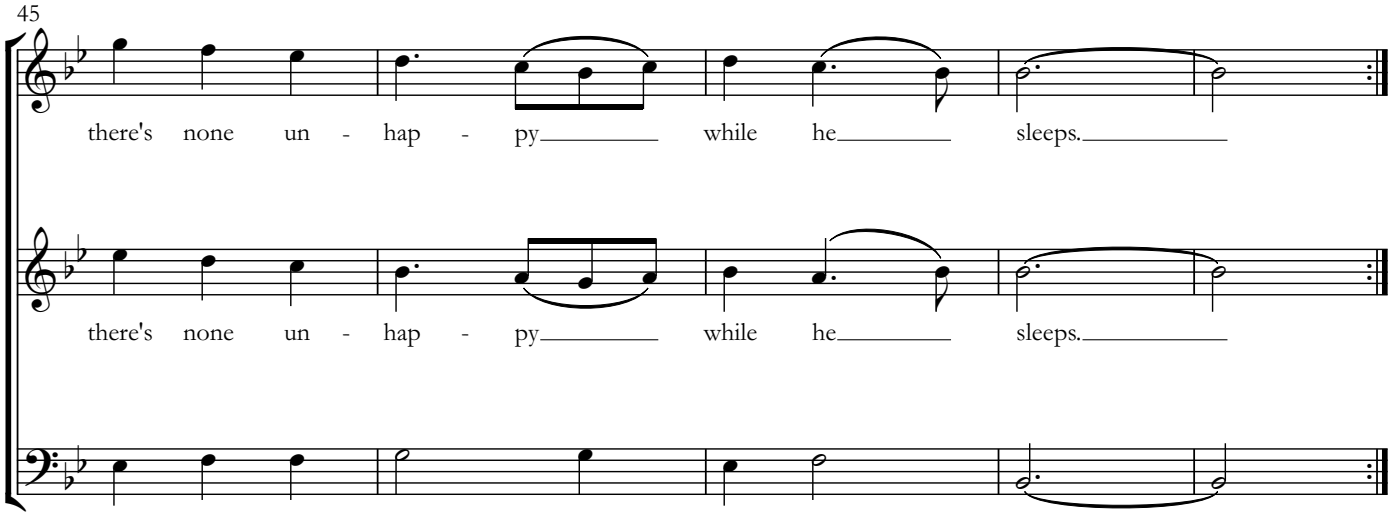

17
for love and fame crown'd with suc - - cess,
for love and fame crown'd with suc - - cess,
for love and fame crown'd with suc - - cess,


21
do from en - joy - ment both grow less.
do from en - joy - ment both grow less.
do from en - joy - ment both grow less.


25
Had the gods so but been con - tent,
Had the gods so but been con - tent,
Had the gods so but been con - tent,
29
I would have liv'd in - dif - fer - ent;
I would have liv'd in - dif - fer - ent;
I would have liv'd in - dif - fer - ent,
33
not to have fear'd ex - tremes of fate,
not to have fear'd ex - tremes of fate, or
not to have fear'd ex - tremes of fate, or


37
or cares that from lost joys take weight;
cares that from lost joys take weight;
cares that from lost joys take weight,


41
in - dif' - ren - cy all soft - ly keeps,
in dif' - ren - cy all soft - ly keeps,
in - dif' - ren - cy all soft - ly keeps,


45
there's none un - hap - py while he sleeps.
there's none un - hap - py while he sleeps.
there's none un - hap - py while he sleeps.

8 *Poor Artaxander long hath wo'd*

John Playford, *The Musical Companion* (1667)




19
Cæ - lia but in vain, for she on terms of
Cæ - lia, but in vain,
Cæ - lia but in vain; for she on
24
ho - - nour stood, on hon - our
for she on terms on terms of hon - our
terms of hon - our stood, of hon - our
28
stood, though ne - ver on dis - dain.
stood though ne - ver on dis - dain.
stood, though ne - ver on dis - - dain.
32
Verse
His kind ad - dres - ses as a charm


36
some - times she'd en - ter - - tain,
39
with soft em - bra - ces close and
42
drag
faster
warm, yet straight grow cold a - gain, yet
45
straight grow cold a - gain.
48
Chorus
His kind ad - dres - - ses as a
His kind ad - dres - - ses as a
His kind ad - dres - - ses, as a


51
charm some times she'd en - ter - - tain
charm some time she'd en - ter - - tain
charm, some - times [she'd] en - ter - - tain
55
with soft em - bra - ces close and
with soft em - bra - ces close and
with soft em - bra - - ces close and
58
drag
faster
warm, yet straight grow cold a - gain, yet
warm, yet straight grow cold a - gain, yet
warm, yet straight grow cold a - gain, yet
61
straight grow cold a - gain.
straight grow cold a - gain.
straight grow cold a - gain.

9 *Quickly, quickly drawer*

John Playford, *The Musical Companion* (1667)




13
quench, and a - gain re - new my thirst:
quench and a - gain re - - new my thirst:
quench and a - gain re - - new my thirst:
17
with oth - er sweets we soon are cloy'd,
with oth - er sweets we soon are cloy'd,
with oth - er sweets we soon are cloy'd,
21
wine's more de - sir'd the more en - joy'd.
wine's more de - sir'd the more en - joy'd.
wine's more de - sir'd the more en - joy'd.


25
Were Pa - las here who could en - dure
Were Pa - las here, who could en - dure
Were Pa - las here, who could en - dure
29
to hear her talk 'bove half an hour;
to hear her talk 'bove half an hour,
to hear her talk 'bove half an hour,
33
A - pol - lo too with's gold - en lyre,
A - pol - lo too with's gold - en lyre,
A - pol - lo too with's gold - - en lyre,


37
would with each strain waft your de - sire.
would with each strain waft your de - sire;
would with each strain waft your de - sire;
41
Ven - er - ian sports till morn - ing please, but then grow loath'd as
Ven - er - ian sports till morn - ing please, but then grow loath'd as
Ven - er - ian sports till morn - ing please, but then grow loath'd as
47
a dis - ease. 'Tis Bac - chus on - ly can de - light,
a dis - ease, 'Tis Bac - chus on - ly can de - light,
a dis - ease. 'Tis Bac - chus on - ly can de - light,


53
and still pre - serve the ap - pe - tite.
and still pre - serve the ap - pe - tite.
and still pre - serve the ap - pe - tite.
57
Oft may he then my throat sup - - ply
Oft may he then my throat sup - - ply
Oft may he then my throat sup - - ply
61
with con - stant floods to [make] it dry.
with con - stant floods to make it dry.
with con - stant floods to make it dry.

10–12 Odes

10 *Come we shepherds*

Richard Crashaw (1612-49)




14
17
[Chorus]
Tr
Come we shep - herds whose blest sight, hath met loves noon in na - tures night,
Ct
Come we shep - herdswhose blest sight, hath met loves noon in na - tures night,
T
Come we shep - herdswhose blest sight, hath met loves noon in na - tures night,
B
Come we shep - herdswhose blest sight, hath met loves noon in na - tures night,
BC


26
come lift we up our loft - ier song,
come lift we up our loft - ier song,
come lift we up our loft - ier song,
come lift we up our loft - ier song,


31
and wake the sun, and wake the sun that lies too long.
and wake the sun, the sin that lies too long.
and wake the sun, and wake the sun that lies too long.
and wake the sun, the sun that lies too long.


36
Ritor
40
[Contra-tenor verse]
To all our world of well stol'n joy, he
45
slept and dream't of no such thing while we found out heav'ns fair - er eye
51
and kissed the cra - dle of our King; tell him he ri - ses
56
now too late to shew us ought worth look - ing at.

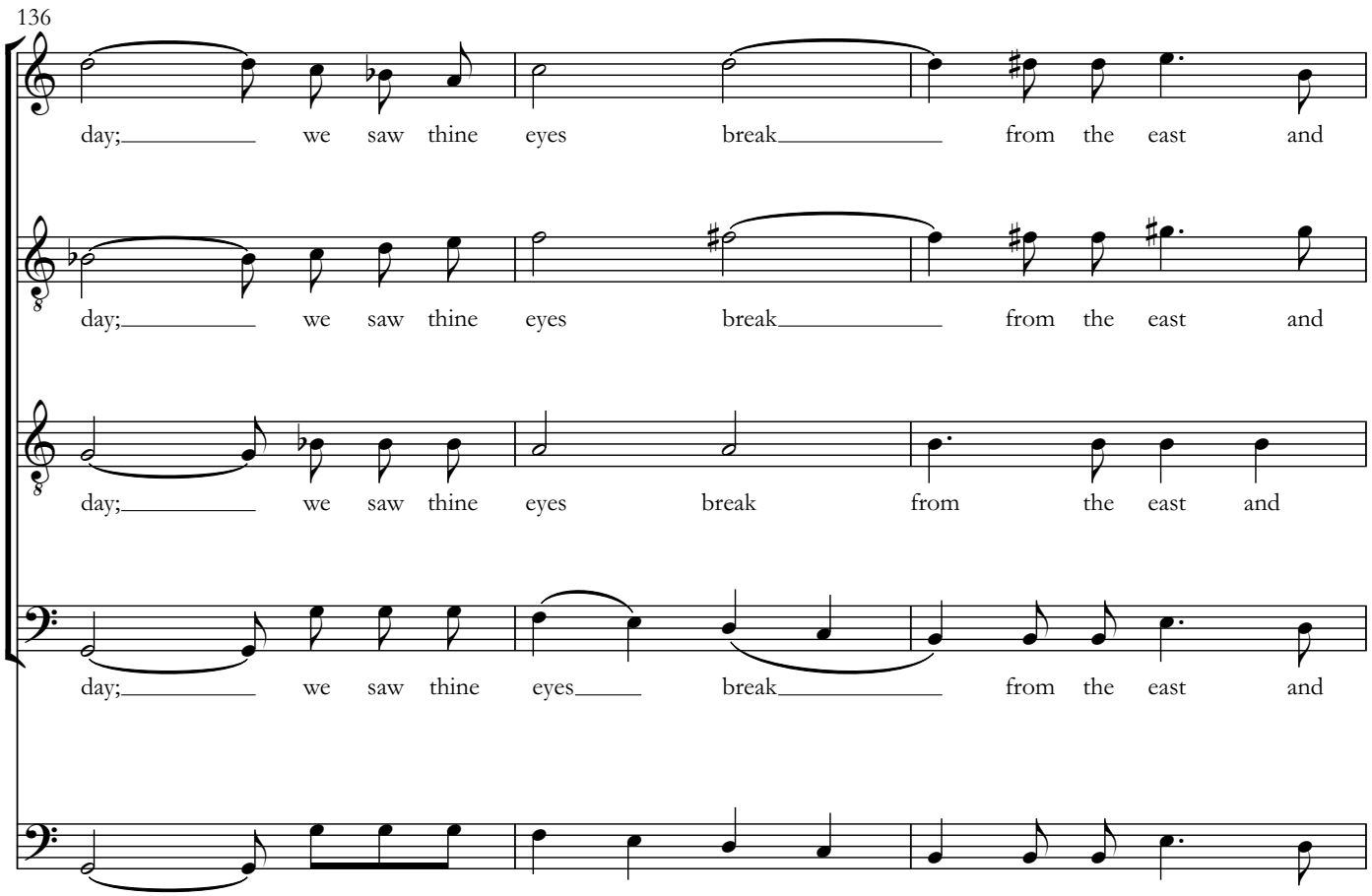

62
[Treble verse]
Tell him he ri - ses now too late, to shew us ought worth look - ing at.
Tell him he ri - ses now too late, to shew us ought worth look - ing at.
[Bass verse]
Tell him he ri - ses now too late, to shew us ought worth look - ing at.
70
Ritor:
78
[Treble verse]
Gloo - my night em - brac'd the place where the no - ble in - fant
82
lay the babe look'd up and shew'd his face


86
In spite of dark - ness it was day it was thy day
90
sweet, and did rise not from the East but from thine eyes,
95
not from the East but from thine eyes.
99
[Treble verse]
It was thy day sweet and did rise not from the East but from thine eyes.
[Contra-tenor verse]
It was thy day sweet and did rise not from the East but from thine eyes.
[Bass verse]
It was thy day sweet and did rise not from the East but from thine eyes.


107
Ritor:
115
[Bass verse]
Win - ter chide a - loud and sent the ang - ry north to wage his wars
120
the north for - got his firece in - tent and left per - fumes in -
123
stead of scars By those sweet eyes, per - sua - sive pow'rs, where he meant
127
frost, he scat - - - - - - tered flow'rs.


Cho:
Tr
We saw thee, we saw thee, we saw thee, we saw thee in thy
Ct
We saw thee, we saw thee, we saw thee, we saw thee in thy
T
We saw thee in thy
B
We saw thee, we saw thee, we saw thee in thy
BC


133
bal - my nest, bright dawn of our e - ter - nal
bal - my nest, bright dawn of our e - ter - nal
bal - my nest, bright dawn of our e - ter - nal
bal - my nest, bright dawn of our e - ter - nal


136
day; we saw thine eyes break from the east and
day; we saw thine eyes break from the east and
day; we saw thine eyes break from the east and
day; we saw thine eyes break from the east and


139
chase the trem - bling shades a - way. We saw thee
chase the trem - bling shades a - way. We saw thee and
chase the trem - bling shades a - way. We saw thee
chase the trem - bling shades a - way. We saw thee and


144
and we blessed the sight, we saw thee by thine own fair light.
we blessed the sight, we saw thee by thine own fair light.
and we blessed the sight, we saw thee by thine own fair light.
we blessed the sight, we saw thee by thine own fair light.
151
Ritor
157
[Treble verse]
Poor world said I what wilt thou do, to en-ter-tain thy star-ry stran-ger, is this the
162
best thou can'st be-stow a cold and not too clean-ly man-ger.


166
Con-tend ye pow'rs of Heav'n and Earth, to fit a bed for thy huge birth.
174
[Treble 1 verse]
Con - tend ye pow'rs of Heav'n, of Heav'n and Earth
[Treble 2 verse]
Con - tend ye pow'rs of Heav'n, of Heav'n and Earth
[Bass verse]
Con - tend ye pow'rs of Heav'n, Heav'n and Earth
180
to fit a bed for this, for this huge birth.
to fit a bed for this, for this huge birth.
to fit a bed for this, for this huge birth.


186
Ritor
192
[Bass verse]
I saw the curl'd drops soft and slow, come ho - ver - ing o'er
197
the pla - ces head off' - ring their whit - est
200
sheets of snow, to furn - ish the fair In - fants bed,
203
For - bear said I be not too bold, your fleece is


209
white but 'tis too cold, but 'tis too cold.
214
[Treble verse]
For - bear said I be not too bold
[Contra-tenor verse]
For - bear said I be not too bold
218
your fleece is white but 'tis too cold, but 'tis too cold.
your fleece is white but 'tis too cold, but 'tis too cold.
[Bass verse]
Your fleece is white but 'tis too cold, but 'tis too cold.
224
Ritor:


Cho:
Tr
We saw thee, we saw thee, we saw thee, we saw thee in thy bal - my nest,
Ct
We saw thee, we saw thee, we saw thee in thy bal - my nest,
T
We saw thee in thy bal - my nest,
B
We saw thee, we saw thee in thy bal - my nest,
BC


230
bright dawn of our e - ter - nal day; we saw thine eyes break
bright dawn of our e - ter - nal day; we saw thine eyes break
bright dawn of our e - ter - nal day; we saw thine eyes break
bright dawn of our e - ter - nal day; we saw thine eyes break


234
from the east and chase the trem - bling shades a -
from the east and chase the trem - bling shades a -
from the east and chase the trem - bling shades a -
from the east and chase the trem - bling shades a -
- way. We saw thee
- way. We saw thee and
way. We saw thee
way. We saw thee and


240
and we blessed the sight,
we blessed the sight,
and we blessed the sight,
we blessed the sight,
243
we saw thee by thine own fair light.
we saw thee by thine own fair light.
we saw thee by thine own fair light.
we saw thee by thine own fair light.

11 *Good morrow to the year*




26
31
36
[Bass verse]
Good mor - row to the year; and to the King
39
good years; and to the Queen eter - nal spring.


43
[Treble 1 verse]
The sun's at dore his hor - ses on the coach,
48
on - ly to you great sin does first ap - proach
53
de - si - ring still more glo - rious to ap - pear
58
would be your legal to the world this year
62
[Treble 2 verse]
He's an en - voy that still can go on his

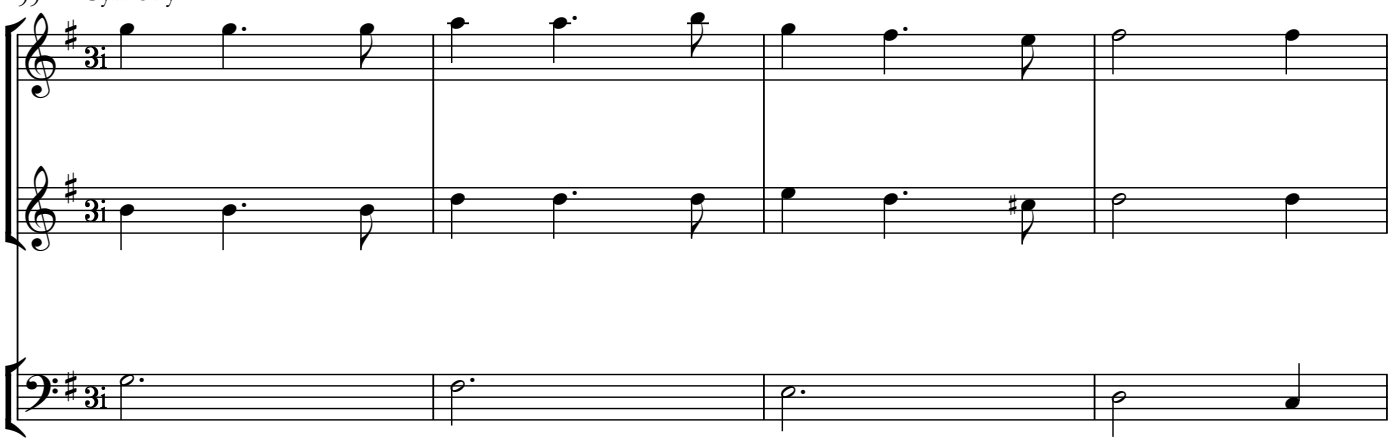

66
way yet bring his in - tel - li - gence ev - er - y
70
day; he says he will shine on you and your
74
Queen, to the French and the Dutch will scarce - ly be
78
seen not fear - ing for all the As - tro - lo - gers
82
tricks to baf - fle the stars of Six - ty Six.


Tr1
Not
Tr2
Ct
Not fear - ing for all the As -
B
Not fear - ing for
BC


90
fear - ing for all the As -
Not fear - ing for all the As -
tro - - lo - gers tricks for all the As -
all the As - tro - lo - gers tricks, the As -


93
tro - lo - - gers tricks to baf - fle the
tro - lo - gers tricks to baf - fle the
tro - lo - gers tricks to baf - fle the
tro - lo - gers tricks to baf - fle the
96
stars of Six - ty Six.
stars of Six - ty Six.
stars of Six - - ty Six.
stars of Six - - ty Six.

99 Synfony



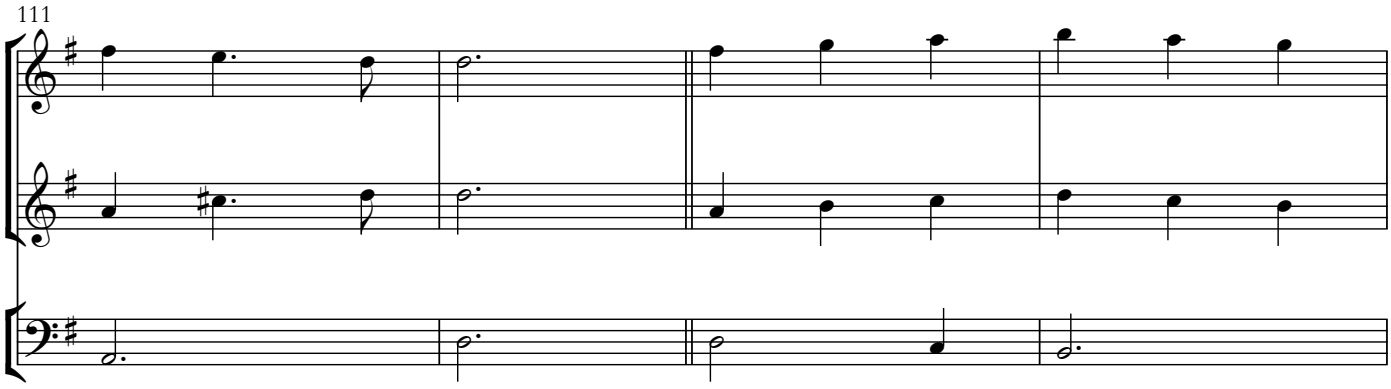
103



107



111




115
119
123
127
[Treble verse]
He'll kiss the in - fant King of Spain


131
and peace with Por - tu - - gal ob - tain,
135
will join his in - flu - ence with the moon this
139
year to give the Queen a
142
son; this year, this
[Bass verse]
This year, this year, this
146
year to give the Queen a son,
year to give the Queen a son,


150
will au - di - ence crave of might - y Jove, this
154
fowl con - ta - gion to re - - move,
flow'rs, [Bass verse] vines, and corn shall
Flow'rs, vines, and corn shall be, shall
163
be the liv - 'ry of this em - bas - sy.
be the liv - 'ry of this em - bas - sy.


Cho: A4
Tr1
Flow'rs, vines, and corn shall be the liv - 'ry of this
Tr2
Flow'rs, vines, and corn shall be the liv - 'ry of this
Ct
Flow'rs, vines, and corn shall be the liv - 'ry of this
B
Flow'rs, vines, and corn shall be the liv - 'ry of this
BC


174
em - bas - sy, the liv - 'ry of this em - bas - sy.
em - bas - sy, the liv - 'ry of this em - bas - sy.
em - bas - sy, the liv - 'ry of this em - bas - sy.
em - bas - sy, the liv - 'ry of this em - bas - sy.


180
[Bass verse]
Let us be - fore this sun fall
183
down who joins your scep - ter with his own and will em - ploy his ut - most
pow'r that in his round he view no ground but what is yours re - turn - ing
still with lau - rel in his rays, to greet you with new crowns on new years days
202
on new years days.


205
Cho:
Tr1
Re - turn - ing___ still with lau - rel in his
Tr2
Re - turn - ing___ still,
Ct
Re - turn - ing___ still with
T
Re - turn - ing___ still with lau - - rel in his
B
Re - turn - ing___ still with lau - - rel in his
BC


209
rays, re - turn - ing___ still with___ lau - rel
re - turn - ing___ still with lau - rel,
lau - rel, re - turn - ing___
rays, re - turn - ing___ still with lau - rel
rays, re - turn - ing___ still with lau - rel


213
in his rays, re - turn - ing still with
re - turn - ing still with lau - rel, with
still with lau - rel, re - turn - ing still with
in his rays, re - turn - ing still with lau - rel, with
in his rays, re - turn - ing still with lau - rel, with
218
lau - rel in his rays to greet you
lau - rel in his rays to greet you
lau - rel in his rays to greet you
lau - rel in his rays to greet you
lau - rel in his rays to greet you


222
with new crowns on New Years Days, to
with new crowns on New Years Days, to
with new crowns on New Years Days, to
with new crowns on New Years Days, to
with new crowns on New Years Days, to
226
greet you with new crowns on New Years Days.
greet you with new crowns on New Years Days.
greet you with new crowns on New Years Days.
greet you with new crowns on New Years Days.
greet you with new crowns on New Years Days.

12 *Rise thou best and brightest morning*

Richard Crashaw (1612-49)




17
21
25
29
[Treble verse]
Rise thou best and bright - est morn - ing


33
rosey with a dou - ble red,
37
with thine own blush, thy cheeks a - dorn - ing
41
and the dear drops this day were shed.
45
Ritor:
49


53
[Contra-tenor verse]
All the pur - ple pride that la - ces the crim - son cur - tains of thy bed,
57
gildes thee not with so sweet gra - ces
61
nor sets thee in so rich a red.
65
Ritornella
69
Chorus A2
Of all the faire cheek't flow'rs that fill thee
Of all the fair cheek't flow'rs that fill thee


73
none so faire thy bo - some shows as that mo - dest
none so fair thy bo - some shows as that mo - dest
79
maid - en lil - ly our sins have sham'd in - to a Rose.
maid - en lil - ly our sins have sham'd in - to a Rose.
Cho: A3
S
Of all the faire cheek't flow'rs that fill thee, none so faire thy bo - some
Ct
Of all the faire cheek't flow'rs that fill thee, none so fair thy bo - some
B
Of all the faire cheek't flow'rs that fill thee, none so faire thy bo - some
BC


87
shows as that mo - dest maid - en lil - ly, our sins have sham'd in - to a Rose.
shows as that mo - dest maid - en lil - ly our sins have sham'd in - to a Rose.
shows as that mo - dest maid - en lil - ly our sins have sham'd in - to a Rose.
91
Ritornella
93
[Bass verse]
Bid thy gold - en god the Sun
97
Bur - night in his best beams Rise,


101
put all his Red ey'd Ru - bies on,
105
these Ru - bies shall put out their eyes
110
Ritornella
Cho: A3
S
Let them make poor the pur - ple East
Ct
Let them make poor the pur - ple East
B
Let them make poor the pur - ple East
BC


117
Search what the worlds close cab - i - nets keep,
Search what the worlds close cab - i - nets keep,
Search what the worlds close cab - i - nets keep,
121
rob the rich birth of each bright nest,
rob the rich birth of each bright nest,
rob the rich birth of each bright nest,
125
yet flam - ing in their fair beds sleep.
yet flam - ing in their fair beds sleep.
yet flam - ing in their fair beds sleep.


128
Ritornella
130
[Bass Verse]
Let him em - brace his own bright tres - ses
134
with a new morn - ing made of gems
138
and wear in those his weal - thy dres - ses
142
an - o - ther day of di - a - dems


146
[Treble Verse]
When he hath done all he may to make him -
150
self rich in his rise, all will be
154
dark - ness to that day that
158
breaks from one of these bright eyes
162
Ritor:


167
[Treble verse]
And soon, and soon this sweet truth shall ap - pear dear
[Bass verse]
And soon, and soon this sweet truth shall ap - pear dear
171
babe, ere man - y days be done the moon shall come, and
babe, ere man - y days be done the moon shall come, and
175
meet thee here and leave her own, her own neg - lec - ted sun.
meet thee here and leave her own, her own neg - lec - ted sun.
179
Ritornella


182
Cho:
Here are beau - ties shall be - reave him of all his east - ern par - a - mours, his per - sian lov - ers
Here are beau - ties shall be - reave him of all his east - tern par - a - mours his per - sian lov - ers
Here are beau - ties shall be - reave him of all his east - ern par - a - mours, his per - sian lov - ers
Here are beau - ties shall be - reave him of all his east - ern par - a - mours, his per - sian lov - ers
187
all shall leave him and swear faith to thy sweet - er pow'rs nor while they leave him
all shall leave him and swear faith to thy sweet - er pow'rs nor while they leave him
all shall leave him and swear faith to thy sweet - er pow'rs; nor while they leave him
all shall leave him and swear faith to thy sweet - er pow'rs; nor while they leave him

192

shall they lose the sun, but in thy fair - est

shall they lose the sun, but in thy fair - est

shall they lose the sun, but in thy fair - est

shall they lose the sun, but in thy fair - est

195

eyes, but in thy fair - est eyes find two for one.

eyes, but in thy fair - est eyes find two for one.

eyes, but in thy fair - est eyes find two for one.

eyes, but in thy fair - est eyes find two for one.

13 Motet

13 *Adjuro vos filiæ Jerusalem*

Song of Songs 5:8, 10, 14a




16
Si in - vi - ne - ri - tis di - lec - tum__ me - - - um,
Si in - vi - ne - ri - tis di - lec - tum__ me - - - um,
21
ut nun - cti - e - - - tis est.
ut nun - cti - e - - - tis est.
24
Qui - a a - mo - re lan - gue - o, lan - gue - o.
Qui - a a - mo - re lan - gue - o, lan - gue - o.
30
Di - lec - - - tus__ me - us
Di - lec - tus me - us


37
Can - di - dus et ru - - bi - cun - dus
Can - di - dus et ru - - bi - cun - dus
41
e - - lec - tus ex mil - li - bus,
e - - lec - tus ex mil - li - bus,
45
can - di - dus et ru - bi - cun - dus e -
can - di - dus et ru - bi - cun - dus e -
50
lec - tus ex mil - li - bus.
lec - - - tus ex mil - li - bus.


53
Et man - us e - jus, et man - us e - jus
Et man - us e - jus, et man - us e - jus
56
tor - na - - - - - ti - lis ple - na Ja cin - tis.
Tor -
60
- na - - ti - lis ple - na Ja - - - cin - tis,
63
ple - - - - - na ja - cin - - tis.
ple - - - - - na ja - cin - - tis.

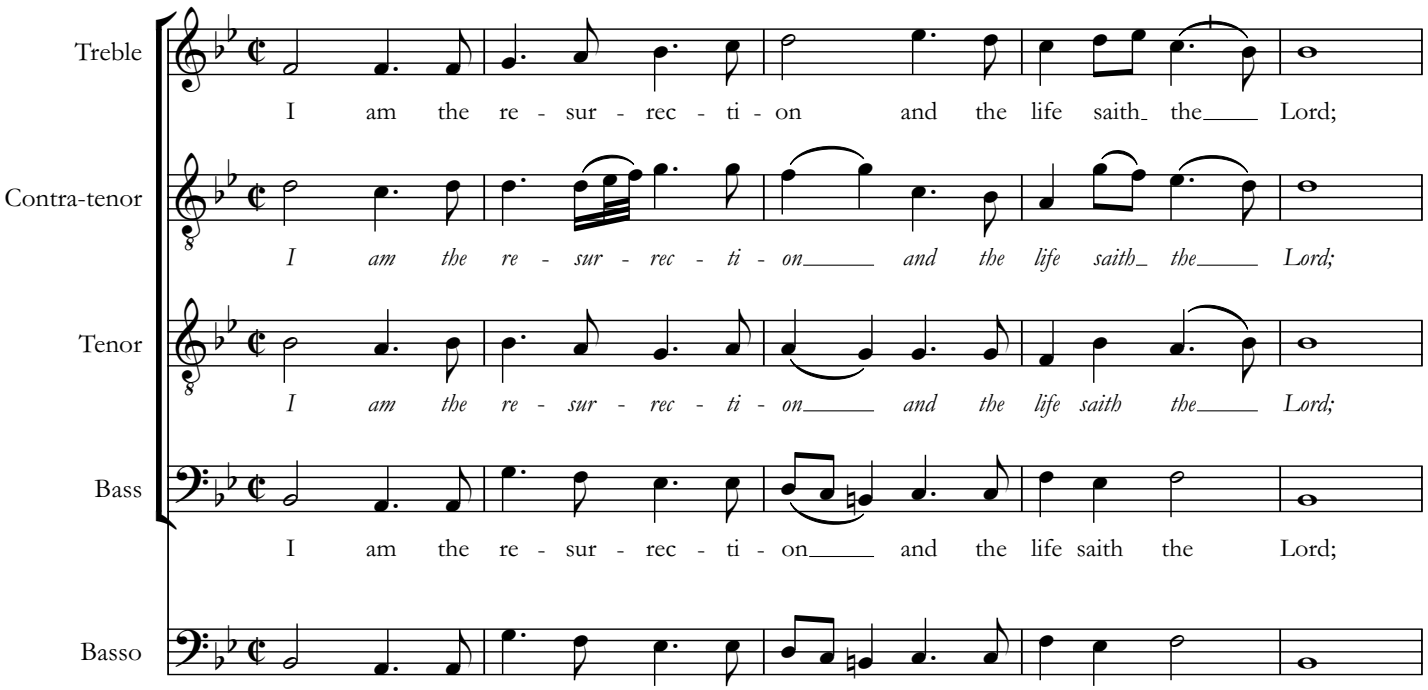

66
Al - - le - lu - ja,
Al - - - le - lu - ja, al - - le - lu - ja,
70
al - - - - - - le - lu - ja, al -
al - - - - le - - lu - ja, al - -
73
- - - - - - - - le - lu - ja.
- - - - - - - le - lu - ja.

14 Service Music

14 *Funeral Sentences*

Text from the 1662 Prayer Book

14a *I am the resurrection*






11
yet shall he live and who - so - ev - er liv - - - eth and be -
yet shall he live and who - so - ev - er liv - - - eth and be -
yet shall he live and who - so - ev - er liv - - - eth and be -
yet shall he live and who - so - ev - er liv - - - eth and be -
[3] [3]


15
lie - veth in me shall ne - ver die.
lie - veth in me shall ne - ver die.
lie - veth in me shall ne - ver die.
lie - veth in me shall ne - ver die.

14b *I know that my redeemer liveth*




9
and though af - ter my skin worms de - stroy this bo -
and though af - ter my skin worms de - stroy this bo -
and though af - ter my skin worms de - stroy this bo -
and though af - ter my skin worms de - stroy this bo -
13
-dy yet in my flesh shall I see God, whom
-dy yet in my flesh shall I see God, whom
-dy yet in my flesh shall I see God, whom
dy yet in my flesh shall I see God, whom
[♯]


17
I shall see for my self and mine eyes shall be -
I shall see for my self and mine eyes shall be -
I shall see for my self and mine eyes shall be -
I shall see for my self and mine eyes shall be -


21
hold and not an - oth - er.
hold and not an - oth - er
hold and not an - oth - er.
hold and not an - oth - er.

14c *We brought nothing into this world*




9
gave and the Lord hath ta - ken a - way. Bles - sed be the
gave and the Lord hath ta - ken a - way. Bles - sed be the
gave and the Lord hath ta - ken a - way. Bles - sed be the
gave and the Lord hath ta - ken a - way. Bles - sed be the
13
name of the Lord, bles - sed be the name of the Lord.
name of the Lord, bles - sed be the name of the Lord.
name of the Lord, bles - sed be the name of the Lord.
name of the Lord, bles - sed be the name of the Lord.

14d *I heard a voice from heaven*




7
bles - sed are the dead which die in the Lord.
bles - sed are the dead which die in the Lord.
bles - sed are the dead which die in the Lord.
bles - sed are the dead which die in the Lord.
10
Even so saith the spi - rit for they rest, for they
Even so saith the spi - rit for they rest, for they
Even so saith the spi - rit for they rest, for they
Even so saith the spi - rit for they rest, for they rest, for they
[♯]


rest from their la - bour, for they rest from their la - -
rest from their la - bour, for they rest from their la - -
rest from their la - bour, for they rest from their la - -
rest from their la - bour, for they rest___ from their la - -
bour, for they rest, for they rest from their la - - bour.
bour, for they rest, for they rest from their la - - bour.
bour, for they rest, for they rest from their__ la - - bour.
bour, for they rest, for they rest from their la - - bour.

15–25 Anthems

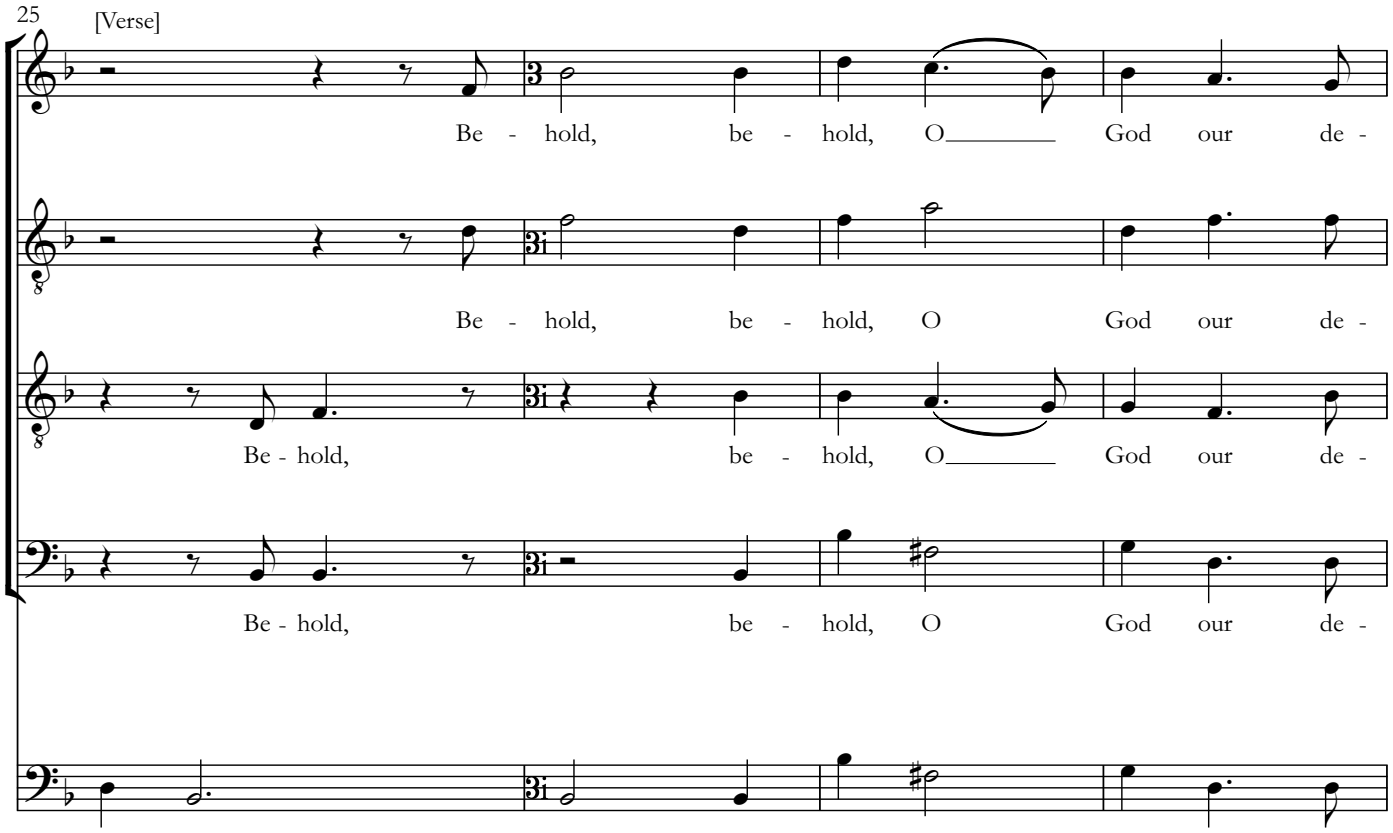
15 *Behold, O God our defender*

Psalm 84:9-10, 1

Synfonye




14
19
22


25
[Verse]
Be - hold, be - hold, O God our de -
Be - hold, be - hold, O God our de -
Be - hold, be - hold, O God our de -
Be - hold, be - hold, O God our de -

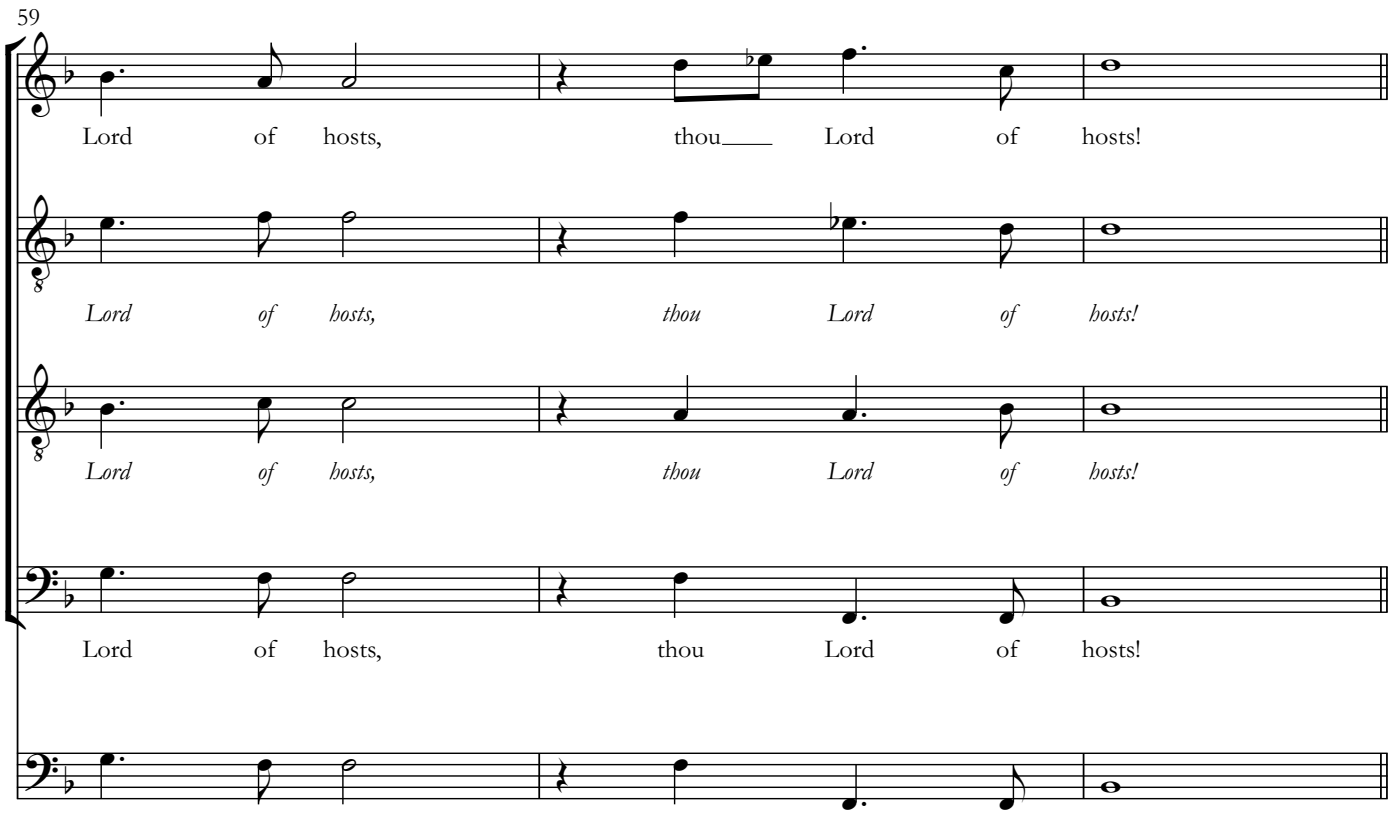

29
fen - - - - - - - - der, and look up -
fen - - - - - - - - der, and look up -
fen - - - - - - - - der, and look up -
fen - - - - - - - - der, and look up -


33
on the face of thine a - noint - -
on the face of thine a - noint - -
on the face of thine a - noint - -
on the face of thine a - noint - -
37
-ed. For one day in thy courts,
-ed. For one
-ed. For one
ed. For one day in thy courts, for one


41
for one day in thy courts: is
day in thy courts, for one day in thy courts: is
day in thy courts, for one day in thy courts: is
day in thy courts, for one day in thy courts: is
45
bet - ter than a thou - - sand.
bet - ter than a thou - - sand.
bet - ter than a thou - - sand.
bet - ter than a thou - - sand.


49
O how a - mi - a - ble, o how a - mi - a - ble are thy tab - er -
O how a - mi - a - ble, o how a - mi - a - ble are thy tab - er -
O how a - mi - a - ble, o how a - mi - a - ble are thy tab - er-
O how a - mi - a - ble, o how a - mi - a - ble are thy tab - er -
53
nac - les: thou Lord of hosts, thou Lord of hosts!
nac - les: thou Lord of hosts, thou Lord of hosts!
nac - les: thou Lord of hosts, thou Lord of hosts!
-nac - les: thou Lord of hosts, thou Lord of hosts!


56
Cho:
O how a - mi - a - ble are thy tab - er - na - cles: thou
Cho:
O how a - mi - a - ble are thy tab - er - na - cles: thou
Cho:
O how a - mi - a - ble are thy tab - er - na - cles: thou
Cho:
O how a - mi - a - ble are thy tab - er - na - cles: thou


59
Lord of hosts, thou Lord of hosts!
Lord of hosts, thou Lord of hosts!
Lord of hosts, thou Lord of hosts!
Lord of hosts, thou Lord of hosts!


62
Prelude
66
70
[Verse]
Al - - le - lu - ia, al - - le - lu - ia,
Al - - le - lu - ia, al - - le - lu - ia,


74
al - - - - - le - - - - - lu - - - ia,
al - - le - lu - - - - ia, al - - le -
77
al - - le - - lu - - - - ia
lu - - - ia, al - le - lu - - - ia.
80
Cho:
Al - - le - lu - - - - - ia.
Al - - le - lu - - - - - ia.
Al - - le - lu - - - - - ia.
Al - - le - lu - - - - - ia.


83
Ritor
Ritor
Ritor
Ritor
86
[Treble verse]
Al - le - lu - ia, al - le - - lu - ia.
90
Al - le -
[Bass verse]
Al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia,
94
lu - - - - - - - - - ia.
al - - le - lu - - - - - ia.


Cho:
Tr
Al - le - lu - - - ia. Al - le - lu - ia.
Ct
Al - le - lu - - - ia. Al - le - lu - ia.
T
Al - le - lu - - - ia. Al - le - lu - ia.
B
Al - le - lu - - - ia. Al - le - lu - ia.
BC
Ritor
105
[Treble verse]
Al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia,
109
al - le - lu - - ia, al - le - lu - ia.


114
[Bass verse]
Al - le - lu - ia, al - - le - lu - ia,
118
Al - le - lu - ia, al - - le - lu - ia.
al - le - lu - ia, al - le - - lu - - ia.
123
Cho:
Al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - - ia.
Al le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - - ia.
Al - le - lu - ia, al - le - - lu - - ia.
Al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia.

16 *Christ rising again*

Anthem for Easter Day, *Book of Common Prayer* (1552, 1559)




17
21
2d Prelude
25
29
33


38
[Treble 1 verse]
Christ ris - ing a - gain from the
42
dead,
[Treble 2 verse]
Christ ris - ing a - gain from the dead,
47
Christ ris - ing a - gain, Christ ris - ing a - gain from the dead
Christ ris - ing a - gain, Christ ris - ing a - gain from the dead
[Bass verse]
Christ ris - ing a - gain, Christ ris - ing a - gain from the dead,


51
[Ritor:]
now di - eth not,
now di - eth
55
[Ritor:]
now di - eth not.
not, now di - eth not.
now di - eth not


59
Death from hence - forth hath no pow'r up -
Death from hence - forth hath no pow'r up -
62
[Ritor:]
on him,
on him,
66
death from hence - forth hath no pow'r up - on him.
death from hence - forth hath no pow'r up - on him.
Death from hence - forth hath no pow'r, hath no pow - er up - on him.


71
[Ritor:]
Cho:
Tr
Death from_ hence-forth hath no pow'r up-on him, hath no pow'r up - on him.
Ct
Death from hence - forth hath no_ pow'r up - on him, hath no pow'r up - on_ him.
T
Death_ from hence - forth_ hath no pow'r up - on him, hath no pow'r up - on him.
B
Death from_ hence - forth_ hath no pow'r, hath no pow'r up - on him.
BC
79
[Treble 1 verse]
For in_ that he_ died, he died but


83
once to put a - way sin,
[Treble 2 verse]
For in that he died, he died but
87
once to put a - way sin,
[Bass verse]
For in
he
for in that he died, he
that he died, for in that he died, he


95
died but once to put a - way sin,
died but once to put a - - way sin.
died but once to put a - way sin,
100
[Ritor]
105
But in that he liv - eth he
He
but in that he liv - eth he


108
liv - eth un - - - to God.
liv - eth un - - - to God.
liv - eth un - - - to God.


Cho
Tr
And so like - wise count your - selves dead un - to sin, but
Ct
And so like - wise count your - selves dead un - to sin, but
T
And so like - wise count your - selves dead un - to sin, but
B
And so like - wise count your - selves dead un - to sin, but
BC


116
liv - ing un - to God in Christ Je - sus our Lord, in
liv - ing un - to God in Christ Je - sus our Lord, in
liv - ing un - to God in Christ Je - sus our Lord, in
liv - ing un - to God in Christ Je - sus our Lord, in
120
Christ Je - - sus our Lord.
Christ Je - - sus our Lord.
Christ Je - - sus our Lord.
Christ Je - - sus our Lord.

17 *Come let us pray and God will hear*

Paraphrase of Psalm 122

Prelude



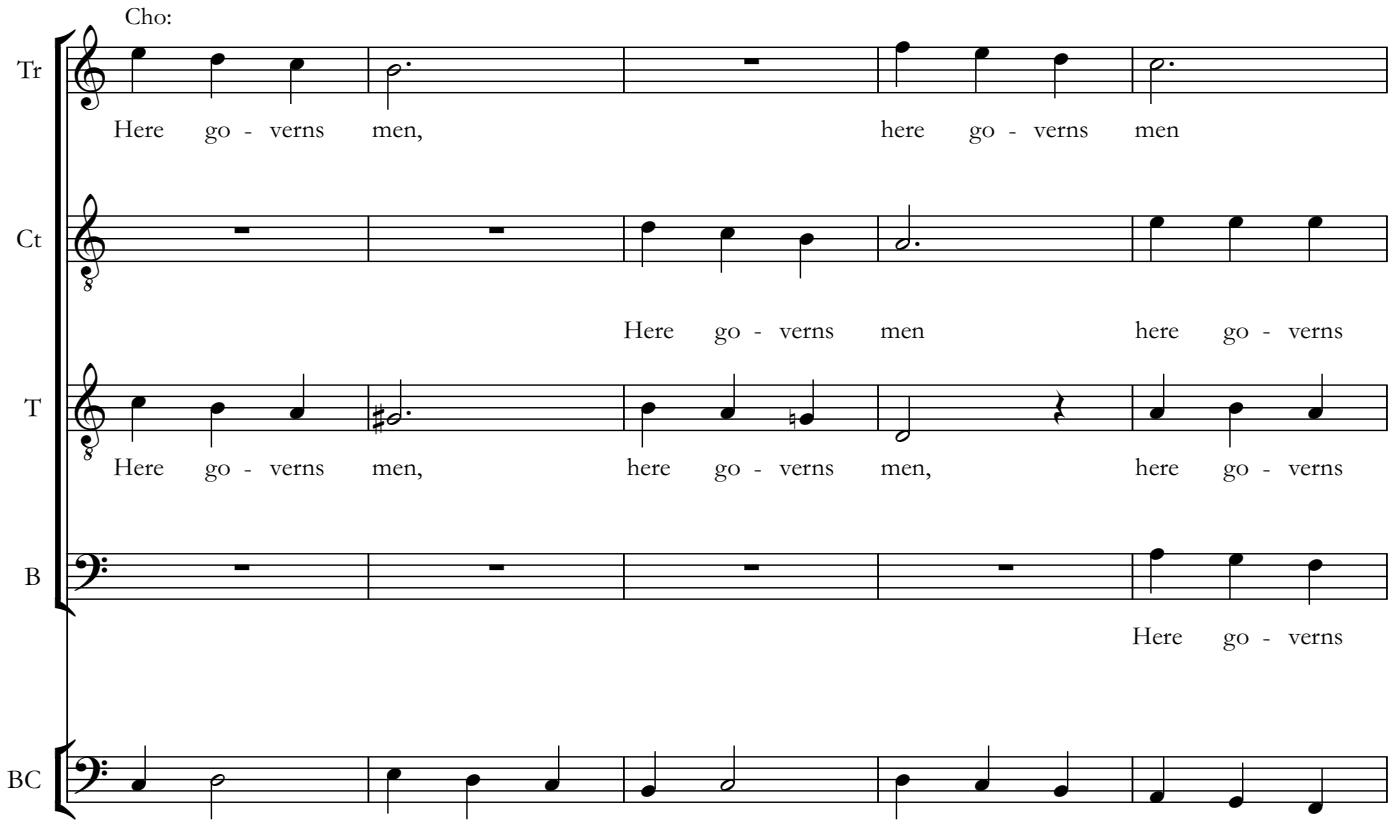

29
[Treble verse]
Come let us pray and God will hear.
[Bass verse]
Come let us
33
[Contra-tenor verse]
Come let us pray and God will
pray and God will hear.
37
[Treble verse]
Though weak our voice,
hear.
Though weak our voice,
42
though weak our voice our God is near.
though weak our voice our God is near.
Though weak our voice our God is near.

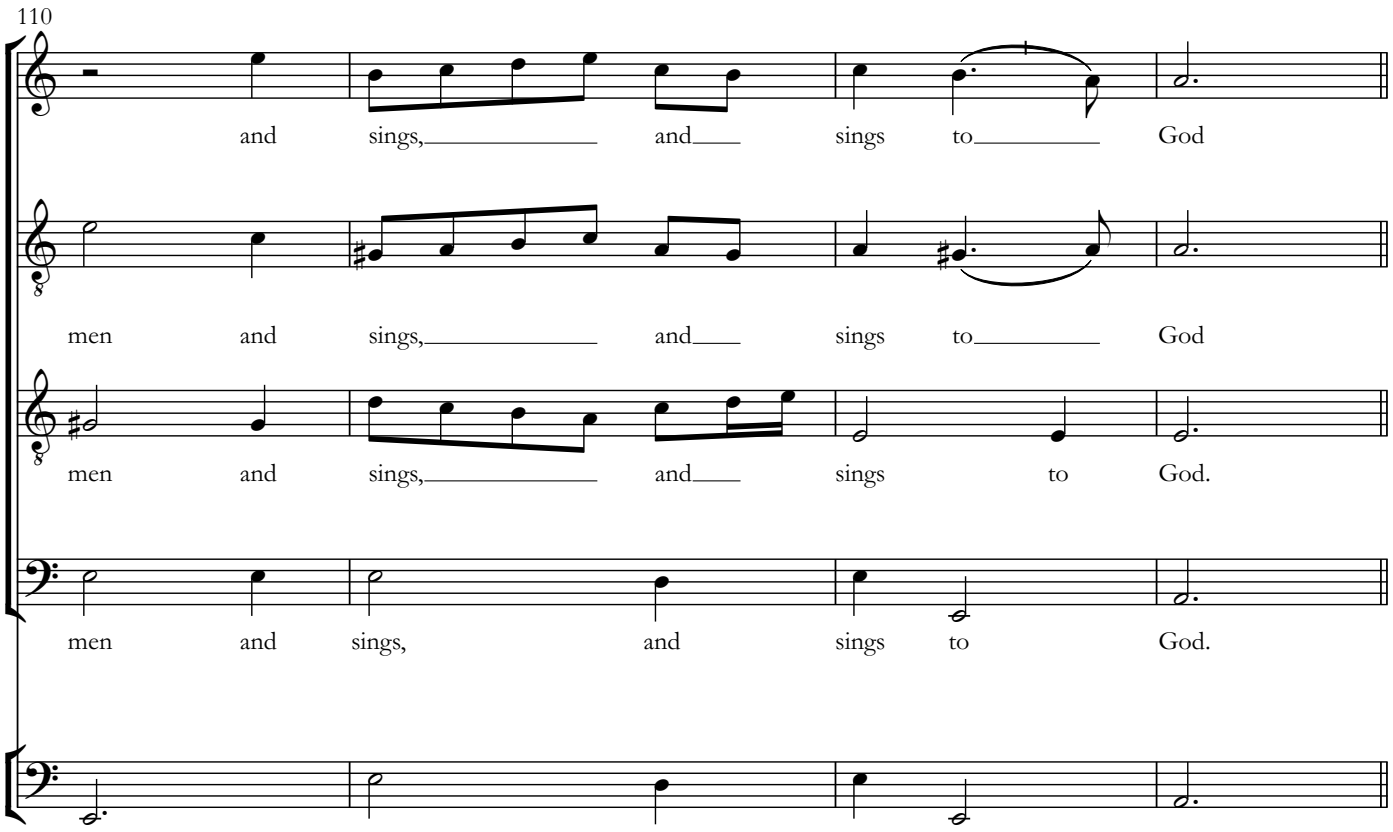

46
Come let us pray for Si - on's good, for
Come let us
Come
50
Si - on's peace doth our's in - - clude,
pray for Si - on's, Si - - on's good,
let us pray for Si - - on's good,
54
for Si - on's peace doth ours in -
for Si - on's
for Si - on's peace, Si - on's


57
clude, doth ours in - clude.
peace doth ours in - clude.
peace doth ours in - clude.
61
Ritor
65
71


77
[Treble verse]
Si - on o tis a Ro - - - - yal town de signed by na-ture for a throne.
81
Here the best gifts of Heav'n are joined,
85
law and re - - li - gion here com - bined
89
Here Da - vid makes his chief a - bode, his
[Contra-tenor verse]
Here Da - vid
makes his chief a -
[Bass verse]
Here Da - vid makes his


93
chief, his chief a - bode. Here go - verns
bode, his chief a - bode.
chief a - - bode.
97
men, here go - verns men
Here go - verns men here go - verns
Here go - verns, here go - verns
101
and sings and sings to God
men and sings and sings to God
men and sings, and sings to God.


Cho:
Tr
Here go - verns men, here go - verns men
Ct
Here go - verns men here go - verns
T
Here go - verns men, here go - verns men, here go - verns
B
Here go - verns
BC

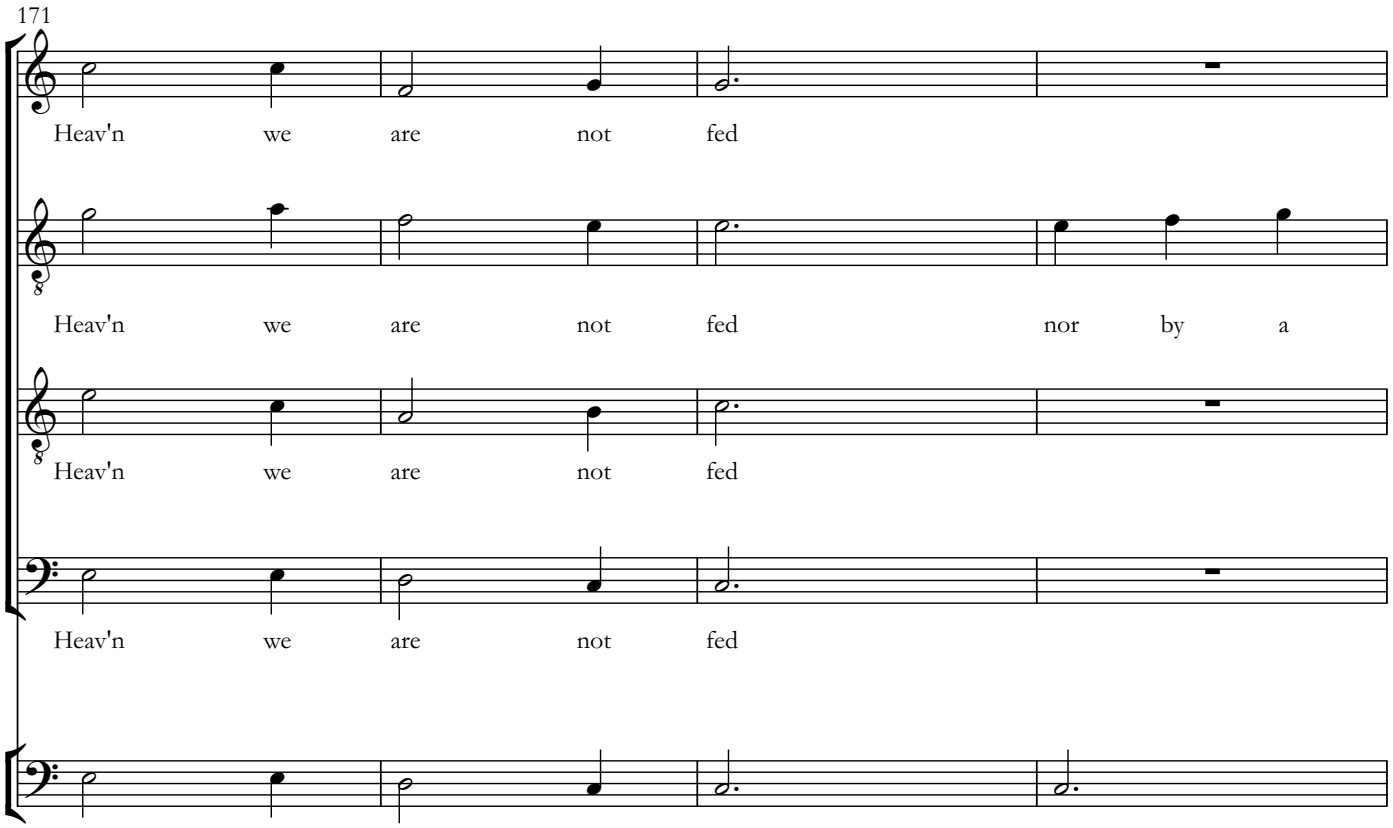

110
and sings, and sings to God
men and sings, and sings to God
men and sings, and sings to God.
men and sings, and sings to God.


114
Prelude
118
122

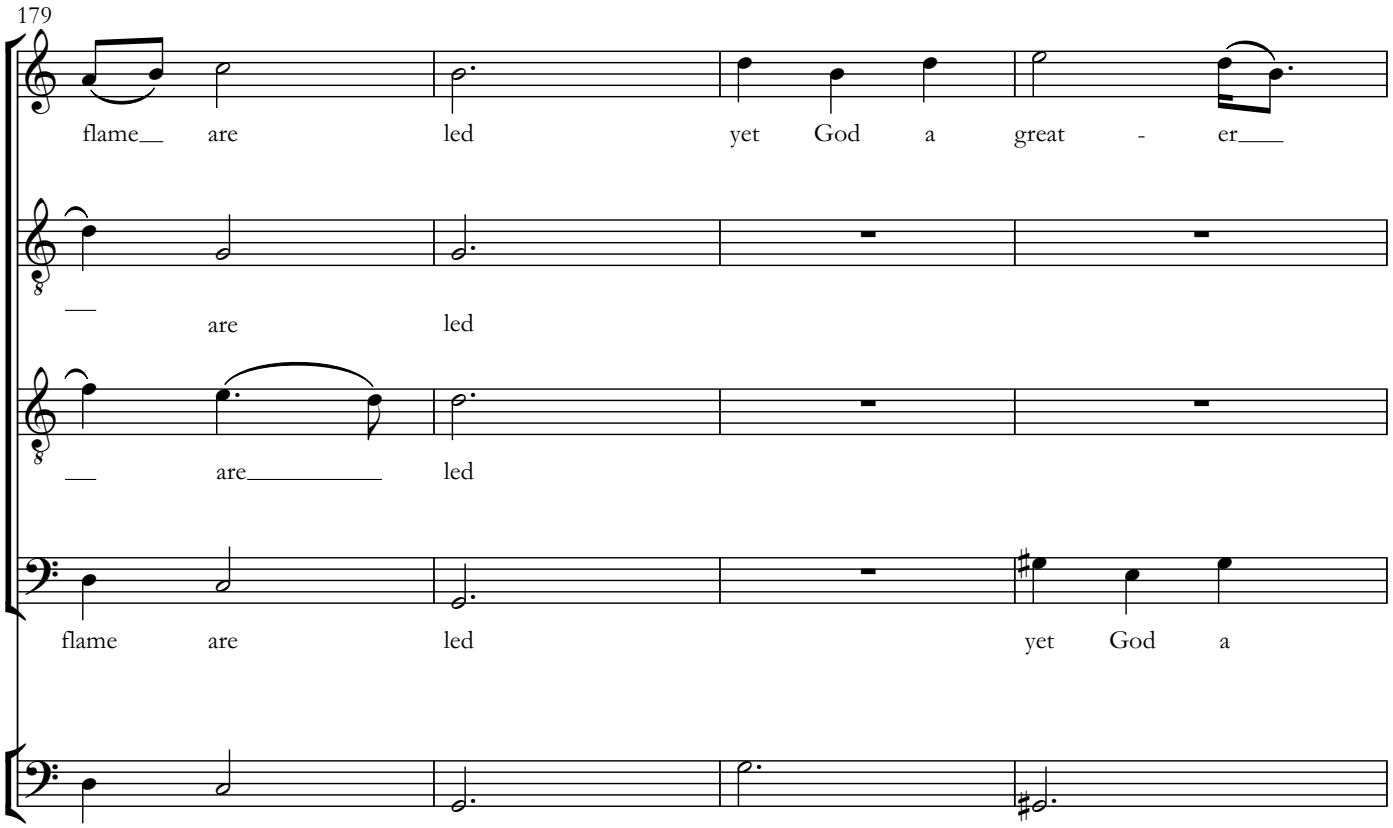

130
134
138
142

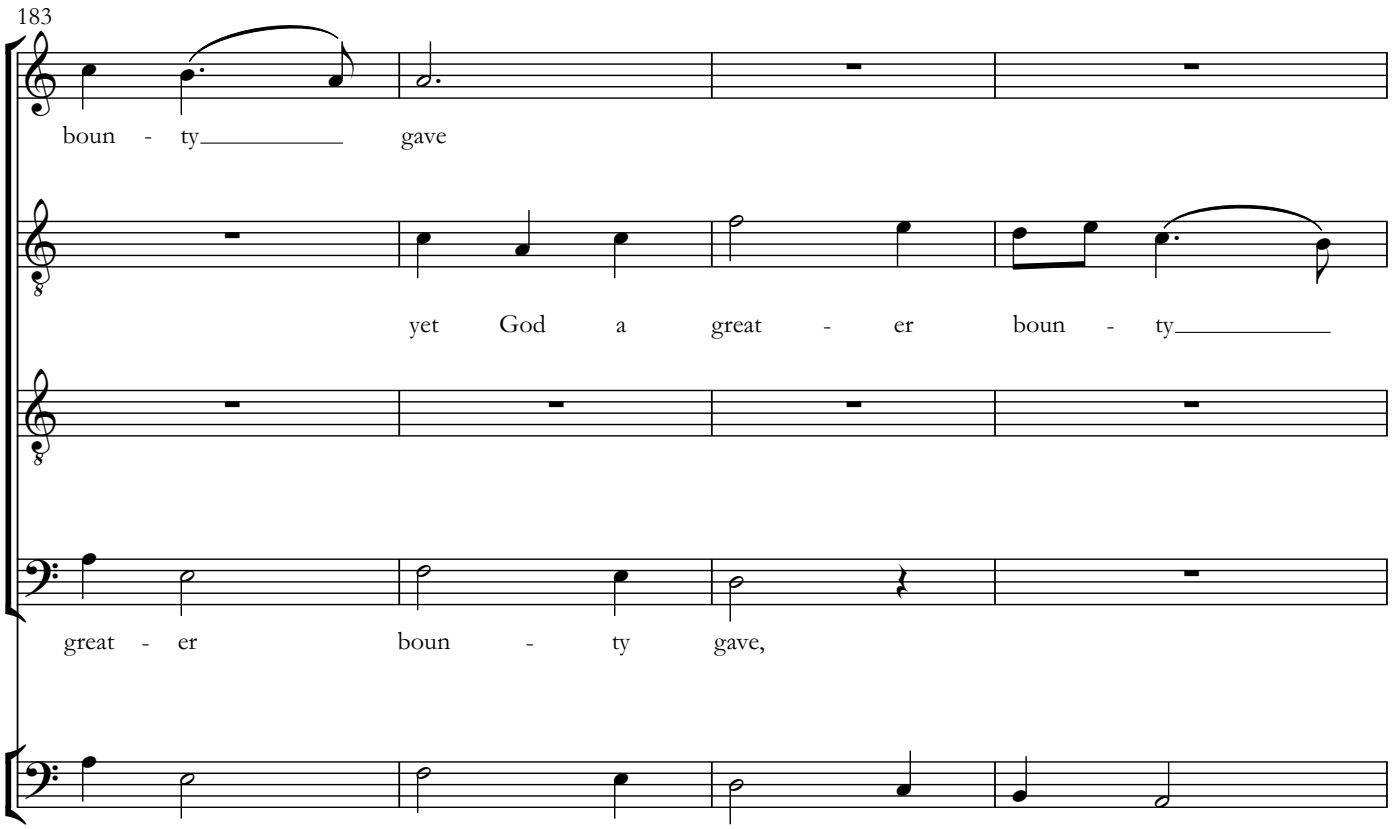

146
[Bass verse]
Hi - ther the num' rous tribes re- pair, God's might - y work here_ they de- clare,
150
and by their thanks for_____ bles- sings giv'n new bles-sing here ob - tain from Heav'n.
154
[Treble verse]
Bles - sings of peace who on us now
[Bass verse]
Bles - sings of peace who on us
158
by safe and gen - tle, gen - tle ways do flow.
now by safe and gen - tle ways____ do flow.


A 4 voc: [Semichorus]
Tr
Though here from Heav'n we are not fed
Though here from
Ct
Though here from
T
B
Though here from
BC
167
Though here from
Heav'n we are not fed, though here from
we are not fed, Though here from
Heav'n we are not fed, though here from

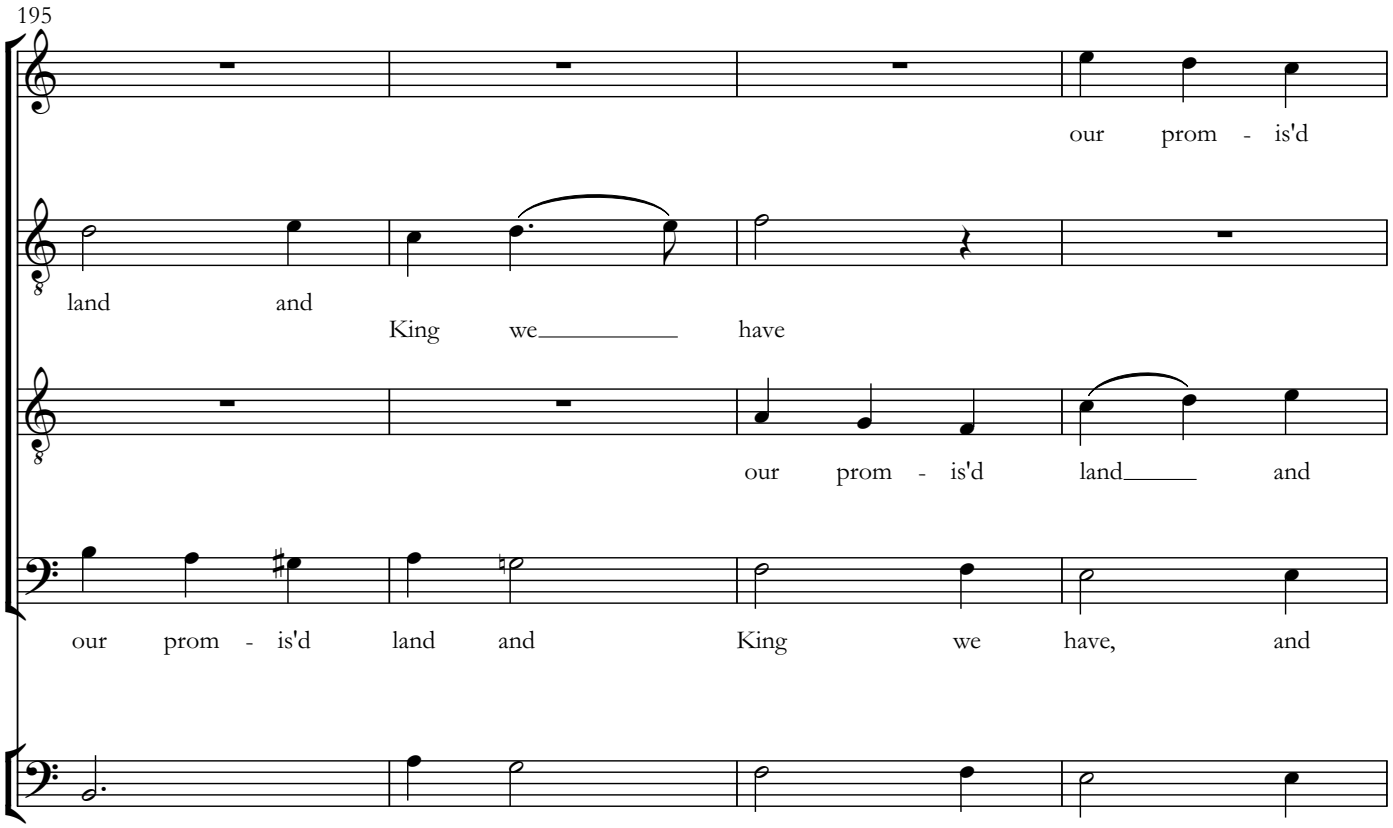

171
Heav'n we are not fed
Heav'n we are not fed nor by a
Heav'n we are not fed
Heav'n we are not fed

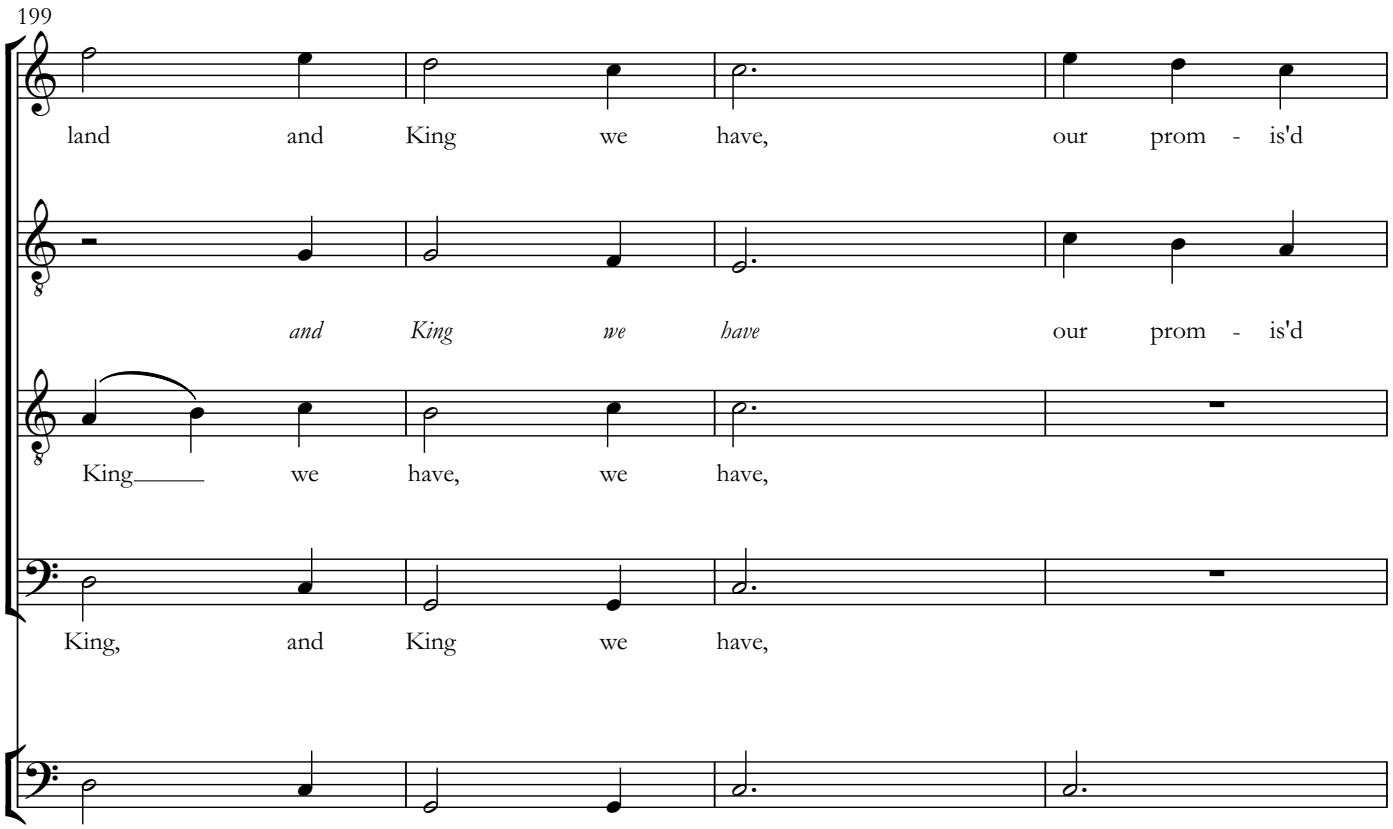

175
nor by a cloud or
cloud, nor by a cloud or flame
nor by a cloud or flame
nor by a cloud, nor by a cloud or

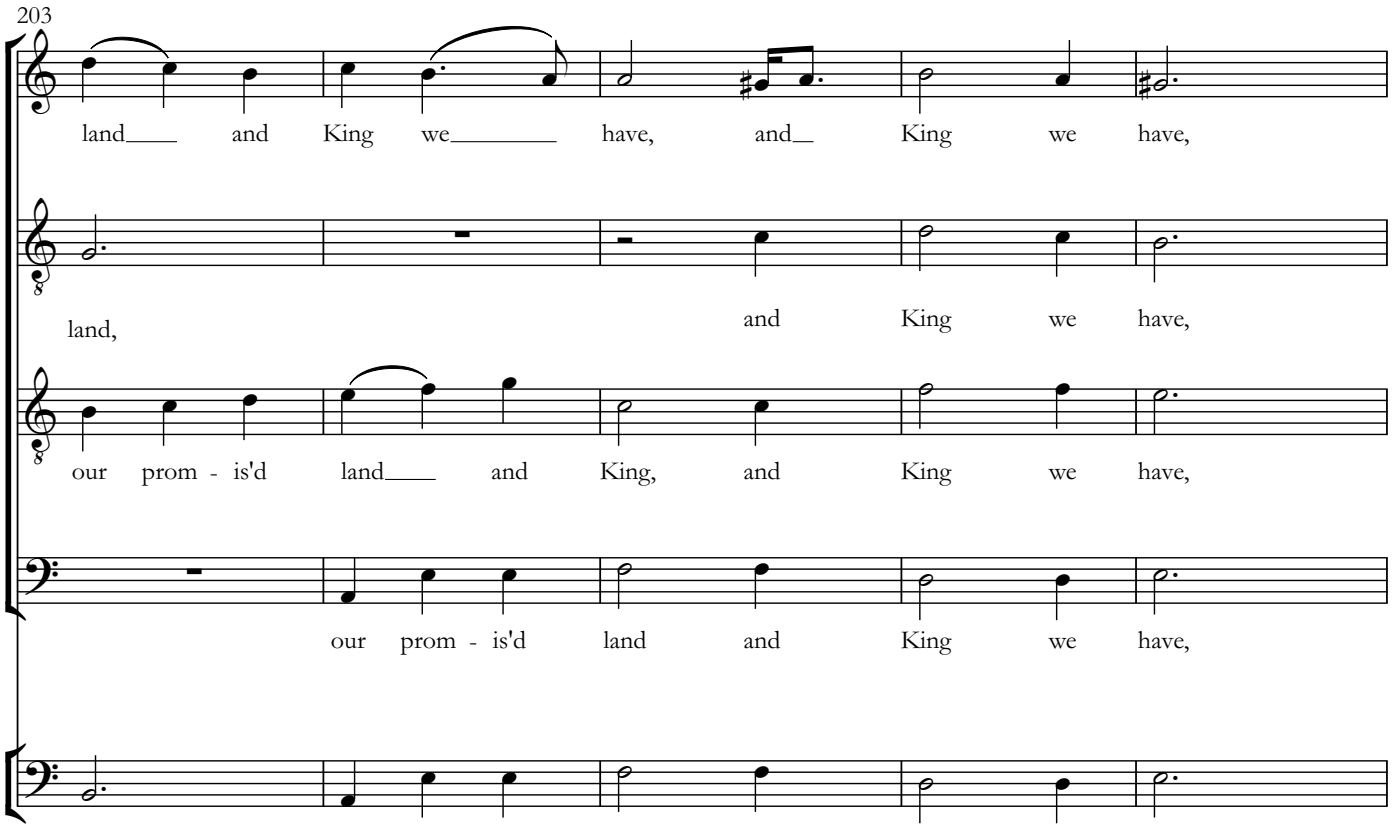

179
flame are led yet God a great - er
are led
are led
flame are led yet God a


183
boun - ty gave
yet God a great - er boun - ty
great - er boun - ty gave,

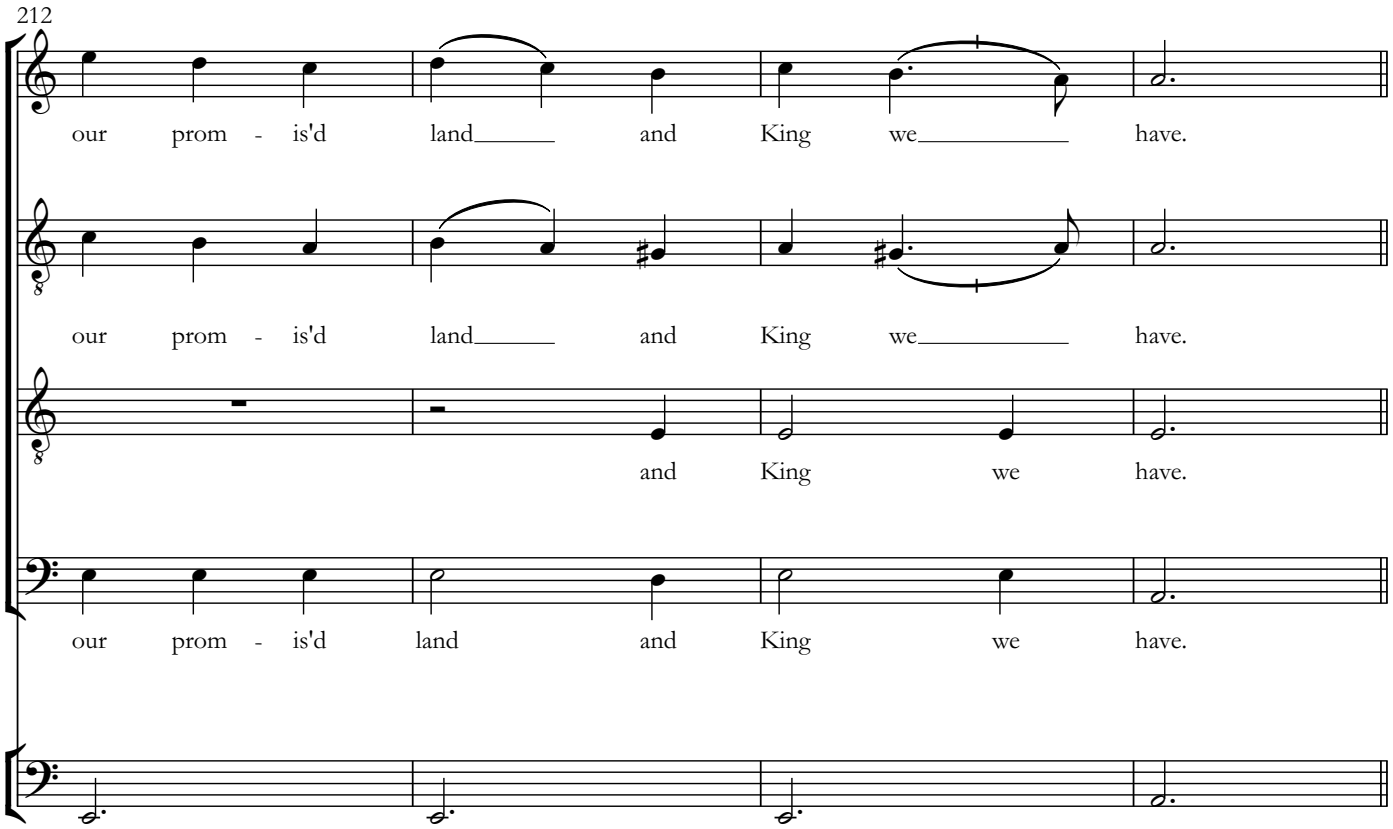

187
yet God a
gave
yet God a
yet God a great - er boun - ty gave, a
yet God a great - er boun - ty gave, a
great - er boun - ty gave,
great - er boun - ty gave, our prom - is'd
great - er boun - ty gave,
great - er boun - ty gave,


195
our prom - is'd
land and
King we have
our prom - is'd land and
our prom - is'd land and King we have, and

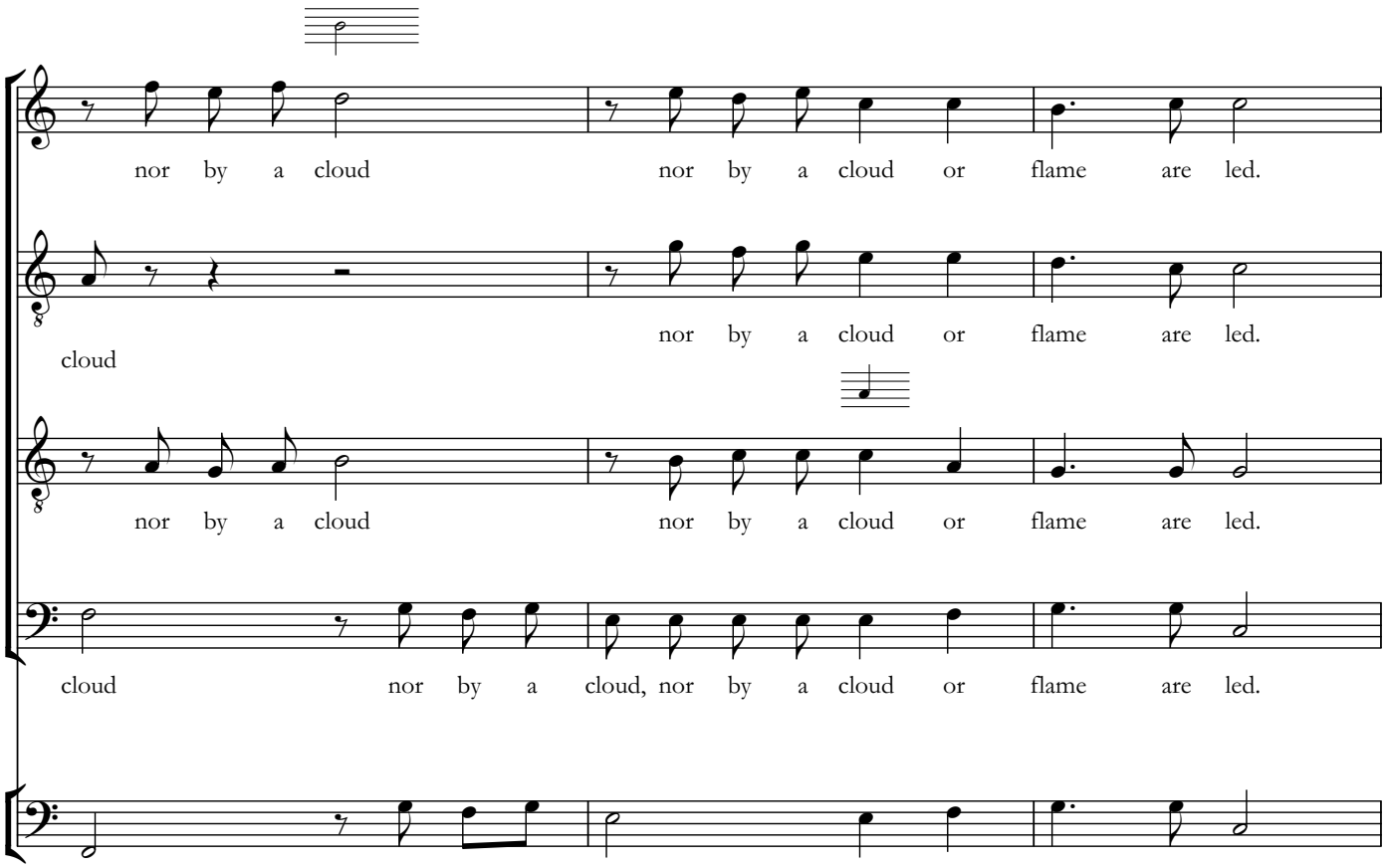

199
land and King we have, our prom - is'd
and King we have our prom - is'd
King we have, we have,
King, and King we have,

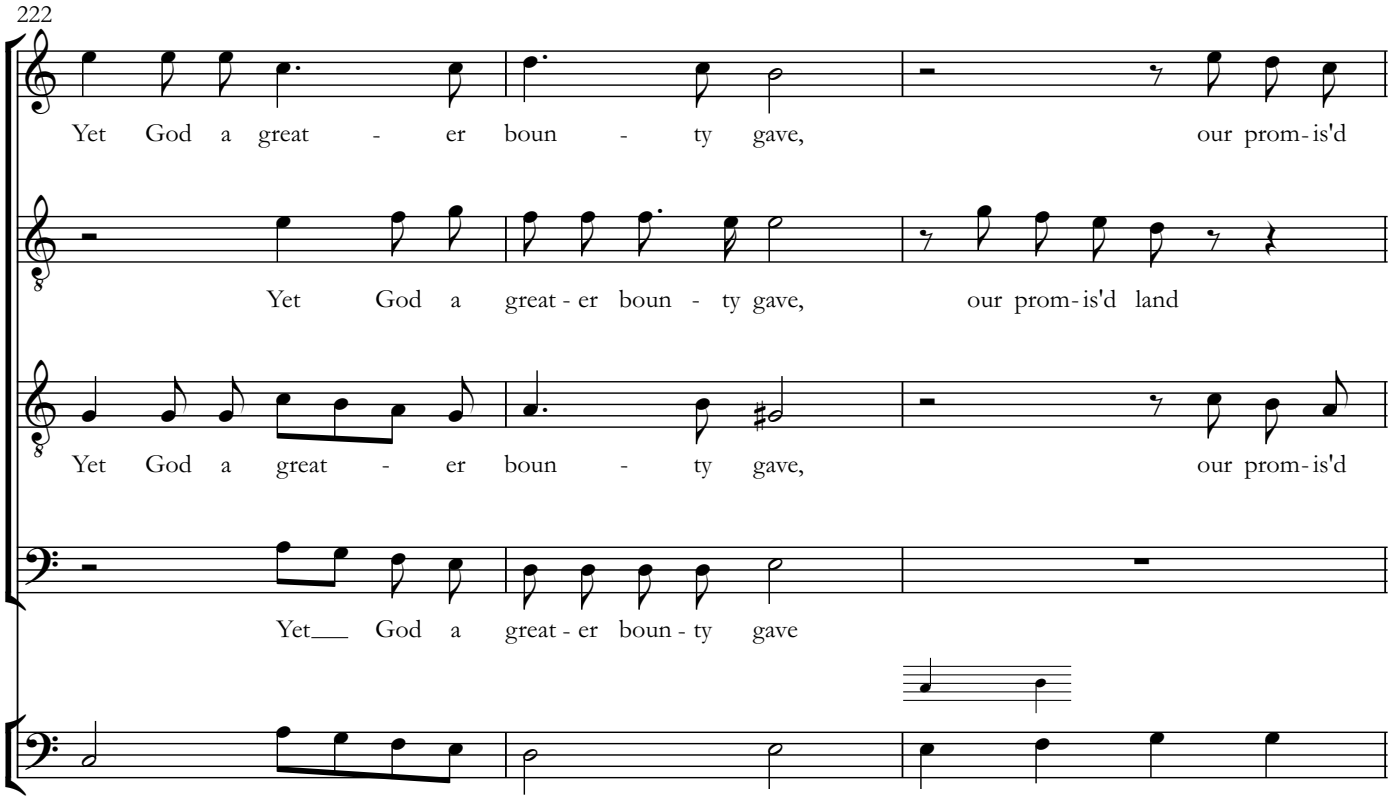

203
land and King we have, and King we have,
land, and King we have,
our prom - is'd land and King, and King we have,
our prom - is'd land and King we have,

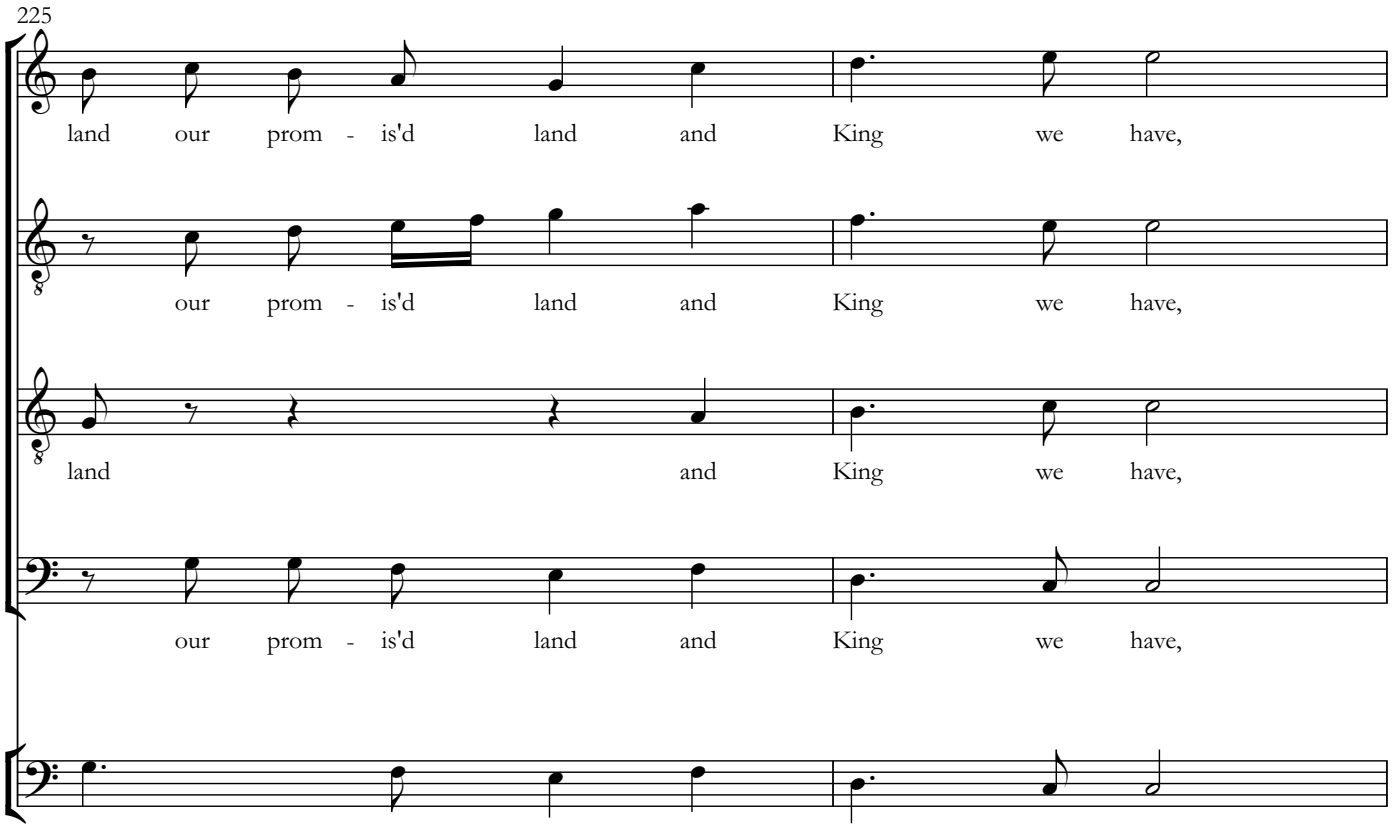

208
our prom - is'd land,
our prom - is'd land and King,
our prom - is'd land
our prom - is'd land,

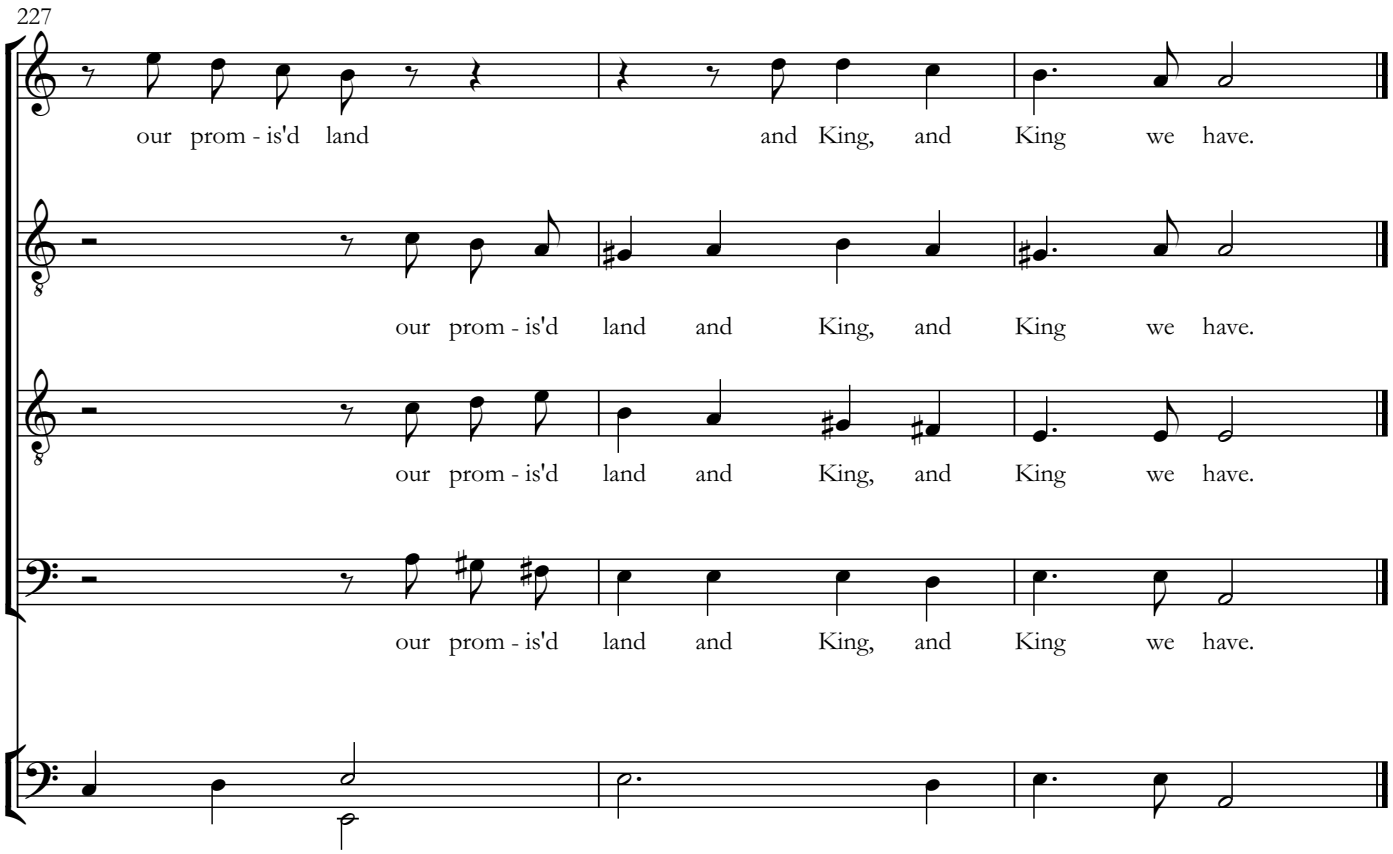

212
our prom - is'd land and King we have.
our prom - is'd land and King we have.
and King we have.
our prom - is'd land and King we have.


216
Cho:
Though here from Heav'n we are not fed,
Though here from Heav'n we are not fed, nor by a
Though here from Heav'n we are not fed, nor by a cloud
Though here from Heav'n we are not fed, nor by a cloud, nor by a


nor by a cloud nor by a cloud or flame are led.
cloud
nor by a cloud or flame are led.
nor by a cloud nor by a cloud or flame are led.
cloud nor by a cloud, nor by a cloud or flame are led.


222
Yet God a great - er boun - ty gave, our prom-is'd
Yet God a great-er boun - ty gave, our prom-is'd land
Yet God a great - er boun - ty gave, our prom-is'd
Yet___ God a great-er boun-ty gave


225
land our prom - is'd land and King we have,
our prom - is'd land and King we have,
land and King we have,
our prom - is'd land and King we have,


227
our prom - is'd land and King, and King we have.
our prom - is'd land and King, and King we have.
our prom - is'd land and King, and King we have.
our prom - is'd land and King, and King we have.

18 *O give thanks unto the Lord*

Psalm 105:1-7




17
to the Lord, and call, and call up - on his name:
to the Lord, and call, and call up - on his name:
to the Lord, and call, and call up - on his name:
and call up - on his name:
and call up - on his name:
and call up - on his name: tell the
21
tell the peo - ple, tell the peo - ple the
tell the peo - ple, tell the peo - ple the
tell the peo - ple the
tell the peo - ple what things he hath done tell the peo - ple, tell the peo - ple the
tell the peo - ple what things he hath done, tell the peo - ple, tell the peo - ple the
peo - ple what things he hath done, tell the peo - ple, tell the peo - ple what


25
things he hath done.
O let your
things he hath done.
O let your
things he hath done.
O let your
things he hath done.
things he hath done.
things he hath done.
O let your songs be of him, and praise him.
29
songs be of him, and praise him.
Cho:
And praise him:
songs be of him, and praise him.
Cho:
And praise him:
songs be of him, and praise him.
Cho:
And praise him:
Cho:
And praise him:
Cho:
And praise him:
Cho:
And praise him:


33
Cho:
And praise him:
Cho:
And praise him:
Cho:
And praise him:
Cho:
O let your talk - ing be of him, and praise him, and praise him:
Cho:
O let your talk - ing be of him, and praise him, and praise him:
Cho:
O let your talk - ing be of him, and praise him, and praise him:


38
and let your talk-ing be of all his won-d'rous works, and let your talk-ing be of
and let your talk-ing be of all his won - d'rous works, and let your talk-ing be of
and let your talk-ing be of all his won-d'rous works,
and let your talk-ing be of all his won-d'rous works,
and let your talk-ing be of all his won-d'rous works, and let your talk-ing be of
and let your talk-ing be of all his won-d'rous works, and let your talk-ing be of


42
Cho:
all his won - d'rous works, his won - d'rous works, his won - d'rous works.
Cho:
all his won - d'rous works, his won - d'rous works, his won - d'rous works.
Cho:
his won - d'rous works, his won - d'rous works.
Cho:
his won - d'rous works, his won - d'rous works.
Cho:
all his won - d'rous works, his won - d'rous works, his won - d'rous works.
Cho:
all his won - d'rous works, his won - d'rous works, his won - d'rous works.
46
Vers
Re - joice in his ho - - - ly


49
Re -
Re -
Re -
Re - joice in his ho - ly name:
Re - joice in his ho - ly name:
name,
re -
53
joice in his ho - - ly name:
joice in his ho - - - - - ly name:
joice in his ho - - - - - ly name:
joice in his ho - - - - ly name:


56
Let the heart of them re - - joice that
Let the heart of them re - - joice that
Let the heart of them re - - joice that
60
let the heart of
let the heart of
let the heart of
seek the Lord, let the heart of
seek the Lord, let the heart of
seek the Lord, let the heart of


63
them re - - joice that seek the Lord.
them re - - joice that seek the Lord.
them re - joice that seek the Lord.
them re - - joice that seek the Lord.
them re - joice that seek the Lord.
them re - joice that seek the Lord.
67
Seek the Lord and his strength, seek the Lord and his strength:
Seek the Lord and his strength: seek his
Seek the Lord and his strength:
Seek the Lord and his strength: seek his
Seek the Lord,
Seek the Lord and his strength, and his strength: seek the Lord,

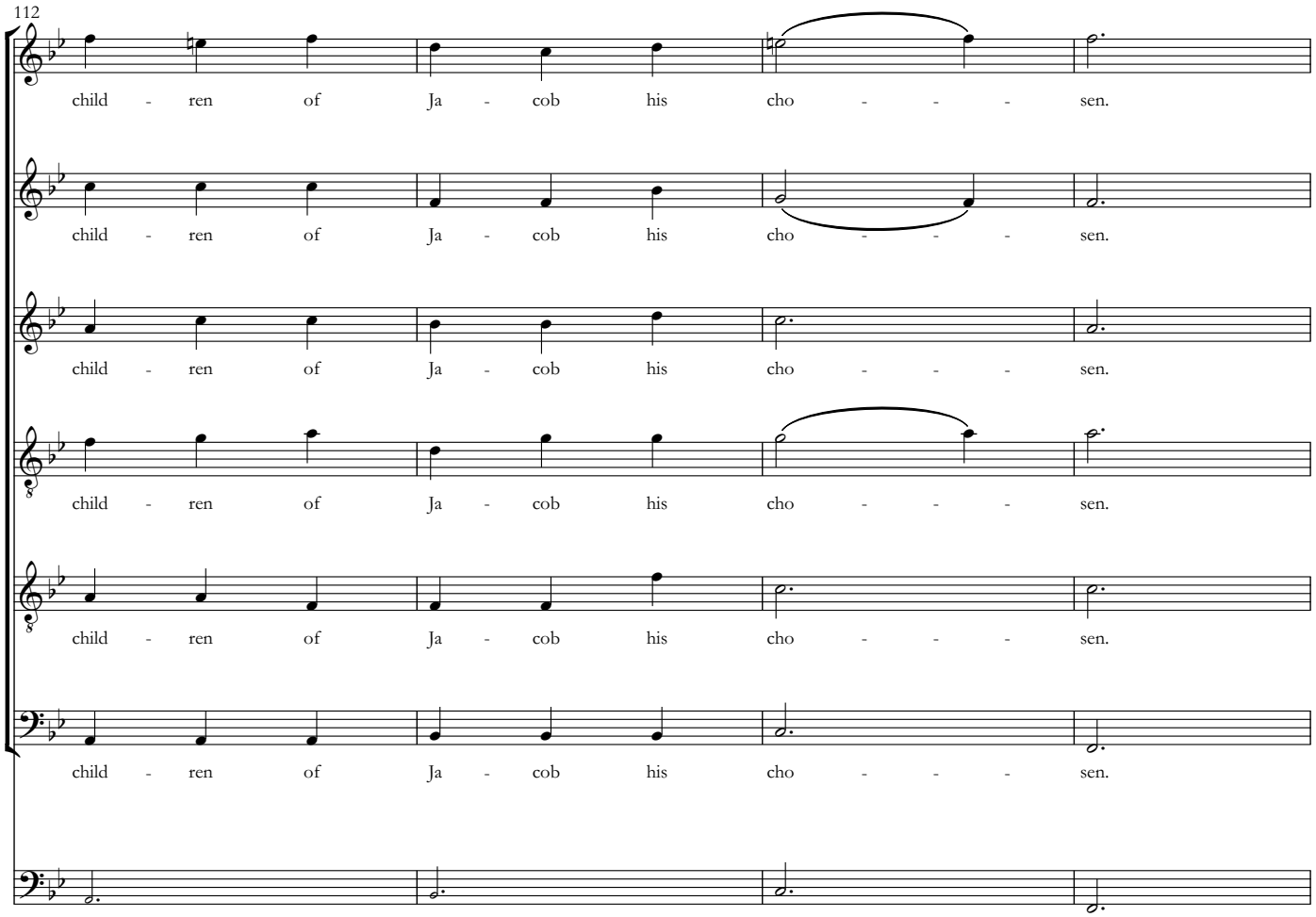

70
seek his face ev - er - more, ev - er - more.
face ev - er - more, seek his face ev - er - more.
seek his face, seek his face ev - er - more.
face, seek his face ev - er - more.
seek his face, seek his face ev - er - more.
seek his face ev - er - more, ev - er - more.
73
Synfonye
77
81


[Verse]
Tr1
[Verse]
Tr2
[Verse]
Tr3
[Verse]
Ct
Re -
[Verse]
T
Re -
[Verse]
B
Re - mem - ber the mar - vel - lous works that he hath done,
BC
88
mem - ber the mar - vel - lous works that he hath
mem - ber the mar - vel - lous works that he hath


90
Re - mem - ber the mar - vel - lous works that he hath done:
Re - mem - ber the mar - vel - lous works that he hath done:
Re - mem - ber the mar - vel - lous works that he hath done:
done, the mar - vel - lous works that he hath done:
done, the mar - vel - lous works that he hath done:
the mar - vel - lous works that he hath done:
93
his won - ders, and the judge-ments of his mouth,
and the judge-ments of his mouth,
and the judge-ments of his mouth,
his won - ders, and the judge-ments of his
his won - ders, and the judge-ments of his
his won - ders, his won - ders, and the judge-ments of his


97
of his mouth.
and the judge - ments of his mouth, of his mouth.
and the judge - ments of his mouth, of his mouth.
mouth, of his mouth.
mouth, of his mouth.
mouth, and the judge - ments of his mouth, of his mouth.
100
O ye seed of A - - bra - ham his
O ye seed of A - - bra - ham his
O ye seed of A - - bra - ham his


ser - - vant:
ser - - vant:
ser - - vant:
O ye seed of A - - bra -
O ye seed of A - - bra -
O ye seed of A - - bra -
108
ye
ye
ye
ham his ser - - - vant: ye
ham his ser - - - vant: ye
ham his ser - - - vant: ye


112
child - ren of Ja - cob his cho - - - sen.
child - ren of Ja - cob his cho - - - sen.
child - ren of Ja - cob his cho - - - sen.
child - ren of Ja - cob his cho - - - sen.
child - ren of Ja - cob his cho - - - sen.
child - ren of Ja - cob his cho - - - sen.


116
He___ is the Lord our___ God, He is the Lord our_____
He___ is the Lord our___ God, He is the Lord_____
He is the Lord our___ God, He___ is the Lord_____
He___ is the Lord our___ God, He is the Lord_____
He___ is the Lord our___ God, the
He is the


120
God: his judge - ments are in all the world,
our God: his judge - ments are in all the world,
our God: his judge - ments are in all the world,
our God:
Lord our God:
Lord our God:
123
his judge - ments
his judge - ments
his judge - ments
his judge - ments are in all the world,
his judge - ments are in all the world,
his judge - ments are in all the world,


126
are, his judge - ments are, his judge - ments are in all the world.
are, his judge - ments are in all the world.
are, his judge - ments are, his judge - ments are in all the world.
his judge - ments are in all the world.
his judge - ments are, his judge - ments are, his judge - ments are in all the world.
his judge - ments are, his judg - ments are in all the world.
Cho:
Tr1
O ye seed of A - bra - ham his
Cho:
Tr2
O ye seed of A - bra - ham his
Cho:
Ct
O ye seed of A - bra - ham his
Cho:
T
O ye seed of A - bra - ham his
Cho:
B1
O ye seed of A - bra - ham his
Cho:
B2
O ye seed of A - bra - ham his
BC


ser - - - - - vant: ye child - ren, ye
ser - - - - - vant: ye child - ren, ye
ser - - - - - vant: ye
ser - - - - - vant: ye child - ren, ye
ser - - - - - vant: ye
ser - - - - - vant: ye child - ren of Ja - cob his


135
child - ren of Ja - - cob his cho - - sen.
child - ren of Ja - - cob his cho - - sen.
child - ren of Ja - - cob his cho - - sen.
child - ren of Ja - - cob his cho - - sen.
child - ren of Ja - - cob his cho - - sen.
cho - sen, of Ja - - cob his cho - - sen.


138
He is the Lord our God: his judge - ments
He is the Lord our God: his judge - ments
He is the Lord our God:
He is the Lord, He is the Lord our God:
He is the Lord, he is the Lord our God: his judge - ments
He is the Lord, he is the Lord our God:
141
are, his judge - ments are, his judge - ments are in all the world.
are, his judge - ments are in all the world.
his judge - ments are in all the world.
his judge - ments are, his judge - ments are, his judge - ments are in all the world.
are, his judge - ments are, his judge - ments are, his judge - ments are in all the world.
his judge - ments are in all the world.

19 *O Lord thou hast searched me out*

Psalm 139:1-10

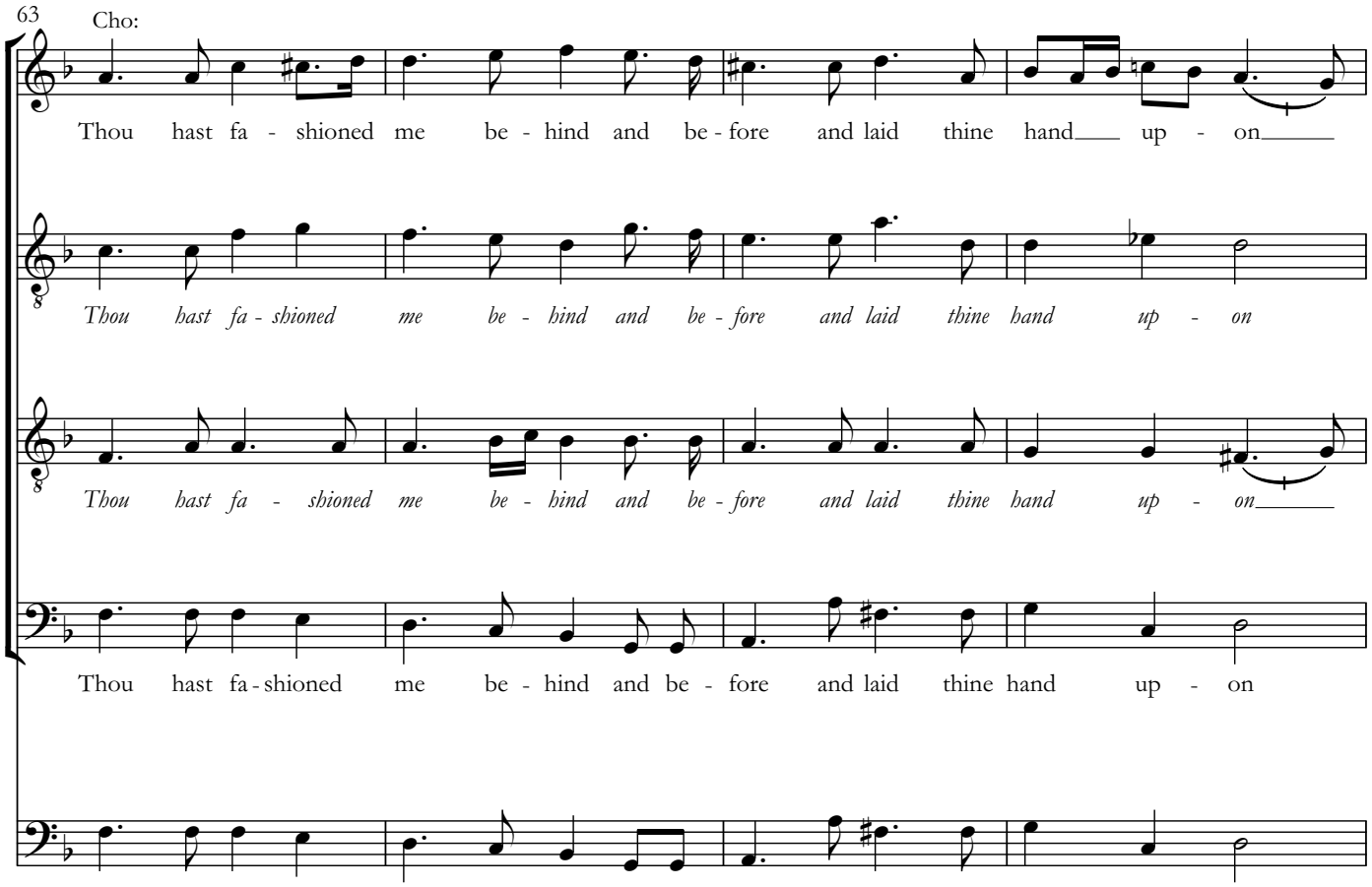


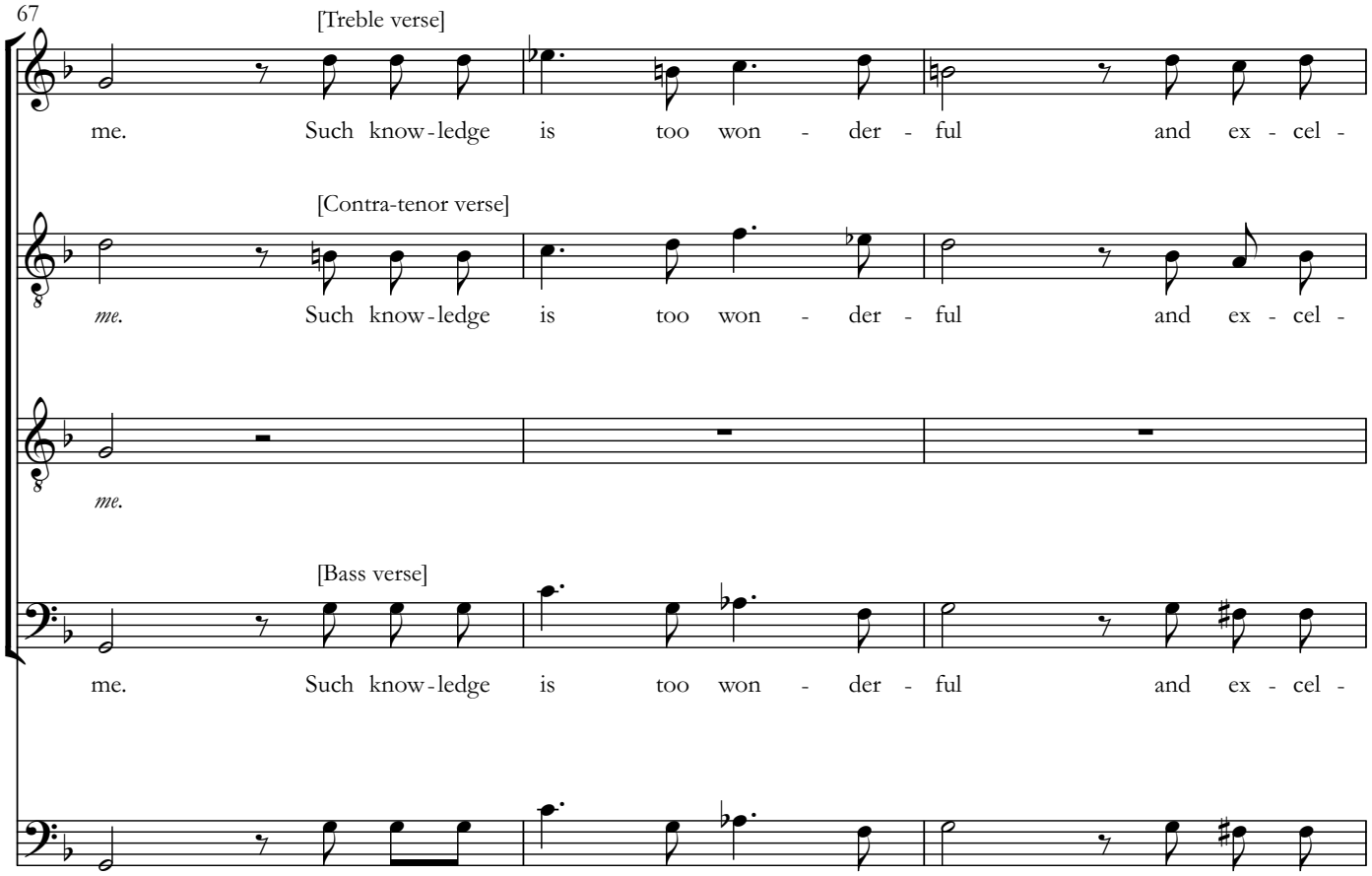

14
18
22


26
drag
31
[Contra-tenor verse]
O Lord
36
thou hast search - ed me out and known me, thou know'st my down sit - ting


40
and my up - ris - - ing, thou und - er - stand - est my thoughts
43
long be - fore, long be - fore, long be - -
46
[Ritornello]
fore.
Thou art a - bout
[Bass verse]
Thou art a - bout


50
my path and a - bout my bed, and spis't, and spis't out all my ways for
my path and a - bout my bed, and spis't, and spis't out all my ways for
54
lo there is not a word in my tongue but thou O Lord,
lo there is not a word in my tongue but thou O Lord,
58
but thou O Lord know'st it al - to - ge - - - - - ther.
but thou O Lord know'st it al - to - ge - - - - - ther.


63
Cho:
Thou hast fa - shioned me be - hind and be - fore and laid thine hand up - on
Thou hast fa - shioned me be - hind and be - fore and laid thine hand up - on
Thou hast fa - shioned me be - hind and be - fore and laid thine hand up - on
Thou hast fa - shioned me be - hind and be - fore and laid thine hand up - on


67
[Treble verse]
me. Such know - ledge is too won - der - ful and ex - cel -
[Contra-tenor verse]
me. Such know - ledge is too won - der - ful and ex - cel -
me.
[Bass verse]
me. Such know - ledge is too won - der - ful and ex - cel -


70
lent for me, and ex - cel - lent for me, and ex - cel - lent
lent for me, and ex - cel - lent for me, and ex - cel - lent
lent for me, and ex - cel - lent for me, and ex - cel - lent
73
Ritornello
Cho
for me. I
for me. I
I
for me. I

77

can - not at-tain un - to it, I *can - not at - tain un - to it, I can - not at* - tain_ un - to it.

can - not at-tain un - to it, I can - not at - tain un - to it, I can - not at - tain_ un - to it.

can - not at-tain un - to it, I can - not at - tain un - to it, I can - not at - tain un - to it.

can - not at-tain un - to it, I *can - not at - tain un - to it,* I can - not at - tain un - to it.

82 Sinphony Slow

86


90
Quick time
95
99


103
107
drag
112


117
[Contra-tenor verse]
Whe-ther shall I go then from thy spi - rit, Whe-ther shall I go then from thy spi - rit, or
[Bass verse]
Whe-ther shall I go then from thy spi - rit, or
121
whe-ther shall I go there from thy pre-sence, if I climb up in - to heav'n,
whe-ther shall I go there from thy pre-sence, if I climb up in - to
125
if I climb up in - to heav'n. Thou art there if I go
heav'n, if I climb up in - to heav'n. Thou art there if I go


129
down to hell, thou art there al - so if I take the wings of the
down to hell, thou art there al - so if I take the wings of the
133
morn - ing and re - main in the ut - most parts of the sea, e'en there al - so
morn - ing and re - main in the ut - most parts of the sea, e'en there al - so
137
shall thy hand lead me and thy right hand shall hold me.
shall thy hand lead me and thy right hand shall hold me.


141
Cho:
E'en there al - so shall thy right hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold
E'en there al - so shall thy right hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold
E'en there al - so shall thy right hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold
E'en there al - so shall thy right hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold
145
me, and thy right hand shall hold me, and thy right hand shall hold me.
me, and thy right hand shall hold me, and thy right hand shall hold me.
me, and thy right hand shall hold me, and thy right hand shall hold me.
me, and thy right hand shall hold me, and thy right hand shall hold me.

20 *Put me not to rebuke*

Psalm 38:1-9, 21-22




13
17
21


25
[Treble verse]
Put me not to re - buke O Lord in thine an - ger, nei-ther chas - ten me in thy
29
hea - vy dis-plea - sure, nei-ther chas ten me in thy hea - vy dis- plea - sure.
33
For thine ar - rows stick fast in me, stick
[Bass verse]
For thine ar - rows stick
37
fast in me and thy hand, and thy
fast in me and thy hand, and thy hand, and thy


41
hand pres - seth me sore. There is no health in my
hand pres - seth me sore.
45
flesh, in my
There is no health in my flesh, in my
49
flesh be - cause of thy dis - plea - sure,
flesh,


53
be - cause of thy dis - plea - - sure.
be - cause of thy dis - plea - - sure.
58
Nei-ther is there an - y rest in my bones, by rea-son
Nei-ther is there an - y rest in my bones by rea-son
62
of my sin, by rea - son of my sin.
of my sin, by rea - son of my sin


66
[Treble verse]
For my wic - ked - ness are gone
70
ov - er my head,
[Bass verse]
For my
74
wic - ked - ness are gone ov - er
78
ov - - er
my head, ov - er my head, ov -


82
my head and are like a sore
er my head.
86
bur - den too hea - vy for me to bear
and are like a sore
90
bur - den to hea - vy for me to bear,
93
[Treble verse]
I am brought in - to so gret trou - ble and mi - se - ry.


97
That I go mourn - ing, that I go mourn - -
[Bass verse]
That I go mourn - ing, that I go
101
- - - - - - - - - - - - -
mourn - - - - - - - - - - -
105
- - - - - ing all the day
- - - - - ing all the day


109
long. that I go mourn - ing,
long, that I go mourn - ing, that I go
113
that I go mourn - - - - - - - - -
mourn - - - - - - - - - - -
117
- - ing all the day long
- - ing all the day long

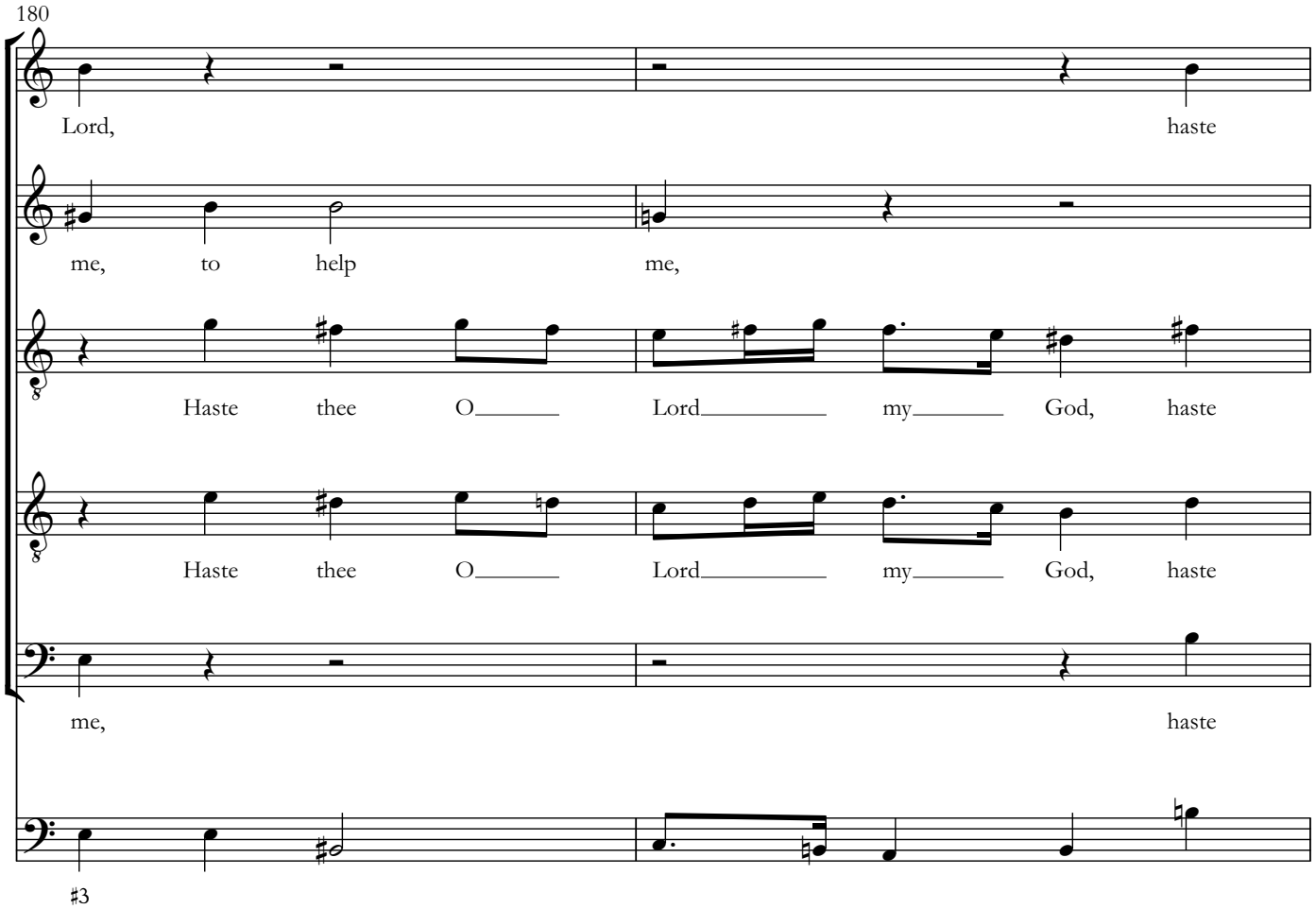

121
The first Sinphony
125
129

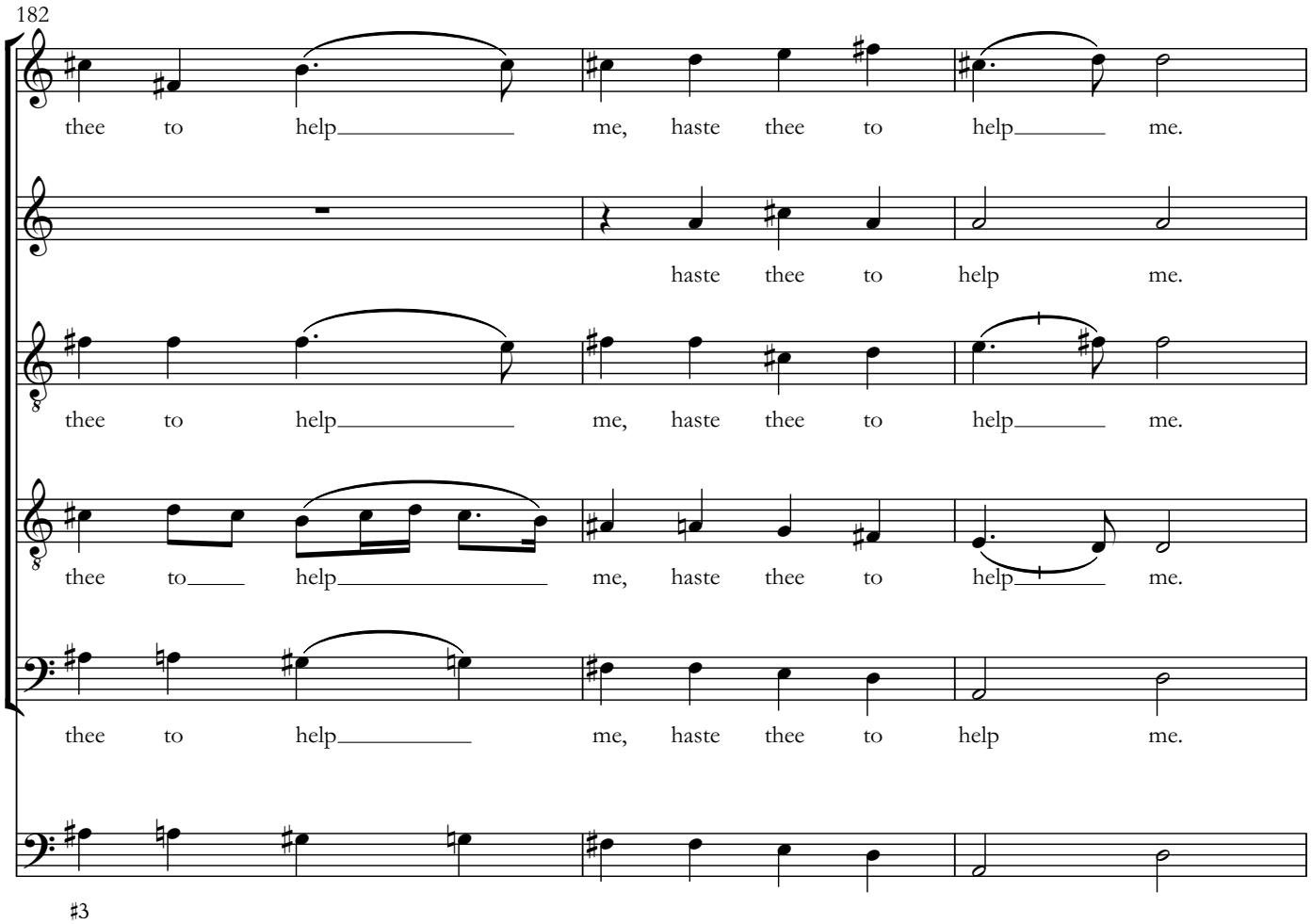

133
137
141


Vers a 5. parts
Tr1
Lord thou know'st my de - sire, my de - sire, Lord thou know'st my de - sire,
Tr2
Lord thou know'st my de - sire, my de - sire,
Ct
Lord thou know'st my de - sire, my de - sire, Lord thou know'st my de -
T
Lord thou know'st my de -
B
BC
149
Lord thou know'st my de - sire. My groan - ing is not
Lord thou know'st my de - sire.
sire, my de - sire, my de - sire. My
sire, my de - sire.
Lord thou know'st my de - sire. My groan - ing is


153
hid from thee, my groan - ing is not hid from thee.
My groan - ing is not hid from thee, not hid from thee.
groan - ing is not hid from thee, my groan - ing is not hid from thee.
My groan - ing is not hid from thee.
not hid from thee, my groan - ing is not hid, not hid from thee.
157
[Treble verse]
For - sake me not O Lord my God,
161
for - sake me not O Lord my
165
God. Be not thou far from me,


169
be not thou far
173
from me, be not [thou] far from me.
Tr1
Haste thee O Lord my God, haste thee to help me O
Tr2
Haste thee to help
Ct
T
B
Haste thee O Lord my God, haste thee to help
BC
♯3 ♮3


180
Lord,
haste
me, to help me,
Haste thee O Lord my God, haste
Haste thee O Lord my God, haste
me,
haste
♯3


182
thee to help me, haste thee to help me.
haste thee to help me.
thee to help me, haste thee to help me.
thee to help me, haste thee to help me.
thee to help me, haste thee to help me.
♯3


185
O Lord God of my sal - va - ti - on,
O Lord God of my sal - va - ti - on,
O Lord God of my sal - va - ti - on,
O Lord God of my sal - va - ti - on,
O Lord God of my sal - va - ti - on,
188
O Lord God of my sal - va - ti - on.
O Lord God of my sal - va - ti - on.
O Lord God of my sal - va - ti - on.
O Lord God of my sal - va - ti - on.
O Lord God of my sal - va - ti - on.

21 *The King shall rejoice*

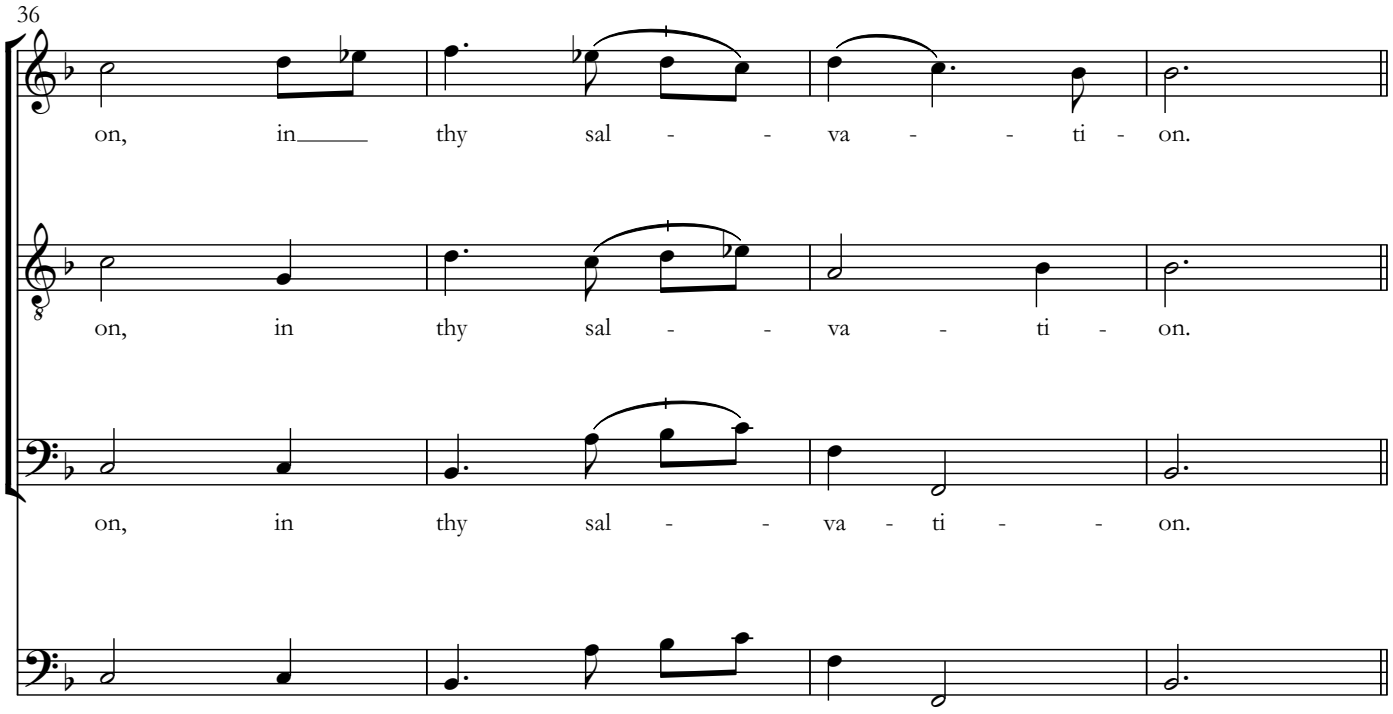
Psalm 21:1-8

Prelude

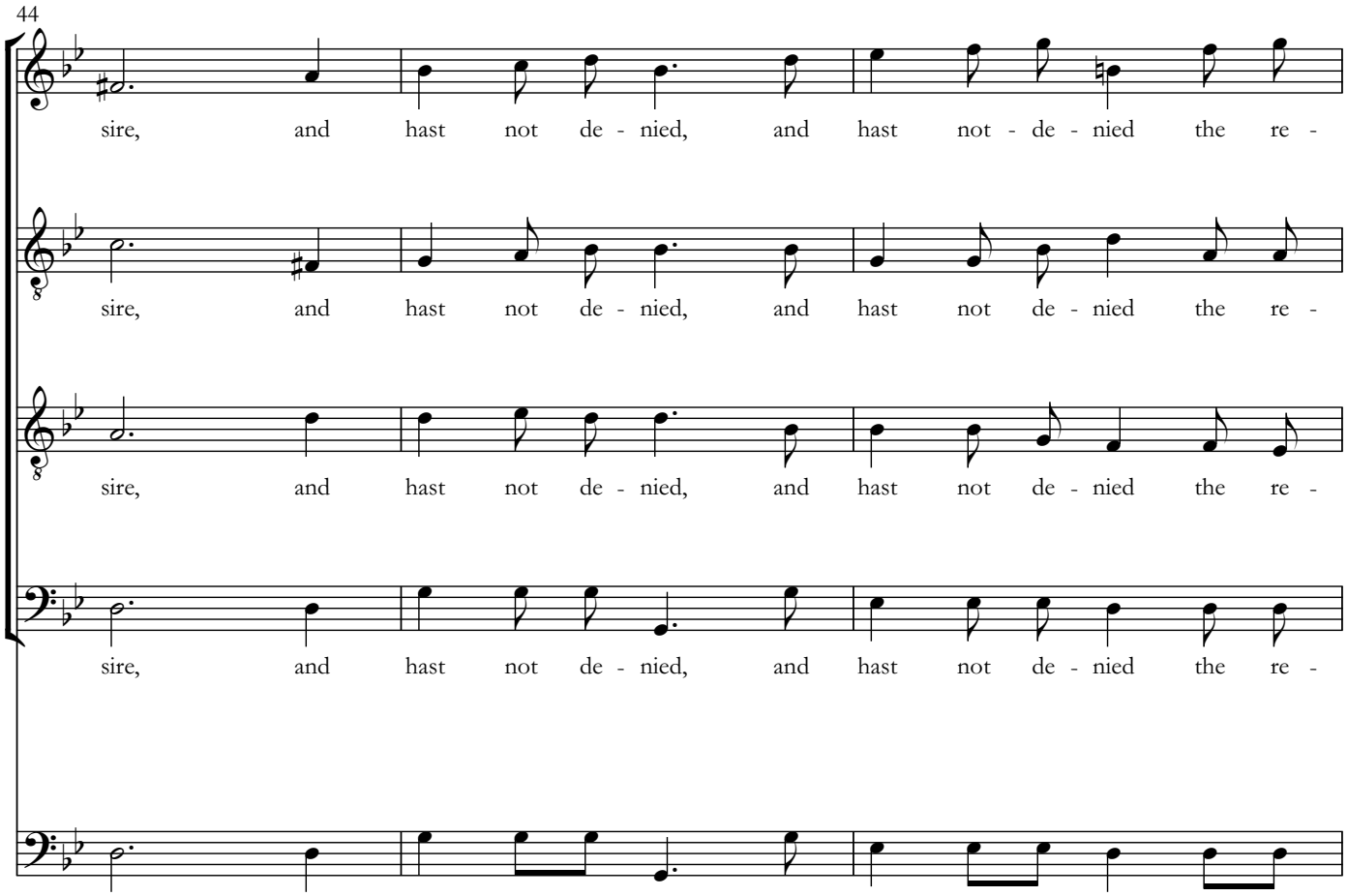



17
[Contra-tenor verse]
The King shall re -
[Bass verse]
The King shall re - joice, shall re - joice in thy strength
21
[Treble verse]
The King shall re - joice in thy strength, shall re -
joice, shall re-joice in thy strength The King shall re - joice in thy
The King shall re - joice in thy
24
joice in thy strength, thy strength.
strength, shall re - joice in thy strength.
strength, shall re - joice in thy strength.


27
O Lord.
O Lord.
O Lord.
30
Yea how great - ly shall he re -
Yea how great - ly shall he re - - -
Yea how great - ly shall
33
joice in thy sal - va - - - ti -
joice in thy sal - va - - - ti -
he re - joice in thy sal - va - ti -


36
on, in thy sal - - va - - ti - on.
on, in thy sal - - va - ti - on.
on, in thy sal - - va - ti - - on.


Cho:
Tr
Thou hast giv'n, thou hast giv'n him his hearts de -
Ct
Thou hast giv'n him his hearts de - sire, thou hast giv'n him his hearts de -
T
Thou hast giv'n him his hearts, his hearts de -
B
Thou hast giv'n him his hearts de - sire, thou hast giv'n him his hearts de -
BC


44
sire, and hast not de - nied, and hast not - de - nied the re -
sire, and hast not de - nied, and hast not de - nied the re -
sire, and hast not de - nied, and hast not de - nied the re -
sire, and hast not de - nied, and hast not de - nied the re -


47
quest of his lips of his lips.
quest of his lips, of his lips.
quest of his lips, of his lips.
quest of his lips, of his lips.

50 2d Prelude



56



62



66




70
[Treble verse]
For thou dids't pre - vent him,
74
with lib - e - ral bles - - - sings.
[Bass verse]
For thou dids't pre - vent him,
78
with lib - er - al bles - - - sings.
82
with lib - - - er - - - al bles - -
with lib' - ral bles - -


86
sings.
sings, with lib' - ral bles - - - -
90
with lib' - ral bles - - sings.
- - - - - - - - - - sings.
94
Ritor:
100
[Contra-tenor verse]
And dids't set a crown of
[Bass verse]
And dids't set a crown of pure gold up - on his head,


104
[Treble verse]
And dids't set a crown of pure
pure gold up - on his head, and dids't set a crown of pure
and did'st set a crown of pure


108
gold up - on his head, He ask - ed life of thee,
gold up - on his head. He ask - ed life of thee,
gold up - on his head. He ask - ed life of thee,


116
he ask - ed life of thee and thous gav'st him a long
he ask - ed life of thee and thou gav'st him a long
he ask - ed life of thee and thou gav'st him a long
122
life for ev - er, and thou gav'st him a long life for ev - er.
life for ev - er, and thou gav'st him a long life for ev - er.
life for ev - er, and thou gav'st him a long life for ev - er.


129
Cho:
His glo - ry is great in thy sal - va - ti - on, dig - ni - ty and hon - our,
His glo - ry is great in thy sal - va - ti - on, dig - ni - ty and hon - our,
His glo - ry is great in thy sal - va - ti - on, dig - ni - ty and hon - our,
His glo - ry is great in thy sal - va - ti - on, dig - ni - ty and hon - our,
134
dig - ni - ty and hon - our, hast thou laid, thou laid up - on him.
dig - ni - ty and hon - our, hast thou laid, thou laid up - on him.
dig - ni - ty and hon - our, hast thou laid, thou laid up - on him.
dig - ni - ty and hon - our, hast thou laid, thou laid up - on him.

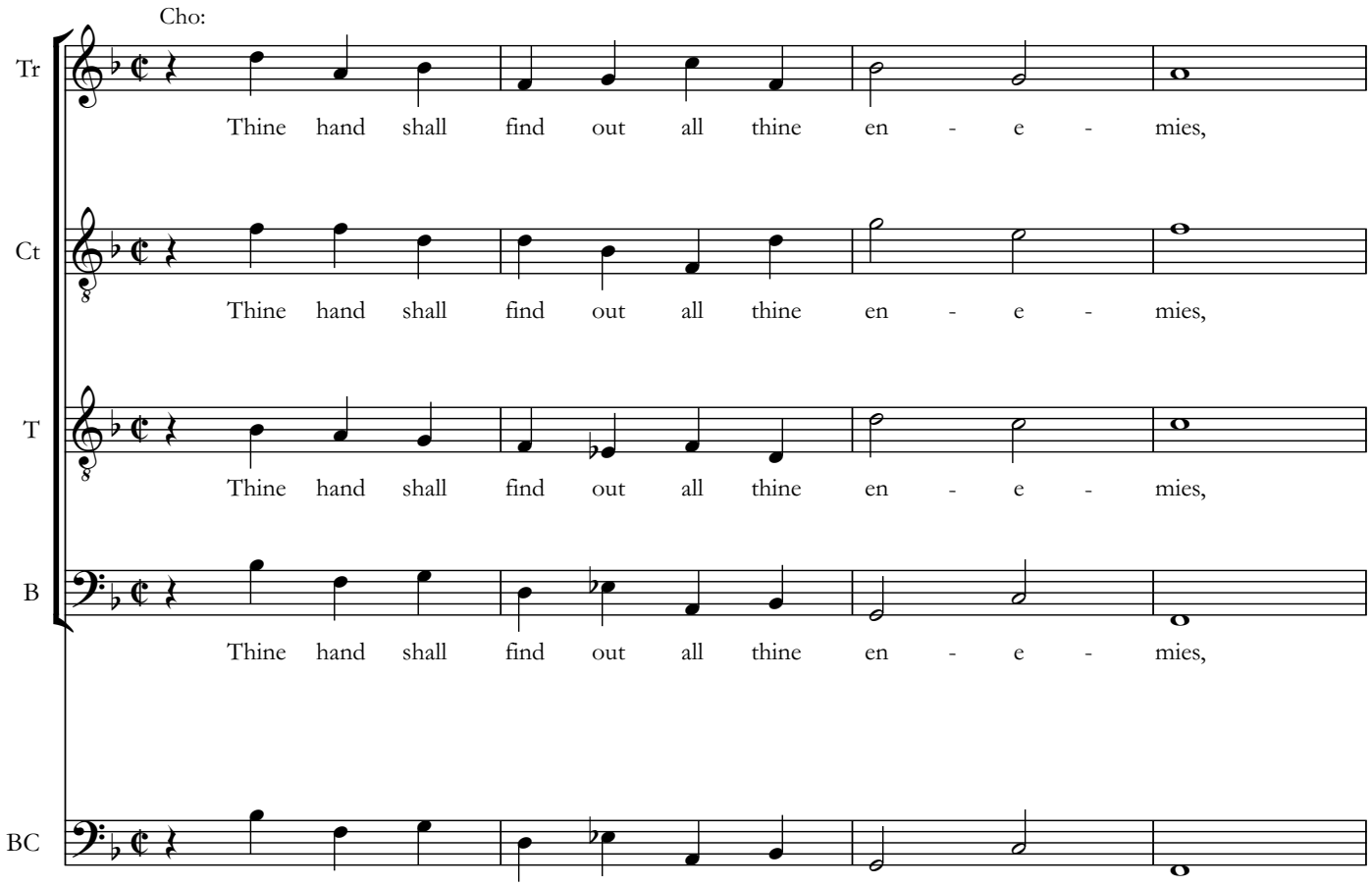
3d prelude

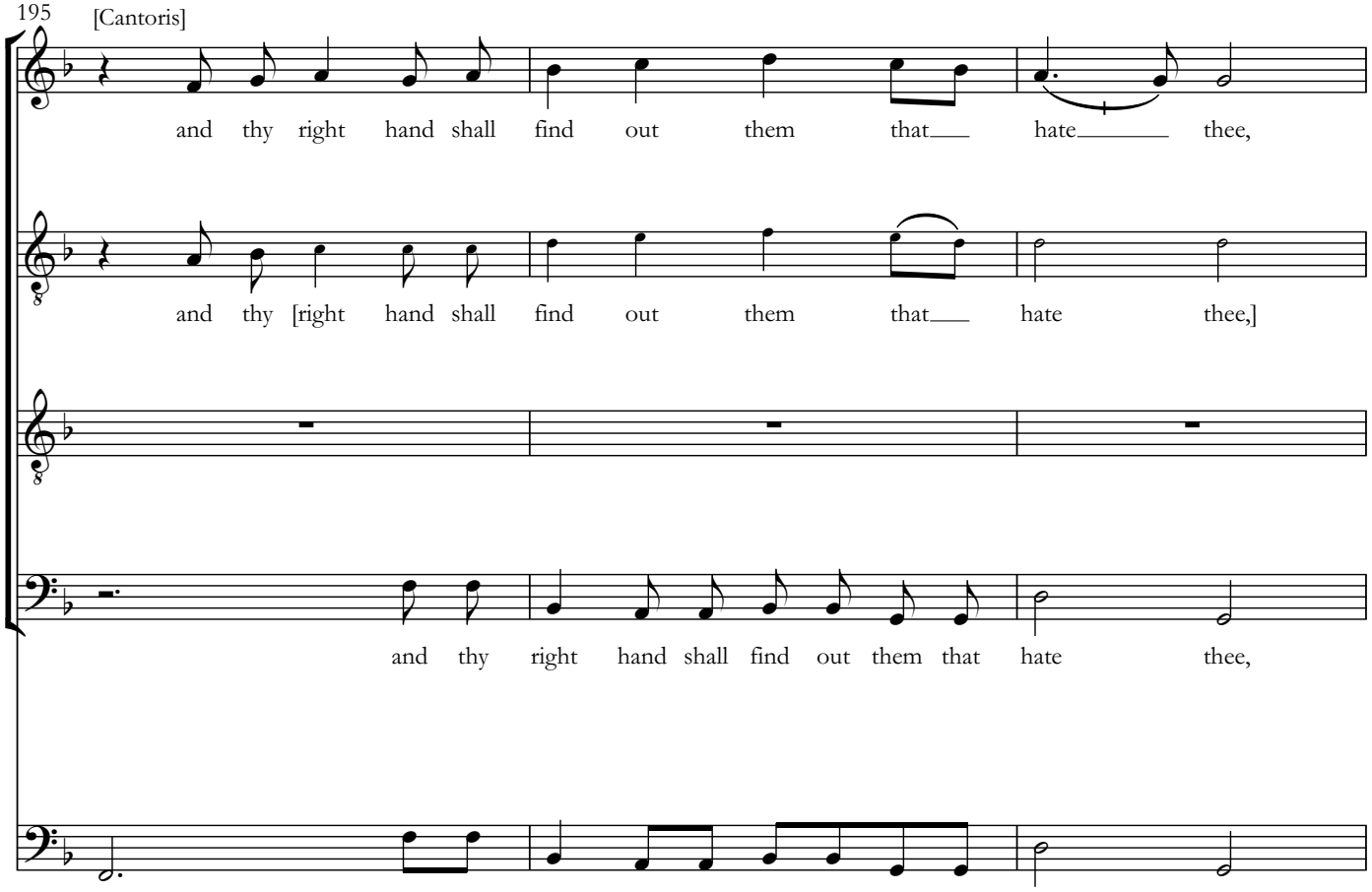


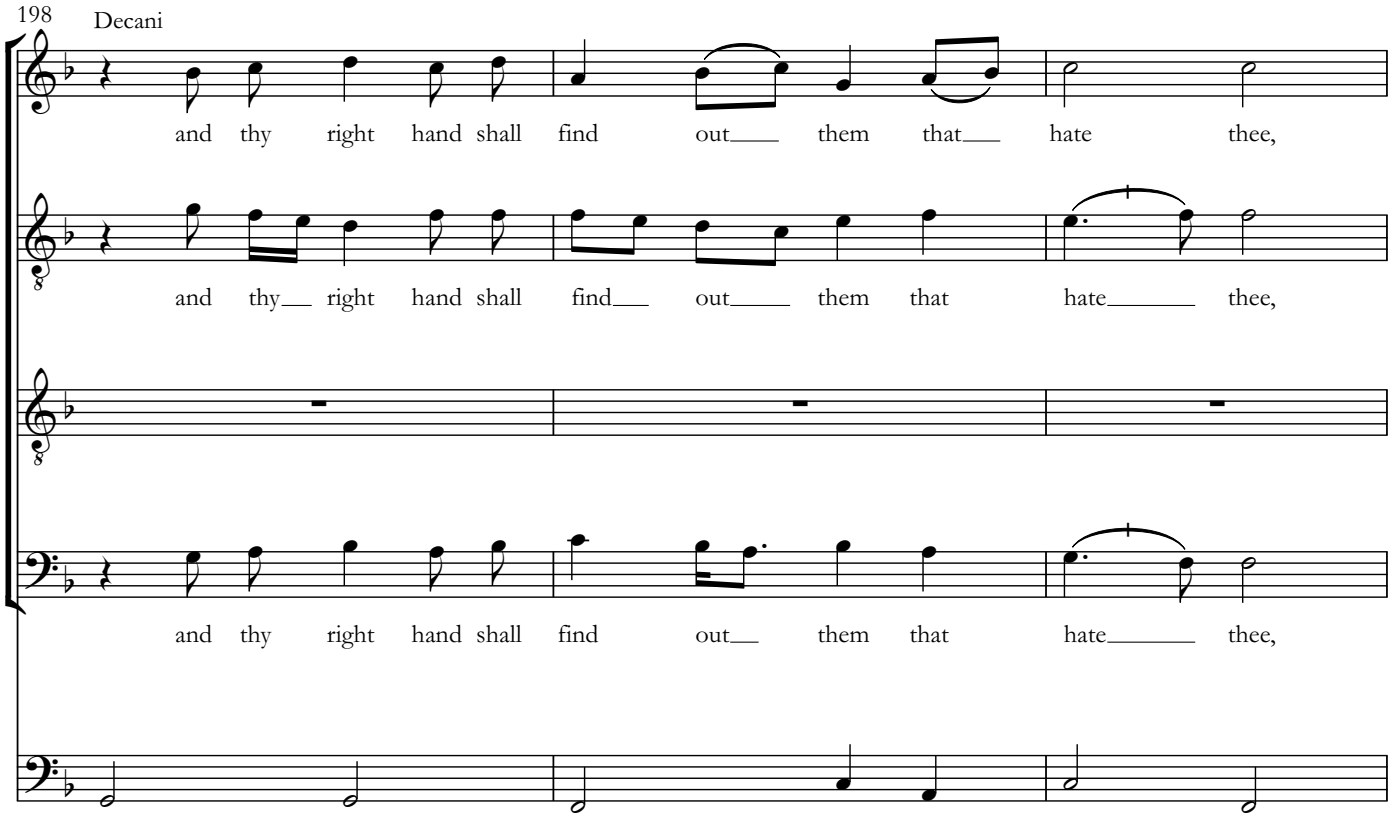

158
[Treble verse]
For thou hast set him as bles - sings for ev - - -
[Contra-tenor verse]
For thou has set him as
162
- er, as
bles - - sings, for thou hast set him as
[Bass verse]
For thou hast set him as
165
bles - sings for ev - - - - er.
bles - sings for ev - - - - er
bles - sings for ev - - - - er

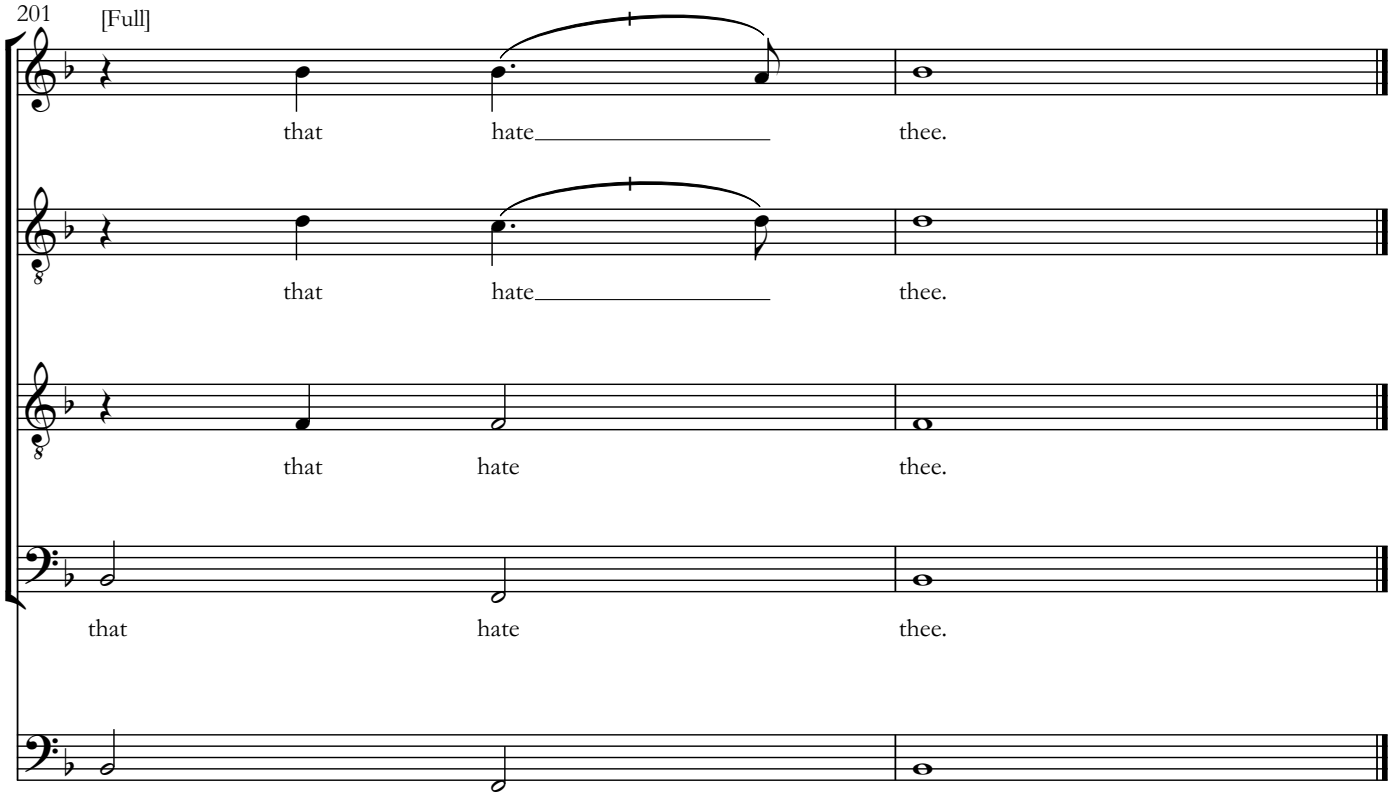

168
Ritor
175
[Treble verse]
Thou hast made him glad, made him glad with the joy, with the joy of thy count - en - ance.
[Contra-tenor verse]
Thou hast made him glad with the joy, with the joy of thy count - en - ance.
[Bass verse]
Thou hast made him glad with the joy of thy count - en - ance.
179
Be-cause the Kingtrust-ed in the_ Lord, be-cause the
Be-cause the Kingtrust-ed in the__ Lord,
Be-cause the King


183
King trust - ed in the Lord, and in the mer - cy of the most high,
trust - ed in the Lord, and in the mer - cy of the most high,
trust - ed in the Lord, and in the mer - cy of the most high,
187
he shall not slide, He shall not slide, he shall not slide.
he shall not slide, he shall not slide, he shall not slide.
he shall not slide, he shall not slide, he shall not slide


Cho:
Tr
Thine hand shall find out all thine en - e - mies,
Ct
Thine hand shall find out all thine en - e - mies,
T
Thine hand shall find out all thine en - e - mies,
B
Thine hand shall find out all thine en - e - mies,
BC


195
[Cantoris]
and thy right hand shall find out them that hate thee,
and thy [right hand shall find out them that hate thee,]
and thy right hand shall find out them that hate thee,


198
Decani
and thy right hand shall find out them that hate thee,
and thy right hand shall find out them that hate thee,
and thy right hand shall find out them that hate thee,


201
[Full]
that hate thee.
that hate thee.
that hate thee.
that hate thee.

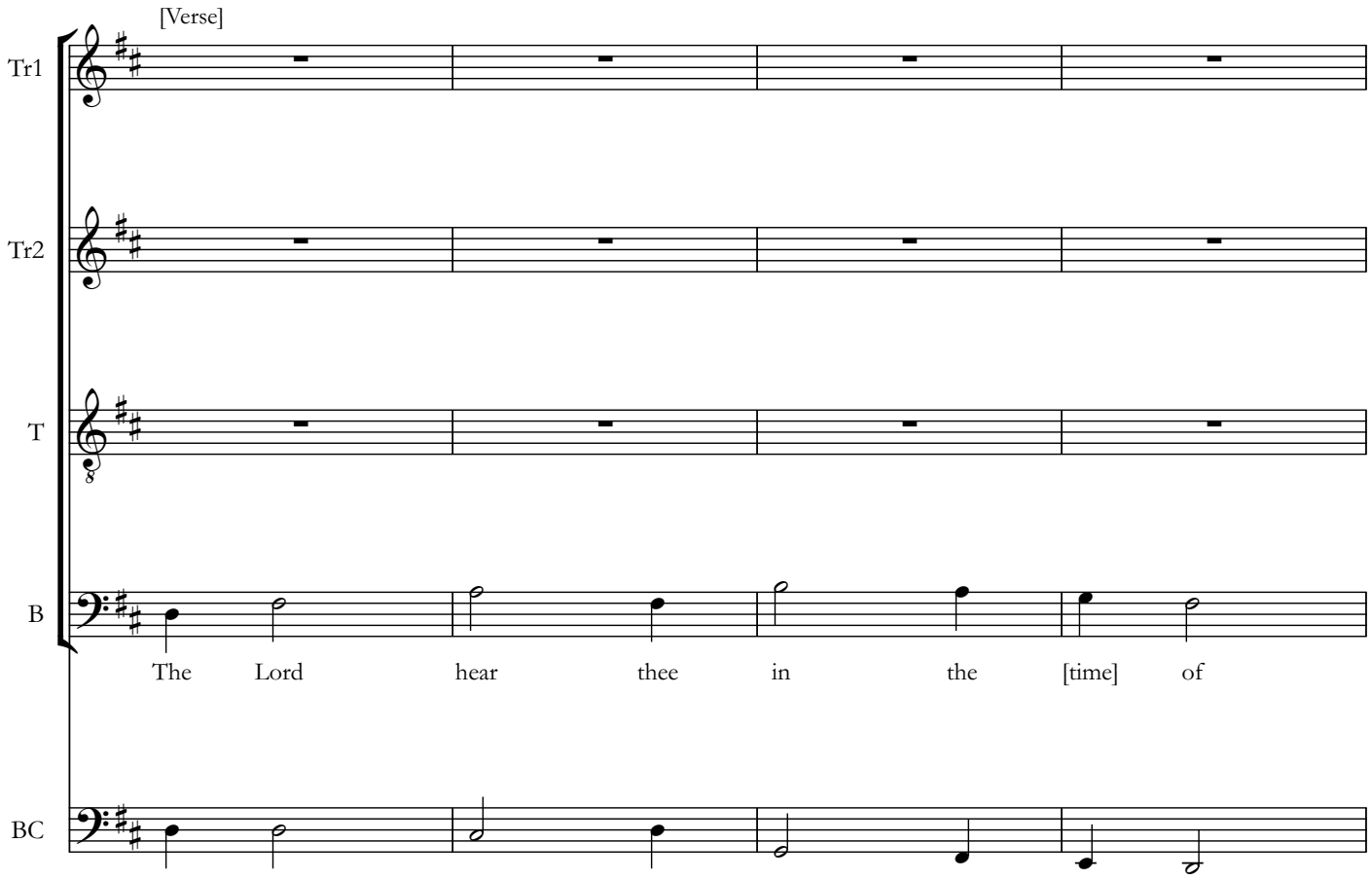
22 *The Lord hear thee in the time of trouble*

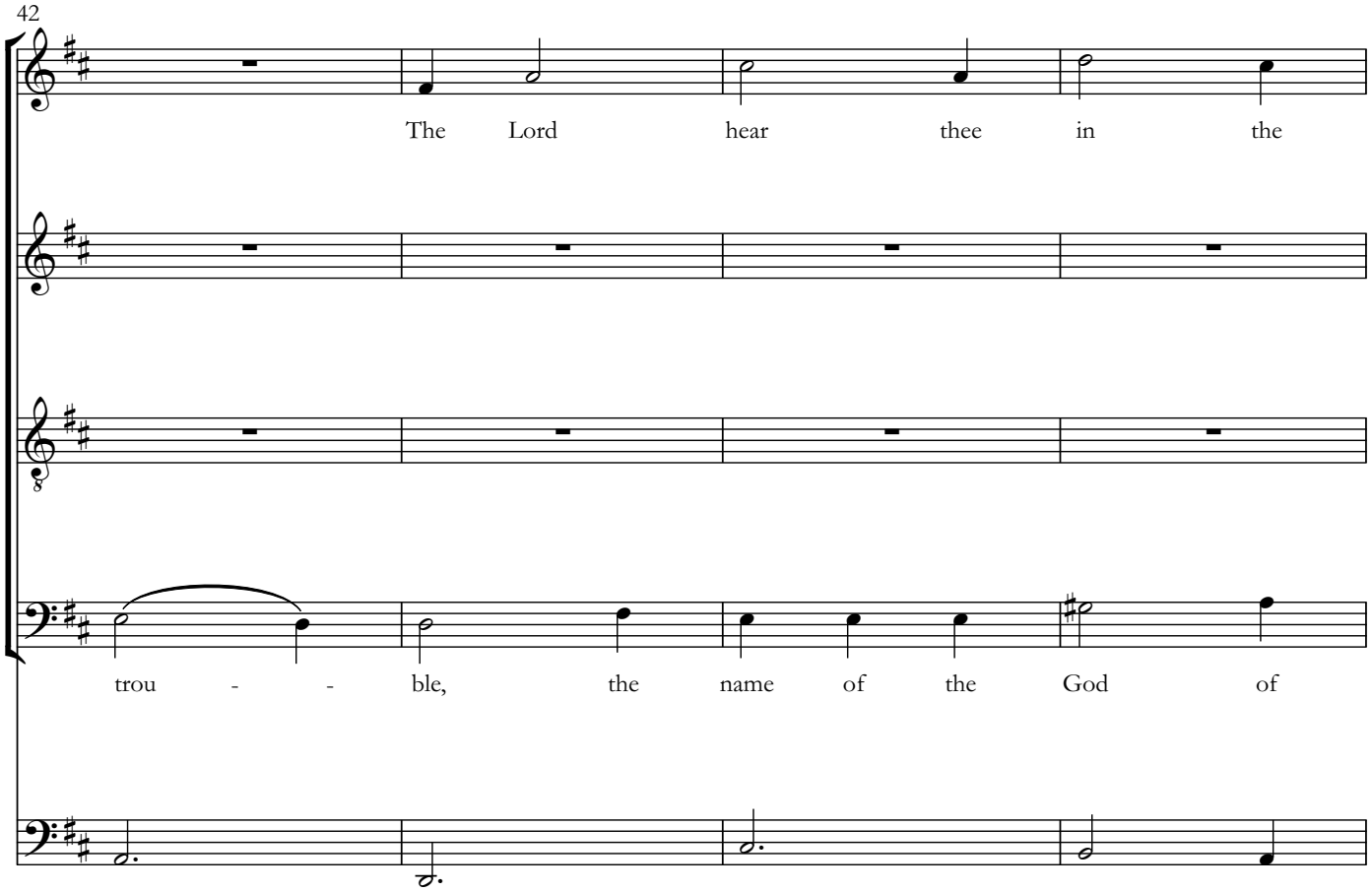
Psalm 20:1-8

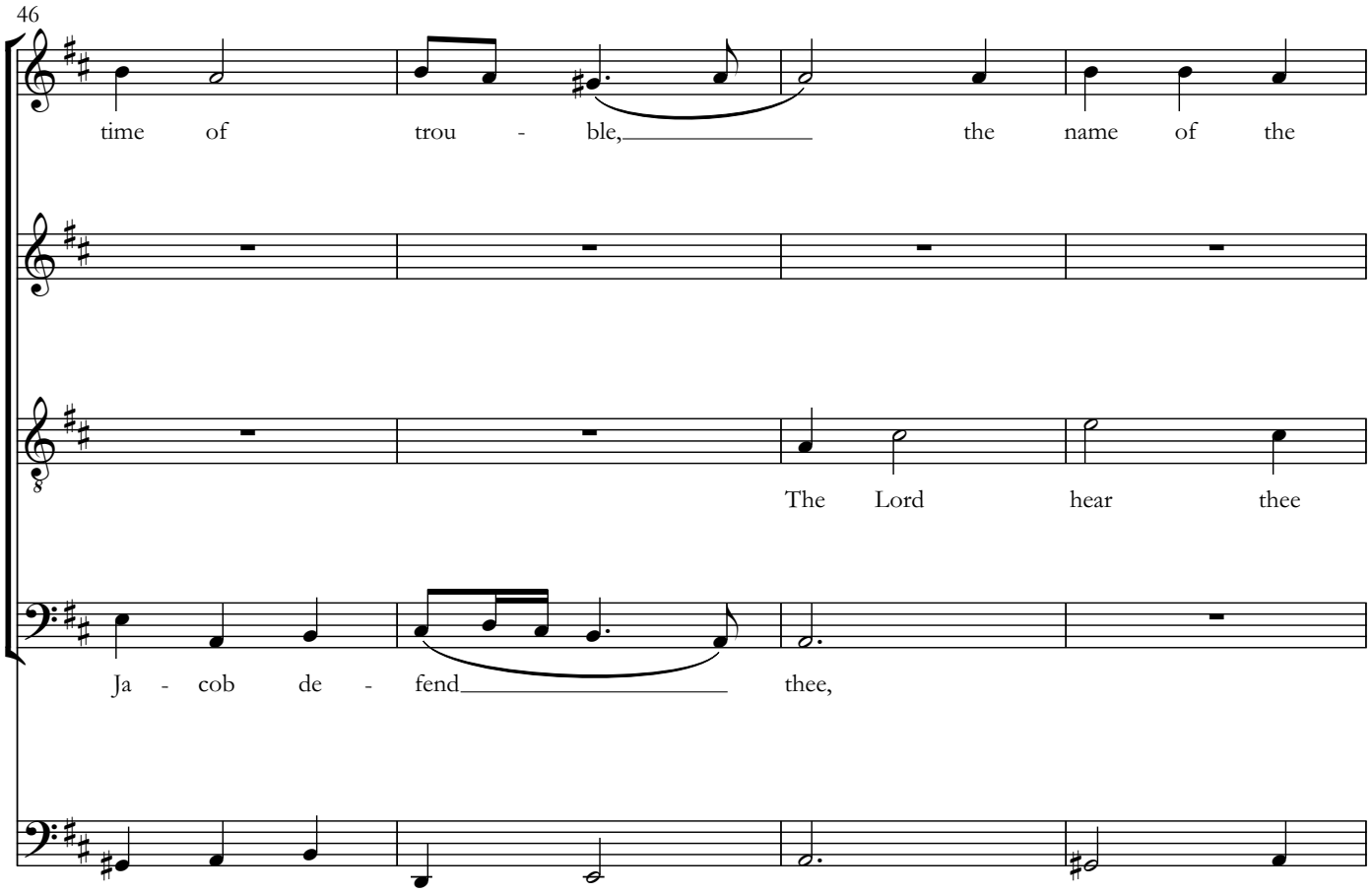



13
17
21


25
29
34

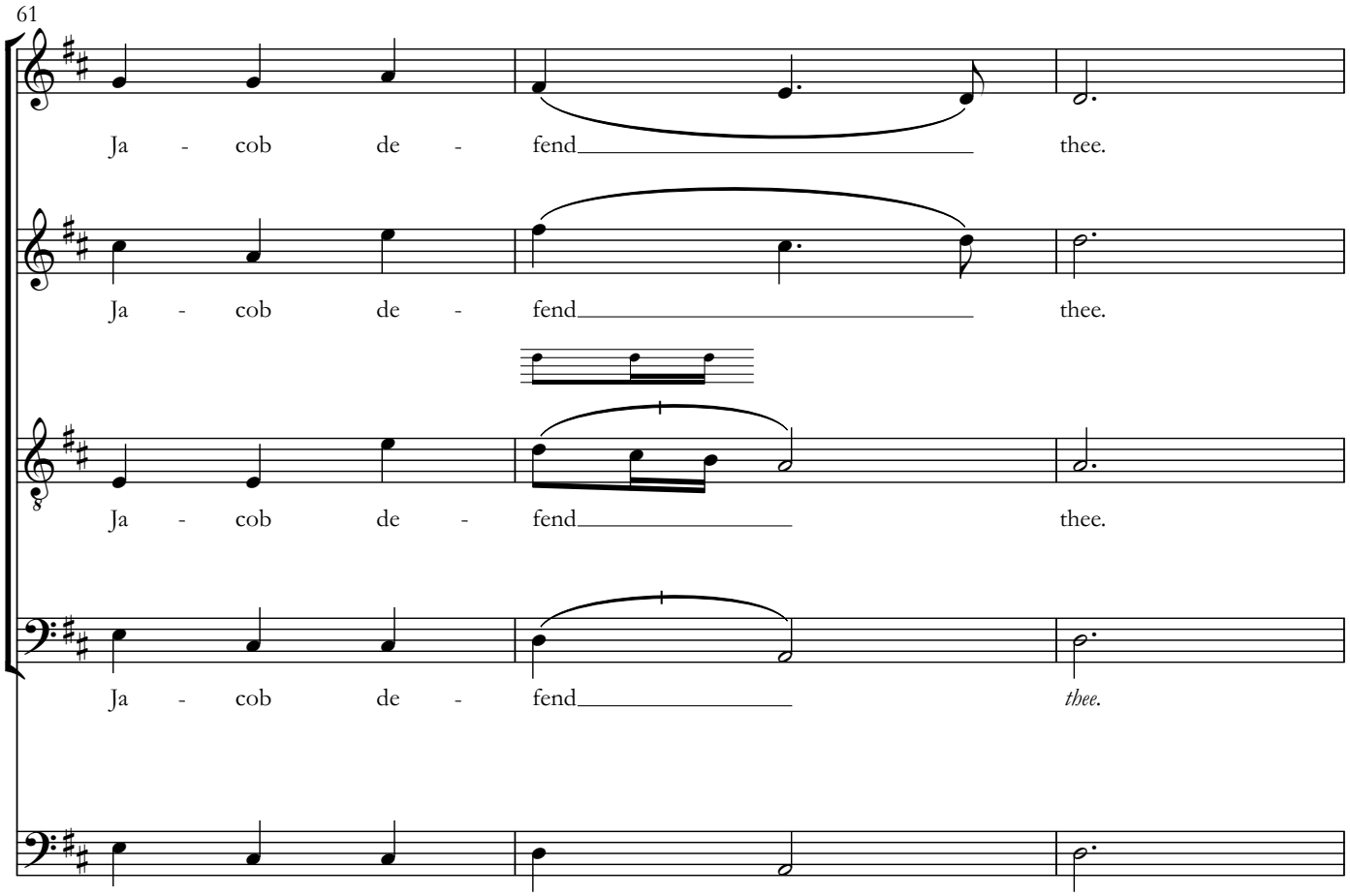

[Verse]
Tr1
Tr2
T
B
The Lord hear thee in the [time] of
BC


42
The Lord hear thee in the
trou - - ble, the name of the God of


46
time of trou - ble, the name of the
The Lord hear thee
Ja - cob de - fend thee,


50
God of Ja - cob de - fend thee,
The Lord
in the time of trou - - ble, the
the Lord


54
hear thee in the time of trou - ble,
name of the God of Ja - cob de - fend
hear thee in the time of trou - -
the name of the God of
the name of the God of
thee, the name of the God of
ble, the name of the God of


61
Ja - cob de - fend thee.
Ja - cob de - fend thee.
Ja - cob de - fend thee.
Ja - cob de - fend *thee.*


64
Send thee help, thee help from the sanc - tu - a - ry,
Send thee help from the sanc - tu - a - ry,
Send thee help, send thee help, *send thee help* from the sanc - tu - a - ry,
Send thee help, send thee help from the sanc - tu - a - ry,


68
and strength-en thee,
and strength-en thee out of Si - on.
and strength-en thee, and strength-en thee out of Si - on.
and strength - en thee out of Si - on.
and strength-en thee and strength-en thee out of Si - on.
[Ritor]
Vl1
Vl2
Va
BC
74
[Bass verse]
Re-mem-ber all thy of - fer - rings, re-mem-ber all thy of - - -

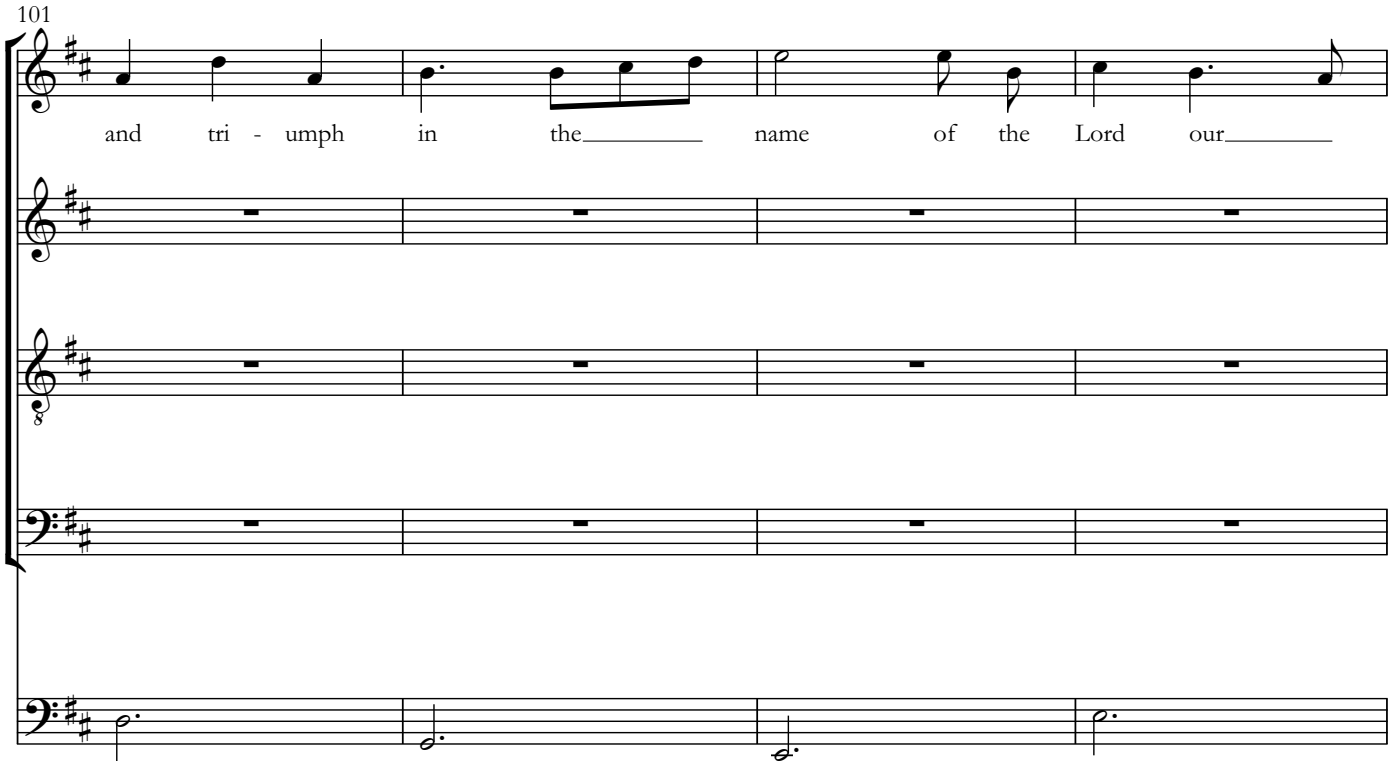

78
- fer-rings and ac-cept thy burnt sac - ri- fice.
82
[Ritor]
[Verse]
Tr1
Grant thee thy heart's de - sire.
Grant thee thy heart's de -
Tr2
Grant thee thy heart's de - sire.
Ct
Grant thee thy heart's de - sire, grant thee thy heart's de -
B
Grant thee thy heart's de -
BC


88
sire. grant thee thy heart's de - sire and ful - fill all thy mind.
grant thee thy heart's de - sire and ful - fill all thy mind.
sire, grant thee thy heart's de - sire and ful - fill all thy mind.
sire, grant thee thy heart's de - sire and ful - fill all thy mind.


Cho:
Tr
Grant thee thy heart's de - sire, and ful - fill, and ful - fill all thy mind.
Ct
Grant thee thy heart's de - sire, and ful - fill, and ful - fill all thy mind.
T
Grant thee thy heart's de - sire, and ful - fill, and ful - fill all thy mind.
B
Grant thee thy heart's de - sire, and ful - fill, and ful - fill, and ful - fill all thy mind.
BC

[2d Prelude not extant]






105
God,
and tri - umph in the
and tri - umph in the name of the Lord our
109
and tri - umph in the name of the
and tri - umph in the name of the
name of the Lord our God,
God, the name of the
113
Lord our God, the name, the
Lord our God, the name, the
the name of the
Lord our God, the name of the


116
name of the Lord our God:
name of the Lord our God:
Lord our God:
Lord our God:
119
The Lord per-form, the Lord per-form all thy pe - ti - ti-ons.
The Lord per-form, the Lord per-form all thy pe - ti - ti-ons.
The Lord per-form, the Lord per-form all thy pe - ti - ti-ons.
The Lord per-form all thy pe - ti - ti-ons.
123
Ritor


A 5
Tr1
Now know I that the Lord help - eth his an - noint - ed,
Tr2
Now know I that the Lord help - eth his an -
Ct
T
Now know I that the Lord help - eth his an - noint - ed,
B
Now know I that the
BC
131
that the Lord help - eth his an - noint - ed, and will hear him
noint- ed, now know I that the Lord help - eth his an - noint - ed,
Now know I that the Lord help - eth his an - noint - ed,
now know I that the Lord help - eth his__ an - noint - ed,
Lord, now know I that the Lord help - eth his an - noint - ed,


135
from his ho - ly heav'n, and will hear him
and will hear him from his ho - ly heav'n,
and will hear him from his ho - ly heav'n and will hear him
and will hear him from his ho - ly heav'n
and will hear him
138
from his ho - ly heav'n: ev'n with the whole - some strength of his right hand,
from his ho - ly heav'n: ev'n with the whole - some,
from his ho - ly heav'n:
from his ho - ly heav'n: ev'n with the
from his ho - ly heav'n: ev'n with the whole - some strength, the


142
ev'n with the whole - some strength of his right hand.
ev'n with the whole - some strength of his right hand.
ev'n with the whole - some strength of his right hand.
whole-some strength, ev - en with the whole - some strength of his right hand.
whole - some strength, whole-some strength of his right hand.
145
Cho:
Tr1
Now know I, now know I that the Lord help - eth
Tr2
Now know I that the Lord help - eth
Ct
Now know I, now know I that the Lord help - eth
T
Now know I that the Lord help - eth
B1
Now know I that the Lord help - eth
B2
Now know I, now know I that the Lord help - eth
BC


148
his an - noint - - ed, and will hear him,
his an - noint - - ed,
his an - noint - - ed, and will
his an - noint - - ted.
his an - noint - - ed, and will hear him
his an - noint - - ed,
151
and will hear him from his ho - ly heav'n:
and will hear him from his ho - ly heav'n:
hear him, and will hear him from his ho - ly heav'n:
and will hear him from his ho - ly heav'n:
and will hear him from his ho - ly heav'n:
and will hear him from his ho - ly heav'n:


154
ev'n with the whole - some strength of his right hand,
ev'n with the
ev'n with the whole - some strength of his right hand,
ev'n with the whole - some strength of his
ev'n with the whole - some strength of his right hand,
ev'n with the whole - some strength of his right hand, his right
157
the whole - some strength of his right hand.
whole - some strength, the whole - some strength of his right hand.
ev'n with the whole - some strength of his right hand.
right hand, the whole - some strength of his right hand.
ev'n with the whole - some strength of his right hand.
hand, the whole - some strength of his right hand.

23 *Thou, O God art praised in Sion*

Psalm 65:1-6




17
prayer, un - to thee shall
prayer, un - to thee shall
prayer, thou that hear - est the prayer: un - to thee shall
21
all flesh come,
all flesh come,
Above
all flesh come, un - to thee shall all flesh
25
[Below]
My mis - deeds pre - vail a - gainst me,
[Below]
My mis - deeds pre - vail a - gainst me,
Below
come. My mis - deeds pre - vail a - gainst me, my mis -


30
deeds pre - vail a - gainst me: O be thou
34
O be thou mer - ci - ful un -
O be thou mer - ci - ful un -
mer - ci - ful un - to our sins, O be thou mer - ci - ful un -
38
Cho:
to our sins. O be thou mer - ci - ful un - to our sins.
O be thou mer - ci - ful un - to our sins.
to our sins. O be thou mer - ci - ful un - to our sins.
to our sins. O be thou mer - ci - ful un - to our sins.
43
Solus above
Bles - sed is the man whom thou choos - est and re - ceiv'st un - to


47
thee he shall dwell in thy court and shall be sat - is -
51
fied with the plea - sures of thy house, ev - en
54
of thy Ho - - ly tem - - ple.
57
Verse A4 Below
Thou shalt shew us won - der - ful things in thy right - eous-ness O God of our sal - va - ti -
Thou shalt show us won - der - ful things in thy right - eous - ness O God of our sal - va - ti -
Thou shalt show us won - der - ful things in thy right - eous - ness O God of our sal - va - ti -
Thou shalt show us won - der - ful things in thy right - eous-ness O God of our sal - va - ti -


61
on: thou that art the hope of all the ends of the earth, and of them that re -
on: thou that art the hope of all the ends of the earth, and of them that re -
on: thou that art the hope of all the ends of the earth, and of them that re -
on: thou that art the hope of all the ends of the earth, and of them that re -


65
main in the broad sea, and of them, and of them that re - main in the broad sea, that re -
main in the broad sea, and of them that re-main in the broad sea, that re -
main in the broad sea, and of them, and of them that re-main in the broad sea, that re -
main in the broad sea, and of them, and of them that re - main in the broad sea, that re -


69
main in the broad sea, that re - main in the broad sea.
main in the broad sea, that re - main in the broad sea.
main in the broad sea, that re - main in the broad sea.
main in the broad sea, that re - main in the broad sea.
72
[Bass Verse]
Who in his strength set - teth fast the
76
moun - tains and is gird - ed a - bout with
80
pow'r, and is gird - ed a - bout with pow'r.


84
Cho:
Who in his strength set - teth forth the moun - tains, who in his
Who in his strength, his strength, who in his
Who in his strength, who in his
Who in his strength set - teth fast the moun - tains, who in his
87
strength set - teth fast the moun - tains, set - teth fast the moun -
strength set - teth fast the moun - tains, set - teth fast the moun -
strength set - teth fast the mount - tains, set - teth fast the moun -
strength set - teth fast the moun - tains: set - teth [fast the moun -


90
tains: and is gird - ed a - bout, is gird - ed a - bout with
tains: and is gird - ed a - bout, is gird - ed a - bout with
tains: and is gird - ed a - bout, is gird - ed a - bout with
tains: and is gird - ed a - bout, is gird - ed a] - bout with
93
soft
pow'r and is gird - ed a - bout with pow'r, and is gird - ed a - bout with pow'r.
soft
pow'r, and is gird - ed a - bout with pow'r, and is gird - ed a - bout with pow'r.
soft
pow'r, and is gird - ed a - bout with pow'r, and is gird - ed a - bout with pow'r.
soft
pow'r, and is gird - ed a - bout with pow'r, and is gird - ed a - bout with pow'r.

24 *Turn thou us, O good Lord*

Final collect of the Commination
Book of Common Prayer (1662)




18
Verse
For thou art a mer - ci - ful God
22
full of com - pas - - - si - on.
25
Long suf - f'ring and of great pi - ty.
28
Thou spar - est when we de - serve pun - ish -
32
ment, and in thy wrath think'st up - on
36
mer - - cy. Spare thy peo - ple good Lord,


40
spare them and let not thine
43
he - - ri - tage be brought to con -
46
fu - - - - - - - - - si - on.
50
Chorus
Spare, spare thy peo - ple good Lord,
Spare, spare thy peo - ple good Lord,
Spare, spare thy peo - ple good Lord,
Spare, spare thy peo - ple good Lord,


53
and let not thine he - ri - tage be brought to con - fu - si - on, and
and let not thine he - ri - tage be brought to con - fu - si - on, and
and let not thine he - ri - tage be brought to con - fu - si - on, and
and let not thine he - ri - tage be brought to con - fu - si - on, and
57
let not thine he - ri - tage be brought to con - fu - si - on.
let not thine he - ri - tage be brought to con - fu - si - on.
let not thine he - ri - tage be brought to con - fu - si - on.
let not thine he - ri - tage be brought to con - fu - si - on.


60
[Treble verse]
Hear us O Lord for thy mer - cy is
64
great and af - ter the mul - ti -
68
tude of thy mer - cies look up - on
72
us, look up - - on us.


76
Chorus
Through thy me - rits and me - di - ta - ti - on of thy bles - sed son Je - sus,
Through thy me - rits and me - di - ta - ti - on of thy bles - sed son Je - sus,
Through thy me - rits and me - di - ta - ti - on of thy bles - sed son Je - sus,
Through thy me - rits and me - di - ta - ti - on of thy bles - sed son Je - sus,
80
Je - sus Christ our Lord, Je - sus Christ our Lord. A - men.
Je - sus Christ our Lord, Je - sus Christ our Lord. A - men.
Je - sus Christ our Lord, Je - sus Christ our Lord. A - men.
Je - sus Christ our Lord, Je - sus Christ our Lord. A - men.

25 *We have sinned and committed iniquity*

Daniel 9:5, 7, 9 (Geneva Bible, 1599)



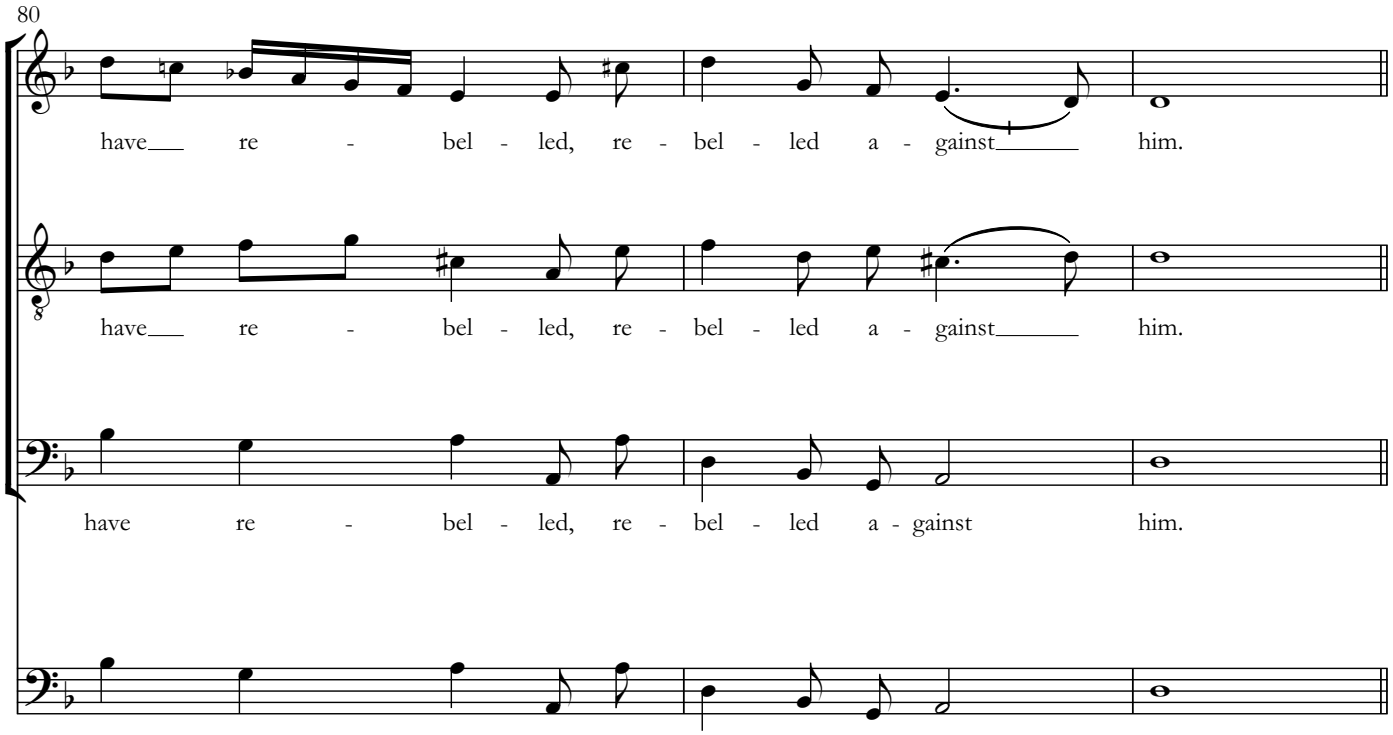

13
[Contra-tenor verse]
We have sin - ned and have com-
[Bass verse]
We have sin - ned and have com-mit - ted in - i - qui-ty,
17
mit - ted in - i - qui - ty, and have com-mit - ted in - i - qui-ty, in - i - qui-ty,
and have com - mit - ted, com-mit - ted in - i - qui-ty, in - i - qui-ty,
22
yea, we have re - bel - led, and have de-part - ed from thy pre - cepts,
yea, we have re - bel - led, and have de-part - ed
26
from thy pre - cepts, and from thy judge - ments.
from thy pre - cepts, from thy pre - cepts, and from thy judge - ments.


30
Ritor
[Verse]
Tr
O Lord, right-eous-ness be-long-eth un - to thee, and to us op - en
Ct
O Lord, right-eous-ness be-long-eth un - to thee, and to us op - en
B
O Lord, right-eous-ness be-long-eth un - to thee, and to us op - en
BC
37
shame, as ap - pear - eth this day, as ap - pear - eth this
shame, as ap - pear - eth this day,
shame, as ap - pear - eth this


41
day un - to ev - 'ry man of Ju - dah, and to th'in hab - it -
un - to ev - 'ry man of Ju - dah, and to th'in hab - it -
day un - to ev - 'ry man of Ju - - dah, and to th'in - hab - it -
44
ants of Je - ru - sa - lem, and to all Is - ra - el.
ants of Je - ru - sa - lem, and to all Is - ra - el.
ants of Je - ru - sa - lem, and to all Is - ra - el.
47
Prelude


51
55
58
Both near and far off, through all the coun-tries, whi-ther thou hast driv - en
62
them be-cause of their off-fen - ces that they have com -
65
-mit - ted ag - ainst thee.


68
Ritor
72
Yet com - pas - sion and for - give - ness is
Yet com - pas - sion and for - give - ness is
Yet com - pas - sion and for - give ness is in
76
in the Lord our God, al - be - it we
in the Lord our God, al - be - it we
the Lord our God, al - be - it we


80
have re - bel - led, re - bel - led a - gainst him.
have re - bel - led, re - bel - led a - gainst him.
have re - bel - led, re - bel - led a - gainst him.


Cho:
Tr
Yet com - pas - sion and for - give - ness is in the Lord our God,
Ct
Yet com - pas - sion and for - give - ness is in the Lord our God,
T
Yet com - pas - sion and for - give - ness is in the Lord our God,
B
Yet com - pas - sion and for - give - ness is in the Lord our God,
BC


87
yet com - pas - sion and for - give - ness is in the Lord our God, al - be -
yet com - pas - sion and for - give - ness is in the Lord our God, al - be -
yet com - pas - sion and for - give - ness is in the Lord our God, al - be -
yet com - pas - sion and for - give - ness is in the Lord our God, al - be -
91
it we have re - bel - led, re - bel - led a - gainst him.
it we have re - bel - led, re - bel - led a - gainst him.
it we have re - bel - led, re - bel - led a - gainst him.
it we have re - bel - led, re - bel - led a - gainst him.

Appendix C: *Thou knowest, Lord*

Henry Purcell (1659-95)
Ed. Samuel Teague




8
but spare us Lord, spare us Lord most ho - ly,
but spare us Lord, spare us Lord most ho - ly,
but spare us Lord, spare us Lord most ho - ly,
but spare us Lord, spare us Lord most ho - ly,
6
5
♮3


11
O God, O God most might - y O ho - ly and most
O God, O God most might - y O ho - ly and most
O God, O God most might - y O ho - ly and most
O God, O God most might - y O ho - ly and most
[♮]
4
3♯
6


15
mer - ci - full sav - iour, thou most wor - thy judge e - ter - nal.
mer - ci - full sav - iour thou most wor - thy judge e - ter - nal.
mer - ci - full sav - iour, thou most wor - thy judge e - ter - nal.
mer - ci - full sav - iour, thou most wor - thy judge e - ter - nal.
7 6 [♮] 6 ♮4 6 4 3♮ 3♮


18
Suf - fer us not, suf - fer us not at our
Suf - fer us not, suf - fer us not at our
Suf - fer us not, suf - fer us not at our
Suf - fer us not, suf - fer us not at our
4 6 ♮
2


21
last hour for an - y pains of death for an - y
last hour for an - y pains of death for an - y
last hour, for an - y pains of
last hour, for an - y pains of


24
pains of death to fall, to fall from thee. A - men.
pains of death to fall, to fall from thee. A - men.
death, of death to fall, to fall from thee. A - men.
death to fall, to fall from thee. A - men.