Church Music Society
Founded 1906 • Registered Charity No 290309
www.church-music.org.uk

THOMAS TUDWAY
Professor Ian Spink

First published: May 2010
ISBN 978-0-9530366-2-2

This paper comprises the text of a lecture given to the Church Music Society on 24 October 2009 at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

Typesetting by *KeyNote*, Huddersfield HD4 5PN
Richard Hallas • Richard@Hallas.net • 01484 460280

THOMAS TUDWAY

In a nutshell: Thomas Tudway was one of Henry Cooke's Chapel Royal boys in the 1660s. From 1670 till his death in 1726 he was organist of King's College, Cambridge. As a composer of church music he has a couple of dozen anthems to his credit, and two or three services including a Burial Service. Among his secular works is a Birthday Ode for Queen Anne. Apart from a few songs and catches that's all. The thing he is most famous for, and deservedly, is the great six volume collection of 'Services and Anthems', loosely known as the Harleian Collection, compiled between 1715 and 1720.[1]

Now for the detail: according to Musgrave's *Obituary* Thomas Tudway died at Cambridge on 23 November 1726, aged 70.[2] At present this is the best source we have for this information despite suspicion that he may have been older, for it means that he was born in 1655 or 1656, which in turn means that he was only about twelve or thirteen when his voice broke (rather early for those days, but possible) and only fourteen or fifteen when he was appointed organist of King's College, Cambridge (certainly on the young side, but not inconceivable – William Turner, for example, went to Lincoln as Master of the Choristers when he was sixteen, and Blow was seventeen when he became Organist of the Chapel Royal). For the present I propose to allow these possible anomalies to stand and move on to things of greater certainty.

He was the second son of Thomas Tudway, senior, and Anne his wife. The elder Tudway was a tenor lay clerk at St George's Chapel, Windsor from about 1624, and, after the Restoration, at Eton College as well, where he served as *Informator choristarum.* He died in 1671.[3] It is almost certain that the younger Thomas was a chorister at St George's in the early years of the Restoration (although his Christian name is not specified) but by a Chapter Act of 2 October 1665 'the pay of Tudway the Chorister was taken away, and he dismissed his place … having done noe service to the Church this Twelvemonth or more'.[4] In fact, it seems likely that he had been press-ganged into the Chapel Royal the year before, that is in 1664. Significantly, the Dean and Chapter, at their meeting of 22 April that year, complained to the Lord Chancellor 'of the insolencyes of mr Cooke (master of the Kings boys)… in his stealing away two of our Choristers without any speciall warrant contrary to the priviledge of this place'.[5] Court payments to Henry Cooke on 9 August 1664 for various items relating to the Children of the Chapel include £11 6s. for 'coach hire and other expenses to Windsor and Canterbury'.[6] A later record (6 April 1668) mentions charges for going to Windsor for three days to collect two boys (though this may be another journey, or include the earlier charge carried forward) – the court was notoriously slow to pay its debts.[7]

The first time our Thomas Tudway's name appears in the court records – albeit as Thomas Tedway – is not until 8 January 1669, when he is one of three so-called 'pages' of the Chapel 'whose voices are changed and who are gone from the Chapel'. They are to receive the usual suit of clothes.[8] Captain Cooke had been paid £30 a year for 'the keeping of Thomas Tedway, one of the Children of His Majesty's Chapel, whose voice is changed and is to go from the Chapel.'[9] Payments were to begin from Michaelmas [29 September] 1668, suggesting that he had been singing in the choir up to that point.

When he arrived in the chapel the 'big boys' were John Blow, Pelham Humfrey and William Turner. Actually their voices had already broken but they were still hanging around, and their joint effort as composers – the so-called 'club anthem' ('I will always give thanks') to which each had contributed a section – had been in the repertoire of the Chapel Royal since 1663 at least. Michael Wise, slightly older, had recently gone,[10] and Henry Hall was still two or three years from joining.[11] By the time young Henry Purcell came on the scene (about 1667–8), Tudway was probably on the point of leaving; indeed, it is possible that Purcell took his place.

Henry Cooke, the Master of the Children, died in 1672, and over and above his success as a choir trainer, he produced a clutch of precocious young composers from among his boys. The models provided were his own rather feeble anthems with instrumental symphonies between the verses, and it was not long before his pupils, Humfrey particularly, began to outstrip him. As Tudway himself reported:

> In about 4 or 5 years time [that is, after 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 Composition; This, his Majesty greatly encourag'd, by indulging their youthfull fancys, so that ev'ry Month at least, & afterwards oft'ner, they produc'd something New, of this Kind; In a few years more, several others, Educated in the Chapell, produc'd their Compositions in this style, for otherwise, it was in vain to hope to please his Majesty.[12]

Among the 'several others' would probably have been Tudway himself, and we shall mention at least one possibility in due course.

As has already been said his voice broke in 1668 (sometime before Michaelmas) but Cooke received a maintenance for him until midsummer 1670,[13] when he was advanced to become organist of King's College the following Michaelmas. Tudway's stipend at King's was £20 a year and he remained there as organist until his death in 1726, except for the period 1705–6 when he got himself into hot water and was suspended from his offices. For his first ten years in the post he taught the choristers but relinquished that task in 1680.[14] At some stage, also, he became organist of Great St Mary's, the University Church, and (from 1707) of Pembroke College.

Apart from taking the Bachelor of Music degree in 1681 with 'The Lord hear thee' and the motet *Quare fremuerunt gentes* – two symphony anthems after the manner of the Chapel Royal (the latter 'perform'd for his Bachelour of Musick's Act in St Marie's in Cambridge, Commencement 1681') [15] – little is known about his life in Cambridge during the 1680s and 90s. Apparently he was married (to Margaret Rix of Canterbury) and had at least one son, but further details are lacking.[16] Except for the fact that King's got a new Renatus Harris organ costing £350 in 1686–7, which must surely have involved him in some capacity, there is little to be said.[17] It may be that by the end of the century, he saw Cambridge as a dead end so far as his career was concerned, for at the start of the new reign, in 1702, he petitioned the queen for a place as one of the three organists of the Chapel Royal. Indeed he claimed that he had been promised such a position by King Charles II back in 1682.

> [T]he pet[itione]r being bred up in the s[ai]d Chappell had a promise of King Charles the 2nd in '82 of the next place that should become vacant, w[hi]ch did not happen till the Death of Mr Purcell in '96, whose room has not yet been supplyed. He prays that the said place may be given to him.[18]

Actually, Francis Piggott had been appointed to replace Purcell, so there was no vacancy, but when Piggott died in 1704 Tudway was again overlooked, this time in favour of the joint appointment of William Croft and Jeremiah Clarke.[19]

Perhaps it was by way of partial compensation for not getting the Chapel Royal job in 1702, that he was created Professor of Music in the University on 30 January 1705.[20] The previous professor, Nicholas Staggins, had died in 1700, but there were no emoluments and no official duties – other than presenting candidates for degrees to the Chancellor, apparently.[21] Tudway was also made Doctor of Music about the same time, and it may be that 'Thou, O Lord, hast heard our desire', was written as his 'exercise',[22] though all he says about it is that it was sung before the queen at King's College on 16 April 1705. The words (from psalm 61) are highly appropriate to such an occasion, and the music is certainly worthy. Arnold included it in volume two of his *Cathedral Music*.[23] It is the anthem Tudway is shown holding in his hand in the portrait by Thomas Hill, now in the Faculty of Music at Oxford.[24]

The Lord, having heard his desire, then brought about a sudden reversal of fortune, for things turned nasty the following year. In July 1706 he was suspended from his posts and deprived of his degrees for speaking words 'highly reflecting upon her Majesty and her administration'. As a notorious punster – Hawkins said 'he could scarce ever speak without a pun' – he could not resist word-play, and this now led him to let slip a remark that might seem to us a mild case of lese-majesty, but at the time was obviously taken very seriously. As for the actual words, he admitted at his recantation eight months later, that he 'did in company rashly and unadvisedly utter these, or like words viz.,'

> 'That though her most sacred Majesty refus'd to receive an address from the hands of the *Hertford Burgess* [that is, the MP for Hertford], had it been presented by Daniel Burgess [a currently popular Presbyterian preacher despised by the High Church party] the Queen would have received it' whereof I have been duly convicted upon oath before the Revd the Vice-Chancellor and Heads; I doe hereby, and in their presence, solemnly and heartily agknowledge and declare the said words to be of a most black and odious import, and to contain in them an high, most unjust, and unworthy reflection on her sacred Majesty, which I from the bottom of my heart doe abhor and detest ...[26]

A contemporary letter (2 January 1707) from one William Reneu, scholar of Jesus College, to John Strype reports:

> Cambridge at present is pretty quiet but about a quarter of a year ago, there was a little stir about one Tudway Mr of Musick who having been accused by one Plumtree Dr of Physick of some scandalous and Toriacall [i.e., tory-ish] Reflection on ye Queen, was degraded & expelled ye University by ye Vice-Chancellor and ye Heads. Most of ye Tory or rather Jacobite party blame their proceedings very much as too rigorous upon him, but ye Whigs say just ye contrary, but in fine ye thing is done & irrevocable.[27]

It was not irrevocable, however, and on 10 March 1707 at the Regent House, duly contrite, he secured the restoration of his posts. While under suspension his place at King's was taken by one of the clerks, Robert Fuller, his eventual successor as organist.[28]

At the same time he acquired the organistship of Pembroke College in addition. Pembroke, unlike King's, had no choral establishment, but had recently endowed an organist's place. For a stipend of £20 a year he was to

> instruct the Scholars in singing so farr as to enable them to chant the Psalmes in tune to the Organ, & perform with decency all the other parts of the service to be chanted; and also, the Conducts or others whose duty it shall be to read prayers, in a tunable way, of chanting them to the capacity of their voices.[29]

But Tudway still hankered after a place in the Chapel Royal, despite being knocked back in 1702. Either before, or soon after Blow's death in 1708, he was lobbying for his place as organist there. Tudway himself gives a fascinating account of the process, which, yet again, was unsuccessful.

> Dr Blow dying... my friends were in hopes to obtain one of his places for me, w[hi]ch was all I begged; The Subdean Dr Battell, address'd ye Queen in my behalf, Madam, Dr Tudway has been attending Severall years, Dr Blow is dying, or dead, will your Majesty be pleas'd to bestow one of his places on him, He is very sorry for haveing inadvertently offended your Majesty, in other respects, He is ev'ry way qualified to deserve your Majestys favour; The Queen was pleas'd to reply, w[i]th wonderful Goodness and Compassion, That She forgave me w[i]th all her Heart, But she was not Poor Lady, able to bring me into her Service; As soon as ye Dr was dead, both his places of Composer & Organist were giv'n to one that never before had any relation to the Chapell Royall, & had been a Domestick of ye D[uke] of S[omerse]t, which in all probability was ye reason of his violence against me.[30]

Actually Blow's place as composer went to William Croft, and as organist to John Weldon, who had been a Gentleman Extraordinary of the chapel since 1701[31] Whether or not he was ever 'a Domestick' of the Duke of Somerset is not known. Perhaps, in the end, the authorities relented, or came close to doing so, for the *Evening Post* of 10–12 April 1712 announced that 'A Warrant is passing, whereby her Majesty is graciously pleased to appoint Dr Thomas Tudway, of Cambridge; a supernumerary Composer to the Chapel Royal.'[32] It does not ever seem to have become official, however.

With all these tribulations and disappointments behind him Tudway sought protection from none other than Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, with whom he seems to have been acquainted since 1711 at least.[33] Harley, of course, was in effect Queen Anne's prime minister between 1711 and 1714, and a Tory. He had been made Earl of Oxford and Mortimer in 1711, and he and his son Edward, Lord Harley, soon became Tudway's patrons. In a letter of 1714 to the earl he explained his situation.

> I was barbarously used by the late Ministry for several years for nothing, as 'tis well known; all my subsistence taken from me turned out of my house where I lived with my family almost twenty years; a livelihood to seek at nearly three-score years of age. I came well recommended to your Lordship, and was favourably received, and her Majesty was not wanting in her accustomed goodness to say that my sufferings ought to be considered. But if nothing was done before you resigned the Staff, I am left in a worse condition than I was before, being exposed to the same men's rage and to be served in the same manner for having dared to complain... I beg your consideration in this affair. My constant and strict adherence and attachment to you has left me without any other friend, and I don't doubt but your influence may still assist me.[34]

At the same time he seems not to have given up hope of further advancement – or, at least, of adding to his pluralities. Though the queen was dead and a new regime installed, indeed, a new dynasty, he wrote again barely a month later asking for support in petitioning for a place in the Chapel Royal for the new reign.

> The Bishop of London [as Dean of the Chapel Royal] has my case before him, being now making the establishment of the Royal Chapel. Will your Lordship be pleased to further my interests by speaking favourably for me?[35]

It could hardly be more than wishful thinking that the earl, soon to be impeached and definitely 'yesterday's man' could do much for him, other than set him upon his great enterprise.

The Harleian Collection of 'Services and Anthems'

This seems the right moment to interrupt the account of his life, and to postpone a consideration of his church music, in order to follow the genesis and survey the scope of his collection of 'Services and Anthems' (British Library, Harleian MSS 7337–42). Though Tudway's patron originally seems to have been Robert Harley (the first earl) it was to his son Edward, Lord Harley (second earl from 1724), that all the volumes were dedicated. The Harleian Library was begun by Robert Harley while still Sir Robert, and at first consisted largely of charters and genealogical manuscripts. But from about 1711, when affairs of state must have taken up most of his time, and after his impeachment in 1715, following the Hanoverian take-over, the library effectively became his son's. Under his regime (assisted by the librarian, Humfrey Wanley) its scope was expanded in literary and artistic directions – to the second earl's eventual financial ruin.[36]

Although Tudway, perhaps ingratiatingly, credits Wanley as 'the first proposer of this work',[37] it seems probable that he actually got the idea of making such a collection from his neighbour James Hawkins, the Ely organist and choirmaster. Hawkins, a compulsive copier himself, had begun his own collection of anthems and services before 1700, and was to provide Tudway with many of his exemplars.[38] Making such a collection under Harley's sponsorship may have been subtly implanted in Wanley's ear when Tudway was assisting him in acquiring certain books from the library of John Covell, Master of Christ's College for the earl in 1714.[39]

When completed the collection contained 70 services and 244 anthems by 85 composers – 3179 pages of music in all.[40] Each volume carries a date between 1715 and 1720, and we can trace the progress of the collection in a series of letters that passed between Tudway and Wanley.[41] We have already seen what appears to be Tudway's initial approach to the earl for patronage in September 1714, and the idea of 'rescuing from the dust, & Oblivion, our Ancient compositions of Church musick' must have

appealed to Harley's antiquarian interests.[42] Given the go-ahead, Tudway lost no time in getting down to work, which progressed at great speed.[43] The original plan was for two volumes, as appears from a letter of 20 January 1716, but by 8 April the same year he was talking about a 'third and last' to cover the reign of Queen Anne.[44] In the end it grew to twice the size, six volumes.

The arrangement is roughly chronological within each volume. The dividing line between the first two is the Civil War, volume one (1715) beginning at the Reformation, volume two (1716) at the Restoration. The first contains short services by Tallis, Byrd and Gibbons, with five, six and three anthems respectively. These include Byrd's 'Sing joyfully' and well established English versions of Latin motets by both Tallis and Byrd, for example, Tallis's 'I call and cry' (*O sacrum convivium*) and Byrd's 'Bow thine ear' (*Civitas sancti tui*). Among the Gibbons anthems are 'Behold, thou hast made my days' and two that are more probably by Henry Loosemore. Indeed, it was Tudway who set off the false trail attributing 'O Lord, increase my faith' to Gibbons, though as Loosemore's successor at King's he should have known better.[45] Morley is represented by his evening and burial services, while Barcroft, Stonard, Amner, Portman, Patrick and the little known Henry Molle – a King's man – are there with their all too stolid services. The pre-civil war period is brought to an end with anthems by Giles, Tomkins (his 'Almighty God, the fountain of all wisdom'), Hooper, Batten, Henry Loosemore and William Lawes. The second volume begins with five services of various types by Child and five of his anthems (some, at least, pre-1644), and ends with Blow's, evening service (verse) in E minor and three anthems each by Blow and Purcell, as well as two by Tudway himself – the two symphony anthems he wrote for his Mus B. Symphony anthems are strongly represented among the other composers, the three by Purcell being 'My beloved spake', 'They that go down to the sea in ships', and 'My song shall be always'. The most frequently occurring composers in this volume, however, are Humfrey, with his evening service in E minor and 12 anthems, all but two with orchestral sections, and Aldrich with 16 – all English adaptations of Latin motets by other composers. The Humfrey anthems include three in F minor, one after the other – 'O Lord, my God', 'Like as the hart' and 'By the waters of Babylon'.

Volume three (1716) amplifies the first two, adding some ancient pieces – William Mundy's 'O Lord, the maker of all things', here attributed to Henry VIII among them – several more anthems by Elizabethan composers (including Parsons, Weelkes and Matthew White), and four more by Tomkins, one of which is the 12-part 'O praise the Lord' (the others are also multivoiced). The Restoration pieces include half of Purcell's B flat service (the *Benedicite* and 'alternative' canticles), and seven anthems (one being 'I was glad'), Blow's service in G and six anthems (among them 'And I heard a great voice' and 'The kings of Tharsis'), a service by Wise and four anthems, two services by Aldrich and four anthems, including 'Out of the deep', and Turner's service in A – part of which we are to hear later – and two anthems.

In a letter of 8 April 1716 Tudway raised the question with Wanley of a 'seperate allowance for the charges I have been at' warning that he was 'like to be at much more, in procuring Copys &c for this next volume'.[46] Finding additional finance apparently presented no problem, at this stage anyway, and soon a fourth volume was being talked about, to include yet more work by Harley's favourite composer, Henry Aldrich.[47] We may wonder at Harley's taste, but he had been at Christ Church towards the end of Aldrich's time there as dean, and his predilection can be understood. When it came to the point, however, volume four (1717) found a place for only one service and five more of his anthems, though he had already been more generously treated, numerically, than any other composer. The most obvious beneficiary was Blow with his service in A and eight more anthems, among them 'I beheld, and lo' and the eight-part 'God is our hope and strength'. Purcell reappeared with the other half of his B flat service and five anthems including the splendid 'Behold, I bring you glad tidings' – and, at the other extreme stylistically, his final setting of the funeral sentence 'Thou knowest Lord'. Locke made a belated entry with four anthems, and several Elizabethan composers reappeared – including Amner, Farrant, Gibbons (with 'Lift up your heads'), Hilton, Hooper and Tye. One or two previously overlooked ex-chapel royal boys made their debut, among them Henry Hall, with a composite service in a mixture of keys (the *Te Deum* in E flat eventually became half of 'Hall and Hine') and three anthems. In the same category was William Norris of Lincoln, with a service in G minor and two anthems, and Jeremiah Clarke with four anthems, among them 'I will love thee', with its dramatic diminished sevenths.

A further two volumes, to comprise work by 'all living authors', was proposed in a letter of 5 March 1717.[48] This would involve visits to London to get first hand material from musicians there, Church and Croft among them. A year or so later he was reporting success:

> A Glass of Wine, etc., has brought all these Masters together to drink my Lord's health, and has kept 'em in humour and open-hearted... But for this journey and Method I've taken with these Gentlemen, I should never have been able to have got any thing certainly of them'.[49]

However, Wanley now baulked at adding to the cost, and Tudway, having just been paid ten guineas for expenses, undertook not to ask for any more.[50] The collection was already big enough it was felt; but even so, it continued to grow. Rather surprisingly James Hawkins, Tudway's neighbour at Ely, makes his first appearance as a composer in volume five (1718) with a service in A and five anthems. At the same time numerous other provincial organists join him – James Cooper of Norwich, John Goldwin (or Golding) of Windsor, George Holmes of Lincoln, Benjamin Lamb of Eton, Vaughan Richardson of Winchester and Thomas Wanless of York, among them. Londoners like Croft (three anthems), Church (service in F and four anthems), Turner (service in E and

four anthems) and King (service in F and three anthems) were also represented, and Purcell himself, unhappily no longer among 'living authors', opened the volume with the *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* in D (with trumpets and drums) which Tudway said was intended for the opening of St Paul's – and might well have been – though the composer had died two years before.

Volume six (1720) begins with Croft's D major *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* (also with trumpets and drums) written to celebrate Marlborough's victory at Malplaquet in 1709, and ends with the Utrecht *Te Deum* (1713) of Handel – whom Tudway calls 'Hendale'. Sandwiched between these two splendid occasional pieces we find more work by cathedral organists, one or two of whom had appeared in the previous volume, but also some newcomers including John Bishop of Winchester College, William Broderip of Wells, James Hawkins, junior, of Peterborough and Anthony Walkley of Salisbury. Thomas Roseingrave's 'Arise, shine', also written for the Peace of Utrecht, makes an appearance. Perhaps, by now, we are not surprised to find another six anthems by Tudway, but to compensate we get four early anthems by Maurice Greene.

Had it not been for Tudway's enterprise and industry in compiling this collection some quite significant music (and musicians) would hardly have been heard of – Barcroft, Stonard and Patrick in volume one, for example, Creyghton, Holder and Jackson, among others, in volume two, Jewett and Tucker in volume three, Gibbs, Hutchinson, Lugg, Mudd and Wilkinson, not to mention Fox, Laud and Wildbore, in four. In five we find anthems by Tudway's virtually unknown Cambridge contemporaries, Thomas Williams of St John's, John Bowman of Trinity and Charles Woolcot, who sang in the choirs of both St John's and Trinity. Similarly in six, work by two gentlemen amateurs from York is brought before us; an anthem and *Te Deum* in G minor by Edward Finch (fifth son of Heneage Finch, Earl of Nottingham, and canon of York, where his brother was dean); and Valentine Nalson, subchanter of the same cathedral – in some ways a remarkable musician with a widely circulated six-part service in G to his credit (if 'credit' is the right word, for parts of it are probably plagiarised). As Tudway said in the preface to volume four (1717):

> Of the most Celebrated, I have not Omitted, any one piece [not true, of course]; Those less famous, I have taken of theirs more Sparingly; enough to keep their names, in Everlasting remembrance.[51]

Some mention has been made of where Tudway got his copies from. Hawkins was certainly an important source ('I have received more help from honest James Hawkins than from all the cathedrals in England and Ireland', Tudway said); so too were Church and Croft of the Chapel Royal, among others.[52] The quality of these texts is variable, but Bruce Wood has observed that some versions of anthems by Blow and Purcell, while differing considerably from the composers' autographs, have readings 'so plausible that they probably represent earlier drafts'.[53] Although Tudway's readings may not always

be authentic or accurate, however, the importance of his collection cannot be downplayed, for Harley's manuscripts became accessible to the public from 1753 when Lady Harley bequeathed them to the nation,[54] thus enabling historians like Burney and Hawkins, and editors like Arnold, Warren and Rimbault to consult them, in the course of time broadening and deepening historically the repertory of English church music.

Over and above all this Tudway writes a preface to each book which together give his lordship a rather disorganised and repetitive history of church music from the Hebrews, through the Greeks and Romans – not much about them! – to his own day, with special emphasis on the music of the English church following the Reformation.[55] It is as accurate perhaps as any noble amateur might require, with a smattering of technical matter thrown in for good measure. By modern standards, of course, it is highly inaccurate, nevertheless it is actually very interesting to read and over the years has proved eminently quotable, especially passages about the Chapel Royal in the early Restoration, on which it is a prime source.

Tudway, of course, was a Tory and a thorough churchman – the one virtually guaranteeing the other. When it came to church music he was a traditionalist, looking back nostalgically to the music of Tallis, Byrd and, especially, Gibbons as a kind of ideal – '[t]he Air so solemn, the fugues & other embellishments so Just & Naturally taken, as must warm the Heart of any one who is endu'd with a Soul fitted for devine raptures.'[56] By contrast modern church music, with its florid solos and lively dance rhythms was to be deplored because 'such light & Airy Compositions do in their own Nature draw off our minds from what we ought to be most intent on, & make us wholly attend to the pleasing and Agreeable variety of the sounds.'[57] By taking this line he was actually criticising Purcell (who was pretty well above criticism) without directly censuring him, or, indeed, condemning much of his own church music. (He has arguments in reserve to justify some excesses in certain circumstances, as we shall see.)

As he saw it the trouble started in Charles II's time.

> His Majesty who was a brisk & Airy Prince, comeing to the Crown in the Flow'r & vigour of his Age, was soon, if I may say so, tyr'd with the Grave & Solemn way, And Order'd the Composers of his Chappell, to add Symphonys &c with Instruments to their Anthems; ...[but] The King did not intend by this innovation to alter any thing of the Establish'd way; He only appointed this to be done, when he came himself to the Chappell, which was only upon Sundays in the Morning, on the great festivals, & days of offerings; The old Masters of Music viz: Dr Child, Dr [Christopher] Gibbons, Mr Low, &c Organists to his Majesty, hardly knew how to comport themselves with these new fangl'd ways, but proceeded in their Compositions according to the old Style.[58]

It was not only the use of instruments that was at the root of the problem, however, but the complete secularization of the style, to the extent that too often there was no difference between the sort of music one heard in the theatre and the church. It might be tolerable in the Chapel Royal where there were singers able to do justice to it, but not in cathedrals where the choirs were just not up to it.[59]

> I find there is hardly any flights in Music, ev'n of the Stage, that some Composer or other has not introduc'd into the Church; I have seen the most extravagant repetitions imaginable, ev'n upon a single word repeated eleven times, which coud never be tollerable but on the account of some fantastical humour, or other, which I'm sure, was never consistant with divine Service; The words, *all, now, ever, Never*, &c have had their share likewise in these musical tautalogies; I forbear mentioning Authors [though he might have mentioned Henry Purcell and himself among them] ...there are composers within the compass of this Age, that I defye the stage to outdo in Levity & wantonnes of Style.[60]

As a modern example of what he thought church music should be like, he cited Purcell's setting of 'Thou knowest Lord' 'after the old way... sung at the interment of Queen Mary at Westminster Abbey'.[61] In this he was of one mind with William Croft who, when he came to write his own Burial Service, did not set this particular section for reasons 'obvious to every Artist', namely, that Purcell had achieved an ideal, and there was nothing more to be said.[62] Tudway wrote:

> I appeal to all that were present, as well such as understood Music as those that did not, whither they ever heard any thing so rapturously fine & solemn, & so Heavenly in the Operation, which drew tears from all; & yet a plain, Naturall Composition; which shows the pow'r of Music when tis rightly fitted & Adapted to devotional purposes.[63]

Was there, then, no place for the modern style in church music? Yes, for great ceremonial occasions. In this connection he praises Purcell's 1694 *Te Deum*, especially its dramatic effects.

> But that which Set Mr Purcell eminently above any of his contemporarys was that Noble Composition, the first of its kind in England, of Te Deum & Jubilate, accompanied with instrumentall Music; which he compos'd principally against the Opening of St Pauls, but did not live till that time... there is in this Te Deum such a glorious representation of the Heavenly Choirs, of Cherubins & Seraphins, falling down before the Throne & Singing Holy, Holy, Holy, &c As hath not been Equall'd by any Foreigner, or Other; He makes the representation thus; He brings in

> the treble voices, or Choristers, singing, To thee Cherubins, & Seraphins, continually do cry; and then the Great Organ, Trumpets, the Choirs, & at least thirty or forty instruments besides, all Joine in most excellent Harmony & Accord; The Choirs singing only the word Holy; Then all Pause, and the Choristers repeat again, continually do cry; Then, the whole Copia Sonorum, of voices & instruments, Joine again & sing Holy; this is done 3 times upon the world Holy, only changing ev'ry time the Key & accords; then they proceed altogether in Chorus with Heav'n, & Earth are full of the Majesty of thy glory; This most beautifull & sublime representation I dare challenge all the Orators, Poets, Painters &c of any Age whatsoever, to form so lively an Idea of Choirs of Angels Singing & paying their Adorations.[64]

The thing that stands out glaringly in all he had to say is the contradiction between Tudway's theory and his own practice – as we shall see. Especially in the anthems he wrote during Queen Anne's reign, he did not eschew flamboyant vocal writing or commit himself to the 'solemn' full style. He would have justified this, as he did Purcell's *Te Deum* by pointing out that such works 'are only proper in the Church for great Occasions of Publick Thanksgivings … [and] therefore are not Stricktly call'd Church Music'[66] In arguing for a modest decorum in church music, with nothing flashy and no complicated fugues, it is fair to point out that he was moving with the fashion in church music, indeed reinforcing it, with ultimately dismal results in the eighteenth century. This, of course, is an argument prejudiced by modern preferences and sensibilities. Thus, Tudway's 'Services and Anthems' represents a nice irony celebrating better times while pointing to worse.

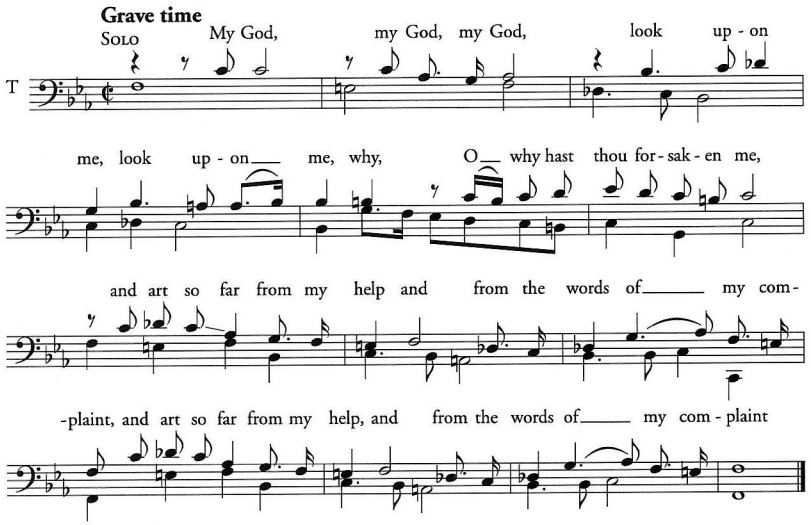
Tudway's Church Music

And so to Tudway's church music. Not that it is proposed to trace his development as a composer in this field at all closely. Nevertheless, it merits notice – more than I was able to give it in my book on Restoration cathedral music.[67] Disregarding items from the Burial Service, all his anthems are verse anthems (ending 'full' of course) and, hardly surprisingly considering the period, there is plenty of triple time and trio writing in them.[68] The one with the earliest date is 'My God, my God,' which Tudway himself put at 1675.[69] But it is possible that 'O come, let us sing unto the Lord' (an incomplete symphony anthem) dates from his time in the Chapel mainly because its only source is a Chapel Royal manuscript in the hand of William Tucker – which at the latest makes it pre-1679, the year of Tucker's death.[70] Another early anthem in Tucker's hand is 'Behold, God is my salvation', this time in partbooks at Westminster Abbey, which seems to have been entered before Blow received his doctorate in 1677.[71] Similarly, it and 'My God, my God' were copied before works attributed to 'Mr' Blow in the Bing-Gostling partbooks at York.[72] The hand in this case is that of

Steven Bing who died in 1681.

'My God, my God' (Ex. 1), subtitled 'A Verse anthem on ye Passion' in Tudway, v, brings harmonic anguish to the setting without becoming extravagantly dissonant or chromatic. Its key, F minor, customarily reserved for troubled emotions, invites comparison with Humfrey's 'O Lord, my God' [73] in the same key – a favourite with him – but despite words which are, in part, the same, there is no obvious sign of Humfrey having provided the model, though there are certainly affinities of style. This is hardly surprising since Humfrey was the dominant composer in the Chapel Royal around 1670.

Ex. 1: **My God, my God** (Tudway, v, 43)

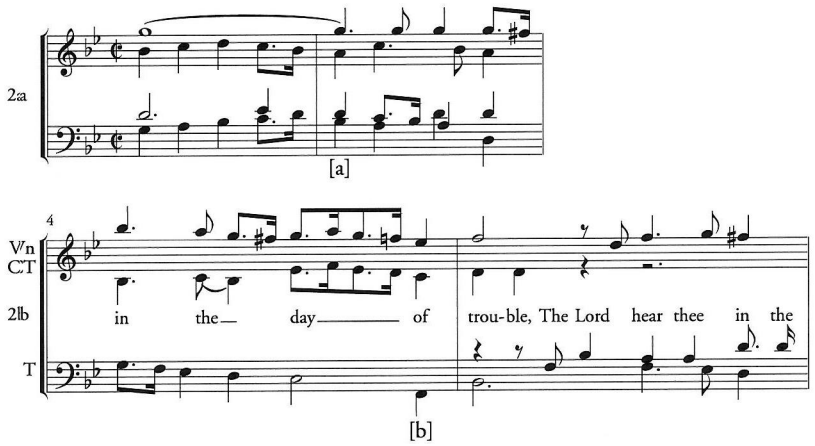


Perhaps there is more sign of Humfrey's influence in 'The Lord hear thee' (1681), one of the two symphony anthems Tudway submitted for his Mus. B in 1681—the other, as we have seen, a Latin setting of Psalm 2, *Quare fremuerunt gentes.*[74] The former came under Burney's scrutiny, who duly censured 'two 5ths' between the second violin and the viola in the opening bar of the symphony, while the viola crossing below the bass two beats later 'inverts the harmony unwarrantably' (Ex. 2a) – though not perhaps if the organist playing from the bass has drawn a stop of 16 foot pitch.[75] Then in bar 5 he spotted 'a 7th in the violin part, unprepared and unresolved,' (Ex. 2b) though the unprepared 7th is no more than a dominant seventh and hardly in need of preparation. He continued:

> Indeed the whole is an incorrect and fanciless composition, and being transcribed by the doctor himself late in life (1715) this production does

not say much for the improvement of his knowledge afterwards; indeed, it is so full of errors and confusion, that it will neither bear the test of the eye nor ear.[75]

Ex. 2: **The Lord hear thee** (Tudway, ii, f239)

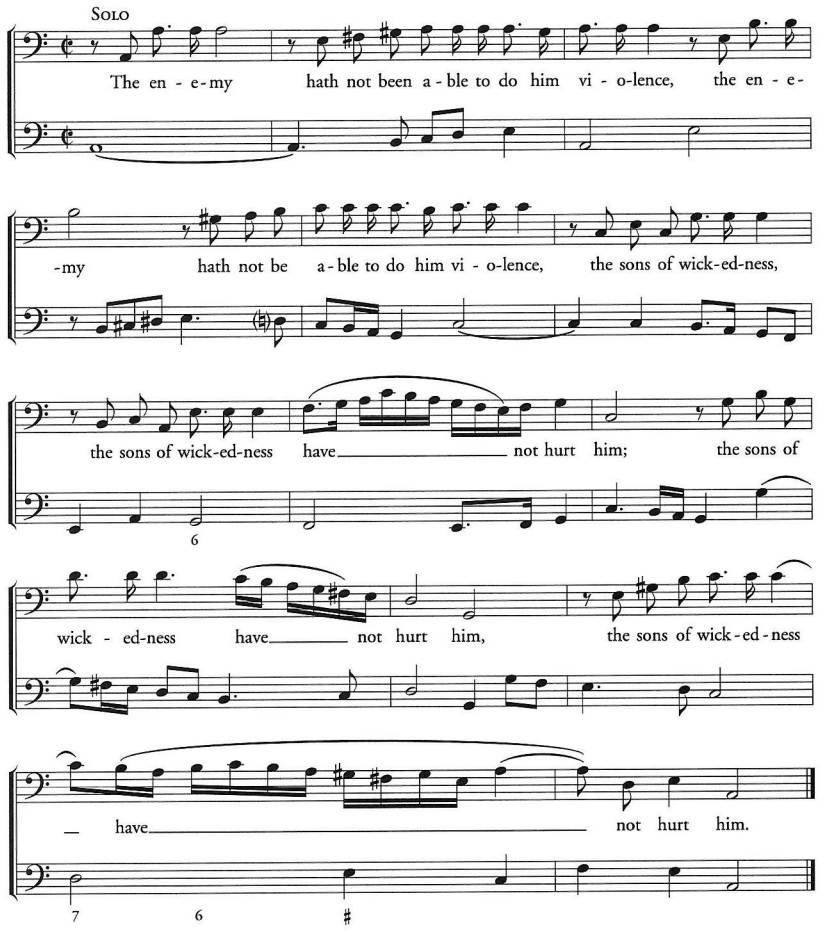


Add MS 31444 has [a] *c'* in the bass, [b] *c* in the bass.

But Burney had what is probably a corrupt source before him (even though autograph) for an earlier version of this anthem in the hand of James Hawkins (Add MS 31444) has what are probably correct readings at both these points. Admittedly the consecutive fifths remain but these are venial; indeed acceptable in the context. Burney, given his situation, can hardly be blamed for not looking further afield to see if his criticisms were justified, and, in any case, would probably still have complained, if only for the composer's careless copying – quite right too. Even so, these emendations go a long way to absolving Tudway from Burney's strictures and the imputation of technical incompetence.

It is possible that the texts of both 'The Lord hear thee' and *Quare fremuerunt gentes* reflect the political turmoil caused by the Exclusion Bill of 1681. Having failed by parliamentary means to exclude James, Duke of York (the future James II), from the succession, the exclusionists plotted to assassinate him at Rye House, Hoddesdon, on the way back to London from racing at Newmarket, but were again foiled. A Day of Thanksgiving was proclaimed for 9 September, for which Tudway wrote 'The Lord hath declared his salvation' (Ex. 3) [76] Less certain in date are some of the smaller anthems not otherwise known to be late. Among these is 'Blessed is the people', one of Gostling's additions to the York partbooks.[77] Of similar vintage may be 'Man that is born of a woman' and 'Not unto us, O Lord' (pre-1686 at Lincoln) among the Ely Cathedral manuscripts, now in Cambridge University Library.[78]

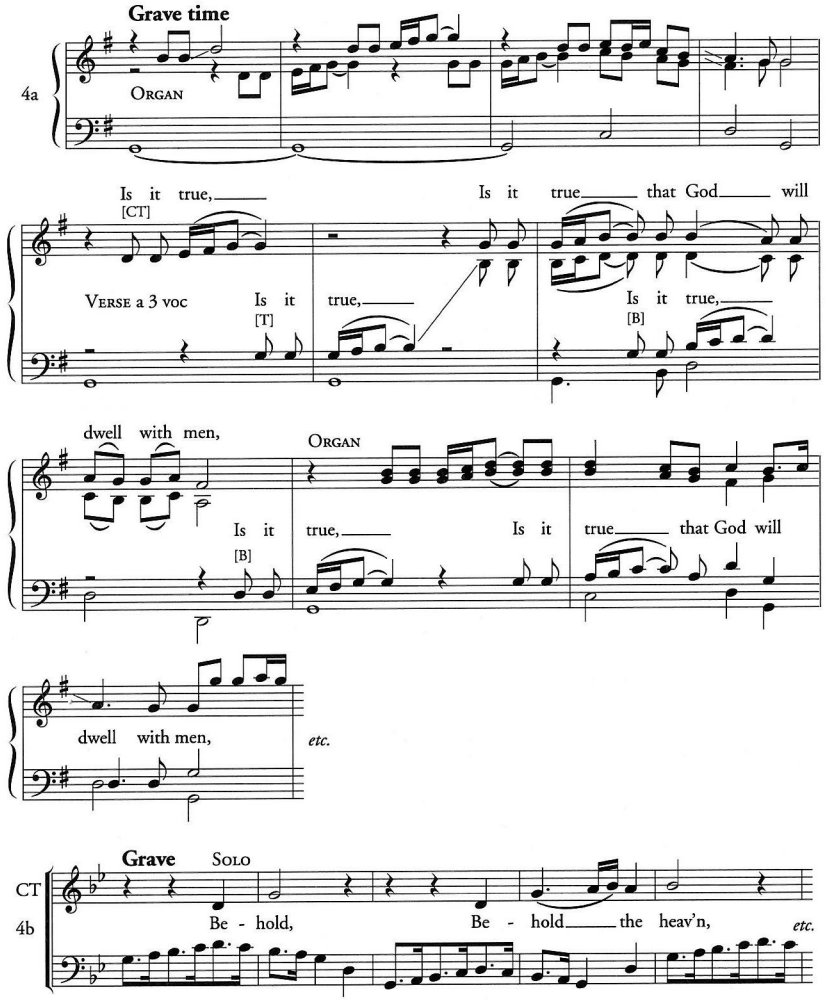
Ex. 3: **The Lord hath declared his salvation** (Tudway, iv, f255b)

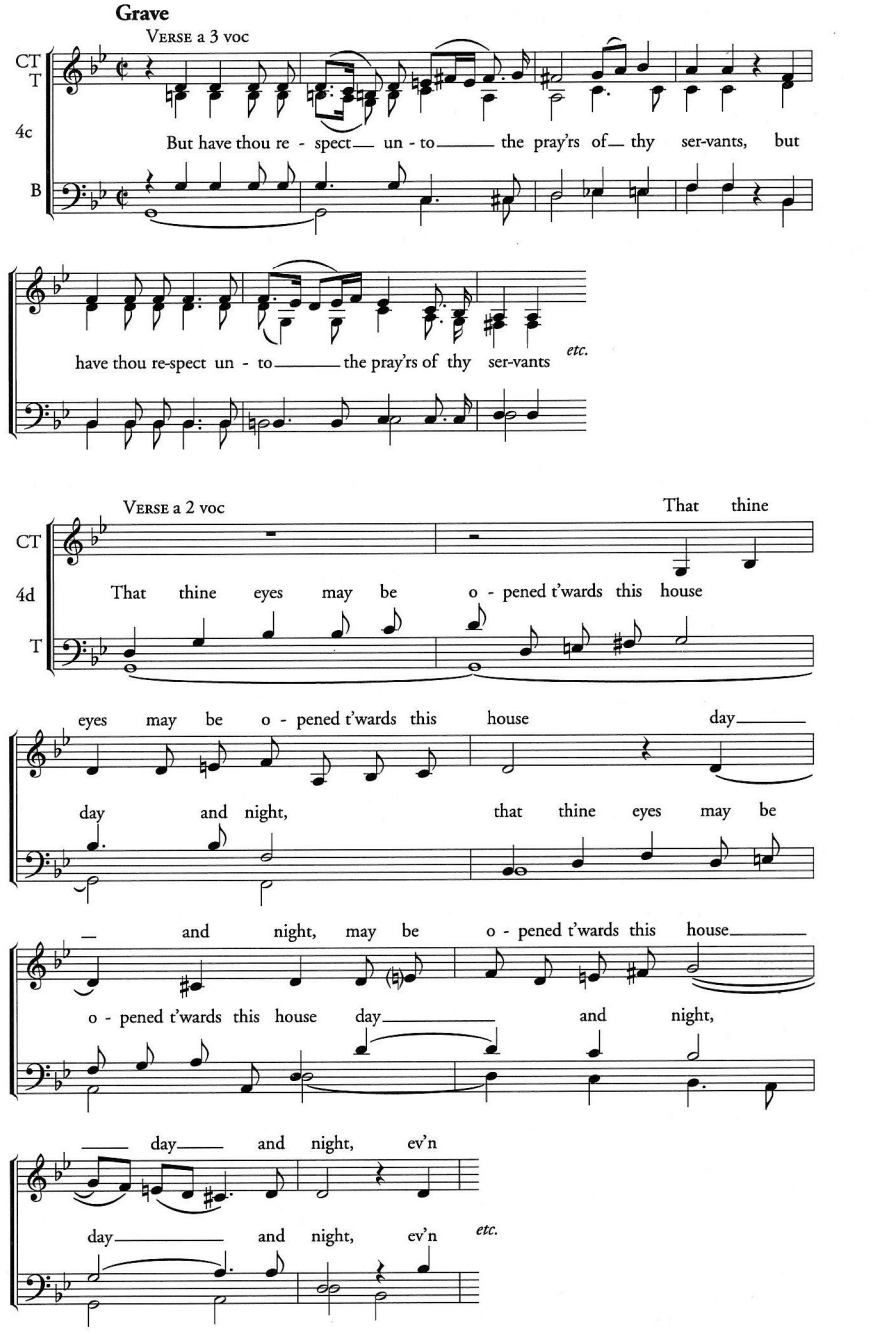


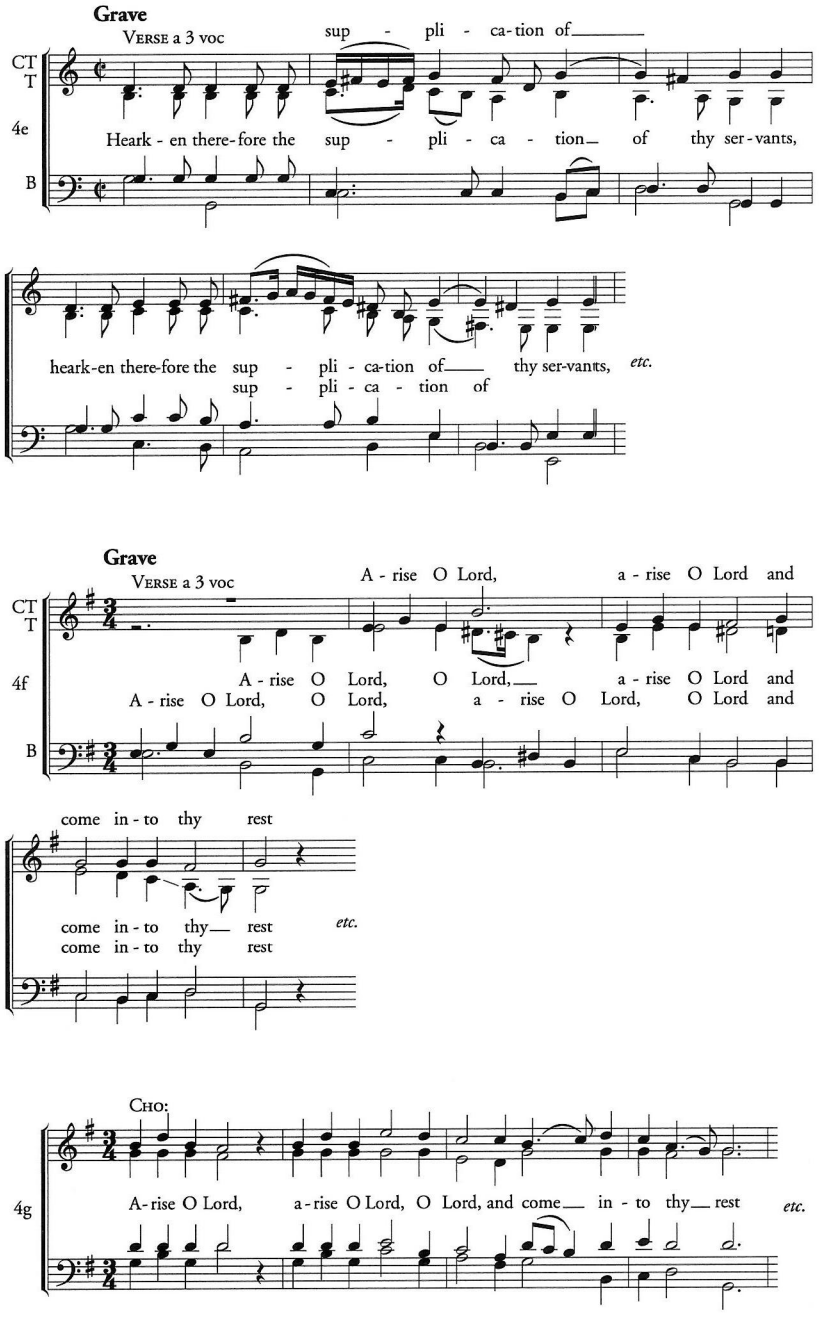
Later work parallels developments which we can follow in Purcell, notably the increasing fashion for florid vocal writing. This is particularly true of anthems of a celebratory nature, which most of the later ones are. The 'Rye House' anthem is, as yet, quite modest in this respect, especially if we think of what Purcell (aided and abetted by the 'stupendious bass' John Gostling) might have done at the verse 'The enemy hath not been able to do him violence'.[79] On the other hand Tudway does indulge in a bit of bluster at the words 'the sons of wickedness have not hurt him', but misses the target three times by colouring the word 'have' with semiquavers, instead of 'wickedness' or 'hurt' And, if one may presume to suggest an improvement, the final phrase of that particular verse would reach a better climax if it went up to top E on 'wickedness' instead of merely up to middle C.

By the time we get to Queen Anne's reign (1702–14) he is less inhibited and there is more baroque bombast. The mood is increasingly extravagant and the solo writing often extrovert. Introductory preludes for organ are frequent, as are ritornellos between verses and echo effects on the organ. We also find plenty of interpretative indications, speed and dynamics especially. To give an idea of the variegated structure of these anthems see the verse incipits of 'Thou, O Lord, hast heard our desires',[80] or 'Is it true that God will dwell with men' (Ex. 4), sung before the queen at Windsor on 12 July 1702, according to Gostling, who was one of the singers. The others were William Turner and Alexander Damascene, both countertenors.

Ex. 4: **Is it true that God will dwell with men** (Tudway, v, f35)







Most of the these later works are dated by the composer himself, who usually notes, not always unambiguously or even correctly, the occasions which they celebrate.[81] These include 'the great and Glorious victory at Blenhein' in 1704, the 'Thanksgiving for the Union with Scotland' in 1707, the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 – two, one for Great St Mary's, the other, presumably, for King's – and, intriguingly, 'the change of the Ministry, & the Insolence of the Faction thereupon'. The most likely Change of Ministry, given Tudway's tory sympathies, was when Harley became, in effect, chief minister in the autumn of 1710. Also, there were anthems sung before the queen at Windsor, probably in 1702, at Bath in 1703, and on her visit to Cambridge in 1705. The latest, 'Hearken unto me', is dated 25 March 1724 and was written, as has already been said, for the laying of the foundation stone of the Fellows' Building at King's.

Tudway's church music also includes a few services including a Burial Service. At first sight there appear to be two evening services in G and A, but they are, in fact, the same. The A major version was probably entered into the Worcester partbooks sometime before December 1684, so it may be quite early. There is also an Evening Service in B flat, very much in his florid late style and, still later, a Morning Service, also in B flat, already mentioned.[82] Despite certain similarities it seems unlikely that they really belong to each other, since the former is in Tudway, v, and has organ accompaniment, whereas the latter is not in either volumes five or six (suggesting a date after 1720) and has an accompaniment for strings with trumpets or oboes. It was said to have been intended 'for the Opening the Ld Harleys Chappell at Wimpole' in 1721 (Ely 11). Interestingly, the beginning of the *Te Deum* seems to make reference to Handel's Chandos *Te Deum* (also in B flat), which prompts the thought that Tudway may have fancied himself in relation to Harley rather as Handel to the Duke of Chandos. But as Burney observed in another connection, Tudway was no Handel.[83]

The Burial Service is in two sections, the first to be sung at the reception of the coffin at the door of the church, the second at the grave side. The latter items, beginning 'Man that is born of a woman' and ending 'Thou knowest Lord',[84] were written for the funeral in 1699 of Joseph Beaumont, Regius Professor of Divinity and Master of Peterhouse. It begins the same as the anthem 'Man that is born of a woman' but after 'In the midst of life' it continues with verses from 'O how amiable are thy dwellings'. (How these works relate to each other and their order of composition is unclear.) Beaumont, a High Churchman, had been appointed in 1689 to the commission that more or less saved the Cathedral Service as we know it from attempts to abolish it in the interests of Protestant 'comprehension', and no doubt Tudway felt a debt of gratitude to him on that score, quite apart from whatever their personal relationship may have been in Cambridge. Despite being in verse style the setting is simple, in solemn C minor, with some touching moments. The other movements are in G minor and were added later for the funeral in 1704 of Charles Churchill, Marquis of Blandford, heir to the Duke of Marlborough and a student of King's. It is 'full' – the only 'full' music that he wrote, anthem choruses apart – necessitated by the fact that it would have been sung in

procession. It comprises the opening sentences beginning 'I am the resurrection and the life', followed by 'I know that my redeemer liveth' and ending with 'We brought nothing into this world'.[85] The style is severely homophonic, awkwardly managed here and there, but eloquent nevertheless. The final item ('I heard a voice from heaven') sung towards the end of the service, reverts to the verse style. The rubric in the manuscript makes it clear that it belongs to the 1704 items despite changing the key to E minor.

Taking the church music of Tudway as a whole it has, when not damned with faint praise, received rather grudging treatment. Burney called the counterpoint of the anthems that he looked at 'ordinary and clumsy' [86] and, for what they are worth, we have seen his criticisms of 'The Lord hear thee'. But that particular piece, and perhaps much of his output, is more remarkable for a lack of memorable events than incompetence. He may not be a great composer, but he is quite a respectable one. He can write with panache and vitality, and some sensitivity to the texts, in the style of the time, of course – which may be an acquired taste, and was certainly not Burney's. His importance as a collector, editor and transmitter of a vast quantity of sixteenth and seventeenth century English church music can hardly be overestimated, and as such he is more than justified.

Last Years

Apropos Tudway's closing years, Hawkins says that he was 'mostly resident in London',[87] but numerous letters suggest that he was mainly at Cambridge. While he was compiling his collection he certainly visited London, but Cambridge, then as now (doubtless), was a good place to pursue musical research. With Hawkins at Ely and widespread provincial contacts necessitating the use of the post whether at London or Cambridge, he was not seriously disadvantaged by being there. And he could pay court to his patron Lord Harley when resident at Wimpole, only a few miles outside the town. Indeed, Tudway sometimes stayed there, for he wrote to the Earl of Oxford from Wimpole on 22 December 1723.[88] As has already been mentioned, his big *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* in B flat for choir and instruments, was written for the consecration of the chapel at Wimpole, though there is some doubt as to whether that ever took place.[89] If it did, then it happened on 31 August 1721.[90]

Whether King's kept a tight reign on him during this time is difficult to tell. Towards the end of his life he was paid an extra £1 per quarter 'pro opere extraordinario' and in March 1726 ten guineas 'for extra work'.[91] His last composition for the college – after a gap of well over ten years it appears – was 'Hearken unto me, ye holy children', written for the laying of the foundation stone of James Gibbs's Fellows' Building on 25 March 1724. This, in itself, suggests that he was still in harness, confirmed, more or less, in another letter to Lord Oxford, dated 8 October 1723, in which he comments on the progress of the building work.[92] At some point during these last years Tudway seems

to have sought ordination, for the name 'Reverend Tudway, Cambridge, Doctor of Musick' appears among the subscribers to Richard Neale's *A Pocket Companion for Gentlemen and Ladies* (1724 and 1725), a collection of opera songs and airs. None of its contents carry his name, though several are anonymous.[93]

According to Burney and Hawkins, Tudway was a member of Lord Harley's weekly meeting of artistic friends, other members of which included the poet Matthew Prior, the painter Sir James Thornhill and the landscape gardener Charles Bridgeman.[94] (Thornhill decorated the chapel at Wimpole and Bridgeman laid out the grounds.) The same two historians report (in Burney's words) that Thornhill

> drew all their portraits with a pencil, among which is Tudway playing upon the harpsichord. Prior wrote sportive verses under these drawings, which were in the possession of Mr [James] West, the late president of the Royal Society.[95]

Burney and Hawkins also comment on his reputation as a punster. Indeed some sources give the impression that it was a pun against the Duke of Somerset, Chancellor of Cambridge University, a whig, notoriously proud and touchy, and not likely to be sympathetic to flippant inferiors. Burney's version is as follows:

> In the time of the duke of Somerset's chancellorship at Cambridge, during the discontents of several members of that University at the rigour of his government and paucity of his patronage, Tudway, himself a malcontent, and joining in the clamour, said: *the Chancellor rides us all, without a bit in our mouths.*[96]

– a witticism all the more piquant for the fact that the Duke was also Master of the Horse in the royal household. Burney adds:

> Nor did the wicked sin of punning quit him in sickness; for having been dangerously ill of a quinsy and unable for some time, to swallow either food or medicines, the physician who attended him, after long debates and difficulties, at length turning to Mrs Tudway says, "Courage, madam! the doctor will get up May-hill yet [i.e., pull through], he has been able to swallow some nourishment"; the doctor cries out "Don't mind him, my dear; one *swallow* makes no summer".[97]

Burney tells us little else about him, however, other than what a poor composer he was. Hawkins, on the other hand, has some interesting details not to be found elsewhere. Although only a child when Tudway died, Hawkins had obviously spoken to people who had known him, or knew about him – William Gostling, for example, was one of

his informants. Hawkins quotes at length from a letter Tudway wrote to his son (that is, Tudway junior) 'intended by him, as it seems, for his own profession' in which he recalled the music and musicians of his younger years.[98] Unfortunately the letter is no longer traceable, but according to Hawkins '[m]any very curious particulars are related in it, and some facts, which but for him must have been buried in oblivion.'[99] Among them is the well known account of the battle of the organs between Smith and Harris, competing to supply the organ for the Temple Church between 1684 and 1688, for which, via Hawkins, it is the main source of information.[100] And writing of Purcell in this letter he says:

> I knew him perfectly well; he had a most commendable ambition of exceeding everyone of his time, and he succeeded in it without contradiction, there being none in England, nor anywhere else I know of, that could come into competition with him for compositions of all kinds. Towards the latter end of his life, he was prevailed to compose for the English stage; there was nothing that had ever appeared in England like the representations of all kinds, whether of pomp or solemnity; in his grand chorus &c, or that exquisite piece called the freezing piece of music; in representing a mad couple, or country swains making love, or indeed any other kind of musick whatever. But these are trifles in comparison of the solemn pieces he made for the church, in which I will name but one, and that is his Te Deum &c, with instruments, a composition for skill and invention beyond what was ever attempted in England before his time.[101]

Fascinating here is the hint that perhaps Purcell's ambition was a bit overweening – a touch ironic coming from Tudway. Other matters dealt with include his disapproval of 'fuging' in vocal music on the grounds that 'it obscures the sense of the words', on which Hawkins comments sensibly 'either the case or not, according as the point is managed'.[102]

Needless to say the completion of his task in 1720 saw a great load off his shoulders, and no doubt the 30 guineas he received for each volume cheered him up. William Stratford, canon of Christ Church, writing to Lord Harley the following year said 'the old man is so gay and so full of compliments, that I am not able to keep pace with him'.[103] In another letter he mentions that Tudway intends 'to set upon a large treatise of music and to dedicate it to your Lordship'.

> He complains he was straitened in compass in the short essay he has written before the book which you have. But he will spend the remainder of his life in writing a full and just treatise, if that short essay meets with that approbation he hopes from your Lordship.[104]

One detects a certain irrepressibility in the correspondence of these later years. Apart from the earl and his son, surviving letters are mainly to or from Humfrey Wanley, Matthew Prior and William Stratford, Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. Their subjects touch on current political affairs, university gossip (he frequently reports on the shenanigans of Richard Bentley, Master of Trinity), bibliographical matters, and, of course, issues affecting his own situation.

What, then, are we to make of Thomas Tudway – Tory Toady, shall we call him? As a composer he was not without talent, though perhaps not enough to justify the high hopes he had for himself. Political partisanship too freely expressed may sometimes have thwarted his ambitions. Indeed, on occasion he was probably too cheeky for his own good. Nevertheless, he occupies an important place in the history of English music, thanks mainly to the Harleian Collection, preserving music of the past, recording music of the present and handing it on to the future 'in Everlasting remembrance'. No doubt among his circle of intimates he was a valued source of amusement, his puns provoking grins and groans in equal measure. Hawkins said that after fifty years he 'is yet [1776] remembered at Cambridge for his singular style in conversation'.[105] And here we are still, after three hundred years, remembering not only his wit, but more solid achievements as well.

LIST OF WORKS

ANTHEMS

Arise, shine, for thy light is come	(probably 1706–1714)
Behold, God is my salvation	(before December 1677)
Behold, how good and joyful it is	(1707)
Blessed is the people	(pre-1703, probably pre-1700)
Give the Lord the honour due	(1713)
Hearken unto me	(1724)
I will lift up mine eyes	(1703)
I will sing unto the Lord	(1704)
Is it true that God will dwell with men	(1702)
Let us now praise worthy men	(pre-1705, possibly 1691?)
Man that is born of a woman	(see Burial Service below, but includes sections from 'O how amiable')
My God, my God, why	(1675)
My heart rejoiceth in the Lord	(1713)
Not unto us, O Lord	(pre-1686)
O come let us sing unto the Lord (inc.)	(before Feb 1679, possibly pre-1670)
O how amiable are thy dwellings	(pre-1705, includes verses from 'Man that is born' above)
O praise the Lord, for it is a good thing	(post-1706, possibly 1708)
O sing unto the Lord	(post-1695)
Plead thou my cause	(1710)
Quare fremuerunt	(1681)
Sing, O heavens	(1702–5)
Sing we merrily unto God	(probably 1702–6)
The Lord hath declared	(1681)

The Lord hear thee	(1681)
Thou, O Lord, hast heard our desire	(1705)

SERVICES

Evening Service in A	(also in G, pre-1684)
Evening Service in B flat	(possibly c. 1705 or later)
Morning Service in B flat	(post-1720)

With orchestral accompaniment for strings and oboes or trumpets

Burial Service

'I am the resurrection and the life', including 'I know that my redeemer liveth' and 'We brought nothing into this world' (1704)

'I heard a voice from heaven' (1704)

'Man that is born of a woman' (continuing 'In the midst of life', 'Yet, O Lord God most holy', and 'Thou knowest Lord', 1699)

DOUBTFUL WORKS

(The following are mentioned in the literature):

M B Foster, *Anthems and Anthem Composers* (London, 1901)

Behold thou hast made my days (King's College MS)

By the waters (King's College MS)

New Grove, 1st and 2nd eds (H Watkins Shaw)

The Lord is righteous

NOTES

1 The last four editions of Grove have useful articles on Tudway, each slightly different from the other. The one in *Grove* 4 (1940) is by W H Husk, the one in *Grove* (1954) a revision by H Watkins Shaw. *New Grove* [*NG*] 1 (1980) has a new article by Shaw, and *New Grove* [*NG*] 2 (2001) a revision by Bruce Wood. Henry Davies's article in the old *Dictionary of National Biography* [*DNB*] should not be overlooked. John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (2nd edition, London, 1875, 794–5) is a unique source for some information, otherwise Andrew Ashbee, *et al.*, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485–1714* (Aldershot, 1998) 1100–1102 [*BDECM*] and H Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1538*, (Oxford, 1991) 357–8) are invaluable.

2 G Armytage, ed., *Obituary ... compiled by Sir William Musgrave* (Publications of the Harleian Society, 6 vols, London, 1899–1901) vi, 30.

3 Ashbee, *BDECM*, 1100–01, see also K Dexter, *'A good Choir of Voices', The provision of choral music at St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, and Eton College, c. 1640–1733* (Aldershot, 2002), 327–8.

4 S Bond, *The Chapter Acts of the Dean and Canons of Windsor, 1430, 1523–1672* (Windsor, 1976), 256.

5 Ibid., 249.

6 A Ashbee, ed., *Records of English Court Music, 1660–1685* (Snodland, 1986) [*RECM*], 56, see also 62.

7 Ibid., 82.

8 Ibid., 87.

9 Ibid., 88–9.

10 Ibid., 56. He was probably still around in 1664 for he is not listed among the clerks at Windsor until October 1665.

11 Ibid., 121, probably from Christmas 1671.

12 Prefaces to the six volumes of Tudway's 'Collection of the Most Celebrated Services and Anthems' are printed in Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music, 1669–1714* (Oxford, 1995), Appendix F, 434–49, see 437.

13 See above footnotes 8 and 9.

14 Shaw, *Succession*, 357–8.

15 According to a note in BL Add. MS 31444, f. 244b.

16 See Ashbee, *BDECM*, 1102.

17 A Freeman, 'The Organs at King's College, Cambridge', *The Organ*, 8 (1928–9), 132–3.

18 *RECM*, viii, 300.

19 Shaw, *Succession*, 9–10.

20 Hawkins, 795.

21 In a letter to Humfrey Wanley, 11 July 1718, he mentions this duty. *DNB*, 1219.

22 Hawkins, 795, and others. The previous Cambridge Mus. D had been William Turner in 1696, whose 'Musick Act' was 'assisted by Dr Blow, the Gentlemen of the Chappel Royal, and the chief Musicions about Town', see Michael Tilmouth, 'A Calendat of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660–1719)' *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, i. (1961), 17. Tudway had to petition the Vice Chancellor and Heads for the formal completion of his degree (see G E Corrie, 'Reasons for the Completion of Dr Tudway's Degree in Music, A D 1705' (*Antiquarian Communications* [Cambridge Antiquarian Society], ii, 1864, 345–9).

23 Spink, 35–8 gives verse incipits.

24 It was bequeathed to the university by Richard Rawlinson (benefactor of the Bodleian Library) in 1755, who bought it at the sale of the Earl of Oxford's effects for one guinea in 1742. How Lord Oxford had acquired it is not known; possibly Tudway gave (or bequeathed) it to him. It is reproduced in P Highfill (and others), *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians ... in London, 1660–1800*, 16 vols (Carbondale, Ill., 1973–93) xv, 52, and on the cover of this booklet.

25 Hawkins, 795.

26 *Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts ... Part I* (HMSO London, 1874) 419, from 'Records of Emmanuel College'.

27 C Wordsworth, *Scholae Academicae* (London 1877), 298.

28 Shaw, *Succession*, 358.

29 I Payne, *Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals c.1547–c.1646* (London and New York, 1993) 98 and 108; also ibid., 'Music at Jesus College, Cambridge, c.1557–1679', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, lxxvi (1987), 102.

30 Letter to Robert Harley, 16 Jan 1714, quoted in W. Weber, 'Thomas Tudway and the Harleian Collection of "Ancient" Church Music', *British Library Journal*,

15 (1989) 190.

31 A Ashbee and J Harley, *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, i (Aldershot, 2000) 46, 49. Although not known to have served the Duke of Somerset (who, incidentally, as Chancellor of Cambridge University was the butt of one of Tudway's better puns – see below p. 21 [fn 96]), it may have been Weldon to whom Tudway was referring.

32 Weber, 203.

33 Tudway had been recommended to Harley by Humfrey Gower, Master of St John's College, who died in 1711. Weber, 204, fn 17.

34 Letter of 9 August 1714; *Report on the Manuscripts of the Duke of Portland*, 10 vols (Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts [*HMC*], London, 1892–1931) v, 485. Several aspects of this letter raise questions caused, in part, by its apparently ambiguous tenses and moods. 'The late Ministry' was presumably the whig ministry headed by Godolphin, 1702–10, which Harley's Tory ministry of 1711–14 supplanted. If, however, he is referring to his troubles of 1706–7 then 'nearly three score years of age' is a gross exaggeration, given 1656–6 as his date of birth. Other evidence, however, suggests that, rather than accepting a birth date of c.1646, the phrase refers to 1714 when the letter was written (Weber, 203, fn 5), thus confirming 1655–6 as his date of birth.

35 *HMC*, v, 493.

36 See articles on Robert Harley, 1st Earl of Oxford, Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford, and Humfrey Wanley in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

37 Preface to Tudway, i (Spink, 435).

38 Spink, 84–7. Other manuscript collections of anthems were being made at the time – by Gostling for example – but these do not contain historical material (i.e., 'ancient musick').

39 C Hogwood, 'Thomas Tudway's History of Music' in C Hogwood and R Luckett (eds), *Music in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1983) 21; E Turnbull, 'Thomas Tudway and the Harleian Collection', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 8 (1955) 204; Weber, 194.

40 H Davey, 'Thomas Tudway' in *DNB* (1900) 1219; John S Bumpus, *A History of English Cathedral Music, 1540–1889* (2 vols., London, 1908) i, 222. The contents of all six volumes are listed under 'Tudway' in *Grove*, eds. 1–4.

41 Hogwood, 19–47; Turnbull, 203–7.

42 Preface to vol. 1, Spink, 434.

43 Weber, 196.

44 Turnbull, 204.

45 J Morehen, 'The Gibbons-Loosemore Mystery', *MT*, cxii (1971) 959–60.

46 Turnbull, 204.

47 Ibid., 205, 13 August 1716.

48 Ibid., 205.

49 Ibid., 206, 17 February 1716.

50 Ibid., 206, fn. 23.

51 Tudway, iv (Spink, 440).

52 Bumpus, 225. Turnbull mentions among others James Heseltine of York, 204, fn. 12.

53 *NG* 2 (2001), 'Thomas Tudway', xxv, 875.

54 The Harleian and Sloane collections formed the basis of the British Museum Library (now British Library) which opened its doors to the public in 1759.

55 As already noted, all are transcribed in Spink, 434–49. See also Hogwood, op. cit., 19–47.

56 Tudway, i, (Spink, 435). Subsequent references to Tudway's prefaces (and their transcription in Spink) will omit both names. Here, quotations have been modernized slightly in punctuation and some word abbreviations have been expanded.

57 Tudway, ii (Spink, 437).

58 Ibid. (Spink, 436–7).

59 Ibid. (437).

60 Tudway, vi (445).

61 Tudway, iv (441).

62 W Croft, *Musica Sacra* (London, 1724) i, 3–4.

63 Tudway, vi (447).

64 Ibid. (447).

65 Ibid. (447).

66 Ibid. (447).

67 Spink, 35–8, 87–8, 197–201.

68 King Charles's penchant for the 'step tripla' (J Wilson, *Roger North on Music* (London, 1959) 299–300) was shared by most of his subjects – indeed most of Europe in the second half of the seventeenth century.

69 Tudway, v, f.43, and various Ely MSS (see W Dickson, *A Catalogue of Ancient Choral Services and Anthems ... in the Cathedral Church of Ely* (Cambridge, 1861) among other sources.

70 H Watkins Shaw, *The Bing-Gostling Part-books at York Minster*, Church Music Society (1986), 114–5.

71 Westminster Abbey MS 1a (alto cantoris) f.67, MS 4 (tenor cantoris) f.58b; see Shaw (1986)108–9.

72 Shaw (1986), 103–4.

73 P Dennison (ed), *Pelham Humfrey, Complete Church Music*, no. 14 (Musica Britannica, xxxv, 1972).

74 Both in Tudway, ii, also British Library Add MS 31444.

75 C Burney, *A General History of Music*, ed. F Mercer (London, 1935) ii, 360.

76 Tudway, iv 'Composed for his Majesty K. Charles II's Chapel on the Thanksgiving for the discovery of the Rye House Conspiracy ... 1682 [sic]'; also in Add MS 31444.

77 Shaw (1986),104; also Add MS 30932, f.24a.

78 Dickson, 41.

79 Unless the intention, unlikely it must be said, is to emphasise the fact that the enemy was *not* able to do him violence! See Spink, 198.

80 Ibid., 36–8, though in this instance there is nothing for organ.

81 Anthems by Tudway written 1702–24:

Is it true that God will dwell with men, 'for ye Opening of St Paul's Church [i.e. Cathedral] And Sung at the opening of Kings Coll: Chapel' (Tudway, v). The text is certainly suitable for the dedication of a church. Possibly Tudway had optimistically hoped to have it performed at the opening of St Paul's in 1697 (or he may have been hopeful about its chances for the 'final' opening of St Paul's in 1710). However, the Gostling MS has 'Mr Tudway: sung before Queene Anne at Windsor July 12 1702, by Dr Turner, Mr Damascene & Jo: Gostling', and other sources agree. Gostling's report is so

circumstantial that it seems likely to state the facts of the case whatever else Tudway's comments may suggest. (*NG* 1 has 'opening of Wimpole Chapel, 1721'.)

I will lift up mine eyes (Tudway, v) 'Sung to the Queen at the Bath' according to *NG* 2. The Queen went to Bath in the autumn of 1703.

I will sing unto the Lord, 'for ye great and Glorious victory at Blenheim [1704] And Sung to ye Queen on that Occasion' (Tudway, v).

Thou, O Lord, hast heard our desire, 'Sung to ye Queen, in Kings College Chappell, on ye Occasion of her Majesty presence there.April 16. 1705' (Tudway, v). This has been variously claimed as his doctoral piece or to mark his appointment as professor (see Spink. 36–8).

Behold, how good and joyful it is, 'for her Majesty Chappell on the Thanksgiving for ye Union wth Scotland' [1707] (Tudway, vi).

O praise the Lord, for it is a good thing (not in Tudway, v or vi) 'Battle of Oudenarde' [1708] according to *NG* 1 and 2, but evidence seems lacking. It is likely to be post-1706.

Plead thou my cause, 'for her Majesty Chappell on ye change of ye Ministry, & ye insolence of ye Faction thereupon' (Tudway, vi). The most likely 'Change of Ministry' (given Tudway's allegiance) was when Harley became chief minister in the autumn of 1710.

My heart rejoiceth in the Lord, 'An Anthem accompanied with Instrumental Musick for ye Thanksgiving on ye peace [of Utrecht], perform'd in St Marys Church before ye University July ye 7th 1713' (Tudway, vi).

Give the Lord the honour due, 'An other Anthem of Thanksgiving for ye Peace' [1713] (Tudway, vi).

Hearken unto me, 'composed on the occasion of Laying the first stone for the foundation of a New College [the Fellows' Building, King's College, 25 March 1724]. See also Ely 20.

Four are less certain in date:

Sing we merrily unto God (Tudway, v). Probably 1702–5.

Sing, O heavens, 'Sung to ye Queen in her Chappell at Windsor' (Tudway, v). 1702–5.

O how amiable are thy dwellings (not in Tudway, v or vi) 'Opening of Wimpole Chapel, 1721, according to *NG* 1, but sources (including the Gostling MS) attribute it to 'Mr' Tudway and therefore more likely pre-1705 than post-1720.

Arise, shine, for thy light is come, 'for ye Queens Chappell' (Tudway, vi) Probably 1706–1714.

82 Ely MSS 11 and 19.

83 Burney, 360.

84 Tudway, v, f.46, and widely elsewhere (Ely MSS 8, 9, 11; Tenbury (Bodleian) 789, 1029; BL Add MS 31444; King's and St John's – some of which have the anthem version.

85 Tudway, v, f.49 and elsewhere. See K Dexter and G Webber (eds), *The Restoration Anthem*, ii (Church Music Society, 2006) 69–73.

86 Burney, 360.

87 Hawkins, 795.

88 *Report on the Manuscripts of the Duke of Portland*, 10 vols (London, 1892–1932) [*HMC*], v, 638.

89 Dickson, 40.

90 According to the note attached to it in British Library Mus MS 136, f. 35.

91 Shaw, *Succession*, 358.

92 *HMC*, v, 635.

93 *BDECM*, 1102.

94 Burney, 361; Hawkins, 795.

95 Burney, loc. cit. Prior and Tudway seem to have been acquainted much earlier for one of Prior's poems dated 1690 ('Love I confess') carries the rubric '*Song Set by Messrs: Pickering and Tudway*'. It never seems to have been published. See H Wright and M Spears eds., *The Literary Works of Matthew Prior*, 2nd ed., (Oxford, 1971) i, 103.

96 Burney, loc. cit.

97 Ibid.

98 Hawkins, 795.

99 Ibid.

100 Hawkins, 691–2.

101 Hawkins, 795.

102 Ibid.

103 16 April 1721, *HMC*, vii, 295.

104 23 February 1721; *HMC*, vii, 291.

105 Hawkins, 795.