

University of York

G E O R G E J E F F R E Y S

A N D T H E E N G L I S H B A R O Q U E

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fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy

by

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Abstract

The main part of this study is an edition of music by George Jeffreys, which is presented in three volumes. Volume I comprises the complete instrumental works, secular songs and theatre music, Volume II contains performing editions of some thirty of Jeffreys' sacred compositions, and Volume III contains transcriptions of extracts from the remainder of the pieces not included in the first two volumes. Performances of twelve of these works can be heard on the two accompanying tapes, which were recorded at public concerts given at York University and at Harrogate during 1969. An index to these recordings appears in Volume IV, page 230.

The fourth volume, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', is devoted primarily to an assessment of Jeffreys' work by way of a detailed critical commentary. This part of the study is divided into four sections, the first dealing with the instrumental works, the second with the secular songs and theatre music, the third with the Latin sacred compositions, and the fourth with the English church music. References to the music are made by citing the volume, page and bar number of the passage under discussion. In the introductory chapter, an attempt is made to examine in a very general way the growth of baroque styles and techniques in England in order to set the main part of the study in some kind of historical context. This introductory chapter is followed by an outline of Jeffreys' life based mainly on the letters he wrote to Lord Hatton and others (over two hundred of which are preserved in the Hatton-Finch collection in the British Museum) and on other extant documents relating to his life at Weldon. Jeffreys' Will is reproduced in Appendix B. The biographical chapter also includes a description and discussion of the autograph and other manuscript and printed sources. A catalogue of music by Jeffreys (including the copies he made of 17th century Italian sacred songs) is given in Appendix A, and a list of works by Jeffreys in modern editions in Appendix C.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Add	Additional manuscript in the British Museum, London
BM	British Museum, London
BOD	Bodleian Library, Oxford
Ch Ch	Christ Church College Library, Oxford
PRO	Public Record Office, London
RCM	Royal College of Music, London
York	York Minster Library, York

In quoting from 17th and early 18th century manuscript and printed sources, punctuation has been modernised and abbreviations written out in full. The original spelling and capitalisation has been retained. Where editorial changes in punctuation (e.g. the insertion of a comma) may affect the sense, the possibility is pointed out in a footnote. Except in the case of Herbert's poem Easter Day, which was published in 1633 in his collection The Temple, the organisation of line lengths in the poems quoted in the critical commentary is editorial.

No musical illustrations are included in the critical commentary. References to works by Jeffreys, which appear in the three companion volumes of performing editions and additional extracts, have a footnote indicating the volume, page and bar number of the passage under discussion. When discussing music by other composers, reference is made where possible to published editions which are readily accessible.

PREFACE

Until quite recently, the period in English music between the 'golden age' of Byrd and his contemporaries and that of Purcell had received little attention. During the past few years, however, an increasing amount of Caroline and Commonwealth music has been published in modern editions, and this has done much to contribute to a greater understanding of the period and of the emergent baroque style in England. At the same time, detailed studies of individual composers have helped to present a clearer picture of this transitional period in English music which coincided with and reflected an age of violent social change and bitter political conflict. As other writers have shown, English composers could not have remained unaffected by the political circumstances; yet the nature of the English baroque depended much more on the way in which they reacted to the conflict between their native musical tradition and the prevailing continental influences. As in all periods of transition from one musical era to another, each composer responded differently to the problem of finding a balance between tradition and experiment. Some, like Tomkins, continued to work within the conservative techniques of 16th century polyphony; others, such as Martin Peerson, explored declamatory principles and extreme chromaticism within basically polyphonic textures; and others,

like William Lawes and Nicholas Lanier, experimented with the Italian stile nuovo which they developed in characteristically individual ways. But the most radical composer of the period was little known in his lifetime and has been almost entirely forgotten since his death in 1685. A younger contemporary of the Lawes brothers, George Jeffreys produced all his mature compositions when he was engaged in professional duties outside music; yet the social, political and religious upheavals of the times make it no accident that such an original and individual talent should be found in an amateur.

This study is concerned primarily with George Jeffreys. Most of the intensive research has been concentrated on his music, though attention has also been given to his life which can be traced in some detail from 1648 onwards. In the introductory chapter, an attempt is made to examine in a very general way the growth of baroque styles and techniques in England in order to set the main part of the study in some kind of historical perspective. It was not my intention to make a detailed comparison between Jeffreys' music and that of his contemporaries, and for this reason I have dealt only briefly with their work, tracing what seemed to be the most important aspects of the emergent baroque style in England by discussing music which has already been made accessible by others. In concentrating on Jeffreys' work, my main task has been to transcribe and edit his music, which is presented in the three accompanying volumes of transcriptions and performing editions. Volume I comprises the complete instrumental works, secular songs

and theatre music, Volume II is devoted to performing editions of some thirty of Jeffreys' sacred compositions, and Volume III contains transcriptions of extracts from the remainder of the pieces not included in the first two volumes. In the following critical commentary, references to the music are made by citing the volume, page and bar number of the passage under discussion.

Most of the work in transcribing and editing the music was carried out between 1965 and 1969, and I am indebted to several friends and colleagues for their help and encouragement during this period. In particular, I would like to thank Mr Bernard Barr, librarian at York Minster, Mr Richard Townend, librarian of the Parry Room at the Royal College of Music, and Mr H.J.R. Wing, assistant librarian at Christ Church College, Oxford for their kindness in making the manuscripts available, and for their helpful advice and encouragement. I am also indebted to Mr P.I. King, Northamptonshire County Archivist, for making available various documents and manuscripts. I am especially grateful to Mr Nicholas Steinitz, who has himself transcribed much of Jeffreys' music, for his helpful advice concerning the chronology of the autograph manuscripts and for his generous offer to show me his own transcriptions. I am also indebted to Miss Franca Bizzoni for tidying up and providing translations of the Italian texts, and to Mr Gordon Pullin for his kindness in translating and suggesting necessary revisions to the Latin. For much helpful advice and encouragement during the later stages of my research I

am indebted to a number of colleagues at York. In particular, I would like to thank Professor Gerald Aylmer for his help in suggesting further source material, Professor Bernard Harris for his patience in trying to identify the unknown poets whose verses Jeffreys set, and Professor Wilfrid Mellers, whose encouragement has at all times been an unfailing source of inspiration. My debt is hardly less to Mr Basil Ramsey of Novello and Company for the enthusiastic interest he has shown in Jeffreys' music and for his efforts to promote further performances. My task has been made easier by Mr Edward Jones, who has patiently checked with the manuscripts several details in my pencil transcriptions, and I am especially grateful to the members of my English Baroque Ensemble and to many students at York University for making tape recordings of some of these editions. Finally, I owe a particular debt of gratitude to my wife, but for whose patience, understanding and enthusiasm this study would never have been written.

P.A.

University of York,
1st February, 1970

1. THE RISE OF THE BAROQUE IN ENGLAND

The first half of the 17th century was a turbulent period in England. Political unrest and religious intolerance led to civil war, execution of the King, and fast-changing social and moral values during the Commonwealth and early years of the Restoration. It was also a period of transition in English music, influenced by stylistic developments in Italy. Shortly after 1600, a growing interest in the new, declamatory techniques of the Italian monodists was reflected first in secular music, and then more gradually in music for the church. But, as in all periods of transition, composers differed considerably in their attitudes to the balance between tradition and experiment. Some continued to work within the conservative techniques of 16th century polyphony; others tried to combine declamation and experimental chromaticism within basically polyphonic textures; and others developed the Italian stile nuovo in characteristically individual ways.

This diversity of style in English music during the formative years of the baroque was also characteristic of music in Italy. As Manfred Bukofzer has shown,¹⁾ baroque theorists as

1) Manfred Bukofzer, Music in the Baroque Era (London, 1948), pp. 4-5. As an example, Bukofzer cites Berardi (Miscellanea Musicale, 1689) who distinguishes between renaissance and baroque music by stating that in the renaissance "harmony is master of the word", while in the baroque "the word is master of harmony". This distinction implies that representation of the word in music was unknown in the renaissance; that, of course, is far from the case.

well as some modern writers have tended to oversimplify differences between the 'old' and 'new' music, implying that the stile moderno was a sudden and violent reaction against renaissance techniques. But despite the style-consciousness of early baroque composers, indicated by Monteverdi's use of the terms prima and seconda prattica in the preface to his fifth book of madrigals (1605), the new music was the culmination of a gradual stylistic change which had occurred during the second half of the 16th century. In his introduction to the fourth volume of the New Oxford History of Music,¹⁾ Gerald Abraham summarises these developments and shows how they were inseparable from the rise of secular humanism in the late renaissance:²⁾

"The full humanist penetration of European thought and feeling, to such a depth that musical composition became affected and later actually conditioned by it, was a long and slow process continuing throughout the sixteenth century.... The essential manifestation of humanism in music is the domination of the word [and this] humanistic subordination of music to text, the insistence that music shall have meaning through carrying words or shall simply heighten the effect of words, is as evident in religious music as in frottola, madrigal and chanson.... The appearance in 1600 of Peri's Euridice and Caccini's, and of Cavalieri's Rappresentazione - followed by Caccini's Nuove musiche and Viadana's Concerti ecclesiastici in 1602 - has lent that year the factitious importance of a dividing line.... Parry, like many others, was misled into declaring that 'the change in the character and methods of musical art at the end of the sixteenth century' was 'decisive and abrupt'. But the old polyphonic style did not die with its greatest masters; it lived on in the 'silver age' of the Anerio brothers and the prima prattica of Monteverdi himself, while on the other hand his seconda prattica ... had its roots deep in the past."

1) The Age of Humanism (London, 1968).

2) Ibid., pp. xxi-xxv passim.

As at other times of transition from one musical era to another, the picture has been distorted by exaggerated claims and counterclaims from the progressive and conservative camps. In fact, the innovations of the Camerata were not as radical as they or their opponents would have us believe, and features of the stile moderno can be traced back to at least the middle of the 16th century. The basso continuo, for example, has its roots in the basso seguente, the concertato style of the early baroque in the voice-grouping techniques of the madrigal and in the coro spezzati of 16th century Venetian composers, and declamatory principles are clearly evident in the madrigals of Cipriano de Rore, whom Giulio Cesare Monteverdi considered the pioneer of the seconda prattica and whom Bardi and Galilei hailed as their prophet. Like the majority of composers of the next generation, Rore's church music is very much more traditional than his secular compositions. His later madrigals, on the other hand, reveal a remarkable ability to recreate through music the visual and emotional content of the words. To quote Palisca,¹⁾ music has become "a language in which every technical device, both new and old, is enlisted to communicate feelings and ideas".

1) Claude Palisca, Baroque Music (New Jersey, 1968), p.13. As an example, Palisca gives an analysis of O Sonno (Second Book of Madrigals to Four Parts, 1557) which he quite properly states "epitomizes the aesthetic goals and musical apparatus of the emergent baroque style". The madrigal was singled out for praise by Bardi in his Discorso mandato a Giulio Caccini (translated by Strunk in Source Readings in Music History, New York, 1950, p.295). Hardly less remarkable is the well known Crudele acerba inesorabil morte (reproduced by Einstein in The Italian Madrigal, Vol.III, p.114) which was admired by Monteverdi's brother, Giulio Cesare, and cited as an early example of the seconda prattica. Neither of these works, however, rivals in emotional intensity Rore's five-part setting of O morte, eterno fin (Book 4, 1557) which is included by Einstein in The Golden Age of the Italian Madrigal (London, 1942), p.13.

The influence of Rore on Italian composers in the second half of the 16th century was considerable. In his preoccupation with mood-expression at the expense of purely musical considerations, Rore can properly be considered the instigator of a trend which culminated in the dramatic monody of the early baroque. His music prepares the way for the experimental chromaticism of his pupil Luzzaschi and of Gesualdo;¹⁾ for the madrigals of Wert, with their fondness for chordal declamation and their tendency for the top part to dominate the lower voices;²⁾ for the virtuoso solo madrigals of Luzzaschi, in which the solo voice breaks into florid embellishments of the melodic line at the cadence points;³⁾ for the appearance

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- 1) A fine example of emotional expression through dramatic use of melodic and chordal chromaticism can be seen in Luzzaschi's Quivi sospiri (Book 2, 1576; reproduced by Einstein in The Golden Age, p.53). Much has been written about the chromatic idiom of Gesualdo, who certainly knew Luzzaschi and may well have been influenced by his work. One aspect of Gesualdo's technique, however, has received little attention. This is his practice of building a work around two strongly contrasted ideas, rather in the manner of a late 18th century sonata movement. Moro lasso, for example, matches the poet's antithesis with a musical one, and the two ideas - the first homophonic and chromatic (representing 'death'), the second imitative, diatonic and full of rhythmic energy (representing 'life') - are developed side by side throughout the work.
 - 2) This tendency for the top part to dominate the lower voices is indicative of the trend towards polarity of the outer parts which led to the establishment of the basso continuo in the early years of the 17th century. Wert's setting of Guarini's Ah, dolente partita (Book 11; included by Einstein in The Golden Age, p.71) provides an excellent example. Compared with Monteverdi's setting of the same text (Book 4, 1603) the chromatic dissonance is less extreme, but the wide compass of the parts and declamatory nature of the individual lines make the music hardly less passionate.
 - 3) See, for example, his setting of Guarini's O primavera (included by Schering in Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen, Leipzig, 1931, p.176) which was published in 1601 but almost certainly written considerably earlier. The work is essentially a four-part madrigal transcribed for keyboard, with the solo voice doubling the top part but breaking into florid embellishments of the melodic line at the cadence points. This technique, used also by Cavalieri but extended so that

of the basso continuo in the work of Cavalieri, Peri and Caccini;¹⁾ and for the eventual adoption and refinement of the monodic style by Monteverdi.

Just as the formation of the aesthetic principles and musical techniques of the early baroque in Italy can be traced back to the mid-16th century, so the rise of the baroque in England has its roots in 16th rather than 17th century music. Bukofzer is misled in stating that "the formative period of English baroque music falls into the reign of Charles I".²⁾ While it is certainly true that music "after the Italian manner"

ornaments are not limited to cadences, reflects the rise of the virtuoso solo singer in the last quarter of the 16th century; most famous of these were the three celebrated sopranos employed at the court of Ferrara. But it is no accident that such singers appeared at this time: the trend towards the monody demanded a new kind of performer, and in turn the performers stimulated composers to develop new musical techniques. Indeed, many of the musicians experimenting with the new monodic style were not primarily composers: Cavalieri was a singing master, Caccini and Peri were both singers who later became composers. It was not until the new style had become established that men who were primarily composers, such as Monteverdi, turned to it and began to refine it.

- 1) The first appearance of a figured basso continuo was in Cavalieri's Rappresentazione di Anima et di Corpo (1600); this was followed within a few months by Caccini's Euridice and Peri's Euridice. As Palisca has observed (op. cit., p.21), the adoption of the thorough-bass by early baroque composers is the surest sign that they had lost interest in "the thick texture of equal moving parts moving in more or less independent lines".
- 2) Bukofzer, op. cit., p.180.

became more widespread during the period from 1625 to 1649, a growing interest in the Italian stile nuovo is apparent from a much earlier date. Robert Dowland's A Muscicall Banquet (1610) included two airs by Caccini, Duvrò dunque morire and the celebrated Amarilli mia bella, Coperario's Rules how to compose was published at about the same time, and Angelo Notari's Prime Musiche Nuove appeared some three years later. Although a translation of Caccini's introduction to Le Nuove Musiche¹⁾ did not appear until 1655, when it was included in Playford's Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, his monodies had been familiar to English musicians since the early years of the century through circulation of his work in manuscript.

The influence of the Italian monody on English composers is first apparent in the lute ayre. Some of John Dowland's later songs, for example, contain vivid declamatory passages, and the trend towards continuo song is evident in the work of other lute-song composers.²⁾ Vincent Duckles comments:

"In Coperario's Funeral Tears (1606) and Songs of Mourning (1613), in some of Ferrabosco's music for Ben Jonson's masques, and occasionally in the work of Campion, one can observe tendencies that lead in the direction of continuo song. Gradually the English lute ayre was transformed into the declamatory song, a style which served as the natural concomitant to the lyrics of the metaphysical poets."

But to see this gradual transformation of the lute ayre to continuo song as mere imitation of Italian techniques is to

- 1) Florence, 1602; facsimile reprint, Rome, 1934; modern edition ed. Carlo Perinello, Milan, 1919.
- 2) Vincent Duckles, 'English Song and the Challenge of Italian Monody' (Words to Music, Los Angeles, 1967), p.7.

misunderstand the essential nature of the English baroque. English music has always relied on an interchange of ideas with continental composers: at times when the balance between native and continental idioms has been disturbed - as it was in the late 18th and during most of the 19th centuries - English music has suffered considerably. During the early 17th century there is no question of English composers rejecting their own tradition in favour of influences from abroad. The Italian monodic style was introduced into an existing tradition and became fused with it, just as the Italian madrigal had been introduced into a native tradition of polyphonic song. It is therefore wrong to assess the work of English composers, as Bukofzer and others have done, by the standards and ideals of Italian music. Blume is guilty of a fundamental misunderstanding when he says that, at the beginning of the 17th century, there existed in English music baroque style and forms "without a genuine baroque spirit",¹⁾ for he is looking in English music for qualities it did not and could not have. Certainly, Italian music exerted a powerful influence on English composers; but in adopting Italian techniques they also adapted them to their own purposes. This does not invalidate the music in any way; on the contrary, English music in the early 17th century had an independent character which is a no less 'genuine' manifestation of the baroque spirit than was the music of Italian composers.

1) Friedrich Blume, Renaissance and Baroque Music (New York, 1967), p.154.

The fusion of Italian and English techniques in the lute songs of Ferrabosco and Dowland was to become a feature of the dramatic monodies written during the first part of the 17th century. The first appearance of the term 'stylo recitativo' occurs in Ben Jonson's masque Lovers made Men (1617), the whole of which "was sung after the Italian manner, stylo recitativo, by Master Nicholas Lanier who ordered and made both the scene and the music". Since none of Lanier's music for this masque has survived, we do not know to what extent it was modelled on Italian recitative. There is, however, good reason to suppose that the music Lanier was writing in 1617 before he went to Italy differed from that which he wrote in 1628 after his return. Macdonald Emslie¹⁾ and Vincent Duckles²⁾ both incline to the view that Lanier's settings were not unlike the simple declamatory style of his song Bring away the sacred tree³⁾ from Campian's Masque at the Marriage of the Earl of Somerset and Lady Howard (1614). This suggestion is supported by Roger North's comment that Lanier's dramatic monody, Hero and Leander, was "the first of the recitativo kind that ever graced the English language"⁴⁾. North goes on to say that the work "comes not up to the spirit of the Itallian compositions of that time" but "shews the true value of the bold notes, for they are frequent and freely used, and ... are truely pathetick".

1) 'Nicholas Lanier's Innovations in English Song', Music and Letters, XLI (1960).

2) Op. cit., p.10.

3) The song is included in Andrew J. Sabol, Songs and Dances for the Stuart Masque (Brown University Press, 1959), p.52.

4) John Wilson, Roger North on Music (London, 1959), p.294

In saying this, North acknowledges the essential difference between the English and Italian recitative, but does not allow the comparison to lead him to make a value judgement.

1)
Bukofzer is less perceptive:

"The English composers of the early baroque were unable to grasp the essence of the recitative, the affective intensification of the word, and had to find a substitute for it.... Compared with the Italian recitative, those of the early ... English were lacking in pathos and flexibility; they stood on the border-line between song and recitative, with too arid and stiff a melody for song and too active a bass for recitative. Not touched by the affective intensity of Peri and Monteverdi they had also little of the spectacular virtuosity of Caccini. What English composers shared with the Italians was merely the declamatory principle, not its affective application. Only in the middle baroque did composers like Humfrey, Blow and Purcell infuse sufficient pathos into the melody to achieve affective declamation in music."

Like Henry Lawes' lament Theseus and Ariadne, which was printed in his Ayres and Dialogues of 1653, Lanier's Hero and Leander meets what Duckles has called the challenge of Italian monody with a characteristically English interpretation of the stile rappresentativo. While lacking the affective intensity of Monteverdi, both Lanier and Lawes infuse into these more lyrical monodies a sense of drama, and give life to the words and the dramatic situations through music. The relevance of these monodies (Hero dates from c. 1628-30, Ariadne from c. 1640) to the later development of English opera is pointed out by Duckles:

2)
"It would be unjust to these English monodies to regard them merely as half-way stations on the

1) Op. cit., p.184.

2) Op. cit., p.22.

road to opera. There is nothing primitive or unformed in Lanier's musical conceptions, or in those of Lawes. Both men were sophisticated musicians in full command of their resources. They wrote in a genre that permitted them to sustain both lyric and dramatic elements of song in organic equilibrium.... The purpose of music, as they conceived it, was to heighten and intensify the meanings of the words. They created their dramatic monodies in the conviction that poetry and music could attain complete fusion in a composite art form. In spite of their debt to Italy, there was something peculiarly conservative and English in this view, and it may account in part for the fate of opera in England; for the English took words far more seriously than did their Italian contemporaries."

The debt owed by Restoration composers to Henry Lawes and his contemporaries is not always sufficiently recognised. Many of the musical forms and techniques used after the Restoration can be traced to the work of Caroline and Commonwealth composers; as Murray Lefkowitz has shown,¹⁾ Purcell himself could not have escaped the influence of such men as William Lawes who died even before the Interregnum. True, the direct influence of Italian and French music on Restoration composers was strong: equally strong was the influence of their own native tradition, and of English composers who had experimented with baroque techniques during the earlier part of the century. Nor was the music of Caroline and Commonwealth composers mere imitation of continental models. In borrowing from the Italians, English composers were unable, perhaps unwilling, to shake off the polyphonic principles of their native tradition, and the result is a characteristic but artistically valid compromise between declamatory and polyphonic techniques.

1) Murray Lefkowitz, William Lawes (London, 1960), p.259.

To understand why English music differed so fundamentally from early baroque music in Italy, we have to look back even beyond the turn of the century. The monodic style arrived in England within a new wave of Italian influence which gradually swept through the whole of Europe. But it was not the first time that English composers had looked to Italy for inspiration: indeed, such was the respect held for foreign musicians that both Henry VIII and Elizabeth offered special financial rewards to attract them to the Chapel Royal and the King's Musick.¹⁾ Alfonso Ferrabosco was granted a pension by Queen Elizabeth; later, his son received four times the normal payment as a member of the King's Musick by holding simultaneously posts as Musician in General, Composer, Violist and Instructor to the Prince in the art of music. During Elizabeth's reign, more than half of the musicians employed in the King's Musick were foreigners, and in the 17th century the sons and grandsons of such immigrant families as the Ferraboscos, Lupos and Laniers continued to serve under the Stuarts and dominated in sheer numbers most families of English musicians employed in royal service.²⁾

But it was not merely their skill as performers which the English admired in Italian musicians. Arising from the popularity of the madrigals of the elder Alfonso Ferrabosco,

1) See Walter L. Woodfill, Musicians in English Society (Princeton, 1953; Da Capo reprint, 1969), pp. 180 and 195.

2) See, for example, the Domestic Accounts for Charles I, 1635 (PRO SP 16/301) and 1640 (PRO SP 16/474); see the list of 'his Majesties servants in ordinary of the Chamber, 1641' (PRO LC 3/1); see also H.C. de Lafontaine, The King's Musick (London, 1909); and see E.F. Rimbault, The Old Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal (Camden Society, 1872; Da Capo reprint, 1966).

who was living in England from about the year 1562, there grew an increasing interest in Italian music and an increasing desire to emulate Italian culture. Even as late as 1622, Henry Peacham wrote that "for judgment and depth of skill, Alfonso Ferrabosco, while he lived, was inferior unto none",¹⁾ an opinion shared by Morley who writes in his Plaine and Easie Introduction, "if you imitate any, I would appoint you these for guides: Alfonso Ferrabosco for deep skill, Luca Marenzio for good air and fine invention".²⁾

Morley's remark is a significant one: for although Ferrabosco was a superb craftsman his music showed neither great originality nor much acquaintance with more recent developments in Italian music. Perhaps it was partly for this reason that the stream of English publications of Italian music, following Nicholas Yonge's Musica Transalpina I in 1588, concentrated almost exclusively on the more conservative Italian and Flemish composers. Musica Transalpina I included, besides madrigals by Ferrabosco, music by Lassus, Monte, Wert, Marenzio, Palestrina and others. Though a great deal of the music was up to date, none of it is really representative of the more progressive trends in Italy: most of the pieces date from the 1580s, but some first appeared in the 1570s, and the two Donato madrigals were originally published in 1568.³⁾

1) The Compleat Gentleman (1622), ed. G.S. Gordon (Oxford, 1906), pp. 101-102.

2) A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke (1597), ed. Alec Harman (London, 1952), p.294.

3) Come la notte and Dolor, se'l mio dolor; both from Donato's Second Book a 4 (1568).

Watson's Italian Madrigals Englished (1590) was very different. All but five of the pieces are by Luca Marenzio, but the anthology also included "two excellent madrigals of Master William Byrd's, composed after the Italian vein, at the request of the said Thomas Watson"¹⁾. In inviting Byrd to contribute to the collection, Watson was paying tribute to the most respected English composer of his day. The two works Byrd produced show his mastery of madrigalian techniques, but they are his only real essays in the Italian madrigal style.²⁾ In his detailed and valuable study of the Elizabethan madrigal, Joseph Kerman has shown how the Italian madrigal provided the major impetus for English song in the last decade of the 16th century, but quite properly emphasises that the madrigal did not develop "in a musical vacuum into which Italian music was poured"³⁾. There already existed in England a native tradition of secular song, the characteristics of which differed fundamentally from those of the polyphonic madrigal. The songs, generally strophic, are for solo voice or voices accompanied by viols. The texture is polyphonic, little attempt is made at detailed word-painting, and the melodic lines tend to be more instrumental than vocal in character.⁴⁾

Apart from his two settings of Watson's This sweet and merry month of May, Byrd resisted the Italian madrigal style

- 1) Two settings of Watson's This sweet and merry month of May, one a 4, the other a 5.
- 2) Joseph Kerman, The Elizabethan Madrigal (New York, 1962).
- 3) Ibid., p.100.
- 4) The most comprehensive published collection of consort songs - the term was first used by Sir William Leighton in his Tears or Lamentacions of a Sorrowful Soule (1614) but appropriately describes the solo song with viols of the late 16th century - is edited by Philip Brett (Musica Britannica, Vol.XXII, London, 1967). The anthology includes pieces by several of Byrd's contemporaries as well as music by Jacobean composers. Thomas

though he could not remain completely untouched by it. Significantly, the word 'madrigal' is never used in his title pages; his collections are variously described as 'Psalmes, Sonets and Songs of sadnes and pietie', 'Songs of sundrie natures' and 'Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets'. Despite this, it is possible to observe a gradual disintegration of the old polyphonic style under pressure from the Italian madrigal. Kerman comments:¹⁾

"With the three- and four-part pieces, a transition from severe polyphonic writing to a more gracious madrigalesque conception was relatively direct, and although Byrd never allowed the process to go as far as it might, the later three- and four-part music does grow noticeably more Italianate than the earlier. But the problem was more profound, and more crucial, with the five- and six-part music; this texture was the norm for serious writing, and it was here that the conflict had to be resolved. The outcome of this conflict was a series of ... transitional songs, occurring even in the 1588 set, which try one way or another to bridge the gap between solo and polyphonic writing. Through [these songs] one can see most clearly the struggle in a native composer's mind between his own English idiom and the powerful new Italian influences".

Byrd's attitude to the imported Italian madrigal is of crucial importance to the subsequent development of English music during the early years of the 17th century. His influence on other English composers, especially on Orlando Gibbons, was considerable; but, more than this, the conflict Byrd experienced between his native tradition and the new, fashionable influences from Italy was to continue in English music throughout the formative period

Whythorne and Martin Peerson are both excluded because their songs are available in other editions.

1) Op. cit., p.111.

of the baroque. Richard Carlton expressed the dilemma for English composers when, in the preface to his Madrigals (1601), he wrote that he had "laboured somewhat to imitate the Italian"¹⁾ but could not forget that he was an Englishman.

The later anthologies of Italian music published in England in the 1590s contrast strongly with Byrd's polyphonic songs. Younge's Musica Transalpina II (1597) clearly reveals the English preference for the light rather than serious madrigal. With the exception of those by Ferrabosco and Marenzio, nearly all the other works in this anthology are madrigals of the lightest kind, "thoroughly infected by the style and spirit of the canzonet"²⁾. This emphasis on the light madrigal is illustrated further by Morley's Selected Canzonets of 1597³⁾ and his Selected Madrigals of 1598.⁴⁾ Both collections show Morley's interest in the Italian canzonet style which provided a model for his own compositions. Indeed, his earlier Canzonets to Two Voices (1595) included settings of some of the texts found in the Selected Canzonets (for example, 'Miraculous love's wounding' and 'When lo by break of morning', both by Anerio)⁵⁾ and the music borrows freely from the original Italian versions.⁶⁾

1) Madrigals to Five Voices (1601); ed. Fellowes (rev. ed. London, 1960), p.xv.

2) Kerman, op. cit., p.61.

3) Canzonets, or Little Short Songs to Four Voices, selected out of the best and approved Italian authors (London, 1597).

4) Madrigals to Five Voices, selected out of the best and approved Italian authors (London, 1598).

5) Miracolo d'amore and Quando la vaga Flori.

6) Such was Morley's debt to the Italians that it is difficult to understand his outspoken condemnation in A Plaine and Easie Introduction of English composers' reliance on Italian models. He complains, "such be the newfangled opinions of our countrymen, who will highly esteem whatsoever cometh from beyond the seas, and specially from Italy, be it never so simple, contemning that which is done at home though it be never so excellent".

Morley's Ballets of 1595 are hardly less indebted to Italian music, and are directly modelled on the work of Gastoldi. They differ from the Italian balletti, however, in that the fa-la refrains are generally much more complex in their rhythmic and polyphonic ingenuity. This sophistication of the ballet is typical of Morley's attitude to madrigal composition in general. Both he and the composers most directly influenced by him concentrated almost exclusively on the light madrigal, which they developed so that the music took on a technical sophistication lacking in its Italian counterpart. To quote Kerman, "the ballet aspires to become a canzonet, the canzonet to become a madrigal";¹⁾ and, although the Elizabethan madrigal is ostensibly Italianate, it remained "cool to the Italian spirit, forging its own individual ideas and taking only what suited it from the Continental tradition".²⁾

This concentration on the canzonet and light madrigal resulted largely from the lack in England of the literary background fostered by the Italian academies. The anthologies themselves avoided any progressive or experimental Italian compositions: none of Wert's later madrigals were included in the collections, there was no Rore or late Marenzio, and no music by Luzzaschi, Gesualdo or Monteverdi. But it was inevitable in an age of musical sophistication - to say nothing of the contemporary poets and dramatists - that English composers should have eventually developed a serious approach to the madrigal.

1) Op. cit., p.255.

2) Ibid.

John Ward, for example, set no frivolous texts, preferring the more sombre poetry of Francis Davison and turning to the recognised masterpieces of Michael Drayton and Sir Philip Sidney.

Of the later English madrigalists, only Gibbons, Weelkes and Wilbye can be considered of comparable stature to Byrd in the field of secular song. Though each of these composers responded differently to the conflict between native and continental influences, their work is crucial to a consideration of the rise of the baroque in England. The most Italianate of them was Thomas Weelkes, whose admiration for Morley and whose readiness for experiment led to an extension of Morley's canzonet-style madrigal techniques. His chromaticism is more extreme than that of any of his contemporaries, but even the most chromatic passages in his work such as the end of the three-part Cease sorrows now,¹⁾ the passage 'how strangely Fogo burns' from Thule, the period of Cosmography²⁾ and the opening of Hence Care, thou art too cruel³⁾ are mild when compared with Gesualdo or even Luzzaschi. Like Morley, Weelkes was a superb craftsman and was capable of great contrapuntal ingenuity;⁴⁾ but, more than any other English madrigalist, he shared with the Italians a vivid dramatic sense

- 1) Madrigals to 3, 4, 5, and 6 voices (1597).
- 2) Madrigals to 5 and 6 parts (1600).
- 3) The second part of O Care, thou wilt despatch me (Madrigals of 5 and 6 parts, 1600).
- 4) See, for example, the end of As Vesta was from Latmos hill descending from The Triumphs of Oriana which is a free canon 5 in 1 above an augmentation in the bass.

which allowed him to sacrifice musical unity in the interests
of poetic meaning.¹⁾

Compared with Weelkes, Wilbye shows greater emotional restraint and more concern with purely musical considerations. His sensitivity to poetry, the subtlety of his musical ideas and his elegance of expression make his music less dramatically spectacular than that of Weelkes, though his style is no less rich in its harmonic resource and no less personal. Once again, it is easy to observe a characteristic compromise between English and Italian styles. In common with Byrd and Gibbons, he shows great reluctance to sacrifice musical unity for dramatic contrasts of mood, rhythm or texture. Rarely does he break apart a madrigal, as Weelkes does, on account of the text. To this extent he was less touched by the spirit of Italian music than was Weelkes, yet because of his sensitivity to poetry his madrigals show a much deeper understanding of Marenzio's aesthetic ideals as represented by the madrigals included in the various anthologies. To be sure, his music is more serene than Marenzio's, and his habit of writing quite lengthy passages in more or less abstract polyphony makes his style very much more conservative. But in two respects his work anticipates the music of Caroline and Commonwealth composers and parallels features which occur in Marenzio's later madrigals.

1) See, for example, the superb madrigal-ballet O Care mentioned earlier. The text is concerned with the opposition of contrasted emotions and with the futility of music to console grief. The work is perhaps the most extreme example of the way in which Weelkes breaks up a composition into sections marked by violent contrasts of mood, rhythm, tempo and texture.

The first of these is his elaborate use of sequence, equalled at that time only by John Ward in his six-part Come, sable night; ¹⁾ the second is his rich harmonic idiom with chains of double suspensions, sensuous passing dissonances and 9/7 chords beloved of Carissimi some thirty years later. One has only to compare the six-part Draw on, sweet night ²⁾ with Marenzio's Crudele Acerba ³⁾ to see how Wilbye had arrived at a similar means of expression. Though Marenzio's harmonic idiom is very much more chromatic, both works delight in serene melodic lines, richly spaced chords, and expressive passing and suspended dissonances.

The Jacobean composer least affected by the Italian madrigal was Orlando Gibbons who, both in style and spirit, must be regarded as Byrd's natural successor. Like Byrd, he could not remain entirely untouched by the imported continental tradition: the frequent cadence points in his vocal music break the compositions into quite clearly defined sections which are further emphasised by occasional contrasts between polyphonic and homophonic textures. Nevertheless, Kerman's comment that "no composer ever used the conventional label 'apt for Viols and Voices' more aptly than Gibbons" ⁴⁾ is certainly true, for his polyphonic songs are closely derived from the style of his instrumental writing. Indeed, there is

1) Madrigals to 3, 4, 5 and 6 parts (1613); ed. Fellowes (London, 1922). The passage in question occurs between bars 28 and 47, pp. 207-209.

2) Second Set of Madrigals to 3, 4, 5 and 6 Voices (1609); ed. Fellowes (2nd. ed. London, 1920), p.201.

3) Ninth Book of Madrigals to Five Voices (Venice, 1599); included by Denis Arnold in Ten Madrigals by Marenzio (Oxford, 1966), p.72.

4) Op. cit., p.125.

little basic difference between the idiom of his string fantasias and that of his vocal music; no English composer in the early 17th century more strongly resisted the fashion for detailed representation of the visual images and emotional content of the words. Nevertheless, declamatory melodic writing is by no means absent from Gibbons' work; one has only to consider the opening of What is our life?¹⁾ to see how closely Gibbons occasionally approached the principle of declamation.

Although music in the manner of the polyphonic madrigal continued to be published in England during the first quarter of the 17th century - Tomkins' Songs of 3, 4, 5 and 6 parts did not appear until 1622 - the madrigal was gradually superseded by another kind of music which more closely reflected the trend in Italy towards declamatory solo song. Following the success of Dowland's four books of Ayres, English composers increasingly turned away from the madrigal in favour of the lute-song.

The transition from the polyphonic ayre to something approaching continuo song is most clearly seen in the work of John Dowland, who travelled widely on the continent and experienced at first hand the latest Italian music. His First Booke of Ayres (1597)²⁾ is fairly conventional: the songs are all strophic settings, but declamatory principles can occasionally be observed as, for example, in the refrain of Come again! Sweet love doth now invite³⁾ and in Come, heavy

1) Madrigals and Motets (1612); ed. Fellowes (rev. ed. London, 1612), p.88.

2) Ed. Fellowes in 2 vols. (London, 1921).

3) Vol.II, p.66.

sleep.¹⁾ The trend towards continuo song, however, is much more apparent in the Second Booke of Ayres (1600).²⁾ The opening song, I saw my lady weep,³⁾ is a far cry from anything in the earlier publication. Here, the lute has an entirely independent part, supporting the harmonic implications of the vocal line and even setting the mood of the song in a brief introductory prelude. The vocal line is magnificently poised between declamation and song: though declamatory principles are never far beneath the surface, they are always contained within the lyrical flow of the melodic line.

The third song, Sorrow, stay,⁴⁾ introduces passages of pure declamation. The vocal line is broken up into short phrases, between which the lute plays alone. It is as though the singer's grief is too great for him to sustain a continuous melodic line: he breaks off, almost in a sob, and the passionate sorrow of the voice is taken over and heightened by the lute. Just as the vocal line is balanced between declamation and song, the lute part hovers between chordal and imitative styles: here and there the figuration is based on a melodic phrase in the voice part, suggesting that the lute is an extension of the vocal line. The passion increases and becomes more intense: no longer can the lyricism be sustained, and the voice breaks into a pathetic declamatory figure at the words 'Pity, pity, pity' (the repetitions, like those in the previous

1) Ibid., p.78.

2) Ed. Fellowes in 2 vols. (London, 1922).

3) Vol.I, p.2.

4) Ibid., p.12.

phrase, are not in the poem) which is then shifted up a tone and repeated. The rest of the song continues to bring together lyrical and declamatory elements, which become inseparable from each other. The music indeed stands "on the borderline between song and recitative", but the perfection of its emotional expression belies Bukofzer's implied criticism that it is therefore artistically inferior to Italian monody. By any standards, the work is a masterpiece; though very different from the monodies of Caccini or of Peri, it is no less rich in emotional expression: though more intimate, it is no less passionate.

Sorrow, stay is the first of Dowland's 'transitional' songs. Although it is through-composed - the poem has only one stanza of ten lines - the structure of the song closely resembles that of the ayre. The last two lines are repeated, but the music is not identical. Dowland's dramatic sense could not allow this to be, and in the final phrase he doubles the length of the high D in the voice part, so enabling him to extend the lute part which falls by sequence and unwinds into the final cadence.

The tripartite song, Time's eldest son,¹⁾ also harks back to the traditional structure of the ayre. Like Sorrow, stay it is through-composed, with different music for each of its separate parts, but all three songs end with a 'refrain' in which there is an exact musical repetition. The nature of the poem does not call for dramatic emotional treatment, but nevertheless declamatory touches occasionally appear as, for example, in the 'refrain' of the first song and in the phrase 'For Quare fremuerunt' from the third.

1) Ibid., p.27.

We have already drawn attention to the more vivid declamatory passages in some of Dowland's later songs, but the superb In darkness let me dwell¹⁾ deserves closer examination. The song begins with a prelude for lute in which the mood of passionate dejection is set. Once again the vocal line stands half way between recitative and song, but breaks into pure monody at the words 'O, let me living die'. In anticipation of later English practice, the bass part does not merely have a harmonic function at this point but joins in imitation with the vocal line. This essentially English characteristic in no way detracts from the affective intensity of the voice part; instead, it emphasises the dramatic point made in the poem: that death, which can be the only release from suffering, is elusive and life seems to stretch on for ever. This dramatic point is made again at the end of the song. The cadence at the words 'till death do come' avoids finality by replacing the expected tonic chord with a submediant chord in first inversion. This leads to a brief interlude for lute before the voice repeats the opening line, now even more pathetically because the lute breaks off and the final word 'dwell' is sung by the voice alone.

This extraordinary dramatic stroke is without parallel in the work of Dowland's contemporaries, none of whom managed to bring together English and Italian styles with such conviction. John Danyel's Songs for the Lute, Viol and Voice (1606)²⁾

1) From Robert Dowland's A Musically Banquet (1610). The three songs by John Dowland in this collection are published with Vol. II of A Pilgrime's Solace, ed. Fellowes (rev. ed. 1960).

2) Ed. Fellowes (London, 1926).

occasionally go much further in their chromatic resource, but remain virtually untouched by the spirit of Italian monody. As an example we may cite Can doleful notes?¹⁾ which is perhaps his finest song. The music is extremely sophisticated in its technical ingenuity but shows great dramatic restraint. The texture is fugal, and the lute is involved throughout in the imitative polyphony; at no time does it simply provide harmonic support or have independent material of its own. The song is through-composed, but the form is dictated by the musical structure rather than by the words. Each section begins with a series of fugal entries which are themselves interrelated: the 'countersubject' of the second section is closely derived from the opening point of the first, and the subject itself ('No, let chromatic tunes') is eventually inverted at the words 'Chromatic tunes most like my passion sound'. The whole work is an impressive feat of contrapuntal ingenuity, to say nothing of its chromatic daring: but, despite several incidental touches of individual word-painting (such as the syncopated figure at 'which time forget', the representation of 'as if combined to bear their falling part' and the affecting melodic phrases of the closing section), the song remains firmly tied to the polyphonic techniques of the previous century.

Serious songs such as those by Dowland and Danyel discussed above were, however, greatly outnumbered in the early years of

1) Ibid., p.36.

the 17th century by the 'light ayre', to use Campion's phrase.¹⁾ Dowland himself was equally successful in writing songs of the lightest kind, and Robert Jones and Philip Rosseter produced several exquisite masterpieces which are as engaging as Dowland's serious songs are emotionally disturbing. Detailed representation of the words is of necessity absent from these pieces, just as it is from the songs of Campion, whose prime concern was with the relationship between poetic metre and musical rhythm. In his treatise Observations in the Art of English Poesie (1602)²⁾ Campion argued in favour of quantitative verse without rhyme ("the facilitie and popularitie [of which] creates as many Poets as a hot sommer flies") in metres derived from those of Latin and Greek verse. His criticism of music which is "long, intricate, bated with fuge [and] chaine with sincopation"³⁾ is clearly aimed at the polyphonic madrigal,⁴⁾ which was then at the height of its popularity in England. No doubt Campion also disapproved of songs like Dowland's Sorrow, stay, for the address 'To the Reader' from Rosseter's Booke of Ayres continues:

"... and where the nature of everie word is precisely exprest in the Note, like the old exploided action in Comedies, when if they did pronounce Memini they would point to the hinder part of their heads, if Video put their finger in their eye. But such childish observing of

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- 1) 'To the Reader', Fourth Booke of Ayres (c. 1617), ed. Fellowes (London, 1926).
 - 2) The treatise is reprinted in Walter R. Davis, The Works of Thomas Campion (London, 1969), pp. 291-317.
 - 3) 'To the Reader', A Booke of Ayres (1601). The address to the Reader (reproduced in Davis, op. cit., p. 15) is almost certainly by Campion rather than Rosseter.
 - 4) The Triumphs of Oriana was published in the same year, 1601.

words is altogether ridiculous, and we ought to maintain as well in Notes, as in action, a manly carriage, gracing no word but that which is eminent and emphaticall."

Even in Campion's most intense songs, repetition of words for emotional or dramatic effect is virtually non-existent; in this respect his approach differs fundamentally from Dowland's. As a composer of music for the masque, Campion was much less affected by the Italian declamatory style than either Robert Johnson or the younger Alfonso Ferrabosco. His Masque in Honour of Lord Hay - presented at Whitehall on Twelfth Night, 1607 - is a simple ceremonial work in celebration of a marriage.¹⁾ The two songs by Campion which have survived (there are two more by Thomas Lupo and one by Thomas Giles) are simple and attractive, but in no way touched by declamatory techniques.²⁾ The first, Now hath Flora,³⁾ is a three-part setting performed by Zepherus and two Silvans who dance as they sing. They are accompanied by "foure Silvans in greene taffatie and wreathes, two bearing meane Lutes, the third a base Lute, and the fourth a deepe Bandora". The texture of the music is homophonic, the melodic lines gracious rather than passionate, and the structure formal with a repeated refrain and identical music for the second verse. Campion's second song, Move now with measured sound,⁴⁾ is equally formal and equally

1) Campion's description of Lord Hay's Masque is reproduced in Davis, op. cit., pp. 211-230.

2) All the extant songs are included in Andrew J. Sabol, Songs and Dances for the Stuart Masque (loc. cit.).

3) Ibid., p.26.

4) Ibid., p.29.

charming. This song, a duet for treble and bass, is also a strophic setting - there are again two verses, this time interrupted by four lines of dialogue - made to accompany a dance. Thus, the rhythms and the phrase structure are conceived in terms of physical movement; no hint of declamation exists.

A more declamatory song style did not begin to emerge in England until the second decade of the 17th century. In the preface to his edition of Robert Johnson's Ayres, Songs and Dialogues,¹⁾ Ian Spink draws attention to the fundamental differences between the declamatory, essentially dramatic songs of Johnson and Ferrabosco and the melodic ayres of Dowland and his contemporaries. Significantly, most of Johnson's songs were written for Court masques and public plays.²⁾ Spink comments:

"The special conditions of performance ... were partly a cause of this stylistic development; and contributory factors may have been the influence of Italian monody and operatic recitative.... The kind of song that resulted emphasized speech rhythm and inflection above melodic qualities, and chordal harmonies above polyphonic interest in the accompaniment."

Nevertheless, many of Johnson's ayres and songs for plays have a simple directness and melodic charm which is not far removed from the work of Campion and Rosseter. As I walked forth³⁾ is a simple little strophic setting, very much in the tradition of the earlier ayre, with little or no

1) London, 1961.

2) Ibid., p.iii.

3) Ibid., p.2.

attempt to represent the words dramatically or even to follow speech inflection. As might be expected, it is the more serious songs which show the greatest affinity with the Italian monodic style. O let us howl¹⁾ from Webster's The Duchess of Malfi (c. 1613) is pure monody, and the affective character of the vocal line anticipates in many ways the declamatory style of Lawes, Locke and even Purcell. Compared with Johnson's more lyrical songs such as Away delights²⁾ from Beaumont's and Fletcher's The Captain (c. 1612) or the two songs from The Tempest,³⁾ the bass part of O let us howl is much less active; in this respect it closely approaches a real baroque basso continuo, the function of which is to provide harmonic support for the vocal line. But the song Care-charming sleep⁴⁾ from Valentinian (Beaumont and Fletcher) is most characteristic of the early 17th century English declamatory style in which declamation is absorbed into the melodic lyricism. No unornamented version of this song exists, but the basic shape of the melodic line is obvious enough. We are immediately struck by its lyrical charm and melodic simplicity; at the same time, declamatory principles are clearly evident in almost every phrase.

This balance between lyrical and declamatory elements also occurs in the work of Alfonso Ferrabosco, particularly

1) Ibid., p.32.

2) Ibid., p.28.

3) Full fathom five and Where the bee sucks (ibid., pp. 24 and 26).

4) Ibid., p.34.

in the songs from Ben Jonson's Oberon and Love freed from Ignorance and Folly.¹⁾ Most of the settings are simple and direct, but declamation within melodic lyricism is again apparent in the song Gentle Knights²⁾ from Oberon and in How near to good³⁾ from the later masque. An attempt at a more dramatic declamatory style can be seen in the four Italian monodies included by Spink in his edition of Ferrabosco's Manuscript Songs.⁴⁾ Spink is quite right in saying that "the general style is an obvious imitation of Florentine monody, but neither the simple declamation of early recitative nor the more flexible and ornate melody of Caccini's 'nuove musiche' has been fully absorbed".⁵⁾ None of the settings have the melodic charm characteristic of Ferrabosco's Ayres of 1609,⁶⁾ and as essays in the Italian monodic style they fall rather flat. The most successful is O Crudel' Amarilli, but even here the stiff melodic writing and self-conscious imitation of the stile rappresentativo lack musical and dramatic conviction. The four monodies provide an excellent example of the way in which English composers - and despite his Italian father, Ferrabosco must be so considered - were much less successful in imitating the

1) Oberon was given at Whitehall on 1st January 1611 in honour of Prince Henry; Love freed was given five weeks later in honour of the Queen. A description of Oberon is given in E.J. Dent, Foundations of English Opera (Cambridge, 1928; Da Capo reprint, 1965), pp. 21-24.

2) Alfonso Ferrabosco II: Manuscript Songs, ed. Ian Spink (London, 1966), p.16.

3) *Ibid.*, p.24.

4) *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 30, 32 and 36.

5) *Ibid.*, p.iii.

6) Ed. Fellowes (London, 1927).

Italian style than they were in absorbing it into their own tradition.

While the declamatory style first emerged in England in music for the stage, its character bore little resemblance, as we have seen, to that of declamatory song in Italy. The differences were inevitable. Social conditions in England were totally unsuited to the establishment of opera, and music for the stage was limited to music for plays and for the Court masque. The main centres for dramatic performances in the early 17th century were the public playhouses on the Bankside, the private theatres such as the Blackfriars, the Universities and Hampton Court. In 1632-3, Inigo Jones designed and built a new theatre at Whitehall,¹⁾ and it was here that most of the plays at Court were given. Music continued to play an important part in the Jacobean and Caroline theatre, just as it had done in the 16th century. Apart from the elaborate introductory concerts and the performances between the acts, music contributed to the drama itself in the form of songs performed within the play though external to the drama; it was also used to create atmosphere, and cues such as 'flourish', 'loud music', 'solemn music' etc. are commonplace in the work of Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists. But whereas in opera the function of music is to carry the drama, in the play it had a subsidiary role. The same is true of the masque, where the emphasis was on

1) The Little Cockpit-at-Court, not to be confused with the Cockpit or Phoenix Theatre in Drury Lane.

poetic expression, lavish spectacle and participation by the aristocratic audience. Music in the Jacobean masque made an important contribution to the entertainment in the form of songs, dances and instrumental pieces to accompany the action. But its function in no way approximated to its role in opera, and it is no accident that so many of the songs were published separately in the various collections of lute ayres. Stephen Orgel defined¹⁾ the nature of the Stuart masque well when he said:

"Drama exists in time: things happen and characters act on each other. Conversely, the world of the volatile and spectacular masque is a world of ideas, untouched by change."

Though Orgel is here comparing the masque to the play, the comparison is equally valid between the masque and opera. But the essential difference is that in opera the drama is acted out in music; in the masque the music is static and is in any case interrupted by and subsidiary to the spoken dialogue.

During the reign of James I, the Court masque was dominated by two men whose conception of what it should be differed considerably, though their ideas were not necessarily incompatible. For Ben Jonson the masque needed to be valid as literature; for Inigo Jones it was essentially a dramatic experience in which the moveable sets, perspective scenes and complex stage machinery produced a visual illusion of reality.

1) The Jonsonian Masque (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), pp. 194-195.

Thus, while Jonson was intent on developing the masque as a literary art form, Jones continued to design more and more extravagant sets contrived out of Italianate devices. The jealous rivalry between the two men culminated in a bitter quarrel, after which Jonson retired from the association; he received no more commissions to write Court masques after 1631.

It is from this time that we can trace the decline of the masque, hastened by Puritan opposition to public plays and to extravagant expenditure at Court which the Royal treasury could ill afford. The most lavish and costly of all Court masques was Shirley's Triumph of Peace, which was presented in 1634 at a cost of £21,000 - the equivalent to about £450,000 today - as a protest against Prynne's attack on stage plays and entertainments made in his Histrion-Mastix¹⁾ published the previous year. The masque, which was intended as an expression of loyalty and devotion to the Crown by Prynne's colleagues at the Inns of Court, began with a procession from Ely House in Holborn to Whitehall. Proceeding by torchlight, the huge company of Gentlemen and their attendants, dancers, actors and musicians made their way down Chancery Lane towards Whitehall, the streets lined with crowds of cheering spectators who could not have failed to be impressed by the splendour of the occasion which seemed to reflect the

1) For a contemporary description of the masque, including a vivid account of the procession, see Bulstrode Whitelocke, Memorials of the English Affairs (London, 1682), pp. 19-20.

power of the King. The masque itself, which was given in the Banqueting Chamber at Whitehall, was no less lavish: but Shirley's text¹⁾ is a far cry from the literary ideals of Jonson.²⁾ Lefkowitz comments:

"There is no dramatic unity or continuity in the Triumph of Peace. Instead, there is a regression to sheer pageantry: some inconsequential dialogue, antimasques in the guise of dance pantomimes, songs, choruses, dances and allegory, with little connection between them".

In such a disconnected series of songs, choruses and dances no feeling of dramatic continuity can exist. Yet in extended musical scenes, such as the one between Irene and Eunomia,³⁾ the drama (such as it is) is temporarily carried by the music. In the masque as a whole, however, the opportunity for music to carry the drama - as it does in opera - is out of the question; it is therefore hardly surprising that music for the Stuart masque differed so fundamentally from Italian opera.

Nevertheless, the influence of the Italian declamatory style continued to grow during the Caroline period. It can be seen in William Lawes' music for Shirley's Triumph of Peace in the recitativo passages from the scene mentioned above:

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- 1) The masque is printed in James Shirley (Mermaid Series, London, 1888), pp. 437-466; a description together with most of William Lawes' surviving music is given in Dent, pp. 27-38; a more detailed description together with the song In envy of the Night omitted by Dent is given in Lefkowitz (op. cit.) pp. 209-221; all the extant music by Lawes - that by Simon Ives has not been identified - appears in Sabol (op. cit.) pp. 78 - 90.
 - 2) Op. cit., p.213.
 - 3) Included in Sabol, p.78 et seq.

Irene's arioso 'Hence, hence, ye profane' is pure recitative, though it lacks dramatic conviction because there is no satisfactory interpenetration of melodic declamation and harmonic tension. In a very different way, the influence of declamatory techniques can be seen in the song In envy of the night,¹⁾ also from Triumph of Peace, and in Henry Lawes' music for Milton's Comus, which dates from the same year.²⁾ Here declamatory principles are once again absorbed into the melodic lyricism; none of the songs are in the dramatic declamatory style of Irene's recitative, much less in that of Nicholas Lanier's monody Hero and Leander,³⁾ written circa 1628-30. Instead the melodic lines follow speech inflection, but remain closer to song than recitative. Yet even in the most directly lyrical song from Comus - Sabrina's By the rushy fringed bank - the rhythmic structure and melodic shape of the vocal line both follow speech inflection; despite its lyrical simplicity, the song clearly reflects the influence of the declamatory style.

This is also true of many of the songs included in Henry Lawes' three collections of Ayres and Dialogues published in 1653, 1655 and 1658.⁴⁾ Most of the settings are strophic and have a gracious lyrical charm, as can be seen in the songs

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- 1) Sabol, p.89; the song is also printed in Lefkowitz, p.218.
 - 2) Henry Lawes' songs for Comus are included in Sabol, p.91 et seq.
 - 3) The complete monody is printed in Duckles, Words to Music (loc. cit.), pp. 28-42.
 - 4) Ten of these songs, ed. Thurston Dart, are printed in Ten Ayres by Henry Lawes (London, 1956). As Dart has observed, the collections throw an interesting light on musical taste during the Interregnum, for they contain the essence of Cavalier poetry.

Suffering¹⁾ and Among Rosebuds,²⁾ both from the 1655 collection. Of a more obvious declamatory nature, in the sense that the melodic and rhythmic shape of the vocal line follows speech inflection, is A Complaint against Cupid³⁾ from the collection of 1653. Here again declamatory principles are absorbed into lyrical song, just as they are in the dialogues of William and Henry Lawes published in The Treasury of Musick⁴⁾ (1669). Writing of Henry Lawes' Ariadne, the 18th century historian Sir John Hawkins remarked: "The music is neither recitative nor air, but in so precise a medium between both that a name is wanting for it"⁵⁾. Such a comment would equally apply to the arioso passages in these dialogues, for they are similarly poised between recitative and song.

The failure of the masque to provide a viable musical alternative to opera is, as we have already seen, a major reason for the reluctance of English composers to develop the declamatory style along the lines of early 17th century Italian opera. The Stuart masque, with its emphasis on lavish spectacle, reflected the extravagance of the Court and the magnificence which Royalist supporters believed should surround the Crown. But with the closing of the theatres in 1642 and the collapse of the monarchy in 1649, dramatic entertainments moved away

1) Ibid., p.9.

2) Ibid., p.10.

3) Ibid., p.3.

4) Four of these dialogues, ed. Roy Jesson, are published in William and Henry Lawes: Dialogues for Two Voices (Pennsylvania, 1964).

5) Sir John Hawkins, A General History ... of Music (1776; Dover reprint, New York, 1963), Vol.2, p.579.

from the playhouses and the Court. Significantly, the growth of the masque towards greater dramatic musical sophistication coincided with the end of the masque as a state ritual, and it is in the work of Commonwealth composers that real operatic principles began to be established in English music. Unfortunately, none of the music by Henry Lawes, Cooke or Locke for Davenant's opera The Siege of Rhodes (1656) has survived; but that Davenant himself had a genuine understanding of the principles of opera is indicated by the speech of Musician in The Playhouse to be let:¹⁾

"Recitative Musick is not compos'd
Of matter so familiar, as may serve
For every low occasion of discourse.
In Tragedy, the language of the Stage
Is rais'd above the common dialect,
Our passions rising with the height of Verse,
And Vocal Musick adds new wings to all
The flights of Poetry."

Yet the essential ingredients of opera are already present in Lanier's Hero and Leander which, as Duckles has observed, is in effect a dramma per musiche in miniature. What Commonwealth composers did was to build on the techniques used by Caroline composers and develop them towards operatic maturity. This is certainly true of the three extended recitative passages by Locke for Shirley's masque Cupid and Death.²⁾ The only source for the music is an autograph manuscript (BM Add 17799) by Locke for the 1659 performance, and there is evidence to show that the three long recitative scenes for Nature, the Chamberlain and Mercury were written

1) 1663; quoted by Dent, pp. 71-72.

2) Ed. E.J. Dent, Musica Britannica Vol.II (London, 1951).

for this performance and did not occur in the original score of 1653.¹⁾ However this may be, the three scenes - all set to continuous recitative - reveal a much surer grasp of dramatic declamation than is found in the work of William or Henry Lawes. Like Lanier, Locke spent some time on the Continent, and his interest in Italian music is clearly shown by the copies he made of Italian songs. As might be expected, his declamatory style is very Italianate and has an intensity of expression rarely found in Lawes. This is partly the result of the angularity of his melodic writing and the frequent florid runs which are emotionally expressive rather than merely decorative. But the dramatic intensity of Locke's recitative depends much more on his strong harmonic sense which allows the melodic declamation to interact with harmonic tension. This can be seen in all three of the long recitative passages from Cupid and Death, of which the first (where Nature witnesses Cupid's slaughter²⁾ of the lovers) is perhaps the best example.

In the songs of Ferrabosco and Johnson written for plays and masques, in the work of Lanier and William Lawes, and later in the music of Matthew Locke we can see a gradual development of the declamatory style which was to lead eventually to the dramatic arioso of Pelham Humfrey, Blow and Purcell. But it was not only in music for the stage that the

1) The evidence is discussed by Dent in the preface to his edition, *ibid.*, p.xiv.

2) *Ibid.*, pp. 33-37.

influence of the Italian stile nuovo was felt. Walter Porter's collection of Madrigales and Ayres of two, three, foure and five Voyces, with the continued Base, published in 1632, is no less indebted to Italian techniques than any of the masque music discussed above. Previous writers have tended to underestimate Porter's quality as a composer. Ernest Walker¹⁾ and Peter Warlock,²⁾ both dismayed that anything described as a Madrigal or Ayre should depart so radically from the earlier genre, dismiss his work along with the (quite different) Ayres of Henry Lawes as examples of "the great tradition in its decadence and decay".³⁾ To be sure, his music is uneven in quality. In the brief recitativo passage 'Euridice, he cried' from Thus sung Orpheus⁴⁾ and in the chorus which follows, the declamation is closely modelled on the work of Monteverdi but lacks real dramatic conviction. The reason for its ineffectiveness lies to a great extent in the difference between the English and Italian languages - a point on which we have not yet touched, and one which has tended to be ignored in considering the nature of 17th century English declamatory song. The passage in question provides an excellent example of the unsuitability of English to the Italian declamatory style: the single word 'Euridice', when anglicised, emphasises the

1) A History of Music in England (3rd. ed. rev. Westrup, Oxford, 1952), p.165.

2) The English Ayre (London, 1926), p.125.

3) Ibid.

4) Ed. Ian Spink (London, 1963).

consonants and lacks the rhythmic thrust which Italian gives to the third syllable. Indeed, this emphasis on consonants is a characteristic of the English language in general; Italian, on the other hand, stresses vowels, is rich in feminine endings and has a rhythmic flexibility which lends itself naturally to musical treatment. It is these qualities which make Italian eminently singable in a way that English is not.¹⁾ Consequently, any attempt to adapt Italian prosody to the English language is doomed to failure; only by recognising that the two languages are fundamentally different could English composers hope to develop a declamatory style of their own which is musically satisfying and dramatically convincing. Once again, it is a question of learning from rather than imitating Italian models, and the clumsiness of Porter's declamation in Thus sung Orpheus is the result of his inability to make the melodic shapes and rhythmic patterns spring naturally from the English language.

Nevertheless, Porter is occasionally very successful in setting English words. The beautiful Sleep, all my joys²⁾ for two tenors with a brief closing chorus is again strongly indebted to Monteverdi, with whom Porter at some time studied. Here the affective melodic writing has a naturalness and ease which perfectly fits the words while at the

1) It is no accident that, in devotional music, the declamatory style was much more successfully used by English composers in settings of Latin texts.

2) Ed. Ian Spink (London, 1963).

same time vividly recreating the emotional mood of the text. The expressive decorative figures in the opening phrase, the affective representation of the word 'sighing', the declamatory 'Yea, all my hopes are vanished' and the cadential patterns are all taken from Monteverdi, but are bound together into a musically convincing whole. If the piece lacks originality, it nevertheless demonstrates Porter's genuine understanding of Monteverdian techniques and his ability to adapt Italianate devices to his own purposes. Few of Porter's English contemporaries could claim this, least of all Martin Peerson whose music remains firmly tied to the English polyphonic tradition despite his imaginative use of chromaticism and the inclusion of a figured basso continuo in his collection of Mocketts or Grave Chamber Musique published in 1630.

Peerson's readiness for harmonic experiment and his remarkable use of melodic and harmonic chromaticism for expressive purposes is already apparent in the devotional settings he contributed to Sir William Leighton's Tears or Lamentacions of a Sorrowful Soule (1614). The most extreme example is the magnificent O let me at thy footstool fall¹⁾ but, despite the violently chromatic idiom, the individual vocal lines remain like those of Gibbons basically instrumental in character. Significantly, Leighton describes the collection as "Lamentacions ... composed with Musical Ayres and Songs,

1) Ed. Marylin Wailes (London, 1953).

both for voyces and divers instruments¹⁾. The relationship to the polyphonic songs of Gibbons is even more apparent in Peerson's O God, that no time doest despise from the same collection. This motet (or, more correctly, consort song) has a simple binary structure; the second part (in which a repeat is indicated) is so instrumental in character that the individual lines are not only ungrateful to sing but sound ineffective without instrumental doubling. The almost unrelieved minim movement works well enough when played by viols, but is in no way vocal. Furthermore, the closeness of the imitations makes nonsense of the natural verbal stresses in the alto and bass parts; only in the chromatic nature of the melodic lines can the music be said to have any real connection with the words.

Just as these early devotional settings reveal, despite their extreme chromaticism, strong links with the past, so Martin Peerson's ayres - published in 1620 under the title Private Musicke, or the First Booke of Ayres and Dialogues - are written in the tradition of the consort song. In his introduction to Vol. XXII of Musica Britannica, Philip Brett comments:²⁾

"During the Jacobean period the consort song became more sensitive to the dictates of fashion, and managed to adapt itself to new tastes without losing all its essential characteristics.... In place of the involved contrapuntal style of Byrd, [composers] cultivated a simplicity and directness assimilated no doubt from the lute air."

1) Ed. Marylin Wailes (London, 1953).

2) Op. cit., p.xvi.

This is certainly true of the songs in Peerson's Private Musicke, all of which are for one or two solo voices with chorus. The music has an engaging lyrical simplicity which reflects the influence of the lute ayre, but it still remains ostensibly in the tradition of the consort song. Peerson describes the collection as "Songs of severall sorts" which "being verse and Chorus [are] fit for Voyces and Viols". The style, however, bears little real resemblance to the polyphonic consort songs of the previous century. Peerson was well aware of this, for he continues: "And for the want of Viols [the songs] may be performed to either the Virginall or Lute, where the proficient can play upon the Ground; or, for a shift, to the Base viol alone".

The experimental chromaticism found in the devotional songs Peerson contributed to Leighton's Tears or Lamentacions is altogether absent from his Ayres of 1620. This is hardly surprising, for the texts provide little opportunity for chromatic treatment. But extreme chromaticism is again a feature of the songs Peerson published in 1630 under the title Mocetetts or Grave Chamber Musique. Here, the prevailing Italian influence is apparent not only in the expressive use of chromaticism but in the inclusion of a figured basso continuo. Despite this, the music remains firmly tied to tradition: the individual lines are no less instrumental in character than before, and the texture is often imitative, even using madrigal-style contrasts between groups of voices

as, for example, in the final section of Man, dreame no
more.¹⁾ It is tempting to dwell on this piece, or on the
equally fine Selfe pitties teares²⁾ from the same collection;
both are superb in their way, and both provide an excellent
example of the way in which Peerson could take inspiration
from Italian music without sacrificing any of the essential
characteristics of his native tradition.

In writing for the church, English composers were at
first less ready to respond to the new style. The two leading
church composers during the early years of the 17th century--
Tomkins and Gibbons - were both thoroughly conservative, and
even Weelkes showed in his sacred music little of the imagin-
ation, dramatic sensitivity or readiness for harmonic experi-
ment which he displayed in his madrigals. Chromatic pro-
gressions such as the abrupt change from a chord of A to F
sharp major at the words 'Crave thy God to tune thy heart'
in his six-part Gloria in excelsis Deo are rare. Significantly,
the influence of the stile nuovo was more strongly felt in
music intended for non-liturgical use. We have already
commented on the devotional songs with figured basso continuo
in Peerson's collection of 1630, but the earliest examples
of continuo songs using the Italian trio sonata scoring of
two trebles and bass are by Richard Dering, who returned to
England from Brussells in 1625. Although none of Dering's
music seems to have been published in England until after the
Restoration, it is probable that these three-part Latin

1) Ed. Marylin Wailes (London, 1954).

2) Ed. Marylin Wailes (London, 1957).

devotional songs, which are closely modelled on the work of Alessandro Grandi, were first performed in the 1630s in Queen Henrietta Maria's private chapel at Somerset House.¹⁾ The style quickly became popular. In 1639 William Child published his First set of Psalmes of three Voyces, which he described as "fitt for private chappells or other private meetings ... [and] newly composed after the Italian way". Nine years later, Henry Lawes published a similar collection of settings by his brother and himself under the title Choice Psalms put into musick. Since William was killed at the siege of Chester in 1645, it is clear that the music had been composed considerably earlier; on the evidence of Henry's dedicatory preface (in which he states that the music was "born and nourished in Your Majesties' service"²⁾) it is reasonable to assume that the settings date from the period 1636-1639.²⁾ Devotional songs for two and three voices with figured basso continuo are also found in a number of 17th century manuscript sources, and, as an indication of the continuing popularity of the genre, Child's Psalmes were reprinted in 1650 and again in 1656, John Wilson's Psalterium Carolinum appeared in 1652, and Dering's Latin devotional songs were published by Playford after the Restoration in the collections entitled Cantica Sacra I and II.

1) See Peter le Huray, Music and the Reformation in England (London, 1967), p.152. For a detailed description of the Queen's chapel see *ibid.* pp. 86-87; see also Needham and Webster, Somerset House (London, 1905).

2) In his study of William Lawes (*op. cit.*) Murray Lefkowitz shows that, in all probability, the settings date from 1637-8 when the playhouses were closed because of the plague (pp. 236-238).

As might be expected, the composers most ready to experiment with the seconda prattica in their sacred music were either men such as Dering and Peter Philips who had resided abroad or musicians connected with the Chapel Royal. Another centre in which Italianate music was held in high esteem was Cambridge: writing of the private music gatherings he remembered from his youth, Thomas Mace lists some of the composers whose music was performed there.¹⁾ The list of "divers Famous English Men and Italians" includes Alfonso Ferrabosco, Richard Dering, William Lawes "and one Monteverde, a Famous Italian Author". Mace continues his account as follows:²⁾

"We had (beyond all This) a Custom at Our Meetings that commonly, after such Instrumental Musick was over, we did Conclude All with some Vocal Musick to the Organ, or (for want of That) to the Theorboe. The Best which we did ever Esteem were Those Things which were most Solemn and Divine, some of which I will (for their Eminency) Name, viz. Mr Deering's Gloria Patri, and others of His Latin Songs... besides many others of the like Nature, Latin and English, by most of the above-named Authors and Others, Wonderfully Rare, Sublime and Divine beyond all Expression".

It may well be that Robert Ramsey (who took his Mus. B. degree at Cambridge in 1616, was organist of Trinity College from 1628 to 1644 and Master of the Children from 1637 to 1644)³⁾ acquired his fluency in the Italian style by attending

1) Thomas Mace, Musick's Monument (1676); facsimile reprint (Paris, 1958), p.234.

2) Ibid., p.235.

3) See Edward Thomson, Robert Ramsey: English Sacred Music (London, 1967), p.vii.

these meetings; he is not, however, mentioned by Mace. His sacred music is of particular interest, for it demonstrates how Caroline composers felt obliged to adopt a more conservative idiom for their English church music. Ramsey's English liturgical music, especially the four-part Service, is conventional though always imaginative and occasionally extremely moving (consider the beautiful six-part anthem How are the mighty fallen).¹⁾ On the other hand, his biblical dialogue In guilty night²⁾ is a remarkable essay in the dramatic declamatory style, and his Latin church music shows a much greater readiness for harmonic experiment than any of the English anthems.

In his reluctance to employ idiomatic features of the early baroque in his English liturgical music, Ramsey is typical of his age. Nevertheless, baroque techniques gradually found their way into English church music, as can be seen from the anthems of William and Henry Lawes and, to a lesser extent, from those of William Child. Several of Child's anthems are in the old polyphonic style, but features of the seconda prattica can occasionally be observed in his liturgical music as, for example, in the stile concitato opening of the Jubilate "made for the right worshipful Dr Cosin"³⁾, in the expressive chromatic dissonances of the motet O bone Jesu and in the declamatory choral texture of the full-anthem O God, wherefore art thou absent?⁴⁾ But, as might

1) Ibid., p.84.

2) Ibid., p.121.

3) BM Add 33235 and Ch Ch 14; ed. H.G. Ley (Novello).

4) Included in Peter le Huray, The Treasury of English Church Music, Vol.II (London, 1965).

be expected, it is in the verse-anthems of Caroline and early Commonwealth composers that the influence of the secular declamatory style is most apparent. This is particularly true of the twelve verse-anthems by William Lawes (Ch Ch 768-70)¹⁾ in which full sections sung "to the comon tunes"²⁾ (whether by the choir, congregation or both is not clear) alternate with verses for the soloists. The extreme declamatory nature of these solo passages, duets and trios, and the vivid, if somewhat naive, representation of words in music³⁾ is remarkable when we consider the early date of the settings which Lefkowitz believes to have been written before 1631.⁴⁾ On aesthetic grounds, the anthems may justifiably be criticised as too naively dramatic to warrant performance today; they are nevertheless of considerable historical interest, for they show the extent to which Lawes was prepared to employ the secular declamatory style in his church music.

In this introductory chapter, an attempt has been made to examine briefly the rise of the baroque in England in order to set the following chapters in some kind of historical context. Our concern has been with vocal rather than instrumental music, for it was primarily in music for the voice that baroque styles and techniques invaded England from the Continent to become fused with the native musical tradition. This is not to suggest

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- 1) The manuscript, written c. 1670, is in the hand of Edward Lowe; it comprises three part-books bound together.
 - 2) The title in the Ch. Ch. manuscript is: "Mr Will Lawes, his Psalmes for 1, 2 & 3 partes, to the comon tunes". The incipits only of the full sections are given, with the indication 'Cho:' and the direction 'comon tune'.
 - 3) See, for example, the bass solo 'The Lord descended' from O God my strength, reproduced by Lefkowitz, op. cit. p.253.
 - 4) Ibid., p.256.

that instrumental music in England remained untouched by the prevailing influences: indeed, in the string fantasias of Caroline and Commonwealth composers similar developments can be observed reflecting the influence of the Italian trio sonata and the emancipation of instrumental music from its vocal origins; this will be discussed more fully in Chapter 3. As we have seen, the formative period of the baroque in England can be traced back to the early years of the 17th century, and even beyond to the last decade of the 16th; its later growth, however, coincided with an age of violent political conflict which culminated in civil war and the new social order and moral values imposed by the Commonwealth. While the arts, especially music, could not remain unaffected by political circumstances, the nature of the English baroque depended much more on the way composers responded to the prevailing influences from abroad. Some showed little interest in the new style, others tried to assimilate it, but none could entirely ignore it. At the same time, even the most progressive English composers could not deny the existence of their native tradition, and the independent character of the English baroque arose from the way in which Continental influences were absorbed into existing national styles and techniques, balancing tradition with experiment.

Yet we must not overlook the importance of social circumstances in England. Living in an age of bitter controversy and political confusion, composers could not have escaped its effects. Many depended for their livelihood on the patronage of the Court or Church; with the collapse of the monarchy, the closing of the theatres and the severe censorship of

Cathedral music they were obliged to seek employment elsewhere. Such a musician was George Jeffreys, who had been organist to Charles I at Oxford and who remained an ardent Royalist throughout his life. After the surrender of Oxford in 1646, he retired to a small village in Northamptonshire to become steward to Sir Christopher Hatton of Kirby Hall. His early music written before the Interregnum shows considerable interest in Italian techniques; later, working as an amateur and in isolation from the musicians he had known at Court, Jeffreys was able to experiment and bring his work to full artistic and technical maturity. Though his music was too individual to have attracted much attention in his lifetime, much of it is worthy of performance today. More than that, it casts an interesting sidelight on the development of baroque styles and techniques in the work of a gifted, sensitive and highly imaginative amateur.

2. GEORGE JEFFREYS: A BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

There can be few composers in such relatively recent times whose early life and family background are so difficult to trace. Apart from the dates appended to two or three of his early compositions, the lack of any reliable documentary evidence relating to Jeffreys' activities before 1648 is the cause of considerable frustration to the biographer. Indeed, the only contemporary references to his activities before the Interregnum are made by the Oxford historian, Anthony Wood, whose remarks are not supported by any other extant documents. According to Wood, Jeffreys was descended from the composer Matthew Jeffreys, a vicar choral at Wells Cathedral from 1579.¹⁾ The chapter acts and register of the vicars choral for the period unfortunately give no information of genealogical interest. There are less than a dozen entries relating to Matthew Jeffreys: these cover the period from 12th December 1579, when he was admitted a member of the college of vicars choral, to 16th December 1613, when he was accused before the chapter of misbehaviour towards Dr Wood, archdeacon of Wells. The records contain no references to George Jeffreys.

We may surmise, however, that George Jeffreys was born

1) Anthony Wood, unpublished manuscript notes on the lives of English musicians in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Wood D. 19/4).

about the year 1610. A set of part-books at Christ Church¹⁾ containing the six String Fantasias of three parts bears the date 1629. Since the manuscript is not in Jeffreys' hand the date is hardly reliable, but it must have been at about this time that Jeffreys began to compose music. In 1631 he set four songs "made for some Comedies by Sir Richard Hatton", and his music for Peter Hausted's The Rival Friends dates from the same year. It seems reasonable to assume that these, his earliest compositions, would have been written when he was about twenty years of age. This being the case, Jeffreys was in his mid-seventies at the time of his death in 1685. He was certainly not a young man when he died, for a letter written by Henry Goode²⁾ on 27th July in that year refers to "old Mr Jeffreys"³⁾.

Jeffreys does not appear to have been a member of either Oxford or Cambridge University, though he certainly had connections with both. His general education, which included a reasonable understanding of Latin, was no more than could have been acquired at a good grammar school, and his rudimentary knowledge of Italian may well have been self-taught or, quite possibly, picked up in Italy. Indeed, there is evidence that Jeffreys visited Italy at some time during his early life. The copies he made of music by Carissimi, Reggio

1) Ch Ch 468, 469 and 472.

2) Henry Goode, 1651-1727; Rector of Weldon and Deene from 1684.

3) British Museum, Hatton-Finch Collection, Add 29561, folio 188. Since Jeffreys was already dead at the time this letter was written it would be wrong to attach too much significance to the adjective "old": Goode may well have used the word to mean that he was no longer alive. However, there is other evidence of Jeffreys' old age: in a letter to Christopher Hatton dated 28th April 1684 (Add 29560, folio 235) Jeffreys talks of his "old Age infirmitie".

and other Italian composers (BM Add 31479) are written on paper made in Italy. This evidence is far from conclusive,¹⁾ but it would certainly account for Jeffreys' great interest in Italian music as well as for the fact that nothing can be discovered about his life in England before 1631.

As a possible result of his association with the Hatton family, Jeffreys became involved with the King's Court during the last few years of Charles' reign, and he remained a staunch Royalist throughout his life. Anthony Wood refers to Jeffreys as the King's organist at Oxford, and an entry dated 20th March 1659²⁾ lists a number of Oxford musicians who met each week at the house of William Ellis. The list includes Jeffreys' son Christopher, who was then a junior student at Christ Church and "excellent at the organ and virginals or harpsichord, having been trained up to those instruments by his father Georg Jeffryes (sic), steward to the lord Hatton of Kirbie in Northamptonshire and organist to King Charles I at Oxford".

This single statement seems to be the basis of the few references to Jeffreys by later writers. In the following century,³⁾ Sir John Hawkins repeats Wood's remarks:

"... George Jefferies, organist to Charles I when he was at Oxon 1643, servant to Lord Hatton of Kirby in Northamptonshire, where he had lands of his own, was succeeded in the king's chapel by Edward Low. His son Christopher Jefferies, a student of Christ Church, played well on the organ."

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- 1) The paper may have been given him by Christopher Hatton.
 - 2) The Life and Times of Anthony Wood (Oxford Historical Society, 1772), Vol.I, p.274.
 - 3) Hawkins, A General History ... of Music (1776); Dover reprint (New York, 1963), Vol.II, p.584.

Hawkins does, however, contribute some further information which suggests that Jeffreys had previously been a member of the Chapel Royal:¹⁾

"Of the gentlemen of king Charles the First's chapel, a few had loyalty and resolution enough to become sharers in his fortunes; and among these were George Jefferies, his organist at Oxford in 1643, and Dr John Wilson ..."

Quite possibly, Hawkins had access to documents which have since been lost: neither Jeffreys or Wilson are mentioned in the Cheque-Book as members of the Chapel Royal in the reign of Charles I, but the imperfect manner in which the book was kept may easily account for the omission. John Wilson, a lutanist of considerable distinction, was a great favourite of the King and maintained his association with Oxford University until the Restoration. In 1662 he succeeded Henry Lawes as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal: the entry in the Cheque-Book²⁾ makes no mention of his having previously been a member of the King's Chapel, and this must cast further doubt on the accuracy of Hawkins' remarks.

At the outbreak of civil war the University, with the help of the town, began to fortify the city against attack by the Parliamentary forces; but in September 1642 the army entered Oxford, only to abandon it the following month. After

1) Ibid., Vol.II, p.582.

2) The Old Cheque-Book ... of the Chapel Royal, ed. E.F. Rimbault (Da Capo reprint, New York, 1966), p.13. Wilson had, however, been a member of the King's "private musick"; his name is included in the list of musicians "For Lutes, Violls and Voices" (A List of his Majesties servants in ordinary of the Chamber, 1641, PRO IC3/1). Jeffreys is not mentioned here, nor in the list of musicians included in the Domestic Accounts for Charles I, 1640 (PRO SP16/474).

his victory at the battle of Edgehill on 23rd October, the King entered Oxford and the city immediately became a Royalist stronghold. From here the King plotted the campaigns of 1643: the University press was used to print Royalist pamphlets, college plate was requisitioned to raise money for the Royalist cause, and the schools were used as arsenals. Even as late as 1645 Oxford remained impregnable, and the city held out until 24th June 1646, when it finally surrendered to Fairfax.¹⁾ Hawkins gives a further account of music at Oxford during this time, once again linking Jeffreys with the King's Court:²⁾

"But not withstanding these attempts in its favour, the forbidding the use of the liturgy and the restraints on the stage amounted in effect to a proscription of music from the metropolis and drove the professors of it to seek protection where they were most likely to find it. It will easily be conceived that the prohibition of cathedral service left a great number of musicians as, namely, organists, minor canons, lay-clerks and other persons attendant on choirs, without employment; and the gloomy and sullen temper of the times, together with the frequent hostilities that were carried on in different parts of the kingdom during usurpation, had driven music to a great degree out of private families. The only place which these men could, as to an asylum, resort was to Oxford, whither the King had retired; there went with him thither Dr Wilson, one of the gentlemen of his chapel, and he had an organist with him named George Jeffries; these and a few others, with the assistance of the University people, made a stand against the persecution of the times; choral service was performed there after a very homely fashion, and concerts of vocal and instrumental music were sometimes had in the rooms of the Gentlemen of the University

1) For a fuller account see The Victoria History of the Counties of England, Vol. III, Oxford (London, 1954), pp. 24-25.

2) Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 679.

for the entertainment of each other. But this lasted only till the surrender of the garrison in 1646, when the King was obliged to leave the place; however, the spirit that had been excited in favour of music during his residence there, and the continuance of Dr Wilson in the University, who was professor and a man of cheerful disposition, contributed to an association of Gentlemen of the University with the musicians of the place, and these together established a weekly concert. The place of greatest resort for this purpose was the house of one William Ellis, formerly organist of Eton College, and, at the time now spoken of, organist of St John's."

Hawkins goes on to quote Wood's account of the weekly meetings of Oxford musicians, whose number later included Christopher Jeffreys when he was a student at Christ Church in 1659. While giving a fascinating picture of music at Oxford during the civil war and Commonwealth, neither Wood nor Hawkins adds further to our knowledge of Jeffreys' early life. Curiously enough, Jeffreys seems to have written little, if any, music during this period. Perhaps if he had he would have excited more attention from contemporary chroniclers. But these were troubled times, and significantly all Jeffreys' sacred compositions to which dates are appended were written between 1648 and 1675, when he was in the employment of Lord Hatton. As steward to the Hatton family he was no longer dependent on the patronage of the Court, Church or State, and this enabled him to experiment in a way a professional composer could not. By contrast with his mature compositions, the early secular music and string fancies are conventional and would hardly have been likely to excite much comment. On the other hand, the more experimental anthems and sacred songs written in the 1650s and 1660s were intended for private devotion, possibly at Kirby Hall, and

would not have been heard outside Jeffreys' immediate circle.¹⁾
The only work to be published in his lifetime was the two-
part sacred song Erit gloria Domini which was included in
Dering's Cantica Sacra II:²⁾ although formally typical of
the two- and three-part devotional songs (and stylistically
not unlike those by Dering himself), the work is hardly
representative of Jeffreys' best compositions in this genre.

After the surrender of Oxford in 1646, Jeffreys became
steward to the Hatton family at Kirby in Northamptonshire.
He was certainly in their employment in 1648, for the cor-
respondence with Sir Christopher Hatton begins in that year,
and we may assume he began his duties immediately after
leaving Oxford. His connection with the Hatton family goes
back, however, to at least 1631, when he set some verses by
Sir Richard Hatton. This has led Nicholas Steinitz to suggest
that Jeffreys was a protégé of the Hattons from quite early
on. If this is so, it would account for his collaboration in
1631 with Peter Hausted, who was also patronised by the Hattons,
and would explain how Jeffreys came to be at Oxford in the
service of the King. The post coincided almost exactly with
Christopher Hatton's joining the Court at Oxford, shortly after
which he became Controller of the King's household. In support
of this argument is the fact that Jeffreys' connection with
Weldon, a village some three miles from Kirby Hall, goes back

1) That music played an important part in life at Kirby is
shown by the inventory of music and instruments made by
Lord Hatton (Delapre Abbey 2133). The list of instruments
includes three chests of viols, a lute, a theorbo, a
virginal, a harpsichord, an organ, two violins and miscel-
laneous wind instruments.

2) John Playford (London, 1674).

to at least 1637. On 21st December in that year George Jeffreys took out a licence to marry Mary Peirs, who is described as "a widow of Weldon". Although the record of her previous marriage has been lost, there is no doubt that she was the daughter of Elizabeth Salwey and Thomas Mainwaring, rector of Weldon from 1614 until his death in 1663.¹⁾ In his will, Mainwaring leaves £120 to his "affectionate son George Jeffreys", who is also named sole executor; there are also bequests of £100 each to "my much affected grandson Christopher Jeffreys" and "my granddaughter Mary Jeffreys". Mainwaring's own daughter is not mentioned, so we must assume that she had died before 10th March 1662 when the will was made. Perhaps this is the "sad Accident so fresh in my poor family" which Jeffreys writes of in a letter to Christopher Hatton dated 27th March 1662.²⁾

Jeffreys' relationship to the Salweys, a distinguished Worcestershire family, is of particular interest. A pedigree of the Salwey family published in 1781 shows connections with the Jefferies (sic) family of Holme Castle going back to the mid-16th century.³⁾ Although George Jeffreys is not mentioned, it must be more than coincidence that he married the daughter of Elizabeth Salwey: if his only relationship to the Salweys were by his marriage, it would hardly account for the fact

-
- 1) The Mainwarings were a notable Cheshire family. Thomas was born in 1580 and was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford; he took a BA in 1598, MA in 1601-2, BD 1608-9, and was created DD in 1636. He was rector of Uley, Gloucestershire from 1611 before moving to Weldon in 1614.
 - 2) BM Add 29551. Jeffreys' wife was certainly alive in March 1655; she is mentioned in a letter to Lady Hatton (Add 29550, folios 232-233).
 - 3) T.R. Nash, Collections for the History of Worcestershire (London, 1781), Vol. II, p.69 (Corrections and Additions).

that Thomas Salwey, the brother of Elizabeth, left a substantial amount of property to Jeffreys whom he describes in his will as "my cousin". Moreover, Jeffreys constantly refers to "my cousin Salwey of your House" in his correspondence with the Hattons.

We may therefore assume that, quite apart from his own marriage, Jeffreys was a distant relative of the Salweys and a member of the "very antient and opulent" Jefferies family described by Nash:¹⁾

"... The Jefferies's were a ... family of great respectability in the county [of Worcestershire], several of them being persons of considerable parts and learning.... One of the Jefferies's purchased the manor of Clifton in the year 1553, and William Jefferies bought the manor of Nether Home in 1583. The house called Holme Castle, being burnt down, the writings were consumed, and he obtained a fresh grant from King James in 1605 and died 1628, leaving his son William, born 1598, who entered his pedigree 1634 and died in April 1641, before his father who died 1658: after the death of the son, the father married again and had several sons and daughters; Henry, his eldest son, was born 1636 and enjoyed the estate till his death 1709; having outlived all his brothers and sisters, he left his estate to his niece..."

It is unlikely, however, that the details of Jeffreys' family background will ever be known: the oldest legible gravestone in Weldon church, where he is buried, is 1722; and the parish records for the period, which had been kept in a chest unopened for many years, were recently found to have been destroyed by mice!

1) Ibid., Vol. II, p.69 (Corrections and Additions). A pedigree of the Jefferies is also given separately on p.20.

By his marriage to Mary Peirs, Jeffreys had two children. His son Christopher (possibly named after Jeffreys' patron Sir Christopher Hatton) must have been born about the year 1642 or 1643, for he is described by Wood in 1659 as a "junior student at Christ Church"¹⁾ He was educated at Westminster School, took a B.A. at Oxford in 1663, an M.A. in 1666, and later spent some time in Spain, after which his father tried unsuccessfully to secure for him a post with the Ambassador to France.²⁾ The correspondence between Jeffreys and Christopher Hatton is characteristic of the zeal with which Jeffreys attempted to further the interests of his friends and the members of his family. On 21st September 1668 he wrote:³⁾

"... besides this, Sir, I am humbly to thanke you for your favour to my son, and in him to me; he tells me you were pleasd to encourage him (by your promise of assistance to your Cousin Our Ambassador for France) to that employment. I do, Sir, very humbly thanke you for it, and it will be a very great obligation to me if, by your favour and Interest, he may be admitted to any matter of business or service there: though I fear all places are long since taken up that are of any account. Yet 'tis possible some Under Secretary or something of that Nature may yet be bestowed. My son is a Master of Arts, and 'tis not unlikely but that the little musick he hath may ad something towards an Acceptation if the Embassodor hav a musicall eare. His journey to Spaine produced so small advantage that I cannot but wish for an employment at least more then to gaze..."

That Hatton was happy to comply with this request is clear

1) Wood, Life and Times (loc. cit.).

2) Lee (Dictionary of National Biography, London, 1892, Vol. XXIX) is wrong in suggesting that Jeffreys sought a post for his son with the Spanish Ambassador.

3) BM Add 29551, folio 455.

from Jeffreys' letter to him on 5th October:¹⁾

"I have received the obliging account you have been pleased to give me this weeke, and am very sensible of the very great trouble your favour to my son hath given you.... If we fayle of our desire, it will be the effect of our ill fortune in Coming to late rather then any defect in your Interest in the noble gentleman.... I do, Sir, stay my son heer with me from goeing to his Cell in Oxford untill the next weeke, in hopes by your favour to hear what further encouragment ... may be obteyned.... I do conceive my son may be serviceable to [the Ambassador], but, whether it may be his fortune to goe or stay, I am sure we are both infinitely obliged to you...."

Despite this, the Ambassador seems to have been unwilling to find employment for Christopher Jeffreys. On 28th December Jeffreys again wrote to Christopher Hatton, thanking him for his favour but adding, "I guesse at this rate we shall make no more of it"²⁾ On 10th January 1669 the matter was finally abandoned:³⁾

"I should not have troubled you so soon but to give you my humble thanks for your favour to my son with the Embassadour.... After the first delay, it was not difficult to forsee there was not anything more to be expected then a few good (I should have said) Court[eous] Words...."

Christopher Jeffreys seems to have stayed in Weldon after this time, for there are numerous references in his father's letters to the Hattons to his activities in Northamptonshire. He assisted his father in administration of the Hatton estate, and continued to live with his wife Anna Brydges (the sister

1) Ibid., folio 460.

2) BM Add 29551, folio 499.

3) BM Add 29552, folio 7.

of James, Lord Chandos) in his father's house at Weldon until the latter's death in 1685. His four children, Anne, Beata, Frances and George, were all born before 1684: the three girls were each given a small legacy of £10 ("and wish I had more to give them") in their grandfather's will, and George, who was born in 1678 and a great favourite of his grandfather, a substantial amount of property in Weldon¹⁾ "as some help towards the charge of his Education".

George Jeffreys, the grandson, was educated like his father at Westminster School; later, he went to Trinity College, Cambridge. He graduated B.A. in 1698, took an M.A. in 1702, and later established a considerable reputation as a poet and man of letters. He was a friend of Pope and, as a cousin of the first Duke of Chandos, would almost certainly have been acquainted with Handel. His literary works included an Oration delivered at Cambridge on the anniversary of the death of Charles I, and an Oration delivered before the University in 1702 in praise of Queen Anne. His most successful stage works were Edwin, a tragedy acted at the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1724, and Merope which was acted there in 1731. His poem, Father Francis and Sister Constance, was highly praised by his contemporaries; and, though his work now seems ephemeral by comparison with Pope and the greater poets of his day, he seems to have inherited something of his grandfather's creative instinct. There is no evidence that he

1) Jeffreys' will, which is held by the Northamptonshire Archives Committee at Delapre Abbey, Northampton, is reproduced in Appendix B.

had any particular musical talent, but his father's interest in music would certainly have led to his learning to play an instrument as part of his general education. It would be interesting to know his opinion of his grandfather's music: it may well not have been high, since the values of his age were far removed from those of the previous century.

Christopher Jeffreys' sister, Mary, also lived at Weldon up to the time of her father's death. In 1668 or 1669 she secretly married William Goode,¹⁾ a local Weldon man of whom Jeffreys strongly disapproved. The marriage caused her father great distress. On 7th February 1669 Jeffreys wrote to Christopher Hatton at Thanet House:²⁾

"... I am, Sir, at present under some disturbance of my thoughts: my daughter, having so much forgotten both her duty and Interest as to Marry one without my Consent or knowledge, [has been] unfitt for about a year since, and never acquainted me therewith untill last weeke; the same person my Lady your good Mother told me of long since.... Pardon me, Sir, being full of it that I have given interruption to your many and great businesses."

Despite his distress (and we must remember that family loyalty and filial respect were highly valued in 17th century England), Jeffreys seems to have forgiven his daughter quite quickly. A week later, on 14th February, he wrote:³⁾

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- 1) Lee (op. cit.) is again in error in confusing Mary's husband with Henry Goode, rector of Weldon in 1684. A letter written by Henry Goode in June 1685 (BM Add 29561, folio 159) mentions his wife's relatives in Gloucester, and shows that William, now deceased, was Jeffreys' son-in-law. There are also several letters from William Goode to Lord Hatton. One of these, dated 15th August 1674 (Add 29554, folio 296), mentions "my father Jeffreys".
 - 2) BM Add 29552, folio 213.
 - 3) BM Add 29552, folio 218.

"... I do very humbly thanke you for your sence of my misfortune and those very kind expressions you have been pleased to make of your willingness to Oblige us: which, with those good Arguments you have joyned with it, hath much alleviated my thoughts; and I see ther is noe way left now but to Make as much of an ill bargain as I can, which shall be my indeavour, praying God's blessing thereon."

Having come to terms with the situation, Jeffreys characteristically did all he could to secure suitable employment for his son-in-law. No doubt his first concern was for the well-being of his daughter; but now that she was married to William Goode, he too had become a member of the family. Jeffreys' next letter, written on 21st February,¹⁾ takes up an offer of employment made by Hatton, though the tone still betrays Jeffreys' strong disapproval of Goode's circumstances:

"I cannot well expresse how extreamly much you have Obliged me by your favour in your so much concerning yourself for my poor Interests: 'tis true, Sir, that my son-in-law pretends to some small estate, but I doubt 'tis engaged for debts and also liable to his father's maintenance, so that no great matter can from-thence be expected, especially at present. And therefore, if I can by my self or friends help to amend the matter by procuring some imployment for him, it is What I shall endeavour. And I am very sensible how great satisfaction and refreshment my melancholy thoughts have (on that account) received from your so much Obliging expressions and promises, which must alwaies produce in me a very thankfull acknowledgment therof by any Service I may be enabled to doe you...."

Whether or not Mary was pregnant at the time of her marriage is not clear: the phrase "unfitt for about a year

1) BM Add 29552, folio 223.

since" seems to imply that she was.¹⁾ At any rate, she gave birth to a son in March of the following year, but Jeffreys' letter to Hatton, dated 4th April 1670,²⁾ does not show whether it was her first child:

"... I hartily pray her Ladyship may have as much Comfort in the laying of her great Belly (and as Much More as God pleases) as my poor daughter hath had with hers, who on Thursday last was well delivered of a Boy; which I should not have troubled you the mention of but that I hope it will prove a year for Boyes..."

The marriage produced three children: two boys, George and John, and a daughter, Ann. All received small legacies from Jeffreys, as did his daughter Mary. William Goode is not mentioned in Jeffreys' will: he had died some time before 1684, having spent the remainder of his life in the service of the Hattons.

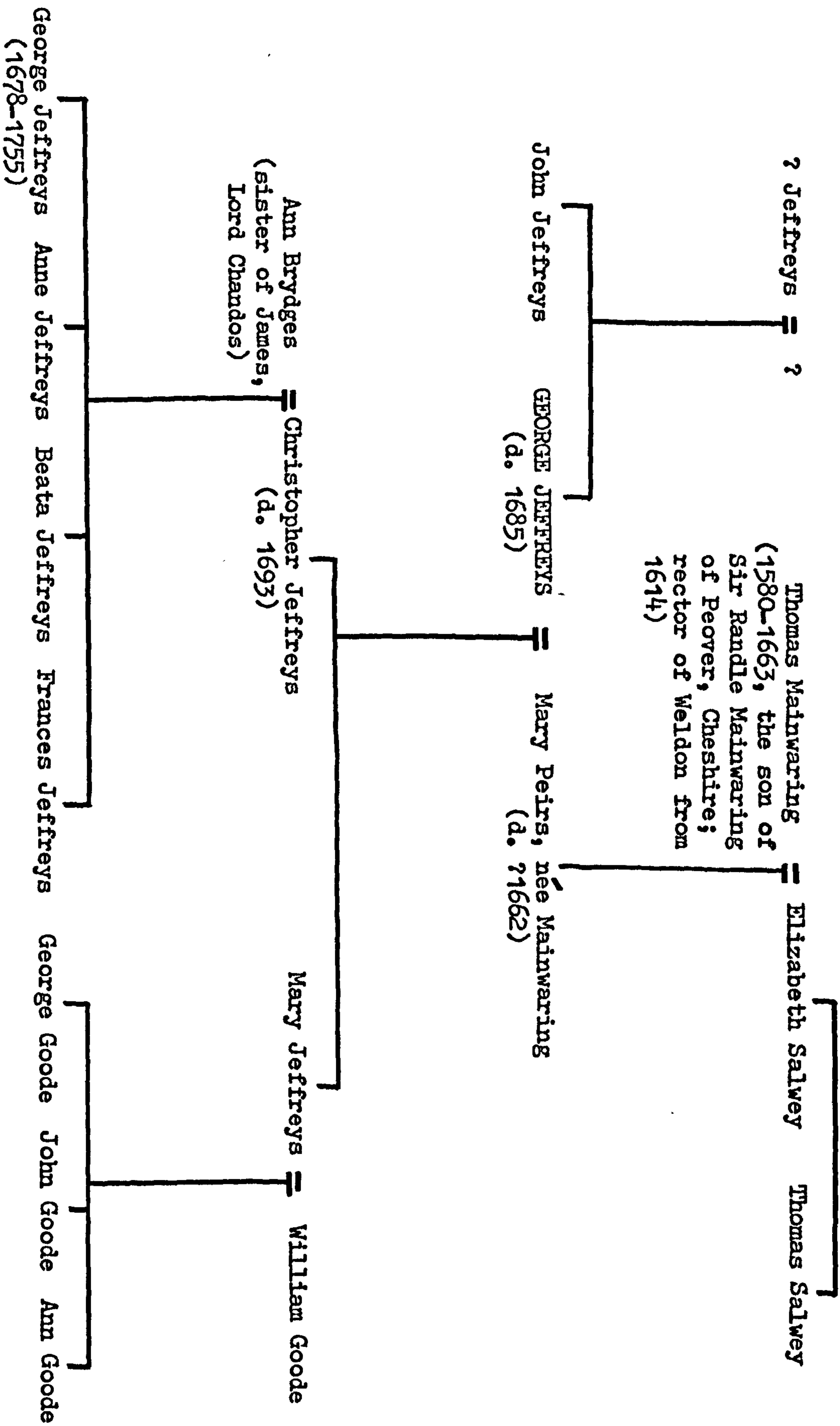
One other member of Jeffreys' family lived at Weldon. This was his brother, John Jeffreys, who is frequently mentioned in the letters and who himself corresponded with Christopher Hatton.³⁾ John Jeffreys, Christopher Jeffreys, and later William Goode all assisted in the administration of the Hatton estate, seeing to the upkeep of property, collecting rents, and generally managing Lord Hatton's affairs in his absence. Although rarely in residence at Kirby after 1648, Hatton spent large sums of money on its upkeep. From 1648 to 1656 he lived with the exiled Court in Paris, and in 1662 was made Governor of Guernsey.

1) Alternatively, the phrase could mean that she had been married to Goode for about twelve months before telling her father.

2) BM Add 29552, folio 286.

3) BM Add 29552, folio 412.

Pedigree of Jeffreys' family, showing the three generations which lived at Weldon in the 17th century.



This post he held only until 1665, having quarrelled with the jurats of the island, and he spent his last years in London, "amusing himself with heraldic researches and low company while his family lived in want at Kirby"¹⁾.

Kirby Hall, which was begun in 1570 for Sir Humphrey Stafford, was built with local Weldon stone. It was purchased in 1575 by Sir Christopher Hatton of Holdenby, Captain of Queen Elizabeth's Bodyguard and later Lord Chancellor. After his death in 1591 the property passed to Sir William Newport and, on his death in 1597, to Sir Christopher Hatton K.B., a cousin of the Chancellor. His son Christopher, afterwards the first Baron Hatton, inherited Kirby in 1619. Although he took the Royalist side in the civil war and was Controller of the King's Household during Charles' residence at Oxford, his property escaped confiscation under the Commonwealth. Shortly before the civil war, Inigo Jones made extensive improvements to the house; these were executed in part by Nicholas Stone, the King's Master Mason. Kirby Hall is now a ruin,²⁾ its roofs stripped of lead by later generations of Hattons to pay off gambling debts; but enough of it remains to see how noble the building must once have been. Evelyn, who visited Kirby in 1654, admired the gardens and thought it "a very noble house"³⁾. A description

1) G.H. Chettle, Kirby Hall (H.M.S.O., London, 1947), p.5.

2) The Hall has been the property of the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works since 1930.

3) Quoted by Chettle, op. cit., p.5.

of the Hall published at the end of the following century¹⁾
also commended the gardens:

"Kirby is now only a single house, the seat of the lord viscount Hatton. This house, consisting of a square court, was built by the Stafford family, as appeareth from their crest.... The gardens here are beautiful, stocked with a great variety of exotic plants and adorned with a wilderness composed of almost the whole variety of English trees, and ranged in an elegant order...."

The village of Weldon, where Jeffreys and his family lived, is about three miles to the south of Kirby Hall. Parts of Weldon have changed little since the 17th century: several cottages date back to Elizabethan times, and the church where Jeffreys and his wife are buried is still much the same as it was then. Writing towards the end of the 18th century,²⁾ John Bridges said of it:

"The church, dedicated to the virgin Mary, consists of a body, two isles and chancel, embattled and tiled. At the west end is a square tower, in which are fix bells, with a plain pinnacle at each corner, and in the middle a cupola or lantern covered with lead. The length of the church and chancel is seventy six feet; breadth of the body and isles forty eight feet four inches; length of the tower nineteen feet, breadth of it twelve feet and a half. On the south side of the church is a porch, leaded and embattled. At the east end of the south ile are marks of an altar, and three niches in the wall, and on each

1) John Bridges, The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire. (Oxford, 1791), Vol.II, p.314. Strangely enough, Defoe, who visited Stamford at about the same time and wrote a detailed description of nearby Burghley House (A Tour through the Island of Great Britain, 8th ed., London, 1778), does not seem to have gone to Kirby.

2) Ibid., Vol.II, p.355

side of the altar a large niche for a statue. Near the south door of the church is an arch in the wall, with a mutilated stone figure...."

Inside the church are memorial stones to Thomas Mainwaring, Jeffreys' father-in-law; John Ekins, who succeeded Mainwaring as rector of Weldon and with whom Jeffreys did not get on; and several members of the Goode family, including Henry Goode who was rector from 1684.

Weldon itself was not a large village. In the 17th century the total population of Weldon Magna and Weldon Parva was less than 500, and a survey made by Jeffreys in 1681¹⁾ gives a detailed account of the farm land and property in the village and surrounding area. Bridges' description of Weldon in the 18th century would have applied equally well to the village in Jeffreys' day:²⁾

"Weldon, lying about three miles southward of the Welland, is bounded on the east by Benefield, by Staniern on the south, on the west by Corby, and by Dene on the north. Here are about an hundred houses and five hundred inhabitants. Weldon consists of two separate manors and townships, divided from each other by a little brook, and distinguished into Great and Little Weldon. The circumference of both lordships is about three miles. Here are very antient stone quarries, of so hard a texture as to admit a polish almost equal to Italian marble. Many slabs and chimney pieces in some of the principal houses in the county are made of this stone. And if we may credit the tradition of the place ... old St Paul's cathedral, before the fire of London, was built with Weldon stone. Here are extraordinary springs of excellent water, which rising near the town supply a water mill a little below it...."

1) Northamptonshire County Records Office, Delapre Abbey.

2) Op. cit., Vol.II, p.354.

Jeffreys lived at Weldon from about 1646 until his death in 1685, and it was here that most of his music was written. His move to Weldon after the surrender of Oxford was no doubt the result of his long association with the Hattons, but in any case his Royalist sympathies would have made it difficult for him to find congenial employment as a musician under the Commonwealth. We may wonder why, after the Restoration, he did not seek a post which would have given him recognition as a composer while allowing him more time to devote to his music. The reason is not difficult to find: by 1660 Jeffreys was no longer a young man, and the prospect of leaving Weldon could not have seemed attractive. He was now a country gentleman, had acquired property of his own in Weldon, and was the respected servant of the Hattons to whom he was devoted. Indeed, the wonder is that he found time to write any music at all: his period of greatest creative activity was between 1648 and 1669, during which time Hatton was almost continually abroad. Even with the help of his brother, Jeffreys' administrative duties must have been extremely demanding; yet he still found time to produce his entire Latin sacred music (about seventy separate compositions) and most of his English church music during these years. Significantly, Jeffreys appears to have written no secular music at Weldon: the string fantasies and theatre music to which dates are appended were all composed before he was at Oxford, and on stylistic grounds we may safely assign the other songs and theatre music to the same period. As apprentice works or pieces written to demand, they are on the whole rather conventional and lack the inspired imagination

and readiness for harmonic experiment so characteristic of his mature music. Neither Richard Hatton, Hausted, Randolph or any of the unknown poets whose verses he set in the 1630s could have provided much inspiration to a composer of Jeffreys' spiritual faith. To Jeffreys, as to most high churchmen in the 17th century, God was all-powerful, wonderful beyond belief, "a mystery beyond human comprehension to be worshipped in inexpressible ecstasy"¹⁾. In our own age of lesser faith it is difficult to appreciate the strength of Jeffreys' spiritual beliefs or to understand why the Italian music he so much admired provided the perfect model for its expression. The ecstatic qualities of motets like O Domine Deus or anthems like A music strange have something in common with the poetry of Henry Vaughan; they are also reminiscent of the rich choral textures of Carissimi's Jephtha and of the sensuous, even erotic, harmonic idiom of Gesualdo's Marian motets. Jeffreys' mature music is a highly personal interpretation of the Italian stile nuovo and could not conceivably have been written by a professional composer working under the Commonwealth. We may therefore be thankful for the circumstances which led Jeffreys to work as an amateur in a small Northamptonshire village: if he had continued at the King's Court or had managed to find employment in England during the Interregnum his music would certainly have been very different.

While the circumstances of Jeffreys' early life must largely be a matter of conjecture, it is possible to follow

1) Arthur Bryant, Restoration England (London, 1960), p.81.

his activities more closely from 1648 onwards. His correspondence with Christopher Hatton begins in that year, and over 250 letters written by him are preserved in the Hatton-Finch collection in the British Museum.¹⁾ Unfortunately he writes not so much as a word about any of his music, but the letters (most of which concern administration of the Hatton estate) reveal a great deal about his character, his family, friends, and contemporary social and political events. These letters, together with the several margin notes written in the score-book,²⁾ help to build up a picture of Jeffreys' life at Weldon - a picture which is not as comprehensive as we might wish, but one which nevertheless gives some insight into his character and creative genius.

On reading the letters one is immediately struck by Jeffreys' devotion to the Hattons. Despite their formality, the letters show a deep affection for Christopher Hatton and his family, and genuine concern for their well-being. Even when troubled by his own domestic affairs, Jeffreys had their interests in mind. His letter of 7th February 1669³⁾ telling Hatton of Mary Jeffreys' secret marriage to William Goode begins: "We are all much concerned for sweet Miss and pray God to restore her and preserve her from the small poxe ...", while at the end of his life, though suffering great physical pain during his last illness, he made careful provision for Hatton's affairs to be managed by Christopher Jeffreys after his death. Only once did he ask Hatton

1) BM Add 29550 - 29561.

2) BM Add 10338.

3) BM Add 29552, folio 213.

to excuse him from his duties, and this was on the occasion of his wife's death in January 1662.¹⁾

Jeffreys' devotion to the Hattons was second only to his affection for his own family, and he was not above using his influence with Lord Hatton to promote their interests. On several occasions he attempted to secure some favour for his children or his brother. On 8th March 1668 he wrote to Hatton asking if his brother might also be employed at Kirby,²⁾ a request with which Hatton readily complied, for on 12th April Jeffreys wrote:³⁾

"... For your writing to my brother, Sir, I conceive you may please to spare you Labour. He is so much mine and we are both so much and faithfully yours that I hope we shall not fayle of performing the best service joyntlie or severally we either of us can doe to serve your Interest."

In June 1670 Jeffreys tried to obtain for his son-in-law the Keeping of the Courts of Corby,⁴⁾ and a month later went to great lengths in attempting to secure for him the Courts of Gretton.⁵⁾ This last request seems to have been unsuccessful, for in the following year Jeffreys tried to obtain the post for his brother. No doubt this was to relieve him from more strenuous duties at Kirby, for in the previous year John Jeffreys had developed an ulcer "which strained him so much (Your Lordship's pardon) to Vomit that has made a Rupture in his Belly".⁶⁾

1) BM Add 29551, folio 7.

2) BM Add 29552, folio 31.

3) BM Add 29552, folio 60.

4) BM Add 29552, folio 331.

5) BM Add 29552, folio 363.

6) BM Add 29553, folio 21.

Jeffreys' dislike of the Presbyterians was strong. On
9th March 1667 he wrote to Hatton:¹⁾

"I humbly thanke you for your favour; sure, the
Vote will giv much content to all that wish well
to the Established Church of England."

His contempt for John Ekins,²⁾ "our Parson, who is one that has
still the Presbiterian itch of meddling in all men's affaires",³⁾
led to an openly hostile relationship between the two families.
On 11th December 1679 Jeffreys wrote to Hatton:⁴⁾

" ... I have treated with our Parson about his Tiths...
This, my Lord, after an hundred disputes with him and
his beloved (who stood strongly for the right of the
Church, that is to say for her husband's proffet) is
all I can bring it to..."

We may be sure that Jeffreys' music was not used in services
at Weldon during Ekins' time there. Whether or not it was
performed while Thomas Mainwaring was rector is not known.
Many of the sacred songs and verse-anthems are quite unsuitable
for liturgical use and must have been intended for private
devotion, possibly at Kirby Hall; but the Services and more
conventional English anthems may well have been written for
general use. The three-part English Gloria "composed at Mr
Peter Gunning's motion" in 1652⁵⁾ may have resulted from a

1) BM Add 29551, folio 393.

2) Rector of Weldon 1663-1681.

3) BM Add 29552, folio 7.

4) BM Add 29557, folio 309.

5) BM Add 10338

performance of Jeffreys' music Gunning heard at Weldon. 1)

The quarrel with Ekins was by no means one-sided. The rector was clearly jealous of Jeffreys' influence with Lord Hatton and of the respect he commanded in Weldon. In 1671 Ekins hit on the idea of making Jeffreys Churchwarden, a position which would have been a considerable affront to Jeffreys' dignity. By the 17th century, the post of Churchwarden no longer carried the importance it had once held: the duties were to see to the maintenance of church property and to protect the moral standards of the parish - a duty which entailed visiting the taverns during the hours of divine service to drive malingerers to church. The post, which was unpaid, was obligatory: every citizen was required by law to serve in one of the parish offices for a period of one year. With furious indignation Jeffreys wrote to Hatton on 27th April 1671:²⁾

"... I have a little concernment of my owne to trouble your Lordship with... Our troublesome presbiterian Parson ... has requited Me this weeke by setting Me downe to be Churchwarden of this parish, which, being done in his malice with designe of doeing some prejudice to Me, ... it is necessary for Me not to suffer him to have his Uncivill and Malicious Witt, but to opose him; and although I am of the thoughts that I shall here find the meanes to crosse him ... I have and do presume to beg your Lordship's favour and assistance therin, in order wherto I have here inclosed sent a draught for a protection from your Lordship, which I pray your Lordship to do the favour to signe and seale... I know I need not use it as an Argument, but I thinke I may safely say it is upon your Lordship's account that this Malicious Presbite (sic) has this pique against me; but since he has given Me this tast of his Kindness, I doubt not but to find him some Worke..."

1) Peter Gunning was almost certainly the "Dr Gunning of Stoke Parsonage" whose death Jeffreys reported to Hatton in January 1669 (Add 29552, folio 210).

2) BM Add 29553, folio 180.

The affair gives some insight into Jeffreys' character and some indication of the social position he held. He had been a landowner in Weldon since at least 1652,¹⁾ and a letter from John Jeffreys in 1675 mentions "my brother's farme". But, quite apart from his property, Jeffreys was a man of means. He had a London taylor ("one Mr Standish who lives in the Black Fryers"),²⁾ and seems to have employed domestic servants.³⁾ He lived well, was fond of hunting, and frequently dined on "venison and Rhenish wine". His duties for the Hattons made it difficult for him to leave Weldon for any length of time; even so, he showed no great inclination to travel and avoided making the journey to London except when absolutely necessary. Because of this he was out of touch with events in London. His occasional comments on national affairs are always related to events in Weldon, and are of no more than local interest. On 24th November 1664 he mentions the war with the Dutch:⁴⁾

"... These parts have heard Guns from the Sea Wensday last, and are in very great expectation of the Issue which God grant may be happy..."

There are also occasional references to "the late troubles", and

- 1) A letter to Hatton written in November 1667 (Add 29551, folio 350) refers to a purchase of land and property in that year.
- 2) BM Add 29550, folio 302.
- 3) In a letter to Lady Hatton written on 21st April 1656 Jeffreys mentions a child found dead "in the brooke against the House that I live in, which upon examination proved to be a Bastard of a woman servant in the House".
- 4) A letter to Christopher Hatton at Hatton House, Holborne (Add 29551, folio 88).

these reveal Jeffreys' strong Royalist sympathies. There seems little doubt, however, that after moving to Weldon he lost touch with the musicians he had known at Oxford before the Interregnum. Nevertheless, he did see something of Henry Cooke, whom Hatton employed as music master for his children and who must have visited Kirby fairly frequently. 1)

While the correspondence with Christopher Hatton, which continued over a period of nearly forty years, gives some account of Jeffreys' life at Weldon, the letters are almost entirely of a business nature and reveal above all how diligently he worked in the interests of his master. Only a man of exceptional physical and mental energy could have found time to carry out these duties and still write so much music. Indeed, until the very end of his life Jeffreys seems to have been in remarkably good health; his only serious illness was in October 1657 when he believed he was on the point of death. But in physical weakness Jeffreys found new creative strength, and the burial anthem In the midst of life, which he wrote on his sick-bed, has the spiritual conviction of a man content in the belief that he is about to meet his 2) Maker.

Jeffreys' health began to decline in the summer of 1682. On 30th June he asked Hatton to "pardon [his] infirmityes",

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- 1) In a letter to Lady Hatton dated 11th December 1656 Jeffreys writes: "My sweet mistresses ... are very well. Captain Cooke came into your lodging yesterday to teach them, when he promised me to do his utmost for them."
 - 2) In the score-book (BM Add 10338) Jeffreys adds a note: "made in the time of my sickness, Octob. 1657". The manuscript is uncharacteristically faint and spidery, with large ink blots and much crossing out.

and continued: "being not in Condition to wait upon Your Lordship this day [I] have sent my daughter Goode"¹⁾ His last illness began in the spring of 1684. On 28th April he wrote to Hatton:²⁾

"... I am very sensible that it was my Duty, as my earnest desire, rather to have waited upon Your Lordship then to have troubled you as I now doe; but the truth is the severity of the past winter and my old Age infirmities have made such impressions upon Me that I am not yet in a Condition to undertake such a journey, and therefore do humbly hope and pray your Lordship to pardon this necessitated omission.... We are all her Ladyship's most humble servants, and (I praise God) in indifferent good health, myself the worst in my poor family, who are under a disease that ther is but one way to Cure, but that Never fayles...."

Though his health had improved a little by the following January, Jeffreys never fully recovered from this illness. In that month he wrote to Hatton's secretary, Mr Stretchay:³⁾

"... I am troubled that I am not able to wait upon my Lord about this troublesome business, though I praise God I am somewhat better then I was when his Lordship did Me the great Favour to Vouchsafe his presence heer ..."

By 12th April 1685 he knew he had not long to live. In a letter to Lord Hatton he wrote:⁴⁾

"... I could not have thought but that I must have gone before Dr Archer; I hope I may be the Nexte...."

Despite extreme physical pain, Jeffreys even now attempted to make provision for his family after his death. In a long

1) BM Add 29559, folio 156.

2) BM Add 29560, folio 235.

3) BM Add 29561, folio 21.

4) BM Add 29561, folio 134.

letter to Hatton dated 30th March 1685 he wrote: ¹⁾

"... And now, my Lord, that I am mentioning of Mortality it calls upon Me to think of my owne, and therwith all of a promise (upon my humble request) Your Lordship made and renewed to Me of a Lease for Yeares of the House, which through your favour I live in, with some Closes therwith. I have all the reason to believe that Your Lordship's great affayres, rather than any alteration of your iudgment and intention of doeing this favour to Me, hath deprived your memory of sending your pleasure to Me as you were pleased to promise Me you would...."

"I am, my Lord, goeing apace towards my Long Home ... which I really aprehend is not farr from Me, and your Lordship Conferring this favour before I leave this world would be a double Obligation to me, and ... will very much Oblige both my son and daughter who have so great an affection to the place, and (as I may truly say) in a great measure because it is so neer Your Lordship and your Noble Family...."

Jeffreys' last letter to Christopher Hatton is dated 11th May 1685. ²⁾ His physical discomfort had lessened, but his general condition was still in decline. He wrote:

"... Your Lordship's poor servant's paines and swellings of my legs are (I thank God) much abated, but other things as they were (pardon) ..."

Jeffreys was to live for only two more months. He died on 4th or 5th July 1685, and was buried at Weldon church "as neer to [the body of] my late dear wife as conveniently I may be layd". ³⁾

Despite his natural grief and "present melancholy circumstances", ⁴⁾ Christopher Jeffreys took over his father's duties

1) BM Add 29561, folio 144.

2) BM Add 29561, folio 164.

3) The request is made in his will (see Appendix B).

4) Letter from Christopher Jeffreys to Lord Hatton dated 12th July 1685 (Add 29561, folio 176).

immediately after his death. As his heir and sole executor he would also have taken possession of his father's manuscripts; what he did with them we do not know. It is tempting to imagine musical gatherings at Weldon during which Christopher would remember his father by playing through favourite pieces with his friends; but this is probably very far from the case. Christopher outlived his father by only eight years: on his death the manuscripts would presumably have been passed on to his son George who, for all we know, may have cared little for music. In any case, young Jeffreys' memory of his grandfather could not have been strong for he was only seven years old at the time of his grandfather's death. It is doubtful whether the manuscripts stayed in the possession of any member of the Jeffreys family after the middle of the 18th century: when the younger George Jeffreys died in 1755 they may already have been sold or given away, eventually finding their way into libraries and private collections in the following century.

The six autograph manuscripts are now held in the British Museum and the library of the Royal College of Music, London. They comprise: a score-book containing Jeffreys' original workings (BM Add 10338)¹⁾; an incomplete set of part-books (BM Add 30829, 30830, 17816) of which the two soprano books and the basso continuo book are missing; a set of part-books bound together (BM Add 29282); a set of part-books containing Jeffreys' copies on paper made in Italy²⁾ of music by Carissimi,

1) Add 10338 was purchased in February 1836 at Heber's Sale, lot 1156.

2) The water mark is that of a cardinal.

Reggio, Grandi and other Italian composers (BM Add 31479); and two further sets of part-books in the Royal College of Music (RCM 920 and 920A) containing the devotional songs for one, two, three and four voices.

Most of Jeffreys' sacred compositions appear in at least two of the autograph sources, with extensive revisions made to the later versions. While this leads to certain editorial problems in transcribing the music, it does help to establish the chronology of the manuscripts.¹⁾ Several passages from the RCM part-books are written into the score-book as corrections. Since the score-book normally corresponds with the versions found in the two sets of BM part-books it is clear that the RCM part-books are later. We may therefore assume that Add 10338 contains Jeffreys' original workings; on the evidence of Jeffreys' margin notes and the few dates which are appended, the pieces do not seem to have been written out in chronological order, though the instrumental works and secular songs are certainly all earlier than the sacred music. It seems likely that the two sets of part-books in the BM (Add 29282 and Add 30829, 30830, 17816) were made at about the same time as the score-book in order to provide copies for performance: no composition is duplicated in the two part-books, and the music usually differs in only minor detail from the score-book versions. The last page of the score-book is dated 1669. The RCM part-books must therefore

1) For a further discussion of the chronology of the manuscripts, see Peter Aston, 'George Jeffreys' (Musical Times, 1517, Vol.110, p.774, London, 1969). The problems involved in transcribing the music are discussed further in the note on Editorial Procedure (Performing Editions, Vol.I, p.vii).

have been completed after this date, a fact confirmed by the inclusion of Pater de caelis in RCM 920 and He beheld the city in RCM 920A. Neither of these pieces appears in Add 10338, and He beheld the city is in any case dated 1675.

The first page of Add 10338 contains a note in Jeffreys' hand:

"The Italians use 4 words in their own vocall music to expresse their fancy:

Presto - speed to hasten the time

Adagio - slow to prolong

Fortis - strong to sing it louder

Piano - to sing softlier"¹⁾

Beneath this is a note in the handwriting of E.T. Warren²⁾ who suggests that the book appears to be "in the handwriting of one or two authors". It is difficult to understand how Warren came to this conclusion: the entire manuscript is undoubtedly in Jeffreys' hand, though some pieces are written out more neatly than others.

On the facing page is a pencil note by Thomas Oliphant:³⁾

"The book is in the handwriting of one person, and he evidently the composer of so many of the pieces contained therein that the whole may be fairly attributed to him...."

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- 1) Ernst Meyer (English Chamber Music, London, 1946, p.213) is incorrect in stating that Jeffreys used both dynamic and tempo indications in his music. There are several examples of dynamic markings, but curiously enough no tempo indications occur in any of the manuscripts.
 - 2) Edmund Thomas Warren, d.1794; secretary of the Catch Club.
 - 3) 1799-1873; scholar, composer and President of the Madrigal Society.

Oliphant was the first to identify Add 10338 as being in the hand of George Jeffreys. A bass part-book then in his possession, but which he presented to the BM in 1849,¹⁾ contains Jeffreys' signature, and it is from this that the remaining autograph manuscripts have been identified.

The music in Add 10338 is written out in score on paper with printed lines. Unlike the part-books, figures beneath the basso continuo appear infrequently.²⁾ The book begins with the six three-part string fantasias, followed by the Fantazia of 2 parts to the organ. The twelve Italian songs of three parts appear next, followed by the music for Thomas Randolph's The Masque of Vices, the two secular dialogues Why sigh you, swain? and Lovely shepherd, the four Hatton settings, the songs for Peter Hausted's The Rival Friends, and the Italian cantata Felice Pastorella. None of these pieces appears in any of the other autograph sources, which seems to indicate that Jeffreys did not bother to revise any of the instrumental pieces, secular songs or theatre music. It is of course possible that other manuscripts have been lost - copies must in any case have been made for the Cambridge performance of The Rival Friends in 1631 - but since Jeffreys appears to have written no secular music after 1648 it is

1) Add 17816.

2) There is, of course, little need for a figured basso continuo when the music is in score. Writing c. 1710-20 Roger North pointed out: "A score is certainly the best thro-base part, and a master will serve himself of it on many occasions to embellish his play; but the figures added also have no inconvenience, tho' in such case the use of them is onely to learners that cannot observe the composition as they goe along from the score". Wilson, Roger North on Music (London, 1959), p.249.

unlikely that he would then have revised these early compositions.

The remainder of Add 10338 is taken up by the sacred music, with Latin and English settings mixed together. The solo motets appear first, followed by the songs, anthems, motets and Services for two, three, four, five and finally six voices. This order is not strictly followed, and a margin note after O quam iucundum points out that "some of these later 3-parts are placed at the beginning of the 3-parts, And others of these 3-parts are placed next the songs of one voice for want of roome". Not infrequently there are notes drawing attention to corrections, and occasionally there are instructions to ignore a piece altogether. What praise can reach thy clemency? for example has a note: "This song being blotted I have transposed it into my other score booke".

Judging from the number of 17th century copies not in the composer's hand, Jeffreys seems to have been highly regarded by those of his contemporaries who knew his work. In addition to the autograph manuscripts already discussed, pieces by Jeffreys are included in seven manuscripts at Christ Church (possibly as a result of Christopher Jeffreys' connection with the college), three in the Bodleian Library, and three at York, including the Gostling part-books and the Dunnington-Jefferson manuscript. One of the Bodleian manuscripts (Mus Sch c 11) is of particular interest: it is in the hand of Edward Lowe, and contains two-part versions of three of the

three-part Latin devotional songs.¹⁾ Since we may confidently date these after 1648, it seems probable that Jeffreys maintained some association with musical life at Oxford during the Interregnum.

Though Jeffreys' music seems to have attracted little attention after his death, a few pieces by him were copied out by later scribes. Two of these manuscripts date from the 18th century; two more are in the hand of Barclay Squire. Another 18th century manuscript (RCM 660) attributes to Jeffreys nine sacred songs (seven a 2, two a 3) which are in fact by Dering - an understandable error since the Latin devotional songs of Dering and Jeffreys have a superficial similarity of style and structure. Both composers take as their models the sacred songs of early 17th century Italian composers such as Grandi who were writing in the tradition of Viadana's Concerti Ecclesiastici; but the bolder, more dramatically passionate lines of those by Jeffreys have an expressive range not generally found in Dering. Since the nine songs attributed to Jeffreys in RCM 660 appear in Dering's Cantica Sacra I and in two Bodleian sources²⁾ as by Dering, doubt must arise concerning the authorship of five more sacred songs which are also attributed to Jeffreys in RCM 660. None of these songs appears in any of the autograph sources, and although I have not been able to trace them it seems likely that they too are by Dering.³⁾

1) Ecce, dilectus meus, Euge serve and Prior Christus.

2) Mus Sch c 11 and Mus Sch e 451.

3) The songs are: Anima Christi, Hei mihi, Domine, O crux ave spes unica, O sacrum convivium (all a 2) and O donna troppo cruda (a 3).

Also attributed to Jeffreys, but of doubtful authorship because they are not found in any autograph manuscript, are four incomplete works. Three of these, Praise the Lord, ye servants, Rejoice in the Lord and Sing we merrily, appear in the Tenor Cantoris book of an incomplete set of 17th century Durham part-books now in the BM (Add 30478). The bass parts of Rejoice in the Lord and Sing we merrily are found in the Dunnington-Jefferson manuscript at York Minster,¹⁾ but the music is here attributed to Matthew Jeffreys. The fourth incomplete work whose authorship is by no means certain is Euge bone, of which the figured basso continuo only appears in the Bodleian manuscript Mus Sch c 11. On stylistic grounds we must also question the authenticity of the anthem My song shall be alway, which is found only in the Barnard part-books (RCM 1045-51) where it is attributed to George Jeffreys.

Discounting the incomplete works and the music of doubtful authorship, there remain some one hundred and forty compositions which can be attributed to Jeffreys with absolute certainty. Transcriptions of sixty of these appear in Volumes I and II of the companion Performing Editions; extracts from the remainder are included in Volume III. In the following critical commentary, references to the music are made by citing the volume, page and bar number of the passage under discussion. The sources are given at the beginning of each work, and all variant readings are shown in footnotes.

The autograph manuscripts discussed above, the survey of Weldon made in 1681, the vast correspondence between Jeffreys and Christopher Hatton which has survived, and Jeffreys' will

1) M 29 (S).

are all that now remain of this sadly neglected composer, whom Peter le Huray unkindly and unjustly describes as "a musical eccentric of the first water".¹⁾ The letters tell us a great deal about the man: they reveal his untiring energy, his generosity, his devotion to the Hattons, his affection for his family, his loyalty to the King, his religious beliefs. But, above all, it is through his music that we may know him and discover the nature of his creative genius.

1) Peter le Huray, Music and the Reformation in England (London, 1967), p.152.

3. THE INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

Jeffreys' instrumental music constitutes by far the smallest part of his total output. There are six "Fantazies of 3 parts for the violls and the virginall", of which the first four are in C and the last two in D minor, and a "Fantazia of 2 parts to the organ" for violin and bass viol. This D major fantasia is of particular interest, for it is the only work in which Jeffreys provided a written out keyboard part. Unfortunately, we can hardly use it as a model for the realisation of basso continuo parts in the vocal music. The style of the work is curiously archaic, and owes more to the English polyphonic tradition than to the Italian stile moderno with which Jeffreys later experimented in his vocal music. Indeed, the only forward-looking features of the work are the use of violin and the extraordinary agility of the bass part.

The seven string fantasias are found in only one of the autograph sources. No dates are appended, but there is evidence to suggest that the three-part fantasias at least are very early works, probably dating from 1629. To begin with, they appear together with the D major fantasia at the beginning of Add 10338, where they are followed by the Italian songs and the theatre music written in 1631. Secondly, the three-part fantasias are included in three manuscripts at Christ Church, Oxford: one of these (Ch Ch 469) bears the date 1629. Thirdly, on stylistic grounds it is difficult to believe that Jeffreys would have written in so conservative an

idiom once he had begun to experiment with the declamatory techniques of the early 17th century Italian monodists; for the same reason it seems probable that the two-part D major fantasia was written at about the same time.

The true date of these instrumental works is a matter of some importance in tracing Jeffreys' stylistic development. Ernst Meyer, for no apparent reason, suggests in his edition of the first D minor fantasia ¹⁾ that the three-part fantasias were written about the year 1655. It is therefore hardly surprising that he should regard Jeffreys as a conservative composer "whose art is still essentially rooted in the English polyphonic tradition". ²⁾ However, if the date 1629 which appears in one of the Christ Church manuscripts is correct, these six viol fantasias are Jeffreys' earliest extant compositions. In all probability they were, like Purcell's early string fantasias, apprentice works in which the intention was to explore the traditional polyphonic techniques of his immediate predecessors. Even so, they are superbly realised, and the short homophonic passages which occur between the fugal sections look forward to the harmonic idiom of Jeffreys' mature compositions.

1) Meyer, Hortus Musicus Vol.14 (Englische Fantasien), (Basel, 1964), p.18. In his note on the music (p.32) Meyer discusses the work as a product of the second half of the 17th century: "Die Fantasien des Georg Jeffreys gehören der konservativen Stilrichtung in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts an. Sie sind im Geiste der Generation Lupo, Ward, Ferrabosco geschrieben, wenn man Periodenbau, Basspart oder Tonalität genauer anschaut. In jedem Fall ist es noch echte, von Konzertambitionen unverfälschte Kammermusik".

2) Meyer, English Chamber Music (London, 1946), p.215.

The three-part fantasias seem to have enjoyed some popularity in the 17th century. The first four, all in C major, clearly belong together¹⁾ and appear in three sets of part-books at Christ Church. The first of these (Ch Ch 417, 418, 1080) is in the hand of John Lilly; the parts of the two treble viols are reversed in Nos. 2-4. The second (Ch Ch 468, 469, 472) has the treble viols reversed in Nos. 1 and 4, and in Ch Ch 469 the first page is missing. These two sets of part-books also contain the two D minor fantasias; in the former No. 6 appears first, in the latter the order is the same as in Add. 10338. The third set of part-books, also dating from the 17th century (Ch Ch 459, 461, 462), contains only the four C major fantasias; here the treble viol parts are reversed in No. 1.

It would be interesting to know how so many copies of the three-part fantasias came to be at Oxford. The most likely explanation is that they were first introduced while Jeffreys was in residence there as organist to Charles I and that they continued to be performed during the Interregnum at the musical meetings described by Wood.²⁾ On the other hand, it is possible that the manuscripts appeared at Christ Church as a result of Christopher Jeffreys' connection with the college.

Apart from the occasional homophonic passages which contrast dramatically with the imitative polyphonic texture,

1) In Add 10338 the complete set is numbered 1-6.

2) Wood, Life and Times (loc. cit.), Vol. I, p. 274.

Jeffreys' instrumental music is in no way characteristic of his mature compositions. Significantly, he wrote only one purely instrumental work apart from the six three-part fantasias of c. 1629 and this, as we have seen, probably dates from about the same time. Yet it is not surprising that a composer so committed to the Italian stile nuovo should have been out of step with the current English preference for instrumental music. Like the Italian composers he so much admired, Jeffreys was primarily concerned with vocal music: in writing for the voice he could experiment with the stile rappresentativo, which he was later to develop in a highly individual way. Just how much his neglect of instrumental music was uncharacteristic of his age is shown by a much-quoted passage from Roger North:¹⁾

"In the first 10 years [of the reign of Charles I] - that is till the Divell Incarnate confounded the publik with his civill warrs - wealth, reputation and arts flourished more than ever was knowne before, or since, or is hoped for ever to be knowne hereafter. And amongst other arts Musick flourished and exceedingly improved, for the King, being a vertuous prince, loved an enterteinment so commendable as that was, and the Fantazia manner held thro' his reigne and during the troubles; and when most other good arts languished Musick held up her head, not at Court nor (in the cant of those times) profane Theaters, but in private society, for many chose rather to fidle at home than to goe out and be knockt on the head abroad..."

The nature of the early 17th century string fantasia was fundamentally opposed to Jeffreys' growing interest in

1) Wilson, Roger North on Music (London, 1959), p.293-294.

the Italian baroque. Unlike Italian instrumental music, where the emphasis was on the expressive, passionate gesture, the English fantasia was an intimate, essentially polyphonic art, "a private affair in its content as well as in its condition of practice"¹⁾. Even so, we might have expected Jeffreys' readiness for experiment to have brought about an instrumental style closer to the subjective introspection of William Lawes' fantasias; that it did not is a further indication that the music was written early in his career. Nevertheless, the three-part fantasias are typical of their time, and fit Christopher Simpson's description much more closely than Morley's. While Morley and his contemporaries had developed the fantasia away from the 'instrumental motet' towards an independent instrumental form which relied less on purely vocal techniques and made little attempt to overlap the fugal points (or 'retorts' as they were called), the 16th century fantasia avoided violent or dramatic contrasts. In Morley's words, "the composer is tied to nothing, but that he may add, diminish, and alter at his pleasure". He continues, "And this kind will bear any allowances whatsoever tolerable in other music, except changing the air and leaving the key,²⁾ which in Fantasie may never be suffered".

The changes which took place during the next seventy years - particularly the introduction of variety into the fantasia - are reflected in Christopher Simpson's remarks in 1667:³⁾

1) Meyer, English Chamber Music, p.126.

2) Morley, A Plaine and Easie Introduction (London, 1597), ed. Harman (London, 1952), p.296.

3) Christopher Simpson, A Compendium of Practical Musick, 1667; quoted by Meyer pp. 142-3.

"In this sort of Musick the composer (being not limited to words) doth imploy all his art & invention solely about the bringing in and carrying on these fuges according to the order and method formerly shewed. When he has tried all the several ways which he thinks fit to be used therein, he takes some other point and does the like with it, or else, for variety, introduces some chromatic notes with lighter humour, like a Madrigal, or what else his own fancy shall lead him to; but still concluding with something which hath art and excellency in it."

Jeffreys' three-part fantasias, like the earlier fantasias of Jenkins, are stylistically mid-way between the work of Elizabethan and Restoration composers. Their most distinctive qualities are their rhythmic exuberance, neat structural organisation and, above all, their reliance on polyphonic line. There is none of Lawes' extravagance in these instrumental works. Even the homophonic sections, with their greater harmonic freedom and frequent use of augmented fifth chords, are carefully controlled and logically worked into the dramatic structure. If the fantasias were played at the meetings of the Music Club in Oxford, we may be sure that they met with Anthony Wood's approval rather than prompting a similar reaction to his somewhat naive comment on Lawes' music that it "broke sometimes the rules of mathematical composition"¹⁾.

Before proceeding to an analysis of the three-part fantasias, it is necessary to comment on the realisation of the keyboard parts. That it was customary for a keyboard instrument to assist in the performance of string music is

1) Wood, manuscript notes on the lives of English musicians in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; quoted by Lefkowitz, William Lawes (London, 1960), p.42.

clear both from the manuscripts and from comments by contemporary writers. Roger North gives an indication¹⁾ of the nature of these keyboard parts:

"In some families organs were used to accompany consorts, but the old masters would not allow the liberty of playing from a thro-base figured, as harpsichords of late have universally practised, but they formed the organ part express: because the holding out the sound required exact concord, else the consort would suffer; or perhaps the organists had not then the skill as since, for now they desire onely figures."

As Helen Sleeper has shown in the Introduction to her edition of selected Fancies and Ayres by Jenkins,²⁾ three different types of keyboard part are found in Jenkins' work; these give some indication of the general practice in 17th century consort music. In the first the keyboard part was made "express", the organ score being a direct transcription (where playable on the keyboard) of the viol parts. Thomas Mace, writing in the second half of the century, draws attention to the importance of the organ in holding the performance together:³⁾

"... the Organ stands us in stead of a Holding, Uniting-Constant-Friend; and is as a Touch-stone, to try the certainty of All Things; especially the Well-keeping the Instruments in Tune, &c. And in This service the Organ should be Equally Heard to All; but especially to the Performers Themselves, who cannot well Perform without a Distinct Perceivance Thereof."

1) Op. cit., p.351.

2) H.J. Sleeper, John Jenkins: Fancies and Ayres (Wellesley Press, 1950), p.xv.

3) Thomas Mace, Musick's Monument (London, 1676); facsimile reprint (Paris, 1958), p.242.

The second type was, like the organ part in Jeffreys' D major fantasia, a fully independent part in which the keyboard was involved in imitation with the strings or supported the string texture, occasionally introducing new material of its own. The third type was a real continuo part which furnished the keyboard player with a single (and usually sparsely figured) line.

No separate keyboard part is provided for the three-part fantasias in Jeffreys' autograph score-book. The phrase "for the violls and the virginal¹", however, leaves no doubt about Jeffreys' intentions, though it is not clear which particular keyboard instrument he had in mind. The word 'virginal' had, since the early 16th century, been used as a generic term for all plucked keyboard instruments, but it is possible that Jeffreys here used the term even more loosely to refer to any keyboard instrument. Indeed, in the first D minor fantasia (No. 5 of the set) additional bass notes "for the organ" appear in bars 41-42, 56-57 and bar 106 on the bass viol stave. The absence of a separate basso continuo line or a written out keyboard part would suggest that Jeffreys' intention was for the keyboard player to double the string parts, reading from the score. The difference in character between the four C major fantasias (scored for two trebles and bass) and the two in D minor (scored for treble, tenor and bass) further suggests that, while the organ is a more suitable accompanying instrument for the latter, the more brilliant

1) These additional notes are ignored by Meyer in his edition of the fantasia (Hortus Musicus 14).

quality of the former demands the use of a plucked key-
board instrument.¹⁾

Despite their largely conservative idiom, the four C major fantasias betray Jeffreys' interest in Italian music by one important external feature. In common with Coperario and Lupo, Jeffreys was clearly attracted by the trio combination of two trebles and bass which was becoming fashionable in Italian instrumental music. But while the Italian trio sonata was based on the idea of two concertante melody instruments supported harmonically by a basso continuo, Jeffreys' C major fantasias effect an interesting compromise between Italian instrumentation and a more traditionally English polyphonic treatment of the parts. As we shall see in the following chapter, a similar compromise between Italian and English styles is made in the symphonies of the cantata Felice Pastorella: the highest part, written for violin, is directly modelled on the work of Monteverdi while the four lower parts, scored for viols, are stylistically closer to the polyphonic idiom of the Elizabethan and Jacobean string fantasia.

As we have already seen, there is little doubt that the four C major fantasias belong together and are not related to the two in D minor - a fact confirmed by the exclusion of

1) Mace lends support to this view. "But when we would be most Ayrey, Jocund, Lively and Spruce, then we had Choice and Singular Consorts, either for 2,3 or 4 Parts, but not to the Organ (as many now a days Improperly and Unadvisedly perform such like Consorts with) but to the Harpsicon."
Musick's Monument (loc. cit.), p.235.

the latter from Ch Ch 459, 461 and 462. The organisation of keys and the differences in scoring would alone be sufficient indication of the intended grouping, but further evidence is to be found in the close thematic relationships between the fugal points of the C major fantasias. The opening point of the second fantasia follows quite closely the melodic shape of the first, while the opening of No. 4 is, in the first two bars, an exact inversion of No. 3. Furthermore, there is a great deal of similarity in the formal and harmonic structure of the four works: each has an elaborate coda which, in all but the second fantasia, follows the same harmonic pattern of a decorated plagal cadence over a tonic pedal. But the most striking similarity is in the character (or, to use the contemporary term, 'Humour') of the four fantasias. The importance of 'Humour' as an aesthetic principle in English baroque music was such that certain keys became associated with a particular emotional mood. It is therefore natural to find that these four related works are cast in the same key of C major, which Thomas Mace described as "the most Noble, Heroick and Majestical Key in the whole Scale"¹⁾.

The first C major fantasia is typical of the set as a whole.²⁾ It begins with a lively, characteristically instrumental motive which is developed fugally over the first twenty three bars and leads to a cadence in the tonic. A sense of dramatic

1) Mace, op. cit., p.196.

2) The complete fantasia is shown in Vol.I, p.2.

development is achieved even in this opening section by bringing the last set of imitative entries closer together: at bar 15 the second treble viol is answered at the distance of only a minim by the bass viol, and the first treble re-enters two bars later. A new, syncopated point is introduced by the second treble viol at bar 24 and this is treated fugally, moving from A minor by way of D minor and C major back to a cadence in A minor at bar 37. Here, as at the previous cadence, the bass viol moves in long notes, fulfilling a purely harmonic role - a technique similar to that of the Italian trio sonata, but one nevertheless derived from the cadential pedal point used in the 16th century polyphonic madrigal. At bar 36 a new point, overlapping the cadence, is introduced by the bass viol. The rhythmic interest is now further increased by the playful cross-rhythms which arise from the first six notes of this motive - a triple pattern which falls across the duple pulse:



After a cadence in F major at bar 53, the music proceeds by sequence through C, D minor and G to return to the tonic at bar 73. The coda is based on a shooting, scale-wise figure in close imitation between the two treble viols and supported by a tonic pedal in the bass. The bass viol is eventually drawn into the scampering quaver movement and, at the climax, the tonic pedal is transferred into the top part as the music unwinds into a decorated plagal cadence.

The other three C major fantasias follow a similar pattern.

In each the music is driven logically to its climax by gradually increasing the rhythmic activity and harmonic tension. The continuity is helped considerably by the carefully controlled key structure: the tonal centre is firmly established by balancing keys on the dominant side with keys on the subdominant side of the tonic. As a result of this, the use of sequence becomes an important structural feature of the music; in these sequences we feel the inevitable pull of the tonic key so that the coda, when it eventually arrives, is always the climax point of the work.

Bound up with the tonal organisation is the rhythmic and thematic structure of each work. In the second fantasia¹⁾ the rhythmic activity is halted at bar 58 and a more lyrical figure is introduced. The two treble viols weave around each other in sensuous passing dissonances, supported by the bass viol. Their descending figure is eventually inverted at bar 68, and a new rhythmic cell emerges to bring together the two contrasted elements of the music in the final section of the work.

If the fourth fantasia²⁾ presents in the wide compass and rhythmic energy of its opening motive the most idiomatic instrumental writing, the third fantasia³⁾ is structurally the most successful. The fugal entries are interrupted at bar 33 by a homophonic passage rich in sensuous double suspensions and augmented fifth chords. The imitative polyphony is resumed at bar 44 with the introduction of a new point, the first part

1) Vol.I, p.14.

2) Vol.I, p.41.

3) Vol.I, p.27.

of which presents an urgent little rhythmic motive (♩♩♩|♩) which is used to bind the texture together. This eventually leads to another point at bar 74 in which the rhythmic activity is further increased. At bar 91 a new but related rhythmic figure emerges (♩♩♩♩♩|♩), and this leads into the coda which begins at bar 101. Beneath an inverted tonic pedal the second treble and bass viols rise in tenths until, at the climax, the natural rhythmic stresses are disturbed by a wildly jubilant cross-rhythm which is finally resolved in a triumphant plagal cadence.

By contrast, the two D minor fantasias are more sedate and introspective, their character arising from the scoring and the more solemn minor mode in which they are cast rather than from any lack of rhythmic vitality. Ernst Meyer considers them superior to the C major fantasias and "examples of old-style polyphony in which there is no question of concert ambitions"¹⁾. Certainly, they are less extrovert than the fantasias for two trebles and bass, but they show an equal mastery of structural design and tonal organisation.

The first fantasia²⁾ begins with a point that is much more 'vocal' in style than any to be found in the C major fantasias. After a cadence in the relative major, a second point is introduced by the bass viol at bar 23. This new motive is much more instrumental in character, and rhythmic interest is immediately introduced by the repeated notes and quaver runs. At bar 35 a fragment of this motive is developed in close imitation between

1) Meyer, op. cit., p.224.

2) Vol.I, p.54.

the three instruments and, after passing through D minor, G minor and F major, the section reaches a cadence in A minor at bar 47. There follows a brief homophonic passage full of rich passing dissonances before a new imitative point is introduced at bar 58. With the return of more quaver runs, the instruments scamper after each other in close imitation until a new point is introduced by the bass viol at bar 74. At bar 89 this motive is inverted and set against ascending minim movement in the upper parts before they too are drawn into the fugal imitation. This passage from bar 89 to 101 is, in the context, a remarkable piece of writing; the falling melodic phrases are matched by the harmonic direction which falls subdominantly from C to F and so to the relative minor which is the home key of the work. The harmonic movement is further enhanced by suspensions which add a new richness to the texture before the more heroic, rising quaver figures of the coda.

The second D minor fantasia¹⁾ is less successful. After a splendid start, in which successive points of imitation full of rhythmic interest are introduced, there follows a much weaker homophonic passage beginning at bar 64. The piece never really recovers from this unnecessary interruption to its rhythmic growth and, despite some ingenious contrapuntal writing in the second half, the work fails to achieve a convincing climax.

The "Fantazia of 2 parts to the organ"²⁾ is a curious

1) Vol.I, p.68.

2) Vol.I, p.82.

mixture of old-style polyphony and self-conscious modernity. In the early 1630s, when almost certainly the fantasia was written, the violin was far from being generally accepted in England. Owen Feltham considered it "a kind of disparagement to be a cunning fiddler"¹⁾ and as late as 1657 Anthony Wood "esteemed a violin to be an instrument only belonging to a common fiddler"²⁾. Yet it is indicative of Jeffreys' interest in the new music of the Italian baroque that he should here write for the violin rather than treble viol; that he made no attempt to break away from traditional polyphonic principles is, at this early date, not very surprising. Even so, there are several harmonic features which point towards the idiom of his mature compositions: chords with added sevenths and ninths occur frequently, and the passage between bars 12 and 15 is typical of cadential approaches found in the sacred songs.

The fantasia begins with an imitative point shared between the organ and violin and inverted in the bass. At bar 27 an episode for organ introduces the next point of imitation which is eventually taken up by the strings. After a G major cadence at bar 45, a new figure soon leads to an extension of the quaver runs heard earlier in the bass part; and, in a series of answering phrases, the work moves through A, E minor and F sharp minor towards its climax, where the violin rises through an octave to high A. Beneath the violin's ascending minims, which cut regularly across the beat, the bass viol breaks into

1) Resolves (1631), quoted by Meyer, op. cit., p.209.

2) Quoted by Meyer, *ibid.*

a brilliant quaver run continuing over five bars and full of wide skips. The coda refers back to the opening of the fantasia: the bass viol again inverts the ascending motive heard at the beginning while the violin holds a long tonic pedal.

Like the six three-part fantasias, this D major fantasia demonstrates how well Jeffreys had assimilated the techniques of his native polyphonic tradition. But these early instrumental works also betray a considerable interest in the Italian baroque; and this, as we shall see, was soon to prove much the stronger influence.

4. THE SECULAR SONGS AND THEATRE MUSIC

Jeffreys' great interest in Italian music is shown very clearly by the copies he made of sacred songs for one, two and three voices by Carissimi, Grandi, Marini and Reggio. Add 31479 contains more than one hundred such compositions; although the name of the composer is acknowledged in only fourteen of them, it is probable that most of the others are also by Italians. Some of the texts are the same as those set by Jeffreys himself and, as we shall see in the following chapter, Jeffreys' Latin devotional songs are strongly influenced by both Grandi and Carissimi whose work he seems to have studied particularly closely.

Just how much Jeffreys owed to the Italian composers he so much admired is also evident from his own settings of Italian texts. The twelve three-part songs and the cantata Felice Pastorella are occasionally barely distinguishable from their Italian models; yet, paradoxically, it is these Italian settings which first reveal Jeffreys' individuality as a composer. The expressive melodic lines, neatly poised between declamation and song, the sensuous harmonic idiom inherited from Monteverdi and Carissimi but with clear antecedents in the late madrigals of Marenzio, and the rich textures of the symphonies and choruses in the cantata are all unmistakably the work of an English composer intoxicated by the sensuality of the early Italian baroque while remaining

aware of his own native tradition.

The twelve three-part Italian songs appear together in Add 10338. The last three have a basso continuo, the others are all unaccompanied; these are numbered 1-9. Each has a simple binary structure with a repeat of both sections indicated in Nos. 1, 2 and 4. The texts are typically madrigalian in character; while they avoid the more trivial conceits of Petrarch's imitators, their pseudo-emotionalism draws heavily from the stock of literary cliché common in late 16th century madrigal verse.

The settings show a thorough acquaintance with the work of the leading Italian madrigal composers. Here there is a harmonic progression strongly reminiscent of Gesualdo or Luzzaschi, there a phrase borrowed from Monteverdi, elsewhere another phrase typical of Marenzio; but, for all their eclecticism, these short pieces never become a mere hotchpotch of musical styles. The influences are fully assimilated and the result is a set of perfectly constructed miniatures which could, save in one respect, pass as the work of an Italian. That they were not written by an Italian is evident from the occasional clumsiness of the underlay and from the misplacing of the syllabic stresses - a feature both of these songs and of the cantata Felice Pastorella. Furthermore, there are a number of curious grammatical errors which suggest that Jeffreys set the texts from memory; indeed, this seems to have been his normal practice for there are numerous examples of similar errors in his Latin settings, and several of the English anthems and liturgical texts do not correspond with the authentic

versions.

The three songs which are included in Volume I of the Performing Editions are typical of the set as a whole. O vaghe (No. 2 of the set)¹⁾ begins simply, the two sopranos moving in gently caressing thirds. The tranquillity, however, is disturbed by the false relations in bar 2 and again in bars 4-5; here there is a hint of the harmonic tension to follow in the final phrase, "da voi pende la vita e la mia morte". From its tender opening the song begins to develop an increasing rhythmic and harmonic urgency: at bar 14 the "care stelle" phrase is inverted and extended, the music moving quickly from B flat through D minor to a cadence in F. The second half of the song begins with a further extension of the quaver movement. The predominant major tonality, the natural harmonic progression of the sequences and the exquisite tenderness of the melodic phrases lull the listener into a sense of contentment; but this is quickly dispelled in the last ten bars where, once again, there is rapid harmonic movement, this time passing from F to C minor and so back to the tonic key of G minor.

The increased chromaticism in the final section of O vaghe is much closer to the harmonic idiom of All'ombra (No. 5 of the set).²⁾ The open fifth at the beginning and the low tessitura of all three voices in the first phrase vividly suggest the darkness of the shadows, while the

1) Vol.I, p.96.

2) Vol.I, p.100.

sensuous passing dissonances in the first four bars anticipate the more violently chromatic melodic lines from bar 12 to the end. Despite its brevity, the song has considerable dramatic power; but the declamatory nature of the melodic writing is more pointedly developed in the eighth song, Crudel tu per fuggire.¹⁾ The formal structure of this song - though not the harmonic idiom - is not unlike that frequently found in the madrigals of Gesualdo; indeed, the text is one that Gesualdo himself might well have set. The first phrase is composed of two contrasted and complementary thematic ideas, the first declamatory, the second rhythmic. These are later developed and become the basis of the entire piece in much the same way as Gesualdo develops the two complementary thematic elements of the five-part madrigal Moro lasso al mio duolo.²⁾

If the influence of Gesualdo is apparent in the formal structure of Crudel tu per fuggire, the influence of Monteverdi is no less evident in the three-part continuo madrigal Felici Pastorelle.³⁾ The first phrase, for example, bears a striking⁴⁾ resemblance to the opening of Monteverdi's Cruda Amarilli, while the passage for solo bass "ed io misero solo" at bar 18 might easily be mistaken for the work of the Italian master. One feature of the song, however, is characteristic of a technique Jeffreys later developed and frequently used in his sacred music: the piece begins, appropriately enough, in a

1) Vol.I, p.102.

2) Book VI.(1611).

3) Vol.I, p.105.

4) Book V.(1605).

major key, but after moving to the relative minor at bar 20 returns not to G major but to the tonic minor. As we shall see in the final chapter, this progression from major to tonic minor is one which Jeffreys often employed with great dramatic effect.

These twelve three-part Italian settings were, like the instrumental music discussed in Chapter 3, almost certainly written before 1646 when Jeffreys moved to Weldon. They are of particular interest in following Jeffreys' development as a composer for they complement the early string fantasias which explore the polyphonic techniques of his native tradition. Both the songs and the instrumental fantasias show how well Jeffreys had assimilated the musical styles of his day; but the two styles, English and Italian, were by nature contradictory. The first was polyphonic and essentially non-dramatic, the second monodic, declamatory and concerned with the expressive, passionate gesture. When Jeffreys eventually found himself as a composer it was by bringing together these two fundamentally opposed principles of polyphony and the dramatic monody.

The mixture of English and Italian styles is first seen in the cantata Felice Pastorella for three solo voices, chorus and strings.¹⁾ The structure of the work, with alternating symphonies, monodies, choruses, a duet and a trio, is very Italianate. On the other hand, the melodic shape and general style of the vocal writing, especially in the choruses and the marvellous love duet for soprano and tenor, are already characteristic of Jeffreys' mature compositions, while the

1) Vol.I, p.114.

final trio O vera vita points clearly to the melodic and harmonic idiom of the Latin devotional songs. It is the symphonies, however, which represent the first real attempt to bring together English and Italian styles. The highest part is scored for violin, the lower parts are not designated but their compass suggests that they were intended for viola.

The combination of violin with viols was viewed with considerable disapproval in England. As late as 1676 Thomas Mace deplored the disappearance of the consort of "Equally-Seized Instruments Equally Performed" in which "we would never allow Any Performer to Over-top or Out-cry another by loud Play"¹⁾. Roger North was equally outspoken in his condemnation of the violin:²⁾

"And ... I must observe that the use of chests of violls, which supplied all instrumental consorts, kept back the English from falling soon into the modes of forreign countrys, where the violin and not the treble viol was in use. For the violin is so much more accomodated to the office of an upper part, by spirit as well as a pathetick expression, that musick must needs take a new turne where that was introduced, as will afterwards be made appear. For it tops the violls so much that few or none cared to play under it, as supposing all the spirit and lepor of the consort lay in that, and all the rest were but subservient. And the compositions were framed, and inner parts and bases contrived accordingly; whereas the violls bore all an equall share in the consort, and carrying the same aire there was no reason to choose one part before another. But of late that respublica among the consortiers is dissolved, and there is always some violin spark that thinks himself above all the rest, and above the musick itself also, if it be not screwed up to the top of his capability. It is enough for the underparts to be capable to wait upon him. He cannot condescend to imploy his art to inspirit plaine parts, where I thinck it would be best employed; but being put upon it,

1) Thomas Mace, Musick's Monument (London, 1676); facsimile reprint (Paris, 1958), p.236.

2) Wilson, Roger North on Music (London, 1959), p.222.

thinks himself wronged, his time worse than lost, looks woodenly, and acts silently as if he were a peerless patterne of patience and long suffering. How far this unsociable and malcreate behaviour is an hindrance to the best use of consort musick is easily conceived."

The symphonies in this cantata are a curious mixture of traditional consort writing, in which the violin is involved in the imitative polyphony as an equal partner with the viols, and the new style so bitterly deplored by Mace, in which the violin "over-tops and out-cries" the other instruments. Both kinds of treatment occur in the opening symphony: the violin is first used as an expressive solo instrument supported by the viols, but at bar 11 an imitative point is introduced by the first tenor viol and the violin is immediately drawn into the imitation. Even so, the violin still remains very much the centre of interest both because of its characteristic tone quality and because of its much higher tessitura throughout the passage. In the subsequent symphonies the violin is again occasionally used as an expressive solo voice (for example, in the symphony beginning at bar 109), and at other times becomes a real part of the polyphonic imitation (as it is throughout the symphony beginning at bar 69). But more often it fulfills a dual role. In the symphony beginning at bar 163 the violin is heard first as a solo instrument supported by the viols. It is then drawn into the imitation, moving in sixths with the treble viol in answer to a phrase shared between the first tenor and bass viols; finally, it climbs high above the rest of the texture to resume its role as a solo instrument.

Significantly, the most effective use of the violin in

this cantata occurs when the instrument provides an obbligato accompaniment to the voice (bars 18-46). The tenor soloist sings of the happy young shepherdess "adorned with the graces of nature", and the sensuous vocal line is itself adorned by the violin's expressive obbligato. It is unfortunate that the tessitura of the violin is so low in this duet: never does it rise above F, and the E string is used in only three places - an indication of the extent to which Jeffreys was bound by vocal techniques in his instrumental writing.

The cantata is divided into three clearly defined sections. Each begins with a symphony and ends with a chorus which echoes the previous phrase, "nuda sí ma contenta". The third section of the cantata, a long duet for soprano and tenor followed by a symphony, leads straight into the coda where the three solo voices compare the idyllic innocence of the shepherdess to their (and our) own mortality. The harmony is ravishing: pungent suspensions lead eventually to a pathetic declamatory figure at the word "morire", the voices falling through a diminished fourth only to rise again in a passionate outburst of emotion. From bar 260 to the end of the trio each melodic strand is packed with violently dissonant intervals, the tenor falling through a tritone, the soprano through a major seventh. Here and in the even richer texture of the final chorus the extreme harmonic dissonance becomes a consummation of the entire work: where earlier on the erotic symbolism of the text had been matched by the music's lyricism and sensuous harmony, the more extreme dissonance of the coda now vividly relates the pains of love to the pain of death.

We shall have to look far to find a passage equal to this in the English theatre music or secular songs. The words

Jeffreys set in these pieces could have given him little inspiration, and there is evidence that at least two of these works - the Hatton settings and the music for Peter Hausted's The Rival Friends - were written to order rather than from choice. This would in part account for the uncharacteristically conservative idiom in which they are set, but in any case they are extremely early works, both dating from 1631.

Of the theatre music, only the songs for The Masque of Vices¹⁾ hint at the melodic inventiveness and imaginative harmonic resource of the sacred songs written in the 1650s and 1660s. The words are by Thomas Randolph. The third song, 'Say, dance', is from The Muses' Looking Glass where it is part of "a rude Dance presented by the seven deadly sinnes". John P. Cutts²⁾ suggests that The Masque of Vices was the title of a moral entertainment in Randolph's play and that it balanced the Masque of Virtues. The words of the other two songs, however, were published separately by Randolph: 'Music, thou Queen of souls' appeared in his 'Poems with The Muses' Looking-Glass and Amyntas' (1638), and 'Coy Celia' in his collection A Pastoral Ode (1638). Perhaps it is this which has led Bentley³⁾ to suggest that the three songs do not belong together. He points out that Jeffreys added the title 'The Masque of Vices' not at the beginning of the music but at the end of the third song. Since this is followed in Add 10338 by several blank pages, Bentley concludes that the title may have applied to music which Jeffreys intended to include but never

1) Vol.I, p.157.

2) 'The Masque of Vices', Notes and Queries, CXCVII, p.492 (London, 1952).

3) The Jacobean and Caroline Stage (Oxford, 1956), Vol.V, pp. 1430-1432. The songs are also discussed in Vol.V, pp. 988-989.

actually copied out. This is hardly likely. The title is written at the foot of the page on which 'Say, dance' ends, leaving only three blank staves. If Jeffreys had intended to begin another piece at this point, he would surely have written both the title and music together on a fresh page: here there is room for no more than one line with, at the most, two voice parts and basso continuo.

The dates of publications of the individual poems are not, of course, a reliable indication of the year they were written. Neither does the fact that they were published separately necessarily mean that they never belonged together. On the contrary, Jeffreys' settings leave little doubt that the songs are related: the first two are scored for two tenors, bass and basso continuo, but in the third Jeffreys seems to have been so taken by the phrase "but highest trebles or the lowest bass" that he here wrote for two sopranos. If the three songs were not intended to belong together, Jeffreys could cheerfully have left this song as it stood, but the margin note "or for two tenors" suggests that he was worried by the inconsistency of the scoring.

In his edition of Purcell's Bonduca, Rimbault discusses the music for The Masque of Vices in Add 10338 as the work of Henry Lawes - an error repeated by Bentley in his discussion of the manuscript. It is not clear how Rimbault made this mistake, but quite possibly he was misled by the setting of 'Music, thou Queen of souls' which was included in Playford's Select Musical Ayres and Dialogues of 1653 and reprinted in The Treasury of Music (1669). Even so, neither Rimbault or Bentley can have looked at these publications very carefully,

for the music, which is not the same as the setting in Add 10338, is in fact by William Smegergill.

A comparison between Jeffreys' setting of 'Music, thou Queen of souls'¹⁾ and the one by Smegergill²⁾ reveals Jeffreys' much greater dramatic power and control of harmonic structure. Where Jeffreys' setting uses the text to mould a continuous and developing musical structure, Smegergill's relies on obvious pictorial representation which frequently disrupts the dramatic flow. The opening of Smegergill's setting is wholly unremarkable until, at bar 12, he attempts an expressive treatment of the phrase "and some sad requiem sing". Jeffreys' opening, on the other hand, builds towards this phrase, which makes its effect not only by its use of dissonance but by rhythmic contrast with the first five bars. Smegergill's setting continues with a feeble musical representation of the word "echo", and then proceeds to a rather contrived cadence in which the chromatic alterations are designed to represent the "duller tone". The corresponding passage in Jeffreys' setting is much longer: the echo is suggested more subtly by the false relations in bars 11 and 12, and the phrase "repeat with duller tone" is allowed time to make its point by moving sequentially to the comparatively remote key of E flat before returning to the tonic.

The middle section of Smegergill's setting is more successful. In writing a single melodic line shared between the three voices Smegergill is able to resist the temptation to introduce elaborate, madrigal-style word painting, and the

1) Vol.I, p.158.

2) See the Appendix to the Performing Editions, Vol.II, p.652.

harmonic rhythm is consequently much more firmly controlled. There are also some charming incidental touches in this passage such as the affective decorative figure at the word "run" (bar 27) and the tripla rhythm in bars 35-39.

It is in the final section of the song, however, where Jeffreys' greater imagination and technical skill are again in evidence. Despite the harmonic interest of the final phrase, Smegergill is quite unable in the space of eleven bars to bring the song to a satisfactory conclusion. The first phrase is much too brief to balance the closing bars, and the invitation to "strike a sad note" is so unlike anything that has gone before that it seems to have little to do with the rest of the song. The final section of Jeffreys' setting, on the other hand, brings the music to its logical climax. The passage is almost twice as long as Smegergill's, and much more is made of the line "strike a sad note", which is both melodically and harmonically related to the opening of the song.

To compare Jeffreys in this way with such a minor talent as William Smegergill is no real indication of his capabilities, and we must not allow the comparison to lead to an overestimation of Jeffreys' music at this stage in his career. In the early 1630s, when almost certainly the song was written, he was still learning his craft and assimilating the various musical styles with which he had come into contact. There is here no question of real originality; this was not to happen until the years of the Interregnum when, working in isolation at Weldon, he was able to experiment and begin to develop a personal style which is quite unlike that of any of his

contemporaries.

Nevertheless, Jeffreys' setting of 'Music, thou Queen of souls' not only reveals his remarkable technical assurance but, in places, points towards the more personal harmonic idiom of his mature compositions. The passage between bars 67 and 78 is already characteristic of his later use of dissonance, and there are similar passages to be found in the other two songs from this masque, 'Coy Celia'¹⁾ and 'Say, Dance'.²⁾ 'Say, dance', with its delightful cross-rhythms and witty musical representation of the text, is perhaps the better song of the two, but the passage in 'Coy Celia' from bar 28 to the end is superbly well written and an excellent example of the way in which Jeffreys was beginning to contain dramatic declamation within the lines of polyphonic song. The phrase "there will I headlong throw" falling through a tenth, the pictorial representation of the phrase "and in the dust below", and the declamatory "O hate me dead" are all strongly indebted to the Italian stile rappresentativo, but in no way do they disrupt the lyrical flow of the music.

By contrast, the four "Songs made for some Comedyes by Sir Richard Hatton"³⁾ contain little of real interest. Written in 1631,⁴⁾ these settings are almost certainly earlier than the Randolph songs discussed above, though they appear after The Masque of Vices in Add 10338. This, incidentally, may well account for the several blank pages in the score-book

1) Vol.I, p.168.

2) Vol.I, p.176.

3) Vol.I, p.183.

4) The date is appended in Add 10338.

following the Randolph settings: if Jeffreys had left room for music he had not yet written, he could hardly have known how many pages it would eventually take up.

The technical assurance of the Randolph songs is conspicuously absent from these four Hatton settings. Where the former are tightly knit in their harmonic design, the Hatton songs suffer from lack of clarity in the part writing and poor harmonic rhythm. We may attribute this in part to the fact that Jeffreys was here writing for four rather than three voices; but the principal reason for their technical failings is that they are such early works. As yet, Jeffreys had not come to terms with the problem of combining the new monodic style with traditional polyphonic techniques. As we shall see in a moment, the same difficulty arises in the five-part textures of the music for Peter Hausted's The Rival Friends, which dates from the same year. Significantly, the two solo songs, Have pity, grief and Cruel, but once again, are much more successful despite their rather conservative idiom.

The first song, 'You that have been this evening's light',¹⁾ is the one least affected by lack of firm harmonic direction, and the texture is on the whole less cluttered than in the other songs. Indeed, the song has some splendid moments as, for example, in the rich harmonies between bars 10 and 14 or the string of sensuous 6/4 chords at "cups of nectar" (bar 27). Nevertheless, the part writing is fussy and over-busy, just as²⁾ it is in the latter part of the next song, 'Fond maids'. It

1) Vol.I, p.184.

2) Vol.I, p.188.

is easy to see why Jeffreys set the last line "we now do wander up and down" as he did, but the intention is unfortunately more laudable than the result: the part writing lacks clarity, and the contrived soprano part at the cadence sounds merely comic. 'Cupid blushes to behold'¹⁾ is little better. The same over-busy part movement is again present in the opening phrase, giving the impression that Jeffreys was determined that each voice should sing the complete text. The passage in triple time (bars 14-21) is wholly appropriate for the "banquet and lusty wine", but unlike the tripla passages in the anthems and sacred songs it does not fit very happily into the general structure and seems unnatural and forced. The busy activity of all four parts is much more convincingly managed in the phrase "with quick spirits' lofty strain" at bar 26: at the end of this passage a greater harmonic stability and a sense of climax is achieved by minim movement in the bass part. The fourth song, 'Hymen hath together tied',²⁾ is perhaps the least successful. Once again, there are some good if rather obvious ideas such as the madrigal-style contrasts in scoring for the phrases "the lovers' friend" and "the still and shady night". The rest of the song is not on this level, and in the very next phrase the over-cluttered texture completely destroys the effect of the dotted rhythms which are intended to represent the "trembling strings".

1) Vol.I, p.193.

2) Vol.I, p.199.

The same criticism of over-thick and over-busy textures must also apply to the five-part choruses in the music for Peter Hausted's The Rival Friends.¹⁾ Fortunately, the choruses are all very short; none of them lasts more than a few bars and their purpose is simply to round off the previous music. As a result, the problem of controlling the harmonic rhythm which underlies the polyphony does not arise. The passages for solo voices are more successful, though the frequent harmonic changes are at times apt to detract from the pathos of the vocal line. Bukofzer's criticism of early 17th century English recitative as "lacking in flexibility"²⁾ is certainly true of the dialogue 'Drowsy Phoebus'. In this it is no different to Jeffreys' two other secular dialogues or to contemporary dialogues by composers such as William and Henry Lawes.

The music for The Rival Friends appears together in Add 10338, where it follows immediately after the Hatton settings. Jeffreys' full title is: "Songs made for Dr Hausted's Comedy The Rivall Friends, acted before the Kinge and Queen, An. 1631, 19th March". At the end of the seventh song is another note in Jeffreys' hand: "The dialogue Drowsy Phoebus and the others to this place were made to and sung in Dr Hausted's unfortunate comedy at Cambridge before the Kinge and Queen called The Rivall Friends, 31". It appears that Jeffreys did not himself attend the performance; a margin note beside the third song, 'Cruel, but once again', reads: "This song was

1) Vol.I, p.207.

2) Manfred Bukofzer, Music in the Baroque Era (London, 1948), p.184. The passage is quoted in full on p.9.

made for the comedie but I think not sunge".

Although Hausted's play was badly received at this performance, it was published by Humphrey Robinson in the following year.¹⁾ The title page gives the following description:

"A Comodie, As it was Acted before the King and Queen's Maiesties, when out of their princely favour they were pleased to visit their Universitie of Cambridge, upon the 19th day of March, 1631. Cryed downe by Boyes, Faction, Envie and confident Ignorance, approv'd by the judicious, and now exposed to the publique censure by The Authour, Pet. Hausted, Mr. in Artes of Queenes Colledge."

Jeffreys' music consists of an allegorical prologue which preceded the play and six other songs performed as intermezzi between the acts. We do not know whether the music met with the same hostile reception as the play: quite possibly it did not, for Jeffreys makes no reference to it in the score-book.

The dialogue 'Drowsy Phoebus'²⁾ demonstrates once again how well Jeffreys had assimilated the techniques of his older contemporaries. Dent considered it very like the work of the brothers Lawes, and praised the way it attempts to infuse a sense of drama into the lifeless verse and far from dramatic situation:³⁾

"The dialogue shows a definite sense of tonality which is clearly intended to be

1) See W.W. Greg, 'A list of English plays written before 1643 and printed before 1700' (Bibliographical Society, London, 1900).

2) Vol.I, p.208.

3) E.J. Dent, Foundations of English Opera (Cambridge, 1928; Da Capo reprint, 1967), p.79.

continuous in spite of the breaks made by the spoken parts. The invitation of Venus to Phoebus to leave the arms of Thetis and the latter's reluctance to let him go, leading up to a salutation of the royal spectators, do not offer any very striking dramatic possibilities, but the composer has done his best to give the dialogue a certain life-like animation."

Compared with the sacred dialogue 'Heu, me miseram' there is very little real theatrical projection in this work. Little attempt is made at characterisation (Venus, Thetis and Phoebus all sing the same kind of music), and the characters are not developed in any way. Nevertheless, the music is not lacking in affective intensity: at bar 25 Venus sings, "I'll woo thee with a kiss to come away", and the urgency of her rising chromatic line is matched at bar 35 by the syncopated rhythm of Thetis' reply. In such a way, Jeffreys adds a sense of realism to the drama; but the principle of affective declamation is never far away as can be seen by the tonic-mediant harmonic progression at "lie still" (bar 20), the melismatic treatment of "flowing hair" (bar 52), or Phoebus' majestic line, representing the rising sun, between bars 66 and 75.

The two solo songs which follow, 'Have pity, grief'¹⁾ and 'Cruel, but once again',²⁾ fall stylistically half way between the lute ayre and declamatory continuo song. The songs are through-composed, and affective principles are

1) Vol.I, p.221.

2) Vol.I, p.225.

once again never far beneath the surface: in the first song the drop of a diminished seventh at "tears" (bars 5-6), the repetition of "alas", the chromatic descent of the phrase "to melt a cloud" (bars 25-29) and the dramatic false relation at bar 32 are all touched by the stile rappresentativo. The music, however, is firmly tied to song by lyrical vocal line and frequent imitative phrases; significantly, the last six bars of 'Have pity, grief' bear a striking resemblance to the phrase "Ah, let me living die" in Dowland's 'In darkness let me dwell'.¹⁾

The other four songs, 'Cupid, if a god thou art'²⁾ 'To the ladies, joy',³⁾ 'But why do the winged minutes?'⁴⁾ and 'Have you a desire?',⁵⁾ are very similar in style to the music discussed above. In each, passages for solo voices lead to a brief five-part chorus. The choruses are generally homophonic in character, but they occasionally break into imitative phrases which add a welcome contrast to the texture by temporarily dropping one or more of the parts.

There remain for discussion in this chapter only the two secular dialogues, Lovely Shepherd and Why sigh you, swain?, which must have been written at about the same time as the Randolph settings.⁶⁾ Like the Italian songs and the theatre

1) A Muscicall Banquet (1610).

2) Vol.I, p.228.

3) Vol.I, p.234.

4) Vol.I, p.239.

5) Vol.I, p.246.

6) Rimbault, op. cit., dates the Randolph settings c.1635. On stylistic grounds and the evidence of their positioning in the score-book, this date seems to be more or less correct. The songs are certainly not later than 1643.

music, they are found only in the score-book where they appear between the music for The Masque of Vices and the four Hatton songs. Presumably, Jeffreys did not consider any of these early compositions worthy of revision, for none of them appears in any of the other autograph sources. Corrections are, however, made in the score-book itself. The most extensive of these is the addition of eight more bars immediately before the final section of Why sigh you, swain?. This is written out at the foot of the page preceding the dialogue, with a note indicating where the passage is to be inserted. We cannot know whether Jeffreys made this revision at the time of writing the piece or whether the passage was added at a later date; whichever the case, its repetitive harmonic pattern adds nothing either musically or dramatically to the work, and we must frankly admit that the dialogue would be better without it.

Despite the harmonic and structural weakness of this cadenza, both dialogues are considerably better than the dialogue 'Drowsy Phoebus' from Hausted's The Rival Friends. As in the earlier dialogue, the characters are again mythological and the theme once more that of the goddess or nymph seducing the male. There is, however, one important difference: whereas in 'Drowsy Phoebus' the characters remain superhuman, the music in these later dialogues is designed to bring out their essential humanity. Thus, in Lovely Shepherd¹⁾ Febisse's music is genuinely seductive, Endymion's proud and noble. Furthermore, their characters are developed through the music as the work proceeds: the seductive flattened seventh (basso continuo, bar 2)

1) Vol.I, p.256.

and flattened third in Febisse's opening phrase lead eventually to her trying other methods of persuasion. First she feigns grief at his heartlessness, then anger at his excuses; she flirts with him, plays with him and finally tempts him with an openly lascivious display of the delights of love. In her we recognise all the guiles of a woman intent on seduction, and through her music she also seduces us. Endymion is no less life-like: his music is at once innocent and proud; but his is the pride of youth which knows nothing of the real world. When he is finally won he no longer sings in bold, boastful phrases but joins with Febisse in a duet in which they sing together in canon of the ecstasies of love.

The second dialogue, Why sigh you, swain?¹⁾ is less convincing. The theme is again that of the seduction of the reluctant male, but this time the nymph is less convincingly seductive and the shepherd rather more willing. Despite some genuinely affective phrases such as the one beginning at bar 16 in which the shepherd extols the virtues of his beloved, neither character rings entirely true to life. The reason for this lies partly in the way the lines of the dialogue are broken up and shared between the singers. While this is realistic enough when the dialogue is spoken, it has the opposite effect when the words are sung: repetition or melismatic elaboration are out of the question, and all the composer can hope to do is to simulate speech. Because of this, the work is much shorter than the dialogue Lovely Shepherd, and consequently

1) Vol.I, p.267.

the characters are not allowed sufficient time to develop. Nevertheless, Jeffreys does his best to give coherence to the drama by careful tonal organisation; this breaks down, however, in the revised passage (bars 38-45) where two identical repetitions of the same cadence destroy the harmonic and dramatic flow.

Taken as a whole, Jeffreys' secular compositions lack the individuality, imagination and harmonic resource of his sacred music, but we must remember that they are comparatively early works: most, if not all of them, date from the 1630s. What they reveal is a remarkable technical assurance, not the least part of which is a highly developed feeling for tonality.

As E.J. Dent has shown, opera as an artistic form depends to a very great extent on symphonic principles in which the drama unfolds as one continuous and organised piece of music.¹⁾

The same is true of all musical forms whether vocal or instrumental, sacred or secular, whether intended for performance in the theatre, church, concert hall or home. Only by careful organisation of the tonal structure can music be made to develop towards a climax and become a drama in its own right. This feeling for music as drama is the essence of Jeffreys' mature compositions. Within the principle of tonality he was able to extend the scale of individual movements and experiment with the declamatory techniques of the Italian baroque. At the same time, he never entirely relinquished the polyphonic

1) E.J. Dent, op. cit., p.39.

principles of his native tradition. The result is a highly individual solution to the problem of combining polyphony with dramatic declamation.

5. THE LATIN SACRED MUSIC

When Jeffreys moved to Weldon after the surrender of Oxford in 1646, he retired for ever from the life of a professional musician. Whatever his duties at the King's Court may have been, they were now replaced by the task of seeing to the administration of the Hatton estate at Kirby in Northamptonshire. The diligence with which he carried out these new duties must have made considerable demands on his time; but within two years he was again writing music, and between 1648 and 1669 he produced almost all his sacred compositions, a total of more than one hundred separate works.

As an amateur composer, he was now able to devote himself entirely to writing the kind of music in which he was most interested. Significantly, he appears to have written no instrumental music after the Civil War, and the vocal music he composed at Weldon is all for the church. It comprises anthems, motets, sacred songs for one, two and three voices, a Morning and an Evening Service, and a Gloria and responses for the English Communion Service. Most of these pieces appear in at least two of the autograph manuscripts, the later versions often differing in important detail from those in the score-book. Some of these revised passages - mainly contractions of cadences - are written into the score-book as corrections.

The anthems, motets, services and sacred songs appear

together in Add 10338 where, after fourteen blank pages, they follow the cantata Felice Pastorella. The works are grouped according to the number of parts; no distinction is made between English and Latin settings. Apart from an incomplete setting of O tu unus Deus Pater for two tenors and bass,¹⁾ the three sacred songs for solo bass appear first. These are followed after five blank pages by two of the three-part songs which "are placed next the songs of one voice for want of roome". Then follow the songs of two parts, all but one of which are to Latin texts; after these come the songs of three parts. The order in which these appear seems to be more or less chronological, a fact confirmed by Jeffreys' margin note: "Mind that some of these later 3 parts are placed at the beginning of the 3 parts". After two blank pages there follow four of the four-part songs; dates appended to three of these show that they appear in the reverse order to that in which they were originally composed. Presumably, they were added after Jeffreys had already begun to write out the five-part anthems and motets: the dates are all later than those which appear against the other songs of four parts. After five more blank pages, the remainder of the four-part compositions appear under the heading "Songs of 4 parts for the Church".²⁾ As Peter le Huray has shown, very few of these pieces are

1) The setting, which is the third part of Pater de caelis, appears complete in RCM 920.

2) Peter le Huray, Music and the Reformation in England (London, 1967), p.351.

suitable for general use; no doubt they were intended for private devotion, or in some cases were simply texts Jeffreys liked and wished to set.

The score-book ends with the anthems and motets of five and six parts. Only three of these are to Latin words: the motet Bone Jesu, the five-part Gloria, and the six-part setting of Hosanna filio David. The others are all five-part verse-anthems; they include a setting of Psalm 20 and the remarkable series of anthems which reflect on events in the Christian year. These seven works, which represent Jeffreys' most individual achievement, are discussed in detail in the following chapter.

On stylistic grounds, there can be no doubt that the entire contents of Add 10338 are Jeffreys' own work. In each piece there are recognisable features peculiar to Jeffreys: an unusual treatment of the underlay, a characteristic melodic shape, a favourite harmonic progression. Two previous writers, neither of whom can have studied the manuscript in any detail, have suggested that the music may not all be by the same composer. The first of these, E.T. Warren, considered the book to be "in the handwriting of one or two authors"¹⁾; the second, E.J. Dent, recognised the handwriting of Jeffreys in the music for The Rival Friends, but thought it "very possible that he was not the composer²⁾ but only the copyist of this particular work". In addition,

1) Pencil note on the fly-leaf of Add 10338; this note and the one made by Thomas Oliphant are discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

2) E.J. Dent, Foundations of English Opera (Cambridge, 1928; Da Capo reprint, 1967), p.79.

Rimbault¹⁾ and Bentley²⁾ have both carelessly attributed one of the Randolph settings to Henry Lawes. In defence of these writers it is fair to point out that they were discussing subjects which would hardly have warranted a detailed examination either of the score-book or of the other autograph manuscripts; in the case of Warren, the part-books were not at that time accessible. An examination of these and of the contemporary copies not in Jeffreys' hand proves beyond doubt that he was the composer, not merely the copyist, of each work. The pieces which appear in sources other than the autograph manuscripts are clearly attributed to him. In any case, Jeffreys would hardly have made such extensive revisions to the work of another composer.

All this is evidence enough, but the question of authorship is settled beyond dispute by the frequent margin notes in Add 10338. Many of these draw attention to subsequent revisions: beside Paratum cor meum Jeffreys writes, "Some small things altered in this song since it was transcribed into my [part] bookes"; similar notes are added beside several of the other songs. Other comments are of a more personal nature. The burial anthem In the midst of life, for example, has a note, "Made in the time of my sickness, Octob. 1657". Perhaps the most interesting - and most significant - comment is the one beside the rejected opening of the C major Jubilate Deo: "I, having heard

1) Preface to his edition of Purcell's Bonduca.

2) The Jacobean and Caroline Stage; the incorrect attribution is discussed in detail in Chapter 4, pp. 111-113.

something too near this since I made it, have made some alterations according to the beginning of this paper". On the preceding page is a reworking of the first eleven bars.

For the sake of convenience - Jeffreys himself made no such distinction - the Latin sacred music can be divided into three broad categories. First of all there is the series of over fifty devotional songs for one, two and three voices. Several of these have texts taken from biblical sources: there are a number of paraphrases of Psalms as well as extracts from Isaiah, The Song of Solomon, and passages from Matthew, Luke and The Acts of the Apostles. Some of these texts are peculiar, to say the least, and contain several curious grammatical errors and mis-spellings; evidently, Jeffreys was in the habit of setting his texts from memory. Even stranger are the texts for which the sources cannot be traced. One or two of these are in verse; all of them are very bad Latin. We can only conclude that they were written by Jeffreys himself or perhaps by some amateur poet he knew at Weldon. A typical example is Jesu mi dulcissime¹⁾ or the related Jesu, dulcedo cordium²⁾ which must surely be one of his own!

1) The complete text is shown in Example 14, Vol.III, p.678.

2) Vol.III, p.712. The text, as it originally stood before editorial revision, is as follows:

Jesu, dulcedo cordium,
Fons vivus, lumen cordium,
Excedens omne gaudium
Et omne desiderium.

Jam quod quaesivi video,
Quod concupivi teneo.
Amore Jesu languedo,
Et corde totus ardeo.

O Jesu mi dulcissime,
Spes suspirantis animae,
Te querunt piae lachrimae
Et clamor mentis intimae.

O beatum incendium,
Amare Dei Filium,
Et ardens desiderium
O dulce refrigerium.

The second broad category is the group of motets for four, five and six voices. In some cases the distinction between 'motet' and 'devotional song' is wholly artificial: the style of several of the four-part 'motets' is very like that of the devotional songs discussed above. Nevertheless, it is convenient for the purpose of this discussion to group them (as Jeffreys himself did) according to the number of voices irrespective of their general stylistic features.

Finally, there is the liturgical music.¹⁾ From this category we must exclude the C major Jubilate Deo and the five-part Gloria. Although such pieces may be used liturgically, they do not constitute a complete Service and are therefore more properly considered as separate motets. This leaves only the Morning and Evening Services, both of which are in D.

With more than fifty separate compositions, it would be merely tedious to analyse all the devotional songs singly. Instead, it is convenient to subdivide them into four further categories and to pick out certain recurring types of musical or dramatic treatment. The groups to be considered are: (1) the songs for solo bass with basso continuo; (2) the dialogue Heu me miseram; (3) the songs for two voices with basso continuo; (4) the songs for three voices with basso continuo.

The two songs for solo bass, O quam suave and Speciosus forma, are found in Add 10338 and RCM 920. Both are typical of Jeffreys' writing for the bass voice, and the dramatic leaps, decorative runs and wide compass heighten the power of

1) The term 'liturgical' is used here and in the following chapter to refer only to settings of a complete Service. Several of the anthems and motets may, of course, be used liturgically, but they are discussed separately with the other anthems and motets.

the affective declamation. This virtuoso treatment of the voice occurs time and again in passages for solo bass both in the Latin motets and English verse-anthems; quite possibly, Jeffreys was writing for a particular singer who must have possessed a compass and technique comparable with that of the celebrated John Gostling.

The words of O quam suave¹⁾ are particularly suited to this kind of brilliant virtuoso writing, and Jeffreys seizes every opportunity for vivid pictorial representation of the majesty of God. Long decorative runs, moving through more than an octave at the words "Messia dulcis et pie", lead eventually to an equally vivid representation of heaven, earth and hell. This is followed at bar 45 by a brief passage in triple time suggesting "the delight of mankind", but the more lyrical style is soon broken by a trembling dotted figure at "terror demonum". The dramatic power of the declamation is now enforced by the strong harmonic movement which takes the music by sequence from C major to E and then by way of A and D minor to F. The work is driven to its climax in a series of complementary phrases during which the melismatic decoration becomes more and more elaborate, the wide skips increasingly more frequent. But Jeffreys saves his most dramatic stroke for the coda. In contrast to all that has gone before, the last twelve bars are gentle, tender and exquisitely expressive. As so often in Jeffreys' work, the emotional climax occurs in the coda: here, the mention of Jesus brings a warmth and intimacy which is in striking contrast

1) Vol.II, p.278.

to the impersonal majesty and power of God.

There is nothing in Speciosus forma¹⁾ to compare with the pathos of this coda. Instead, the much shorter text is set continuously without being broken into rhythmically contrasted sections. There is, however, a strong thematic contrast between the two complementary parts of the first phrase: the opening motive, moving mainly in long notes (bars 1-5), is balanced by a dotted quaver figure which sweeps down through one and a half octaves. These two contrasted ideas are developed side by side over the first thirty seven bars, after which a new melodic figure leads to the final phrase, "in aeternum". The music vividly suggests the endlessness of eternity: the words are repeated over and again set to a rising figure which, if it were not for the regular fall of a seventh, would continue over almost two octaves. The compass of the voice part from low C to high D is even greater than it is in O quam suave; in both pieces the wide skips (often of intervals greater than an octave) and brilliant virtuoso writing have enormous dramatic power.

Fine as these pieces are, they are overshadowed by the dialogue Heu me miseram.²⁾ Like Purcell, Jeffreys is at his best when his creative imagination is set off by a dramatic situation which gives an opportunity for quasi operatic treatment in which the music develops the characterisation. We have already seen in the previous chapter how dramatic

1) Vol.II, p.288.

2) Vol.II, p.294.

realism is achieved in the secular dialogue Lovely Shepherd, and this dialogue between Mary and the Angel is surely one of the finest scenes by a 17th century composer; it is certainly comparable with the best compositions in this genre by Schütz and Purcell. The work, which is based on St John's account of Mary Magdalene's visit to the sepulchre, invites comparison with the dialogue Weib, was weinst du? by Schütz.¹⁾ The Schütz setting is for four voices, the lower two singing the words of the Angel and Jesus, the higher voices the words of Mary. The concertato texture leads to a more objective treatment of the drama in which no attempt is made to humanise Mary's grief and her sense of wonder at the Resurrection. The drama is not seen in human terms; the music has an ethereal quality and spiritual mysticism - most apparent in the remarkable harmonic progressions and dramatic silences of the repeated "Maria" - which is not part of this world. Jeffreys' dialogue, on the other hand, is concerned with the essential humanity of Mary's grief. The work is more direct, more overtly theatrical in its dramatic treatment, but in no way less moving. Perhaps more than in any other work by Jeffreys, the music embraces the spirit of the seconda prattica: significantly, Robert Ramsey's only extant biblical dialogue In guilty night is also very Italianate - certainly much more so than any of his

1) English version edited by Hans Gal, Two Dialogues by Heinrich Schütz (Curwen, London, 1948).

1)
other English sacred settings.

Jeffreys' treatment of the drama and the way in which he develops the characterisation is remarkable. Mary visits the tomb, distraught with grief. At bar 13 her cries suddenly break off mid-phrase at the appearance of the Angel. This dramatic interruption, breaking the word "eum", may at first sight seem an error in the manuscript, but the identical phrase occurs in all three autograph sources.²⁾ By contrast with Mary's frenzied declamation, the Angel's music has an almost ethereal serenity. He tries to comfort her, telling her that Christ has risen; but at first she is afraid to look into the tomb. Her anguish grows. She sees two angels guarding the place where the body of Jesus had lain. Then she turns, and the music which follows (bars 93-99) is surely one of the most dramatic and moving passages to be written by any 17th century composer.

The success of this dialogue arises to a great extent from the brilliant characterisation which is possible only in a dramatic scena conceived in terms of theatre. Regrettably, Jeffreys appears to have written no other sacred dialogue, and Heu me miseram is the nearest he came to operatic principles in any of his music. If the circumstances in which he worked

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- 1) Robert Ramsey: English Sacred Music, ed. E. Thompson (London, 1967), p.121. The work is of particular interest since the text is the same as that later set by Purcell. Despite several superficial similarities of structure and dramatic treatment, Ramsey's setting is much less memorable. The tonal structure is too much tied to the key centre of G minor, the vocal lines lack real affective intensity, and the characters never really establish any independent personality. Jeffreys' dialogue, which must fall chronologically about midway between the two, is stylistically closer to Purcell than Ramsey.
 - 2) The only manuscript in which the vocal cadence is resolved is an 18th century score-book, Ch Ch 18.

has been different, Jeffreys might well have developed into a successful opera composer. His mature music, although written for the church, is never far removed from the techniques of baroque opera, and the principle of theatrical projection is always an essential element in his work. Like Purcell, Jeffreys thought naturally in terms of theatre: many of the texts he set are treated as a conversation between the singers in much the same way as the text of a dialogue. The most striking examples of this are to be found in the five-part English verse-anthems where the chorus is used as though the singers were participants in the action, carrying on a conversation between themselves. Although these anthems are discussed more fully in the final chapter, it is necessary to comment at this point on their relationship to the dialogue discussed above. The Passion anthem Whisper it easily¹⁾ and the anthem for the Ascension Look up, all eyes²⁾ both use the chorus in this way, and in so doing achieve a dramatic realism which has something in common with the opening chorus of the Bach St Matthew Passion. As Albert Schweitzer has shown,³⁾ the chorus 'Kommt, ihr Töchter' is realistic in intention rather than an expression of ideal grief. The music vividly portrays Bach's vision of Jesus being led through the streets and the surging crowd who call and answer to each other. Though

1) Vol.II, p.565.

2) Vol.II, p.603.

3) J.S. Bach, translated by Ernest Newman (London, 1911; reprinted London, 1955), Vol.II, p.211.

writing on a smaller scale and using more limited resources, Jeffreys adopts a similar approach to this in the Ascension anthem Look up, all eyes. The chorus represents a crowd of onlookers who, in the imagination of the unknown poet, watch Jesus ascending into heaven. The scene is depicted not by direct description but by a conversation between the watchers. They call to each other, question each other ("Have the stars knees? See, O see how they bow"), and in so doing add a sense of realism to the somewhat naive picture of Jesus "travelling the milky way". The music vividly enacts the physical images of the poem, and at the same time communicates the wonder of the watching crowd and their grief at losing Christ's physical presence. This attitude towards the Ascension is hardly the conventional view of the Christian, for whom the Ascension is traditionally a joyful occasion, but the anthem is no less moving on this account.

By contrast with many of the English texts Jeffreys set, the words of the Latin devotional songs offer little opportunity for this kind of realistic treatment. Many of the texts are taken from the Psalms; nearly all of them are laudatory rather than descriptive of a particular event. Both the two-part and three-part settings follow the same general pattern of a succession of imitative points occasionally interrupted by short homophonic passages. Despite the imitative polyphonic texture, the individual vocal lines are declamatory and rarely lacking in affective intensity. The opening of O quam dulcis shown in Example 1¹⁾ is wholly typical in this respect while the extract

1) Vol.III, p.658.

shown in Example 2¹⁾ uses imitation to intensify the dramatic effect of the chromatically rising soprano line. Frequently Jeffreys increases the urgency of a passage by bringing the imitative entries closer together. In this way he is able to build towards a climax, as can be seen in the opening section of O pretiosum et admirandum convivium²⁾ where, at bar 9, the bass imitates the alto at the interval of only a minim. The closing section of Sive vigilem³⁾ provides a further example of the way in which Jeffreys controls the imitative texture for dramatic purposes. The passage begins with a solo statement by the lower voice of the phrase "et vocem angeli clamantis et dicentis", which is repeated with a slight variation by the first tenor. Significantly, the answering phrase begins to develop the word "clamantis" by replacing the original leap of a minor sixth by a chromatic ascent through C and C sharp to D. The voices now join together singing in thirds, but once again break into imitation at "clamantis". The words the angels speak are set with increased urgency arising partly from the syncopated rhythmic figure at "surgite" and partly from the closeness of the imitation.

In writing for two voices the possibilities of textural variety are of course much more limited than when writing in three parts. This may possibly account for the fact that Jeffreys wrote more than twice as many three-part Latin devotional songs. Apart from the dialogue Heu me miseram, there are only twelve Latin sacred songs in two parts, all with

1) Vol.III, p.659.

2) Vol.III, p.660.

3) Vol.III, p.664.

basso continuo. These are found in Add 10338 and RCM 920. Two of them, Jesu, Rex admirabilis (the opening of which is shown in Example 4)¹⁾ and O quam dulcis, also appear in Add 29282. In terms of popular acclaim, the song for two tenors Erit gloria Domini²⁾ was, and perhaps still is, the most successful. It was included in Dering's Cantica Sacra II³⁾ and was the only work to be published in Jeffreys' lifetime. The song also appears in two 18th century manuscripts, one in the Bodleian library (Mus d 10) and the other at Christ Church (Ch Ch 18).⁴⁾ It is difficult to understand why this particular piece became so popular: it is hardly representative of Jeffreys' best work, and apart from the closing "Cantabo Domino", which has a certain lyrical charm, there is nothing in the song of lasting interest. The writing is workmanlike, but in no way inspired: which makes it all the more surprising that it should have been reprinted in 1963 in an edition by Francis Grubb,⁵⁾ who incidentally does not appear to have consulted either of the autograph manuscripts but bases his edition entirely on Playford.

By contrast, Timor et tremor⁶⁾ (also for two tenors) is a masterpiece of affective declamation. The long notes of the opening phrase demand fairly elaborate decoration from

1) Vol.III, p.662.

2) Vol.II, p.314.

3) John Playford (London, 1674).

4) This manuscript also includes the dialogue Heu me miseram.

5) Oxford University Press.

6) Vol.II, p.322.

the singers to give a more vivid pictorial representation of "fear and trembling",¹⁾ but even as it stands the music suggests a dramatic growth by its harmonic direction and the increasing closeness of the imitation. For each verbal phrase of the text, Jeffreys manages to find a melodic figure which perfectly represents the physical images and emotional content of the words: after the G major cadence at bar 17, the melodic shape of the next phrase and the movement towards E minor effectively suggests the enshrouding darkness; the rapid sequential harmonic movement at bars 27-28 emphasises the urgency of the cry for help; and the expansive melodic figure in the following phrase perfectly represents a yearning for the freedom of the dove. The dramatic effect of the music relies to a great extent on these contrasted thematic motives, but the tonal structure of the work ensures that there is a feeling of growth towards the climax which occurs with the dotted figure at "et volabo". But if the cadence at bar 51 is the dynamic climax of the work, the emotional climax is in the final "et resquiescam". As so often in Jeffreys' music, the coda has a pathos which is almost symphonic in the way it provides a consummation of the entire work. Only by having experienced the conflicting tensions of all that has gone before can we achieve the peace of the closing bars. Yet the serenity of the coda also looks back to the tensions of the earlier part by the passing dissonances implicit in the figuring and explicit in the voice parts.

It is interesting to compare Timor et tremor with Audivi

1) The dotted figure in the right hand of the basso continuo realisation at bars 3 and 6 might effectively be transferred into the voice parts.

1)
vocem. Both songs are for two tenors, both are approximately the same length, and both end with a coda in which the operative word is "rest": in Timor et tremor the final phrase is "et requiescam"; in Audivi vocem it is "ut requiescant a laboribus suis". Furthermore, there is more than a superficial similarity in the way Jeffreys sets these lines. The melodic shape and general harmonic movement of the two passages are strikingly alike, and the way in which Jeffreys controls the texture - a statement by one voice followed by an imitation in the other and a final joining together of the two - is identical. Yet Audivi vocem lacks the pathos of Timor et tremor because the earlier part of the song has a comparative absence of emotional and harmonic tension. The reason for this lies in the nature of the text which is itself in no way concerned with conflict but is purely an affirmation of faith: "I heard a voice from heaven saying to me: Write, Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord: from henceforth, indeed, so says the Spirit, that they may have rest from their labours".

In common with most post-renaissance composers, Jeffreys is much more successful when writing music in which there is some kind of emotional or dramatic conflict than when he is seeking to express spiritual joy. Significantly, his most directly joyful music often falls back on the style and techniques of his late 16th century predecessors, the six-part setting of Hosanna filio David being the most extreme

1) Vol.II, p.330.

example of this uncharacteristic reliance on old-style polyphony.¹⁾ Time and again, the three-part Latin devotional songs illustrate how Jeffreys is unable to rise above the conventional when setting texts of an affirmative nature, while those in which there is some kind of emotional conflict draw from him a readiness for harmonic experiment and imaginative declamatory writing. The opening of Florete flores,²⁾ for example, shows how Jeffreys is able to build an interesting three-part texture from a single declamatory idea, as he does in the opening section of Jerusalem, quae occidis prophetas.³⁾ Equally striking is the opening of Exsurge, quare obdormis,⁴⁾ in which the three voices declaim the complementary motives in quick succession, eventually bringing them together at bar 29. Compared with the opening of the two-part Et ingrediar,⁵⁾ which clumsily resorts to a somewhat obvious tripla section at bar 12, Exsurge drives firmly towards its first climax point, the sweeping melodic motives being carried forward by the strong harmonic direction.

The importance of harmonic rhythm cannot be too strongly emphasised. However inventive the melodic lines may be, their

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- 1) Significantly, the few pieces which end with an Amen all resort to a traditional polyphonic texture in the closing bars. The final Amen in O quam gloriosum, shown in Example 11, Vol.III, p.673, is typical in this respect; were it not for the presence of a basso continuo, the passage could easily be mistaken for the work of a 16th century composer.
 - 2) Vol.III, p.669.
 - 3) Vol.III, p.684.
 - 4) Vol.III, p.676.
 - 5) Vol.III, p.667.

effect depends to a great extent on the firm direction of the underlying harmony. Frequently, it is the more chromatic textures which are most successful in this respect, and the closing section of Lapidabant Stephanum, shown in Example 12,¹⁾ achieves a perfect balance between expressive melodic writing and strong harmonic movement. Indeed, the two elements are inseparable: the chromatically falling melodic figures, suggesting the sinking into sleep, generate their own characteristic harmonic idiom which itself matches the physical images of the text.

The use of passing harmonic dissonance to intensify the dramatic and emotional effect of the vocal lines is a frequent characteristic of Jeffreys' work. The extract from Invocavi nomen, shown in Example 17,²⁾ is typical in this respect, as is the short extract from Vere languores nostros³⁾ in which grief is expressed not only through dissonance but by the low tessitura of all three voices. The C major cadence at "ipse portavit" is equally appropriate to the emotional content of the verbal phrase: the burden of "our griefs" is aurally "carried away" by the tonal direction of the music and the higher tessitura of the voices.

Yet another example of Jeffreys' imaginative use of passing dissonance can be seen in the extract from Nil canitur suavius;⁴⁾ here, the infinite sweetness of Jesus and

1) Vol.III, p.674.

2) Vol.III, p.683.

3) Vol.III, p.686.

4) Vol.III, p.690.

of Divine love are portrayed by melodic lyricism and sensuous harmonic dissonance. The theme is a favourite one in Jeffreys' work; time and again he was drawn to texts which extol the virtues of the Trinity and declare a deep personal love for Christ. That this love should be expressed with exquisite tenderness and should lead to a harmonic idiom which suggests profane, even sexual, love in no way debases its emotions: for Divine love was to Jeffreys a mystery beyond human comprehension, and the intensity of his feelings could only be expressed in human terms. The rich textures and unequivocally erotic harmonic idiom of these settings have clear precedents in the Marian motets of Gesualdo; but the equation of Divine love with sexual passion was by no means a new idea in the late renaissance and had been expressed long before in the Song of Solomon. The most striking example of Jeffreys' treatment of this theme occurs in the paired four-part motets O Domine Deus and O Deus meus discussed below, but the opening of Jesu mi dulcissime¹⁾ and the short extract from Quid mihi est in caelo,²⁾ shown in Example 21, give some indication of the harmonic resource found in the three-part settings.

In writing for three voices, Jeffreys was not able to build up the rich textures so characteristic of his four- and five-part settings, but the music is no less dramatic on this account. This can be seen from the two settings of O quam iucundum which date from 1651 and 1658. The later setting is for three voices, and uses only the first part of the

1) Vol.III, p.678.

2) Vol.III, p.687.

text. The extract shown in Example 33¹⁾ is very like the corresponding passage in the 1651 setting:²⁾ both extol the perfection of Christ's virtues in tender but highly chromatic melodic lines, which generate a sensuously dissonant harmonic idiom made even more ecstatic by the close spacing of the parts. But whereas the entire three-part setting is based on this kind of texture, the setting for four voices later introduces a new, declamatory figure at the words "Ah mi, Jesu" (see Example 34).³⁾ This is shared between the two lower voices, while the upper two sing the complementary phrase "te solum sitis mea requirit" (Example 35).⁴⁾ These two contrasted musical ideas are played off against each other. The first phrase is repeated by the lower voices, then developed by all four, and the passage eventually leads to an unbroken four-part texture at the phrase "ad te solum suspirat". In this way, Jeffreys is able to build towards a dramatic climax by developing two contrasted but complementary thematic motives. The technique is used time and again not only in the Latin devotional songs but also in the English church music.

The progression from a rich, chromatic texture to a more direct, declamatory style also occurs in the three-part Caro mea. The text is again concerned with the wonder of Christ's love for mankind, and contains such emotive phrases as "sanguine tuo inebria me". There is, however, one essential

1) Vol.III, p.707.

2) Vol.III, p.706.

3) Vol.III, p.708.

4) Vol.III, p.709.

difference. Whereas the songs discussed so far are all hymns of adoration, Caro mea becomes an anguished plea for help, ending with the words "O Jesu, O mundi Salvator, salva me". The earlier part of the song again produces a rich chromatic texture induced by the emotional tenderness of the words. The first extract, shown in Example 8,¹⁾ is characteristically expressive, the repetitions of "O Jesu" leading eventually to an F sharp major cadence at "dulcissime". The chromaticism is even more extreme in the second extract,²⁾ taken from the closing section of the song. This passage eventually breaks into an imitative declamatory figure at "salva me" (Example 10)³⁾ which is thrown about between the voices at the climax of the work.


Not every song which deals with this theme of adoration leads to the rich chromatic textures of the works discussed so far. Occasionally, Jeffreys shows great restraint in his harmonic resource and finds some other way of bringing out in the music the ecstatic qualities of the text. This is sometimes achieved by weaving together imitative strands which set up a series of cross-rhythms arising from those entries which misplace the natural accents. A typical example of this can be seen in the closing section of Prior Christus:⁴⁾ the words "O caritas sine mensura" are set to a melodic motive, the general shape of which falls from

1) Vol.III, p.670.

2) Vol.III, p.671.

3) Vol.III, p.672.

4) Vol.III, p.688.

dominant to tonic. This motive begins with the rhythmic figure , but when treated in imitation the following voice begins not on a strong but a weak beat. With the introduction of the third voice, all feeling of the natural stresses within the duple pulse are temporarily lost. The effect of this, together with the accumulation of passing dissonance, is to suggest that the individual voices are lost in the ecstatic contemplation of the Beloved. Quite clearly, the phrase "sine mensura" led Jeffreys to create this kind of texture, but in a deeper sense the passage could hardly be more appropriate to the emotional content of the words.

The close relationship between divine and human love in Jeffreys' work is evident from his setting of Ecce,
dilectus meus,¹⁾ the words of which are taken from the Song of Solomon. Although the individual melodic lines are generally less chromatic than those in many of the three-part settings considered so far, the work is no less passionate. Its passion, however, is conveyed by the affective intensity of the declamation rather than by harmonic dissonance. Once again, the way in which Jeffreys controls the imitative texture plays an important part in the dramatic structure: the closeness of the imitative entries at "surge propera" (bars 31-35) brings an appropriate sense of urgency to the beloved one's cries and carries the music forward into the more lyrical setting of "my love, my

1) Vol.II, p.344.

dove, my fair one". If Jeffreys had continued the song in the same vein, there is a danger that the lyricism would have taken over and become the dominant feature of the work; but his sense of dramatic structure is such that the final "et veni" returns to the style of the earlier part and renews the urgency by further close imitation.

Hardly less dramatic is the three-part Hei mihi,
1)
Domine, also for two tenors and bass. Unlike Ecce,
dilectus meus which has a simple binary structure with the second half repeated, this song builds towards a single climax, the effect of which would be destroyed by repetition. Moreover, the chromatic character of the individual lines precludes the kind of ornamentation which is possible in the second part of Ecce, dilectus meus.

The song begins with the usual pattern of solo statements of the opening motive. At bar 19 a set of close imitative entries is introduced, bringing the music to a cadence in the dominant at bar 26. A new figure is immediately stated by the highest voice, and the lower voices take up the imitation singing in thirds. This has the effect of enriching the texture and preparing the way for a new, rhythmically contrasted melodic figure which is shared between the three voices in the passage beginning at bar 36. The music is swept onward by the strong tonal direction of the underlying harmony and by the passionate lyricism of the melodic lines, which become more chromatic with each

1) Vol.II, p.337.

elaboration of the initial phrase until a cadence in the tonic is reached at bar 50. From this point on, the music builds to its final climax in a series of phrases composed of two contrasted but complementary ideas. The first ("misericors es") is tender, lyrical and suggests by its upward movement through the sharp fourth a yearning for compassion; the second ("miser sum") portrays the wretchedness of human frailty in pungent suspensions made even more forceful by the way in which the rhythmic movement is held back. As it develops, the passage becomes increasingly more dissonant, and final release does not occur until the last bar when the voices settle on octave Gs.

The only three-part Latin devotional song left for discussion is O Deus meus.¹⁾ The setting is of particular interest because the text is the same as that of the second of the paired four-part motets O Domine Deus and O Deus meus.²⁾ Whether or not Jeffreys also made a three-part setting of O Domine Deus is not known; none appears in any of the extant manuscripts.³⁾ Despite certain superficial similarities between the two settings of O Deus meus, the songs have surprisingly little in common. Both build towards a climax at "te unum quaero et suspiro"; both have a contrast of mood at "Eia Domine"; both resort to close imitation at "trahe me post te", the melodic shapes of the

1) Vol.II, p.351.

2) Vol.II, p.373. The edition is published in the Novello 'Early Church Music' series (London, 1969).

3) The three-part O Domine Deus which Jeffreys included in his collection of devotional songs by miscellaneous composers (Add 31479) is not the same text.

two phrases being almost identical; and the "me consume" passages are remarkably alike despite the more extreme chromaticism of the three-part setting. But here the similarities end. The three-part setting is much more direct, more operatic in its insistence on dramatic declamation; the setting for four voices is more intimate, more ecstatic in its rich vocal textures and sensuous passing and suspended dissonance.

The ecstatic qualities of the four-part setting are even more apparent in the first part of the motet. O Domine¹⁾
Deus begins without histrionics, the lower voices gently repeating a minor third which is momentarily disturbed by the suspension at the end of the first bar. A more declamatory phrase ("O amabile principium meum") is now introduced and taken up by each voice in turn, until a full four-part texture is reached at bar 5. There follows a series of imitative points, each of which perfectly matches the emotional content of the words. But although the melodic lines themselves have great affective intensity - the jagged fall of a major seventh at "O abyssus" is a typical example - it is the harmonic structure of the motet which dominates everything else. This is true not only of the dramatically unexpected harmonic progressions, such as the movement from C major to E major at "dulcissima" (bars 17-18), but also of the rich passing dissonances which occur throughout the work. In this respect, the harmonic idiom is reminiscent of Carissimi with

1) Vol.II, p.374.

whom Jeffreys shares a predilection for double suspensions such as the 9/7 chord at "desiderabilissima" (bar 24). This particular chord is a favourite with Jeffreys, and the progression is typical of cadential approaches in his sacred music. The use of double suspensions and other passing dissonances would alone create a harmonic texture appropriate to the emotional introspection of the words; but the voluptuous harmony is further emphasised by the rich vocal textures brought about by close spacing of the parts. The passage between bars 27 and 31 is a characteristic example of this; there are many others, perhaps the most memorable being the passage between bars 30 and 40 of O Deus meus.¹⁾

The theme of O Domine Deus, in which the human soul contemplates and adores the divine image, occurs elsewhere in the four-part Latin motets; the subject is one to which Jeffreys returned time and again. But in no other work did he surpass the rich textures of O Domine Deus: the extract from Jesu, dulcedo cordium shown in Example 37,²⁾ and the opening of Amor Jesu³⁾ lack both the harmonic resource and textural extravagance of the two motets discussed above. The reason for this lies partly in the scoring. Both Jesu, dulcedo cordium and Amor Jesu⁴⁾ are for soprano, alto, tenor and bass, whereas the highest voice in O Domine Deus is alto. Thus, the close spacing of parts in the latter motet is no longer

1) Vol.II, pp. 385-386.

2) Vol.III, p.712.

3) Vol.III, p.721.

4) This is clear both from the clefs and the compass of the individual voice parts.

possible; the texture is to some extent governed by the natural compass of the voices. Even so, one might have expected a rather more extravagant harmonic idiom than is found in these two works. The texts, though feeble as poetry, have a great deal in common with O Domine Deus, and their literary imperfections are of little consequence when set to music. Perhaps surprisingly, Jeffreys shows more harmonic imagination when setting texts of a lamenting nature; the extract from Quid commisisti, Jesu, shown in Example 38,¹⁾ approaches much more closely the harmonic idiom of O Domine Deus. The wider spacing of the parts in this passage leads, however, to a more open texture which is not unlike that of the extract from O bone Jesu shown in Example 39.²⁾

Before going on to consider the motets for five and six voices, it is at this point necessary to comment on Jeffreys' use of tripla rhythms. No single motet or sacred song is in triple time throughout. Instead, Jeffreys reserves the tripla for passages in which its use is suggested by the sense of the words. Occasionally, this has a disruptive effect on the dramatic flow of the music: we have already commented on the ineptness of the "ad Deum gaudii" passage at the opening of Et ingrediar,³⁾ which fits as awkwardly into the general structure as does the brief tripla⁴⁾ passage in the early Hatton setting 'Cupid blushes to behold'. Elsewhere, the tripla passages are an integral part of the structural design and

1) Vol.III, p.714.

2) Vol.III, p.716.

3) Vol.III, p.667.

4) The song is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

provide a necessary contrast with the duple rhythm. Occasionally a triple rhythm is introduced at a climax point - for example in some of the closing Alleluias - but more often it is used to provide a musical contrast with the preceding section, as in the "Hominum laetitia" passage of the solo motet O quam suave. But tripla passages most commonly occur within the music's natural flow, thus avoiding any break in the dramatic continuity. Such a passage occurs between bars 34 and 35 of the dialogue Heu me miseram,¹⁾ where there is an almost imperceptible join between the tripla and dupla rhythms. A similar example is found at bars 66-67 of the four-part O Deus meus.²⁾ Generally, the shorter tripla passages tend to be woven into the natural flow, whereas the longer ones form an independent section. A typical example of the latter occurs in the four-part Audite coeli. Example 40,³⁾ taken from the opening of the work, stresses the strong duple pulse in the homophonic outbursts at bars 7 and 8; Example 41⁴⁾ is in deliberate contrast to this, the triple rhythm no doubt arising from Jeffreys' response to the single word "fluat".

These tripla passages are always notated with the semibreve as the unit of time. The time signature is indicated both by figures and by the traditional symbol for perfect prolation, a dot inside a circle. There seems to be no particular significance, as there is in Italian music of the early 17th century,⁵⁾

1) Vol.II, p.299.

2) Vol.II, p.389.

3) Vol.III, p.717.

4) Vol.III, p.719.

5) For a detailed discussion of proportional rhythmic relationships in early baroque music see Putnam Aldrich Rhythm in Seventeenth Century Italian Monody (London, 1966), pp. 30-38.

in the lower figure of the numerical time signature. Sometimes the time signature appears as $\frac{3}{1}$, sometimes as $\frac{3}{2}$. In each case the unit of time is a semibreve, and this always seems to be equal to a crotchet of the original duple rhythm whether the lower figure is 1 or 2. Throughout the performing editions, note values in the tripla passages have therefore been divided by four.

Jeffreys' motets for five and six voices are quite unlike any of the Latin church music considered so far. The two- and three-part devotional songs are clearly intended to be performed by solo voices, as are the majority of the four-part settings. Indeed, the only clear exception to this is the C major Jubilate Deo, which is therefore more conveniently considered together with the five-part Gloria. Like the five-part Bone Jesu and the six-part setting of Hosanna filio David, these works adopt the concertato technique of the early 17th century English verse-anthem by alternating passages for chorus with others for solo voices. The 'full' sections are indicated by the word "omnes".

The relationship between these motets and Jeffreys' English verse-anthems is as much one of style as of structure. The trio from Bone Jesu, shown in Example 43,¹⁾ replaces the affective declamation of the Latin devotional songs with a simple lyricism more characteristic of his English church music, while the 'full' sections of Hosanna filio David²⁾ are directly modelled on the massive polyphonic textures of the previous

1) Vol.III, p.723.

2) Vol.II, p.414.

generation of English composers. In its extravagant six-part texture and harmonic simplicity, Jeffreys' setting is very like those of the same text by Weelkes and Gibbons: all three settings are essentially music for public worship, and in this respect they are fundamentally different to Jeffreys' solo devotional songs.

A comparison between this motet - which is, incidentally, Jeffreys' only six-part composition - and his setting for three voices illustrates the point well. Where the six-part Hosanna is extrovert, the three-part setting is restrained and relies for its effect on clear, homogeneous textures rather than bold contrasts between polyphony and homophony, chorus and solo voices. Nevertheless, the two settings have a great deal in common, and the diatonic nature of the three-part Hosanna together with its emotional restraint and its emphasis on contrapuntal imitation is hardly typical of the three-part devotional songs.

Like the six-part setting, the three-part Hosanna has a tripartite structure, though the recapitulation of the opening is in this case not an exact repeat. Both settings follow a similar melodic shape in the opening phrase, both are inconsistent in the setting of "filio" which is sometimes treated as two syllables and sometimes as three,¹⁾ and both have great rhythmic exuberance.²⁾ The similarities are even more marked

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- 1) This curious inconsistency also occurs in the three-part Gloria Patri, as can be seen in the extract shown in Example 36, Vol.III, p.709. In the same passage, the word "gloria" also appears as both two and three syllables, while the setting of "Spiritui" is awkward to say the least.
 - 2) The opening of the three-part Hosanna is shown in Example 15, Vol.III, p.680.

in the middle section, where the phrase "et gloria in locis altissimis" is treated in much the same way in both settings, as can be seen by comparing the extract shown in Example 16¹⁾ with the corresponding passage (bars 53-66) in the six-part setting.

Despite its reliance on old-style polyphony, the six-part Hosanna nevertheless has a number of progressive features which are unmistakably the work of a baroque rather than a renaissance composer. The most obvious of these is the use of basso continuo which is of course essential, especially in the passage for solo bass and the trio which follows. The style of the vocal writing is here entirely characteristic of Jeffreys: once again the bass solo has great affective power and makes considerable technical demands on the singer. The virtuoso style of this solo is immediately carried on into the trio, where the two altos join with the bass in an extension of the brilliant decorative runs.

In dramatic contrast to this, the entry of the chorus at bar 48 returns to the massive six-part texture of the opening. At bar 55 a new melodic figure ("in locis altissimis") is introduced by the first sopranos, and this is taken up by soprano II and bass while the three inside parts are rested. This relief from the six-part texture enables the vocal lines to continue and even develop the virtuoso character of the 'verse' section, and the music becomes increasingly more melismatic as it approaches the violently chromatic passage between bars 70 and 73. This passage, which is the climax of

1) Vol.III, p.681.

the work, is of particular interest because it contains one of the few instances of a dynamic direction ¹⁾ and because Jeffreys' revised working is an expansion rather than a contraction of the original.

While the 'full' sections of the six-part Hosanna at times bear a strong resemblance to the work of Gibbons and Weelkes, the C major Jubilate Deo ²⁾ is much more Italianate. The work clearly reveals the influence of Monteverdi; this is most noticeable in the chordal texture and energetic rhythmic drive of the stile concitato opening, which is very like the opening of Monteverdi's 1641 Beatus Vir. ³⁾ It is doubtful, however, whether it was this work which Jeffreys ⁴⁾ inadvertently plagiarised in his original opening. The original version, which is shown in Example 31, ⁵⁾ differs in only minor detail from the revised working, and it is difficult to see how such minor alterations could have made any significant difference.

Quite apart from its arresting opening, the C major Jubilate has several points of interest, not least of which is the harmonic structure of the work. The tonal centre is

1) The direction "piano" is rather odd. The high tessitura of the soprano parts, the breaking of "altissimis" by a rest, and the chromaticism all suggest a wild unleashing of joy which is at variance with Jeffreys' dynamic indication.

2) Vol.II, p.363.

3) Though not published until 1641, the work was almost certainly written considerably earlier.

4) The first eleven bars are rejected in favour of a re-working. Jeffreys adds a note: "I, having heard something too near this since I made it, have made some Alterations according to the beginning of this Paper".

5) Vol.III, p.704.

firmly established in the first twelve bars, and thereafter excursions to the relative minor, subdominant and dominant serve to emphasise the importance of the tonic key to which the music must inevitably return. Throughout the first twenty one bars the texture is almost entirely homophonic: where imitation does take place the voices move in pairs, and it is not until the second half of the opening section that all four parts are drawn into fugal imitation. After a characteristic bass solo with several wide leaps and decorative runs, the chorus returns at bar 51 with a brief homophonic passage in which the harmonic movement perfectly conveys the words "quoniam suavis est Dominus". The homophonic texture, however, soon gives way again to polyphonic imitation, and the music gently unwinds into a decorated plagal cadence which is not unlike the closing bars of the first, third and fourth C major string fantasias.

1)
The five-part Gloria is equally indebted to the early Italian baroque, but is conceived on a much larger scale than the C major Jubilate. The Gloria begins with a monody for solo tenor (significantly, there is no plainsong intonation), and this leads into a trio for soprano, tenor and bass at "Laudamus te". Throughout this opening section there is a feeling of dramatic growth arising from the careful control of texture: the solo line is taken over by homophonic three-part writing at bar 21, and this eventually leads to canonic imitation at bar 30. With the first entry of the chorus at bar 60 the homophonic style returns: in richly spaced chords

1) Vol.II, p.391.

the chorus majestically declaims the words "Domine Deus, Rex caelestis". After a cadence in F major, a new imitative point is introduced at bar 72; this is shared between the three lower voices, is answered madrigalian-style by the two sopranos and tenors, and finally leads to a full five-part texture as the cadence is approached. Thus, over the first eighty five bars the music has developed from monody to five-part choral polyphony without once repeating any of the five kinds of texture.

A similar pattern is followed in the middle section. An expressive monody for solo soprano is followed at bar 107 by a brief homophonic passage for chorus, and this leads to a polyphonic texture full of characteristic passing dissonance at the words "miserere nobis".

The final section begins with a duet for soprano and tenor who answer each other in short, imitative phrases, and then sing together in tenths at "cum Sancto Spiritu". Their words are echoed by the chorus, which once again begins homophonically but breaks into imitation at bar 174.

Despite the somewhat abrupt ending which, on musical grounds at least, seems to require a polyphonic Amen to fully re-establish the G minor tonality, the work is a remarkable achievement. Perhaps more than any of the other large scale sacred compositions, it reveals Jeffreys' fine dramatic sense, his imaginative control of structure, and the assurance with which he had assimilated Italian techniques.

By comparison, the complete Morning and Evening Services are much more restrained. This is hardly surprising in view

of the fact that they are basically functional works which are part of the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer. As such, there is no room in them for subjective expression; their purpose is to contribute to a ritual act of devotion. Nevertheless, each setting from the two Services has some point of interest. The opening of the Venite, shown in Example 24,¹⁾ has great rhythmic energy; like the opening of the Te Deum,²⁾ the music grows from a single vocal line to a homophonic four-part texture in which the words are rapidly declaimed with an almost total absence of melismatic elaboration. The opening bars of the Jubilate Deo³⁾ are very similar in this respect, and waste no time in moving from D major to a cadence in F sharp major at "laetitia". Not every setting from the Morning Service deals out the words at this rapid pace. There are moments of repose, of reflection on the deeper significance of a part of the text, or of realistic description. Such a passage occurs in the Credo with the unexpected harmonic progressions and passing dissonances of the "Crucifixus";⁴⁾ another is the majestic "Sanctus" in the Te Deum.⁵⁾

The Venite, Te Deum, Jubilate Deo, Credo, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis appear together in RCM 920, where they are numbered 1-6. Both Services are in D. The Jubilate, Credo and Te Deum are also found in the incomplete set of part-books,

1) Vol.III, p.692.

2) Vol.III, p.694.

3) Vol.III, p.696.

4) Vol.III, p.698.

5) Vol.III, p.695.

Add 30829, 30830 and 17816, where they are wanting the highest part. The Te Deum only is included in the score-book; beside it appears the date 1649. In view of the close thematic relationships - most apparent if we compare the opening of the Magnificat¹⁾ with that of the Nunc Dimittis²⁾ - it seems probable that all six settings date from that year. If they lack the melodic inventiveness and imaginative harmonic resource of the devotional songs written at about the same time, they are nevertheless thoroughly workmanlike and admirably fulfill their liturgical purpose.

Viewed as a whole, Jeffreys' Latin sacred music is surprisingly consistent in quality. While there is nothing to approach the highly personal idiom of his English verse-anthems, at the same time there are no entirely dull works or experiments that failed to come off. A handful of pieces - the two motets for solo bass, the dialogue Heu me miseram, the devotional song Timor et tremor, the paired motets O Domine Deus and O Deus meus - are, in their way, miniature masterpieces. The rest of the music may not be on this level, but it achieves a richness of expression which is by no means outshone by the Italian composers from whom Jeffreys took inspiration.

1) Vol.III, p.701.

2) Vol.III, p.702.

6. THE ENGLISH CHURCH MUSIC

Jeffreys' English church music is very much smaller in quantity than his sacred music to Latin texts. Whereas the latter totals more than seventy separate compositions, there are less than half that number of English anthems and devotional songs. Not all of these appear in Add 10338. Four of the anthems are found only in the part-books, which suggests that they were written after 1669 when the score-book was completed. One of them, the four-part anthem He beheld the city, is dated 1675 in RCM 920A which is the only source. If this date refers to the year of composition rather than the year it was copied into the part-books - and there is no reason to suppose otherwise - it seems probable that the other three anthems, Awake, my soul, Great and marvellous are thy works, and How wretched is the state, also date from the 1670s. On stylistic grounds we may assume that all four works were written at about the same time: each has a quiet dignity quite uncharacteristic of the music Jeffreys wrote during the Commonwealth and early years of the Restoration. In their direct simplicity and harmonic restraint these anthems are curiously archaic: which suggests that, towards the end of his life, Jeffreys deliberately returned to a style which had long passed out of fashion. There is no longer any hint of the violent chromaticism found in

anthems like In the midst of life,¹⁾ and it is as though Jeffreys were expressing a personal sorrow at the passing of an age greater spiritual belief and moral values.

One further composition is omitted from the score-book. This is the five-part anthem for the Circumcision, Almighty God, who mad'st thy blessed Son, which must also have been written after 1669. Unfortunately, the only source is the incomplete set of part-books, Add 30829, 30830 and 17816, which gives only the alto, tenor and bass parts. From these it is clear that the work belongs to the series of five-part anthems which reflect on events in the Christian²⁾ year from the Nativity to the Feast of Pentecost. Both the words and music are stylistically very like the other anthems in the set; significantly, all the others are also included in these part-books, so we may assume that Almighty God was the last to be written and that the missing parts are the two highest voices and the basso continuo. The last anthem in the set, A music strange, contains a passage for instruments alone. This is added in the margin in the score-book.³⁾ The cramped manuscripts suggests that the passage was added as an afterthought, but it is unlikely that Jeffreys would have inserted it unless instruments were already being used to double the voice parts. If the anthems were indeed

1) The anthem is dated October 1657.

2) The complete cycle comprises eight anthems. At the head of each Jeffreys indicates the occasion for which the work is intended. The events which are celebrated are: the Nativity, the slaying of the Blessed Innocents, the Epiphany, the Circumcision (complete music not extant), the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, the Ascension and Whitsunday.

3) Add 30829, 30830 and 17816 have corresponding rests, but the instrumental parts are not written out.

conceived as a cycle - and the uniformity of style, structure and scoring suggests that they were - there can be little doubt that strings were intended to double the voice parts in the 'full' sections of all eight works.

As with the Latin sacred music, the English church music can be divided into a number of broad categories. First of all there are the twelve devotional songs for one, two and three voices; in style and structure these closely resemble the Latin sacred songs. All but two of them are for three voices. Secondly, there are the four-part anthems, eight in all, which were written between 1648 and 1675. As might be expected, these anthems, composed over a period of almost thirty years, vary considerably in style. The earlier ones closely approach the style and technique of the four-part Latin motets, while the later ones have great emotional restraint and an almost total absence of dramatic gesture in their dignified melodic lines and austere harmonic idiom.¹⁾ Thirdly, there are the five-part verse-anthems which, in their dramatic conception and their originality of harmony and texture, represent Jeffreys' most individual achievement. Lastly, there is the liturgical music which comprises a three-part Gloria "composed at Peter Gunning's motion" and the Gloria and Responses for the Communion Service.

While the Latin sacred music is remarkably consistent in quality, the same cannot be said of the English church music.

1) This ultimate rejection of Italian techniques has an interesting parallel in Schütz who, like Jeffreys, was greatly influenced by Italian composers during the earlier part of his life.

The best pieces surpass any of the Latin settings and reveal how Jeffreys' readiness for experiment eventually led to a highly personal style which has no precedent in either English or Italian music. At the other extreme are a number of conventional settings, most of which are competent but very dull. Somewhere between come a handful of works which are considerably more ambitious but which, for one reason or another, do not entirely succeed. The anthem "for the Blessed Innocents", Busy time this day,¹⁾ is just such a work: the music fails to sustain interest for any length of time, due largely to the unsatisfactory harmonic rhythm and the awkwardness of some of the more chromatic progressions. Nevertheless, the anthem (which will later be discussed in more detail together with the others in the set) has many points of interest, not least of which is the curious text. Jeffreys' attempts to match the strange poetic images with equally unusual musical ideas results in a bewildering diffuseness of structure which entirely destroys the dramatic continuity. For this reason, the work must be regarded as an ambitious experiment that failed to come off.

The differences in style between the Latin and English settings arise in no small part from the nature of the language. Latin, which is much closer to Italian, not unnaturally led Jeffreys to experiment with Italian techniques. Quite apart from this, several of the texts he used had previously been set by Italian composers, and these works

1) Vol.II, p.545.

naturally served as models for his own settings. English, on the other hand, did not lend itself so readily to the declamatory techniques of early 17th century Italian monody; neither were there as many direct models from which Jeffreys could take inspiration. By 1648 when Jeffreys was living at Weldon there had, of course, been some attempt by English composers to write monodies in the Italian manner, and Jeffreys was not alone in using the secular declamatory style in settings of sacred English texts. As we have already seen in Chapter 1, the verse-anthems of William Lawes show very clearly the extent of this secular influence, and the bass solo from the anthem O God my strength¹⁾ is remarkably like Jeffreys in its vivid, if occasionally naive, musical representation of the words and in the virtuoso use of the bass voice.

Parallels are also to be found between Jeffreys' English devotional songs for two and three voices with basso continuo and the psalm settings in secular declamatory style by William Child and the brothers Lawes. As Murray Lefkowitz has shown, the psalm settings by William and Henry Lawes, published in 1648 under the title Choice Psalmes, were almost certainly written several years before William's death in 1645, and probably date from c. 1637-8.²⁾ In his dedicatory preface Henry says: "I could not answer mine owne Conscience (most

1) Ch Ch 768, 769, 770. The manuscript is discussed on p.47.

2) Lefkowitz, William Lawes (London, 1960), p.237. For a further discussion of Lawes' Choice Psalmes and Child's Psalmes of three Voyces see above, p.44.

Gracious Sovereigne) should I dedicate these Compositions to any but Your Majestie. They were born and nourish'd in Your Majestie's service, and long since design'd (such as they are) an Offering to Your Royall hand".

As a result of his connection with the King's Court, it is possible that Jeffreys was already familiar with some of these settings even before their publication. Certainly, there are obvious similarities between Jeffreys' devotional songs and the more mournful psalm settings by William Lawes. Both composers employ fugato imitations, both show a pre-occupation with affective melodic writing and dissonant chromaticism, both place equal emphasis on horizontal and vertical word-painting, and both were drawn to texts which enabled them to exploit these techniques for dramatic purposes.

Even so, Jeffreys' English devotional songs lack the dramatic realism and passionate intensity of his Latin settings. The affective power of the declamation is tempered to some extent by a greater emphasis on melodic lyricism. This is clearly evident if we compare the Latin motets for solo bass with the solo motet Praise the Lord, O my soul.¹⁾ While the former exploit to the full the virtuoso technique of the singer, Praise the Lord has a comparative absence of decorative runs, and the wide leaps are always contained within the lyrical flow of the melodic line. This is not to suggest that declamatory principles are in any way absent: the phrase "and spreadest out the heavens like a curtain"

1) Vol.II, p.428.

(bars 32-39) is certainly comparable with anything in the two Latin solo motets, but the effect is very much less dramatic because the work contains no real rhythmic or thematic contrast and there is very little variety in the melodic figuration. Unlike O quam suave, the underlay is almost entirely syllabic until the closing Alleluia section, and the sequential repetitions are so predictable as to become almost tedious. While sequence plays an important part in Speciosus forma, the harmonic structure of the work ensures that there is a feeling of growth towards the climax. Here the tonality is too much tied to F major: having established the tonal centre over the first twenty two bars, the music could well have moved away from it at this point. This it begins to do, but returns rather weakly with another F major cadence at bar 28. Even after this the music remains firmly centred around the tonic key and its relative minor, not moving to the subdominant until bar 40. The result of this is that no element of harmonic surprise exists, and we are left with nothing but the melodic interest of the vocal line. Jeffreys' setting for three voices of the first part of this text - the words are from Psalm 104 - is very much more successful. The individual melodic lines are again rather more lyrical than is generally the case in the Latin settings, but the harmonic structure of the work is more adventurous and dramatic tension is achieved through contrasts of texture, as can be seen from the short extract shown in Example 52.¹⁾

1) Vol.III, p.739.

The textural variety that is possible with two or more voices contributes in no small part to the success of the duet for two basses, With notes that are both loud and sweet.¹⁾ Throughout the work, climaxes are reached by bringing the imitative entries closer together, and the music is swept onward by the passionate lyricism of the vocal lines and the strong tonal direction of the underlying harmony. The poem, which is concerned with Christ's triumphal entry into heaven, expresses universal joy at the Ascension. Its literary quality may not be on the same level as the psalm text Jeffreys set for solo bass, but the words clearly provided much greater inspiration. The melodic lines, at once noble and tender, are very much more memorable and achieve a perfect balance between declamation and song.

The same cannot be said of the three-part devotional song for the Epiphany, Brightest sun.²⁾ The opening tenor solo, shown in Example 44, has neither affective intensity nor any very strong melodic interest, while the crude pictorial representation of the words "we prostrate at his feet" in the following extract (Example 45)³⁾ sounds unfortunately humorous where humour is certainly not intended. The song is exceptional in that it is the only religious poem (as opposed to a biblical text or free paraphrase of a psalm) which failed to inspire Jeffreys to rise above the conventional. His preference for religious poetry in the five-part verse-anthems is largely

1) Vol.II, p.436.

2) Vol.III, p.725.

3) Vol.III, p.726.

responsible for the highly personal style of the music, for in these devotional verses he found an expression of individual religious experience.

Though the text is less subjective, the tripartite song See, see, the Word is incarnate is much more characteristic¹⁾ of Jeffreys' mature music. The passage shown in Example 46 develops a succession of melodic fragments, each of which perfectly matches the words, to a climax in which the tripla rhythm transforms the character of the music as completely as the miracles have relieved the suffering of the cripples and the blind. The second part of the song, The Paschal Lamb, is no less vivid in its musical images, whether in the bold dissonances of the first extract (Example 47)²⁾ or the dramatic declamation of the bass solo shown in Example 48.³⁾ Even when setting the phrase "Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord" in the third part of the song (Example⁴⁾ 49), Jeffreys does not entirely relinquish the chromatic dissonance of the earlier passages, and the final victory in which "Christ's kingdom is exalted and heaven laid open to sinners" looks back to the suffering by which it has been won.

The remainder of the three-part devotional songs are all settings of psalms. Each begins with a series of fugal imitations in which there is a marked absence of dramatic declamation or harmonic dissonance. The opening of Hear

1) Vol.III, p.728.

2) Vol.III, p.731.

3) Vol.III, p.732.

4) Vol.III, p.733.

1)
my prayer - the words are from Psalm 39 - is typical in this respect. The melodic lines and the harmony which supports them could hardly be more simple or more lacking in emotional intensity. This, however, is merely the starting point, and the song develops from the quiet dignity of its opening to an impassioned cry for help. The way in which Jeffreys controls the dramatic growth of this song is remarkable: over the first forty four bars the compass of the individual melodic lines becomes increasingly wider and the harmony gradually more chromatic. It is the tonal structure of the work, however, which is most remarkable. Up to this point the music has centred firmly around C major, reaching to the relative minor and finally moving to a cadence in the subdominant at bar 44. A new melodic figure, rising chromatically through a fourth, is immediately introduced and is treated in close imitation between the three voices. The rapid harmonic changes which occur now break down the tonal stability of the earlier section, and the key centre becomes ambiguous, the presence of both flat and natural thirds suggesting a dichotomy between the major and minor mode. Almost at once the music begins to move towards E flat - the relative key of C minor - and the minor mode thus dominates the major as the music twists back to a cadence in the tonic at bar 60.

The second half of the song begins as unambiguously in the key of C minor as the first half had begun in C major.

1) Vol.II, p.452.

For some time the tonic minor continues to assert itself until, after a cadence in the dominant at bar 82, the music begins to move back to C major by way of F and D minor. The passage is one of considerable beauty, not only because of its gradual and subtle reassertion of the major mode but also because of the tender lyricism of the melodic lines and the expressive passing dissonances.

The progression from major to tonic minor is by no means peculiar to this song. We have already seen in Chapter 3 how a similar tonal structure is followed in the three-part continuo madrigal Felici Pastorelle, and there are further instances to be found in the Latin devotional songs. But perhaps the most notable example occurs in the four-part anthem What praise can reach thy clemency?. The anthem, which is dated 1665 in the score book,¹⁾ begins in D major and has a key signature of two sharps. After a D major cadence at the end of the first section (see Example 55)²⁾ there is a double bar line, at which point the sharps are cancelled and a new key signature of one flat inserted. The whole of the following section is in D minor, the original key signature being restored at the words "The grave cannot thy praise relate".

1) The manuscript in Add 10338 is unusually untidy. At the top of the first page is a note in Jeffreys' hand: "This song being blotted and Altered I have transposed into my other Score Booke 1665". The "score booke" to which he refers is in all probability the incomplete set of part-books, Add 30829, 30830 and 17816, for this is the only other extant source. While it would be wrong to attach too much significance to the phrase "score booke", it is nevertheless quite possible that Add 10338 was not the only autograph manuscript written in score: elsewhere, Jeffreys talks of "my other bookes" (plural) when referring to a set of part-books. If a second score-book did in fact exist it would account for the omission from Add 10338 of certain anthems found only in the RCM part-books; any such score-book, however, has since been lost.

2) Vol.III, p.744.

Like the three-part setting of Psalm 39 discussed above, O sing unto the Lord¹⁾ - also for two tenors and bass - has little melodic or harmonic interest in its opening section: the style is jubilant and solid, the rhythmic phrases square and the harmony entirely diatonic. The music does not break away from the tonal centre of C major until the introduction of a new fugal point at bar 23, and after passing from A minor to D minor it returns to the tonic key at bar 39. Despite the rather naive musical representation of the words "his anger endures but a moment", the passage between bars 40 and 53 contains more than a hint of the chromaticism to come, and this eventually leads to a more characteristically dissonant passage (bars 64 to 69) in which the affective melodic writing is wholly appropriate to the emotional mood of the words. The remainder of the text poses a problem which Jeffreys did not resolve as successfully as he might: the last line contains two antithetical ideas, both of which require quite extensive musical elaboration if the song is to make its dramatic point. The first of these, "weeping may endure for a night", is unfortunately rather more convincingly projected into the music than the second, and the joy which "cometh in the morning" does not entirely dispel the mood of the previous phrase. The passage provides yet another example of how Jeffreys, like most of his contemporaries, is much more successful when portraying grief than when expressing joy. This can be seen again in the extract from Turn thou

1) Vol.II, p.461.

us, O good Lord shown in Example 53,¹⁾ which is perhaps one of the most deeply felt passages of its kind in his work.

In the end, however, it is the character and dramatic power of the melodic lines themselves which are of prime importance, and in this respect the three-part Unto thee, O Lord is much more successful. The closing section of the work, shown in Example 50,²⁾ is typical of the affective melodic writing in this song, and the expressive harmonic dissonances of the final bars are immediately continued into the opening of the second part, Show me thy ways, O Lord³⁾ (see Example 51).

One further three-part setting remains for discussion. This is the 'Morning Hymn'⁴⁾ composed in May 1652 at the request of Peter Gunning,⁵⁾ rector of the nearby parish of Stoke until his death in 1669. The invitation to write this Gloria may well have resulted from a performance of Jeffreys' music which Gunning heard when visiting Weldon. If this is the case, one wonders whether the work came up to Gunning's expectations, for it is very different to the other music Jeffreys was writing at this time. It is certainly quite unlike the devotional songs for three voices discussed above, and more properly falls into the category of liturgical music.

1) Vol.III, p.740.

2) Vol.III, p.734.

3) Vol.III, p.737.

4) Vol.II, p.470.

5) In Add 10338 Jeffreys adds a note: "Composed at Mr Peter Gunning's Motion, May 1652".

Jeffreys does not seem to have approached these purely functional settings with any great enthusiasm. Like the Communion Service, this three-part Gloria gives the impression of having been dashed off hurriedly, either because it was needed immediately or, more probably, because Jeffreys was loath to spend time on music in which he could not apply the affective principles of secular monody. Nevertheless, he thought highly enough of the work to make subsequent revisions, and the version in the RCM part-books differs in substantial detail from the original score-book version: there are several rhythmic alterations, a cadential contraction (bar 16), and the Amen is omitted.

The setting shows great emotional restraint and an almost total absence of dramatic realism. The words are declaimed rapidly, with very little repetition of verbal phrases and almost no melismatic elaboration. At no point is there any real attempt at word-painting, and the objective nature of the setting allows no opportunity for musical reflection on a particular part of the text. Unlike most of the three-part devotional songs, the work is not based on a succession of fugal points but uses imitation more freely: sometimes an imitative figure is briefly taken up by all three voices (e.g. bars 12 to 13 and 17 to 18); more often a melodic phrase introduced by one voice is immediately answered by the others singing together in thirds (bars 1, 20, 45, 55, 60 and 66). This technique, which might be

described as 'voice leading',¹⁾ has the effect of focussing attention on the leading voice - usually the highest part - while the others provide harmonic support. Thus, although the texture remains basically imitative, an impression of homophony is given.

But while this three-part Gloria is apparently more homophonic than the devotional songs for three voices, it is here that its weakness lies. The work falls between two stools: it is neither direct enough for the words to be clearly intelligible nor elaborate enough to enable the music to recreate them in its own terms. Fortunately, the four-part Gloria from the Communion Service²⁾ avoids this problem by resisting polyphonic imitation altogether. The setting is entirely homophonic, though the technique of 'voice leading' is again used (bars 9 to 13), and the underlay is predominantly syllabic. As in the three-part setting, Jeffreys does not handle the latter part of the text as convincingly as he might. The phrases "thou that takest away the sins of the world" (bars 36 to 38 and 42 to 44) and "thou that sittest at the right hand of God" (bars 46 to 49) are too much alike in melodic shape and texture to sustain interest, and the harmonic shift from D minor to F at bar 36

1) The technique was by no means new in the 17th century, and had been used by 16th century composers to concentrate attention on one of the voices, thereby introducing variety into the polyphonic texture. The device is particularly common in Tallis, and is used to great dramatic effect in the first set of Lamentations at the words "Jerusalem, convertare ad Dominum tuum". The eventual submission of imitative polyphony to the chordal style of the early baroque is also anticipated in the madrigals of Wert; his setting a 5 of Ah, dolente partita develops this 'voice leading' technique so that the texture amounts in effect to a solo declamatory line supported by the four lower voices.

2) Vol. II, p. 479.

followed by an almost identical D minor cadence four bars later is, to say the least, rather tame. But if we are looking for dramatic gesture, we shall certainly not find it in these liturgical settings - or, for that matter, in Services by any of Jeffreys' contemporaries. Their very nature precludes subjective expression or personal involvement.

The four-part anthems written between 1648 and 1665, on the other hand, reveal a much more individual style and readiness for harmonic experiment. We have already quoted an extract from the Communion anthem Turn thou us, O good Lord (Example 53) in which chromatic dissonance and agonised suspensions vividly recreate the passionate sorrow of the words; but the most extreme chromaticism occurs in the Burial anthem In the midst of life.¹⁾ This anthem, written in October 1657, is of particular interest. The manuscript in the score-book is uncharacteristically faint and spidery, with several large ink blots and much crossing out. A note in Jeffreys' hand, evidently written at a later date, reads: "This song being blotted I have transposed to my other booke". At the end is another note: "Made in the time of my sickness, Octob. 1657". We do not know the nature of this illness, for it is not mentioned in any of Jeffreys' letters. The feeble handwriting, however, indicates how weak he must have been; not even in old age when he was suffering from his last illness did his handwriting deteriorate to this extent.

1) Vol.II, p.508.

Evidently, Jeffreys believed he was on the point of death when he composed this anthem, and this would account for the highly subjective treatment of the text.

The anthem begins with a sombre statement of the opening line, the three lower voices supporting the alto in closely spaced block harmonies. At bar 3 the chordal texture breaks momentarily into imitation, and a single suspended seventh hints at the dissonance to come. The first five bars are now repeated in modified form, moving towards a major triad on A and introducing much greater passing dissonance. At bar 10 a new, declamatory phrase is introduced by the alto, and this is taken up and developed by the other voices until a cadence on the dominant is reached at bar 20. So far, the mood has been sombre and dignified; but at this point there begins a violently chromatic progression which temporarily rocks the tonal stability of the work. At the words "who for our sins" the music instantly rejects the key of G minor in favour of a B major triad and, in the space of thirteen bars, moves in chromatically ascending melodic lines through E minor and C minor to return to the tonic key at bar 32. Throughout this passage it is no longer possible to recognise any firm tonal centre: the music vividly enacts the emotional sense of the words, losing sight of its tonality just as we through our sins have lost sight of God.

The short tripla passage which follows restores the G minor tonality - and appropriately so, for the remainder of the text is concerned with God's mercy. Thus, the lyricism of the tripla passage is continued into the imitative melodic

phrases of the following section, and the chromatic dissonance at the words "bitter pains of eternal death" (bars 50 to 67) is now soothing rather than disturbing, suggesting at the same time release from physical consciousness and quiet confidence in the power of faith to overcome death. The gentle lyricism is finally taken up in the Alleluia coda, which must be seen as a consummation of the entire work. Unlike a great many Restoration anthems, where a conventionally jubilant Alleluia is appended for no other reason than the demands of fashion,¹⁾ this Alleluia is an integral part of the piece. As so often in Jeffreys' work, the dramatic growth of the music reaches its emotional climax in the coda. Here, the words - such as they are - are irrelevant: the music now takes over and becomes the sole means of expression. We shall see this happen again in the Alleluia codas to some of the five-part verse-anthems, perhaps nowhere more effectively than in the anthem for Whitsunday, A music strange.

Before going on to consider the later anthems of four parts, we must in passing mention the anthem Turn thee again. Written in 1648, it is the earliest sacred setting by Jeffreys to which a date is attached, and must have been composed very shortly after he moved to Weldon. The anthem is of interest

1) How widespread was the Restoration practice of ending with a lively passage in triple time is indicated by Purcell's frequent habit of finishing an anthem in this way even when there is no Alleluia. The final section of the verse-anthem Jehova quam multi, for example, makes a disappointing emotional anti-climax to the work; the same must also be said of the concluding tripla section in Let mine eyes run down.

because it is one of the first works to employ a technique which Jeffreys later developed and used on a number of occasions. This is the practice of playing off against each other two contrasted thematic motives derived from separate phrases of the text. In his more mature music, the effect of this is often highly dramatic: quite lengthy passages are based on two complementary melodic fragments which are thrown against each other and developed simultaneously. Perhaps the most striking example occurs in the final 'full' section of A music strange, where a florid scalewise figure is set against jagged leaps of tenths. In Turn thee again this technique can be seen in embryo: the extract shown in Example 54¹⁾ is built out of two contrasted ideas, the first moving in long notes confined within the interval of a fourth, the second rhythmically more active and falling through a sixth or seventh. Furthermore, the texture of the first phrase is homophonic, that of the second imitative. Once the imitation is under way, a fragment from the first phrase, now in diminution, is introduced against it, thereby giving greater coherence to the musical structure.

By contrast with the anthems composed between 1648 and 1669, those written in the 1670s show little interest in the secular declamatory style and little readiness for further harmonic experiment. It is as though Jeffreys had finally assimilated Italian techniques and no longer needed to learn

1) Vol.III, p.742.

by imitation. It is still possible to detect Italian influence,¹⁾ but the general style of these anthems is for the most part deliberately archaic, evoking memories of an age that had finally past beyond recall. The passionately sombre How wretched is the state,²⁾ for example, is at times reminiscent of Tomkins, while the opening bars of He beheld the city³⁾ are very like the beginning of Tomkins' When David heard.⁴⁾ Indeed, the similarity is striking if we compare the way in which both composers set the words "and wept".

The emotional restraint of He beheld the city is markedly apparent if we compare the anthem with the earlier Latin setting for three voices. The devotional song Visa urbe⁵⁾ - the text is again Luke 19, verses 41 and 42 - begins dramatically, the affective melodic writing leading immediately to vertical harmonic dissonance as the voices come together at the fifth bar. But the deepfelt sorrow of the four-part setting is conspicuously absent from the earlier work: as the dramatic intensity grows, the music becomes more objectively theatrical and less a personal expression of grief. He beheld the city, on the other hand, does not indulge in emotional extravagance; at no point

1) The Italian influence is most apparent in the anthem How wretched is the state (Vol.II, p.499) where the setting of the words "O weep" in the soprano part (bars 51 to 54) is still bound by affective principles.

2) Vol.II, p.499.

3) Vol.II, p.489; the edition is published by Novello in the 'Musical Times' series (London, 1969).

4) Songs of 3, 4, 5 and 6 parts (1622)

5) The opening is shown in Example 19, Vol.III, p.685.

does the music move away from the solemn dignity of its opening bars. Subjective passion is regulated by the simplicity and directness of the melodic lines and harmonic resource: but its very restraint makes the work all the more moving.

Jeffreys' choice of texts in these late anthems is perhaps significant. Both He beheld the city and How wretched is the state lament the sins of mankind and seem to comment on the moral attitudes of contemporary Restoration society. This may account for his choosing to return to a style which had long since passed out of fashion - a style more closely associated with Tomkins and his less progressive contemporaries.

In this ultimate rejection of the contemporary world, Jeffreys has something in common with the poet Henry Vaughan; indeed, it is possible to draw a number of parallels between the two men. Like Jeffreys, Vaughan withdrew from a cultural centre shortly before the Commonwealth: he left London in 1642, having previously been at Oxford,¹⁾ and retired to Wales, where he lived in relative obscurity, virtually unknown to the world of English letters. During this time, he remained like Jeffreys an ardent Royalist, and like Jeffreys his first religious work dates from the late 1640s. The

1) Although there is no record of his having been at Oxford, his twin brother Thomas was admitted to Jesus College on 4th May 1638. Henry was certainly known to Oxford literary circles, for he is mentioned briefly in Anthony Wood's Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis (1674) and again in the 1721 edition of Wood's Athenae Oxoniensis.

religious poems in Silex Scintillans Part I (1650)¹⁾ were almost certainly all written following his much discussed 'conversion' around the year 1648; strangely enough, this was also the year of Jeffreys' first sacred composition.

The similarities between Vaughan and Jeffreys do not end here. Their years of greatest creative activity cover more or less the same period from the mid 1640s to the mid 1670s, and both men suffered neglect in their lifetime because their work was too individual to appeal to a wide audience. It is therefore not surprising to find that the religious poems Jeffreys chose to set in his five-part verse-anthems are in style, if not in quality, not unlike the work of Vaughan. In only one case is the identity of the poet known: this is the anthem "for the Resurrection of our Blessed Saviour", Rise heart, thy Lord is risen, the words of which are by George Herbert.²⁾ Compared with the other poems Jeffreys set in the series of five-part anthems reflecting on events in the Christian year, Rise heart has a much stronger intellectual appeal arising from its rhythmic subtlety and structural perfection. Feeling and thought have been refined and "purified of extravagance before receiving the discipline of poetic expression"³⁾. As a result, the

1) See The Complete Poetry of Henry Vaughan, ed. French Fogle (New York, 1964), which also contains an essay on Vaughan's work and a chronology of his life.

2) Herbert's poem Easter was published in 1633, the year of his death, in The Temple, subtitled 'Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations'. The standard edition of Herbert's poetry is by F.E. Hutchinson (Oxford, 1641); this contains an admirable commentary on The Temple. There is also a valuable essay on Herbert by Helen Gardner in her edition for 'The World Classics' series (London, 1961).

3) Helen Gardner, op. cit., p.xix.

music is very much more conventional than in some of the other anthems, and lacks the imaginative harmonic resource of settings like Whisper it easily and A music strange. These two poems, together with Look up, all eyes and Busy time this day, are only superficially reminiscent of Herbert: they lack the delicacy and intellectual discipline which characterises Herbert's poetry, and in this respect are closer to the work of his disciple Henry Vaughan. But even Vaughan's complex imagery and essential simplicity of statement cannot really be compared with the spontaneous language and undisciplined extravagance of poems like Look up, all eyes. We can only conclude that these poems were the work of an amateur, possibly Jeffreys himself. At any rate, they inspired Jeffreys to write his most individual music, and their very lack of refinement provided the ideal stimulus for his creative imagination.

The five-part anthems appear together at the end of Add 10338, where they follow the five-part Latin Gloria and the motet Bone Jesu. The order in which they were written out provides further evidence that they were conceived as a cycle: the first anthem is Hark, shepherd swains "for the Nativity of our most Blessed Saviour"; this is followed by the anthem for the Blessed Innocents, the anthem for the Epiphany, and the anthems on the Passion, Resurrection and Ascension. The sequence is then interrupted by the five-part anthem The Lord in thy adversity - the words are a verse paraphrase of Psalm 20 - and the six-part Latin motet Hosanna filio David. The final work is the anthem for Whitsunday, A music strange. This misplacing of the Whitsunday anthem suggests that it was written some time after the others in the cycle. Throughout

the score-book, Jeffreys is consistent in grouping together works for the same number of voices, a fact confirmed by his earlier margin note, "Mind that ... others of these 3 parts are placed next the songs of one voice for want of roome".

The only other source for these five-part anthems is the incomplete set of part-books, Add 30829, 30830 and 17816. It is unfortunate that the two soprano books are missing, for the set contains one further anthem not included in Add 10338. This is the anthem for the Circumcision, Almighty God, who mad'st thy blessed son. Its omission from the score-book suggests that it was written some time after the others, and almost certainly after 1669 which is the date added at the end of A music strange. This evidence is not conclusive, however, for only two blank pages are left at the end of the score-book; if the anthem had been written at about the same time as A music strange, there would in any case have been insufficient room to include it.

With one exception, the anthems of five parts are all in verse form. The structure of The Lord in thy adversity is typical. The work begins with a chorus, followed by a duet for soprano and bass (Example 56)¹⁾ in which there is much greater emphasis on affective declamatory writing. After another brief five-part chorus, there follows a trio for soprano, tenor and bass (Example 57),²⁾ and the anthem ends with a final 'full' section. Example 58,³⁾ taken from the beginning of this chorus, shows how much less dramatic are the

1) Vol.III, p.747.

2) Vol.III, p.749.

3) Vol.III, p.750.

individual melodic lines within the five-part choral texture. Affective declamation, though never far beneath the surface, is no longer the predominant feature; instead, the music relies for its dramatic effect on contrasts of texture, firm harmonic direction, and incidental passing dissonance. These differences in style between the 'verse' and 'full' sections are even more apparent in the anthem for the Epiphany, Brightest of Days. The 'verse' for solo bass, part of which is shown in Example 59,¹⁾ has great affective power, and the inventive declamatory writing is in striking contrast to the less flamboyant style of the final chorus (see Example 60).²⁾

Though by no means the best of the set, the anthem for the Nativity, Hark, shepherd swains,³⁾ deserves closer examination. The poem is concerned with the joyful news of Christ's birth and with the tributes all must pay to "this new-born King so poorly dight in clothing mean".⁴⁾ Something of the joy experienced by the shepherds is immediately conveyed in the opening duet for two sopranos, who sing together in quickly moving quavers, first in thirds and then in close imitation as the music moves firmly towards the dominant. The excitement the shepherds feel is now emphasised by the sequential harmonic movement, pushing further to the

1) Vol.III, p.751.

2) Vol.III, p.753.

3) Vol.II, p.519.

4) The poem seems to have been of particular interest to E.T. Warren: the words are written out in his hand on the back of a letter which is gummed into Add 10338.

dominant side of the tonic key, and the music moves quickly from D to A to E before falling back to the subdominant (C major) at bar 18. During this time, the increasing excitement is also taken up in the melodic lines themselves, which here and there break into breathless semiquaver figures as though the singers' joy can no longer be contained in quaver movement alone.

The joyful mood of this duet is now intensified with the entry of the chorus: at the words "A Saviour, Christ the Lord" a rising melodic figure, first introduced in the alto at bar 22, is taken up by the other voices and developed in close imitation. After a cadence in the tonic (bar 32) a new point is introduced by the sopranos, and this becomes a pivot on which hinges the whole of the succeeding section. Against it, a rhythmically contrasted figure is heard in the bass part, and the two motives are thrown about from voice to voice and played off against each other during the next ten bars. We have already drawn attention to this technique which Jeffreys had first used in the anthem Turn thee again. Here the principle is developed so that quite lengthy passages are built out of contrasted but complementary musical ideas, the one acting as a foil to the other. In this way, Jeffreys is able to extend the dramatic growth of the music and give continuity to the thematic structure. But, quite apart from this, the thematic duality also makes a dramatic point: the poem is concerned with the dichotomy between the Christ-child's lowly birth and the honour due "a new-born King". Thus, the simultaneous development of contrasted melodic fragments, which occurs again at subsequent

points in the work, is a counterpoint of emotion as well as of thematic material.

We shall see this device used elsewhere in the other five-part anthems; in almost every case the effect is highly dramatic. Indeed, the only work which fails to make its dramatic point with any degree of success is the anthem "for the Blessed Innocents", Busy time this day,¹⁾ the opening of which is quoted by Peter le Huray and rightly criticised for its "lack of any regularly recurring pattern of harmonic change [which]²⁾ leads to unsatisfactory diffuseness of structure". The work is in no way typical of the five-part verse-anthems, and its failure to sustain interest for any length of time is due largely to Jeffreys' attempts to project the curious poetic images into the music. Thus, the diffuseness of the text is reflected in the setting, and the structural weaknesses are perhaps not entirely the composer's fault. Even so, one might have expected a more arresting opening than the one Jeffreys wrote: the thick, homophonic texture, stiff melodic lines and laboured harmonic movement are hardly appropriate to the sense of the words. Presumably, Jeffreys was trying to balance the first phrase with the second. If he had made too much of it, the dramatic effect of the second line might well have been lost. As it is, the "groans of infants slain" are surprisingly restrained and lacking in dramatic realism, and it is not until the final phrase of the opening section (bars 16 to 23) that the music begins to touch our

1) Vol.II, p.545.

2) Peter le Huray, Music and the Reformation in England (London, 1967), p.352.

emotions with any conviction.

What is lacking in the music so far is any feeling of dramatic growth, and this criticism must be applied to the anthem as a whole. There are several interesting moments later in the work, such as the passage for basses alone (bars 24 to 33), the strange, even awkward, harmonic progression in bars 36 to 38, the 'verse' for two sopranos and bass, and the expressive passing dissonances in the opening bars of the final 'full' section; but good as these ideas are in themselves, little attempt is made to connect them or to impose on the music a sense of dramatic continuity. Like the poem, the anthem jumps disconcertingly from one idea to the next in a manner quite uncharacteristic of Jeffreys' mature music.

By contrast, the four anthems remaining for discussion are each, in their way, undoubted masterpieces, and perfectly fulfill their musical and dramatic intentions. The reason for this must lie to some extent in the nature of the texts themselves, which offer enormous musical possibilities. Quite apart from this, Jeffreys found in them an expression of individual religious experience which inspired him in a way that no liturgical text had done. It is not so much that the poems depart from the conventional Christian attitude to the occasions they celebrate - though the Ascension poem Look up, all eyes is by no means orthodox in its interpretation of that event - as that the poetic expression is of a highly personal nature. Thus, the poem on the Passion, Whisper it easily, takes up the theme of guilt which we must share with those who crucified Jesus, and suggests that our grief and silence

"... is sin

And must prevail more than another nail".

The poem is based on a paradox. The Crucifixion is an event so dreadful that we dare not think of Christ's suffering, much less talk about it or

"... say abroad
Eternity his days hath told".

Jesus is dead; yet his death is a triumph in which we can share by joining in his funeral dirge and "filling the music with our confessions".

Despite their drawing on a wide source of biblical reference (references which were, of course, much more familiar to the 17th century Christian who read his bible daily), the poems have an immediacy arising from the simplicity of language and the realistic manner in which the poet addresses his audience. This can be seen in Whisper it easily, where lines such as

"Dead (not so loud),
Dead is the King of Glory"

suggest urgency through the conversational parenthesis. It is almost as though we are there, and the poet is not only able to talk directly to us but can sense our reactions to what he says. Sometimes, the effect of this can be quite dramatic: and perhaps nowhere more so than in the extraordinary poem on the Ascension, Look up, all eyes. Here the poet imagines that he is witnessing the body of Jesus ascending to heaven. He calls

to those who are with him, pointing to what he sees:

"Look up, all eyes, look up;
The earth is now a scorned thing,
Gone is the jewel of the ring".

At once the watchers are drawn into the action, and the scene is described in the form of a conversation between them:

"Have the stars knees? See, O see how they bow:
Some mighty peer travels the milky way.
The sun's at gaze, he's entertained
To welcome him with an encomium.
Why trembles he? Alas,
He's overcome with majesty,
Poor orator, and's dumb".

The poet's vision of Jesus "travelling the milky way" while the stars which line his path bow to him and the dumbfounded sun trembles before him is, to the modern mind, somewhat naive. But its naivete in no way destroys its dramatic power, and the essential simplicity of imagery and statement has an almost child-like innocence which, in itself, is extremely moving. Like the poem on the Passion, the work ends with an unexpected twist: even the angels are struck dumb as Jesus returns to heaven; how, then, can we sing his praise while

"Full to the brim with grief of losing him
Whom they have gained?"

This attitude towards the Ascension is at variance with the orthodox view of the church; traditionally, the Ascension is an occasion for joy. Herbert's Easter Day poem, Rise heart, is more conventional.

"Rise heart, thy Lord is risen. Sing his praise
Without delays,
Who takes thee by the hand, that thou likewise
With him may'st rise:
That, as his death calcined thee to dust,
His life may make thee gold and much more just."

The second stanza refers back to the Crucifixion.

"Awake, my lute, and struggle for thy part
With all thy art:
The Cross taught all wood to resound his name
Who bore the same;
His stretched sinews taught all strings what key
Is best to celebrate this most high day."

But if the 'message' of the poem is more commonplace, the means of poetic expression is certainly not. The subtle rhythmic structure and the aptness of the comparisons give the poem an intellectual appeal lacking in Whisper it easily and Look up, all eyes. At the same time, the verse is no less rich in imagery, and the poem is based on a chain of associated ideas, each of which grows naturally out of the last. Thus, in the first

stanza the Resurrection of the Body is linked with the uplifting of the human spirit - literally so, for Christ "takes us by the hand, that we may rise with him". But the Resurrection is inseparable from the Crucifixion, and the last two lines bring together the complementary opposites, Death and Life.

The idea of the Resurrection as an awakening from death is continued into the second stanza, where the first line, "Awake, my lute, and struggle for thy part", recalls both the Resurrection and the physical anguish of the Crucifixion. The metaphor is developed: the lute becomes the Cross, for both are made of wood; the strings become Christ's "stretched sinews"; and by contemplating the Crucifixion the musician learns how best "to celebrate this most high day".

This act of celebration is carried into the final stanza: but music cannot express the joy of the human spirit unless that joy has first been experienced by the heart. Thus, the poem refers back to the point where it began:

"Consort both heart and lute, and twist a song

Pleasant and long.

Or, since all music is but three parts vied

And multiplied,

O let thy blessed spirit bear a part

And make up our defects with his sweet art".

The superb naturalness and ease of Herbert's verse is, in a sense, a disadvantage to the composer, for the poem is

complete in itself and does not require musical elaboration. The poetic statement of A music strange, on the other hand, is more diffuse.

"A music strange

Full of delight and change

Steals to mine ear.

The noise is harsh: it is some drunkard's strain.

Say, men of Sion, say how can this be,

The day is yet but in her infancy?

Hark, 'tis ravishing,

As if a choir of nightingales should sing

Who should be lord of the spring or year.

No Babel's builders are alive again,

Shrunk, laid full low. Is that proud tower

Become the scorn of every shower?¹⁾

But the fair mount, framed by these men, shall rise

Whispering the skies.

O ye who love your lives, make haste and fly:

Another deluge comes, climb here or die."

The curious, at times obscure verbal images, and the undisciplined rhythm of the verse (the organisation of the line lengths is, of course, editorial) may seem unnatural when the words are read, but the poem provides a strong impulse for

1) The sense of this passage is not clear. The above punctuation seems the most reasonable interpretation, but a possible alternative is: "No, Babel's builders are alive again. Shrunk, laid full low is that proud tower become the scorn of every shower."

music. Almost every line suggests musical treatment - the "strange music, full of delight and change", the "harsh noise", the "drunkard's strain", the "ravishing sound, like a choir of nightingales", the tower of Babel, the "fair mount whispering the skies", the deluge from which we must "make haste and fly":¹⁾ but whereas these ideas appear disconnected in the poem, a sense of continuity is imposed when the words are set to music. As we shall see, this anthem is perhaps the finest of the set: the musical images perfectly match the words, and the work is almost symphonic in its structural and dramatic growth.

Before proceeding to an analysis of these four anthems, it is first necessary to comment on their relationship to each other. We have already drawn attention to the cyclic nature of the eight anthems reflecting on events in the Christian year, and when the music is performed liturgically it would, of course, be appropriate for each work to be heard on the day for which it was written. In concert performance, however, some of the anthems could well be grouped together. Though this was almost certainly never Jeffreys' intention, the anthems on the Passion, Resurrection and Ascension, and the anthem for Whitsunday stand together remarkably well. Not only is there an obvious continuity of subject matter, but there are also clear tonal relationships between the four works: the first and last anthems are in D minor, Rise heart in A minor (the dominant) and

1) Despite the apparent diffuseness of the biblical references, they are in fact closely related: the first six lines are based on Acts 2, vv 1 - 15 which refers back to the account in Genesis of the building of Babel and, by implication, to the Flood. The line "who should be lord of the spring or year" may refer to some secular rite; there seems to be no reference to it in biblical sources.

Look up, all eyes in G minor (the subdominant). While it would be fanciful to suggest that Jeffreys consciously planned the key structure in this way, it is nevertheless interesting that the four anthems stand together as related parts of a whole, in much the same way as the four movements of a symphony.

The anthem "on the Passion of our Blessed Saviour", Whisper¹⁾ it easily, begins with a texture that is basically chordal but also imitative. This makes an important dramatic point, suggesting that the statement of public sorrow is also an expression of personal grief. The point is further emphasised by the painful passing dissonances as the voices weave around each other: in bar 2 the entry of the second soprano forms a consonance with the other voices until, on the third beat, the outside parts move away from the A major triad, leaving the adjacent notes D, E and F to sound simultaneously. The dissonance increases as the other voices enter: in bar 3 the upward movement of the first soprano transforms the dominant chord into an augmented triad, and this is resolved not onto a consonance but another dissonance as the tenor and bass enter in the following bar.

The anguish grows and becomes more urgent. The cadence at bar 5 is immediately followed by an F major chord, and the highest voice now moves away through the sharp fourth (B natural), forming a tritone with the bass. A string of poignant suspensions (bars 8 to 10) leads eventually to a false relation (E to E flat) in bar 10, and the music finally comes to rest with a cadence at bar 12. The tonality is deliberately ambiguous. The

1) Vol.II, p.565.

general direction has been towards F major, but the false relation in bar 10 and the A flat in bar 11 suggest that it may, after all, be F minor.

Despite the harmonic dissonance, the music remains dignified. There are no wild histrionics; the passion is regulated by the stepwise movement of the melodic lines, the slow ceremonial rhythm and the thick five-part texture. With the introduction of the next phrase, the texture changes and the mood is instantly more urgent. The two sopranos, singing together in thirds, sorrowfully declaim the words "O be not bold", and this melodic fragment is later set against the second phrase, first heard in the bass. The two complementary ideas, the one an inversion of the other, are now developed side by side as the music builds once again to a full five-part texture, reaching a cadence in A major at bar 23. Now the music becomes almost theatrical in its dramatic realism. The basses sing the single word "Dead" and are echoed by altos and tenors; but the sopranos, again in thirds, interject as though in conversation "not so loud", and the sentence is completed with all five voices singing softly together. As though to emphasise the dramatic point, the phrase is repeated. This time the harmonic movement is more disjointed (C minor to A major at the words "Dead, dead") and the stability is further disturbed by the false relation at bar 29. But the most important statement is yet to come: despite our grief and natural reluctance to broadcast the news of Christ's death, silence is a greater sin. So, for the first time, the voices move together in complete rhythmic agreement; but the homophonic texture is still not free from dissonance and cannot easily shake off the mood of

grief. In the same way, the false relations in the passage between bars 47 and 50 belie the poetic statement: for although Christ's death is a triumph, he nevertheless suffered human pain.

The first 'full' section is brought to a conclusion with a sequential melodic phrase introduced by altos and tenors (bar 50) and echoed by the two sopranos. This is perhaps the only weak passage in the work; after a time the harmonic movement becomes so predictable that the emotional intensity begins to flag, and the music does not regain interest until the five-part texture is restored at the cadence.

The duet for soprano and bass is more dramatic. The affective declamatory writing perfectly matches the emotional content of the words, and the dotted rhythms and rapid decorative runs vividly enact the Gospel accounts of the darkness and rending of the temple. The violence is halted, however, with the return of the chorus: in chains of suspensions, altos and tenors sing that "the song was left imperfect"; and their song, too, is left incomplete with an unresolved suspension as the voices break off abruptly on weak beats of the bar. The falling melodic pattern is now inverted (" 'tis his will"), the five-part texture returns, and there is a broadening of the rhythmic movement as the music draws towards its final cadence. But even here the harmony is not free from dissonance. In making our confessions we recall the physical anguish which Christ suffered, and the suspensions and false relations look back to the harmonic idiom of the earlier part of the work.

Not the least impressive feature of Whisper it easily is its unusual structural organisation. The 'verse' for soprano

and bass is not related thematically to either of the 'full' sections, and the duet runs into the final chorus in a quite unorthodox but highly dramatic way. The Herbert setting, Rise heart, thy Lord is risen,¹⁾ is more conventional in this respect. The anthem begins with a duet for tenor and bass, followed by a chorus in which the last two lines of the 'verse'²⁾ are restated rather in the manner of Gibbons' verse-anthems. Though not an exact musical repetition of the 'verse', this chorus derives its thematic material from what has gone before and develops the musical ideas so that we may pause and reflect on the deeper significance of the words. The chorus is followed by a 'verse' for solo soprano which is complete in itself. The long, drawn out cadence (bars 62 to 65) makes it unnecessary for the chorus to restate the final couplet and enables the anthem to move on immediately to the words of the final stanza. Jeffreys' dramatic sense could not allow this to be otherwise: if he had repeated the last two lines of the second stanza, the entry of the chorus at "Consort both heart and lute" would have lost much of its dramatic force. As it is, the sudden change to a five-part homophonic texture carries the work forward and prepares the way for a more elaborate - and therefore dramatically static - treatment of the line "pleasant and long". Here, the expressive melodic lines ideally match the poetic statement, literally "twisting a song" as the voices weave around each other in sensuous passing dissonances. Having found this point of repose (which is of course, implicit

1) Vol.II, p.586.

2) A typical example is the well known This is the record of John.

in the poem), the music can again quicken pace and move on to the last part of the text. The trio for soprano, tenor and bass begins with a lively passage in which the close imitations and intricate cross-rhythms perfectly convey the sense of the words. But the busy activity is short lived: at bar 98 the music returns to the lyrical style of the preceding section, and the serenity of mood and texture is carried forward into the final chorus which elaborates the last two lines of the 'verse'.

While Herbert's poem does not offer the same dramatic possibilities as the others in the set, its structural perfection is reflected in the music. Like the poem, the anthem falls into three clearly defined sections, each of which follows on naturally from the last just as each poetic idea grows out of the opening line, "Rise heart, thy Lord is risen". Furthermore, the rhythm of the poetic thought is brought out in the musical design, and the balancing of 'verse' and 'full' sections is carefully controlled to emphasise the natural points of repose. Twice, the dramatic flow is interrupted while the chorus restates and elaborates the previous phrase; only once does the chorus move on immediately to the next line of the text, introducing entirely new musical material.

The Ascension anthem, Look up all eyes,¹⁾ could hardly follow this pattern. The poetic statement is more direct, reporting rather than reflecting on the event. The scene is described in the form of a conversation which is treated as a kind of choral dialogue. Unlike Whisper it easily, the text does not suggest use of solo voices, and any division into 'verse'

1) Vol.II, p.603; this is the only full anthem in the set.

and 'full would be quite inappropriate.

The anthem begins with the first sopranos alone, echoed a bar later by second sopranos and altos. The rising melodic phrase, leaping a minor sixth and continuing upward through the sharp third, is physically uplifting but also sorrowful: for in raising our eyes to watch the body of Jesus ascend to heaven we are immediately aware that he is leaving us. As the lower voices enter, the emotional intensity increases. At the same time, an element of dramatic realism is introduced; one by one the heads of the crowd are turned upwards until all eyes are fixed on the rising body. Slowly at first, then more rapidly, the message is passed on through the crowd. The entries get closer and closer and the cries become more urgent as the first note of the phrase is shortened to a crotchet. Soon the watchers turn to each other and comment on what they see. Uppermost in everyone's mind is the fact that Jesus has left them, but their words "The earth is now a scorned thing" are sung in pairs as though separate groups within the crowd engage in conversation.

Now the dialogue becomes more excited, the melodic phrases more fragmented. The altos ask "Have the stars knees?" and the idea is immediately taken up by the second sopranos, whose falling melodic figure vividly enacts the words "See, O see how they bow". Even before the phrase is complete, a third motive is introduced by the basses, and the three melodic fragments are thrown against each other in realistic imitation of an excited crowd who overhear a remark and quickly pass it on to those standing near them.

This technique is continued into the next section. After

a double bar line at 34 (a pause is indicated in Add 10338, though wisely omitted from the part-books) the tenors introduce a new phrase ("The sun's at gaze") which is taken up and continued by the basses. A dotted figure, representing the trembling sun, is introduced by the sopranos and answered by the altos before the two phrases are developed against each other and thrown about from voice to voice. Gradually, the second phrase begins to dominate the first. The question "Why trembles he?" need no longer be asked; all agree that the sun is "overcome with majesty" and exhort the angels to prompt him. But this phrase (bars 55 to 57) breaks off in stunned silence; even the angels are struck dumb, unable to understand what is happening. The music conveys their joy and perplexity, wandering towards a B flat major cadence (bar 66) as the voices weave ecstatically around each other.

There is now a dramatic change of texture. In massive homophony, the voices cry out together "How shall we then sing his praise?" before breaking into imitation at the words "full to the brim with grief". The urgency of their cries is made more intense by the harmonic movement. At bar 72 there is a sudden shift from F major to D major, answered at bar 80 by a similar progression from C major to A major. The emotional intensity of the passage is further emphasised by the chromatic ascent of the bass (bars 85 to 87) and the false relations in bars 87 and 88. Thus, the anthem ends on a note of passionate dejection: Christ has left us, and with him all hope seems to be gone.

This, however, is not the end of the cycle, which concludes

with the anthem for Whitsunday, A music strange.¹⁾ Unlike the Ascension anthem, the work contains a passage for solo bass and a short trio, and this division into 'verse' and 'full' is essential to the dramatic structure.

The anthem begins with a description of the descent of the Holy Spirit based on the account in Acts, Chapter 2. The opening texture is homophonic rather than contrapuntal, the three lower voices moving together as they repeat a D minor chord. The mystery of the spiritual experience described in the poem is first suggested at the end of the first bar. The soprano moves down to the flat seventh and returns to the tonic, while underneath the second soprano rises to B flat. This creates an unexpected dissonance with the tenor, and the effect of the harmonic clash is to suggest a submediant triad superimposed on a tonic chord rather than a normal suspension. The music is strange indeed, for it hovers between modality and modern major-minor.

After a cadence on the dominant, the texture changes. A gentle, falling figure ("steals to mine ear") is treated in imitation, the part movement setting up a series of sensuous passing dissonances before the voices come to rest on a D major triad at bar 8. Now the first line of the poem is repeated, this time more urgently for the texture is no longer homophonic and the harmonic movement not confined to diatonically related chords. The repeated As in the tenor act as a pivot for a harmonic change from D major to F major, and with the entry of the remaining voices the harmony twists unexpectedly to F minor and then to a chord of A major at the words "full of delight and

1) Vol.II, p.623.

change". At the end of this phrase, another false relation (C sharp to C natural in the soprano) draws the music back to F major for a restatement of the second phrase, now more richly scored, and the passage ends with a cadence in the relative major at bar 16.

The F major tonality is immediately contradicted in the short instrumental passage which follows. The first tenor viol moves up to D flat while the second tenor falls by step to the minor third (A flat) and the bass viol through D flat to C. With the entry of the three lower voices at bar 21 the minor mode is again rejected, and in closely spaced chords with appropriately harsh harmonic clashes the F major tonality is re-established. At bar 23 the mood of mystery is temporarily cast aside as the listeners try to explain away the strange music as "some drunkard's strain"¹⁾. The absence of internal dissonance, the lively rhythmic movement and tipsy semiquaver figures seem, in the context, false and unnatural. Reason returns in the following phrase. In sober thirds, altos and tenors sing the words of Peter, and the music builds once more to a full five-part texture as the line "the day is yet but in her infancy" is repeated over and again.

The passage ends at bar 39 with a cadence in D major, and there follows one of the most remarkable harmonic progressions in Jeffreys' work. The D major chord is immediately contradicted

1) "And they were all amazed, and were in doubt, saying one to another, What meaneth this? Others mocking said, These men are full of new wine. But Peter, standing up with the eleven, lifted up his voice, and said unto them, Ye men of Judaea, and all ye that dwell at Jerusalem, be this known unto you, and hearken to my words: For these are not drunken, as ye suppose, seeing it is but the third hour of the day."
Acts 2, verses 12-15.

by a chord of F major which leads by way of D minor to B major. The words "'tis ravishing" are repeated, and the voices settle finally on a chord of F sharp major. Thus, in the space of only three bars, the music has moved from F major to F sharp, a progression which would challenge even Gesualdo for harmonic daring. Our senses, shaken by the violent chromaticism, continue to be ravished by the melodic lyricism of the fugal passage which follows, and the first part of the anthem ends homophonically with a cadence in the subdominant.

The five-part texture is now relieved by a 'verse' for solo bass which refers back to the account in Genesis of the building of Babel. The declamatory style is tempered to some extent by the melodic lyricism of the voice part (in this respect it is not unlike the solo motet Praise the Lord, O my soul); but the solo, which is brief, is intended simply to introduce the trio at bar 68. Here, the lyricism is wholly appropriate to the sense of the words, and the expressive melodic lines and delicate word painting are deliberately restrained to contrast with the dramatic re-entry of the chorus.

The final section of the anthem begins with a violent change of mood and texture. Lulled by the gentle lyricism of the trio and the warm A major cadence, we are suddenly assailed by a passionate outburst from the chorus who warn us to "make haste and fly". The tonality changes abruptly from A major to F, the imitative texture to massive chordal declamation made more urgent by the rapid semiquaver runs in the bass (bar 87) and soprano (bar 90). At bar 91 a florid melodic figure is introduced in the bass, and this phrase, which bears a striking

resemblance to the "O torrens" figure in O Domine Deus,¹⁾ leads to a second melodic idea ("climb here or die"). The two melodic fragments, one florid, the other falling abruptly through a ninth, are developed fugally and set against each other. As the music drives towards its climax the leaps become wider and wider, falling now through tenths and even elevenths. The mood is one of utter desperation: only by climbing the "fair mount" (the Church) can we escape the Flood, but the music is dominated by the jagged downward leaps until, at bar 105, it begins to unwind into the cadence.

The emotional climax of the anthem, however, is yet to come. After an imperfect cadence in G minor, a short instrumental interlude (the basso continuo is written out in full in Add 10338) dispels the violence of the previous section and makes way for the Alleluia coda. Like the coda to the burial anthem, In the midst of life, this Alleluia is an expression of deep and unquestioning personal faith. Its gentle lyricism and harmonic simplicity are profoundly moving, the more so because we still recall the terror of the Flood and the struggle to flee from it. But, the music tells us, there can be only one escape, and that is by simple acceptance of God's love: for the power of faith is stronger than the destructive forces of evil.

So ends this remarkable cycle of anthems which must be seen as Jeffreys' most individual achievement. Having finally assimilated the various techniques with which he had experimented in his earlier music, he had at last developed a personal style which is quite unlike that of any other composer.

1) Vol.II, pp. 378-9.

Certainly, these anthems have no real precedent in English or Italian music: their sensuous textures, unconventional divisions into 'verse' and 'full', experimental harmonies and curious pictorial images bring together all the most characteristic features of his earlier work. The technical assurance of the writing is remarkable; above all, the cycle reveals a creative imagination and a capacity to evoke the visual which marks Jeffreys as one of the most original composers of his age.

Despite his originality, Jeffreys cannot really be regarded as a major 17th century English composer, for his work was too individual and too much confined to one particular field to have had any far-reaching influence. Regrettably, his younger contemporaries could not have been familiar with his mature compositions. Little of his sacred music would have been performed outside Weldon, and quite possibly some of it never performed at all. Yet, paradoxically, his tragic neglect as a composer was his greatest advantage: for the circumstances which led him to work in obscurity in a little Northamptonshire village enabled him to experiment and to develop an individual style which is uniquely his own. His continuing obsession with religious expression gives rise to certain obvious limitations: after 1648 he wrote no secular music, and his devotional works are all on a relatively small scale. But while recognising his limitations, we must also claim for him the attention he deserves. Much of his music is worthy of performance today: only when this happens will he take up his rightful place alongside William and Henry

Lawes and be recognised as one of the most accomplished and fascinating composers of the early English baroque.

APPENDIX A

CATALOGUE OF MUSIC BY GEORGE JEFFREYS

Manuscript Sources

PLACE	MANUSCRIPT	DESCRIPTION	INDEX
Bodleian, Oxford	BOD Mus d 10	Early 18th century.	A
Bodleian, Oxford	BOD Mus Sch c 11	In score; binding (17th c.) bears initials G.S.	B
Bodleian, Oxford	BOD Mus Sch e 451	Written c. 1670-80. In the hand of Edward Lowe.	C
British Museum, London	BM Add 10338	Autograph. In score. After 1669.	D
British Museum, London	BM Add 30829, 30830, 17816	Autograph (bass part-book has Jeffreys' signature). Alto, tenor & bass parts only.	E
British Museum, London	BM Add 29282	Autograph. In parts. After 1669.	F
British Museum, London	BM Add 31479	Autograph. In parts.	G
British Museum, London	BM Add 30478	Tenor Cantoris only of set of Durham part-books. 17th century.	H
Christ Church, Oxford	Ch Ch 417-8, 1080	In parts. In hand of John Lilly. Bindings done for Dean Aldrich.	I

PLACE	MANUSCRIPT	DESCRIPTION	INDEX
Christ Church, Oxford	Ch Ch 468-9, 472	17th century; in parts.	J
Christ Church, Oxford	Ch Ch 459, 461-2	17th century; in parts.	K
Christ Church, Oxford	Ch Ch 18	18th century; in score.	L
Christ Church, Oxford	Ch Ch 1246	Tenor part only.	M
Christ Church, Oxford	Ch Ch 1012	Bass part only.	N
Christ Church, Oxford	Ch Ch 747-9	17th century; in parts.	O
Delapre Abbey, Northampton	Finch-Hatton collection	Autograph. Vari- ous fragments written on single sheets.	P
Royal College of Music, London	RCM 920	Autograph; in parts.	Q
Royal College of Music, London	RCM 920A	Autograph; in parts. After 1675.	R
Royal College of Music, London	RCM 2033	In parts; 1693.	S
Royal College of Music, London	RCM 660	18th century; in score.	T
Royal College of Music, London	RCM 4080	In the hand of Barclay Squire; in score.	U
Royal College of Music, London	RCM 4085	In the hand of Barclay Squire; in score.	V
Royal College of Music, London	RCM 1045-51	Barnard part- books.	W
York Minster, York	ML/1-8 (S)	Gostling part- books; after 1679. Voice parts only.	X
York Minster, York	M5/1-3 (S)	In parts; 1688.	Y

PLACE	MANUSCRIPT	DESCRIPTION	INDEX
York Minster, York	M29 (S)	Bass part only; 17th century (Dunnington- Jefferson ms).	Z

Printed Sources

TITLE	PUBLISHER	PLACE	DATE	INDEX
Dering, <u>Cantica Sacra II</u>	Playford	London	1674	PLAY

LIST OF WORKS

Instrumental Music

Fantasias of three parts "for the violls and the
virginall" (?1629)

No 1 in C (2 trebles and bass)	D I J K
No 2 in C (2 trebles and bass)	D I J K
No 3 in C (2 trebles and bass)	D I J K
No 4 in C (2 trebles and bass)	D I J K
No 5 in D minor (treble, tenor and bass)	D I J
No 6 in D minor (treble, tenor and bass)	D I J

"Fantazia of two parts to the organ" in D (violin,
bass viol and organ) D

Theatre Music

The Masque of Vices (Thomas Randolph)

Coy Celia D

Music, thou Queen of souls D

Say, dance D

Songs "made for some Comedyes by Sir Richard Hatton" (1631)

Cupid blushes to behold D

Fond maids D

Hymen hath together tied D

You that have been this evening's light D

The Rival Friends (1631) (Peter Hausted)

But why do the winged minutes? D

Cruel, but once again D

Cupid, if a god thou art D

Drowsy Phoebus (dialogue between Venus, Thetis and Phoebus) D

Have pity, grief D

Have you a desire? D

To the ladies, joy D

Secular Dialogues

Drowsy Phoebus (dialogue from Hausted's The Rival Friends between Venus, Thetis and Phoebus) D

Lovely shepherd (dialogue between Febisse and Endymion) D

Why sigh you, swain? (dialogue between a nymph and a shepherd) D

Italian Songs

Madrigals of three parts without basso continuo

All'ombra	D
Crudel tu per fuggire	D
Donna crudell	D
Donna sio miro	D
Le parole soavi	D
Occhi stelle mortali	D
O vaghe	D
Quand'io miro	D
Si mio	D

Madrigals of three parts with basso continuo

Che nove'arti	D
Felici pastorelle	D
Provate la mia fiamma	D

Cantata for STB soli, 5-part chorus and strings

Felice pastorella	D
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Latin Sacred Music

Morning Service in D (1649)

Venite	R
Te Deum	D E R
Jubilate	E R
Credo	D E R

Evening Service in D (? 1649)

Magnificat	R
Nunc dimittis	R

Devotional songs for solo bass

O quam suave D Q?

Speciosus forma D Q

Devotional songs of two parts

Audivi vocem D Q

Domine Deus salutis meae D Q

Erit gloria Domini ³A D ⁴L Q ⁵PLAY

Et ingrediar D Q

Heu me miseram (dialogue between Mary and the Angel) D F L Q
6 7

Jesu, Rex admirabilis D F Q

O nomen Jesu D Q

O panis angelorum D Q

O pretiosum et admirandum convivium D Q

O quam dulcis D F Q

Si diligitis me D Q

Sive vigilem D Q

Timor et tremor D Q

Devotional songs of three parts

Audite gentes D Q

Beatus auctor saeculi D O Q

Caro mea vere est cibus D Q

Christo Jesu D Q

Domine Dominus Deus noster D Q

Domine Jesu dilexisti me D Q

Ecce dilectus meus ^{1) 2)}B C D O Q

1) 2-part version of 3-part motet in other sources.

2) Figured basso continuo only.

Et recordatus est Petrus	D Q
Euge serve	1) 2) B C O
Exsurge, quare obdormis Domine	D O Q
Florete flores (1660)	D F Q
Gloria Patri et Filio	D F Q
Gloria tua manet in aeternum (1658-59)	D F Q
Hei mihi Domine	D Q
Hosanna filio David	D Q
Invocavi nomen	D F Q
Jesu mi dulcissime	D Q
Jerusalem quae occidis prophetas	D Q
Lapidabant Stephanum	D O Q
Nescio quid amore Maius	D Q
Nil canitur	1) 2) B C D Q Y
O Deus meus	D Q
O piissime Domine Jesu (1660)	D Q
O quam gloriosum	D O Q
O quam iucundum (1658)	D Q
O tu unus Deus Pater (See Pater de caelis)	3) D Q
Paratum cor meum (1657)	D Q
Pater bone (See Pater de caelis)	Q
Pater de caelis	Q
Pater bone (second part)	Q
O tu unus Deus Pater (third part)	3) D Q
Prior Christus	1) 2) B C D O Q

1) 2-part version of 3-part motet in other sources.

2) Figured basso continuo only.

3) Incomplete.

Quando natus est (1657)	D F Q
Quid mihi est in caelo (1661)	D F Q
Salve caelestis	D F Q
Utinam concessa mihi	D Q
Vere languores nostros	D Q
Visa urbe flevit	D Q

Motets and devotional songs of four parts

Ah mi Jesu	N U
Amor Jesu	D E
Audite coeli	D E
Ego sum panis	D E
Gloria Patri et Filio	D E R
Gloria Patri qui creavit nos	D E R
Jesu dulcedo cordium	D E
Jubilate Deo in C	D E
O bone Jesu	D E
O Deus meus (See O Domine Deus)	D E R X
O Domine Deus	D E R X
O Deus meus (second part)	D E R X
O quam iucundum (1651)	D E R
Quid commisisti, Jesu	D E

Motets of five parts

Bone Jesu	D E
Gloria in excelsis Deo	D E

Motet of six parts

Hosanna filio David	D E
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English Church Music

Glory to God on high ("Morning Hymn composed at Mr Peter Gunning's Motion, May 1652")	D Q
Gloria and Responses for the Communion Service	D ¹⁾ R
<u>Devotional song for solo bass</u>	
Praise the Lord, O my soul (Psalm 104)	D Q
<u>Devotional song of two parts</u>	
With notes that are both loud and sweet	D
<u>Devotional songs of three parts</u>	
Brightest sun, how was thy light clouded? (Epiphany)	D Q
Glory be to the Lamb (See, see, the Word is incarnate)	D Q
Hear my prayer (Psalm 39)	D Q
Praise the Lord, O my soul (Psalm 104)	D Q
See, see, the Word is incarnate (1662)	D Q
The Paschal Lamb (second part)	D Q
Glory be to the Lamb (third part)	D Q
Show me thy ways, O Lord (Unto thee, O Lord)	D Q
Sing unto the Lord, O ye saints	D ²⁾ Q ³⁾ B C D O Q S
The Paschal Lamb (See, see, the Word is incarnate)	D Q
Unto thee, O Lord, will I lift up my soul (Psalm 25)	D Q
Show me thy ways, O Lord (second part)	D Q

1) Basso continuo omitted in D.

2) 2-part version of 3-part song in other sources.

3) Figured basso continuo only.

Anthems of four parts

Awake, my soul	E R X
Great and marvellous are thy works	R X
He beheld the city (1675)	R
How wretched is the state	E R X
In the midst of life (1657)	D E R
Turn thee again (1648)	D E R X
Turn thou us, O good Lord (1655)	D E R X
What praise can reach thy clemency? (1665)	D E

Anthems of five parts

Almighty God, who mad'st thy blessed Son (Circumcision)	E ¹⁾
A music strange (Whitsunday; 1669)	D E
Brightest of days (Epiphany)	D E
Busy time this day (Blessed Innocents)	D E
Hark, shepherd swains (Nativity)	D E
Look up, all eyes (Ascension)	D E
Rise, heart, thy Lord is risen (Resurrection)	D E
The Lord, in thy adversity (Psalm 20)	D E
Whisper it easily (Passion)	D E

Incomplete works attributed to Jeffreys

Euge bone (figured <u>basso continuo</u> only)	C
Praise the Lord, ye servants (tenor part only)	H
Rejoice in the Lord	H ²⁾ Z ³⁾
Sing we merrily	H ²⁾ N ²⁾ Z ³⁾

1) No complete version extant.

2) Tenor part only.

3) Bass part only. Attributed to Matthew Jeffreys in Z, but to George Jeffreys in H and N.

Sacred songs by Dering erroneously attributed to Jeffreys ¹⁾

Songs of two parts

Ardens est cor meum	B T
Conceptio tua Dei	²⁾ C T
Ego dormio et cor meum	T
Gaudent in caelis	²⁾ C T
Justus cor suum tradidit	²⁾ B C T
O Domine Jesu Christe	²⁾ B C T
Veni electa mea	T

Songs of three parts

Gratias tibi Deus	T
Sancta et immaculata Virginitas	²⁾ C T

Works attributed to Jeffreys but of doubtful authorship

Anima Christi (a 2)	T
Hei mihi Domine (a 2)	T
O crux ave spes unica (a 2)	T
O donna troppo cruda (a 3)	T
O sacrum convivium (a 2)	T
My song shall be alway	W
O Lord, the very heavens (second part)	W

Music by miscellaneous composers in Jeffreys' hand

Amore languo (a 2)	G
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1) In RCM 660 all nine songs are attributed to Jeffreys, but they appear in Dering's Cantica Sacra I and in both Bodleian sources as by Dering.

2) Figured basso continuo only.

Anima Christi (a 2)	G
Anima mea (solo motet)	G
Anima mea in aeterna dulcedine (Carissimi; a 2)	G
Anima mea liquefactor est (Marini; a 3)	G
Audite coeli (a 3)	G
Audite me (solo motet)	G
Audite sancti (Carissimi; a 3)	G
Ave Maria (a 2)	G
Ave Maris Stella (solo motet)	G
Ave Regina (a 3)	G
Ave Regina (a 3)	G
Ave sanctissime Messia (a 2)	G
Benedicta sit Sancta Trinitas (a 3)	G
Benignissime Jesu (a 3)	G
Cantate Domino (solo motet)	G
Confitemini Domino (a 2)	G
Consolare, O Mater (a 2)	G
Desiderata nobis (Carissimi; a 3)	G
Deus meus, ad te (a 2)	G
Deus in adiutorium (a 2)	G
Domine, Dominus noster (a 2)	G
Domine inclina caelos (Reggio; a 2)	G
Dominus illuminatio mea (for bass and 2 violins)	G
Dominus in igne veniet (a 2)	G
Dulcis amor (solo motet)	G
Dulcissima Maria (a 3)	G
Ecce fideles (a 2)	G
Egredimini carissimi (a 2)	G
Et intro euntes (a 2)	G
Exulta et laetare (a 2)	G

Exultate Deo (solo motet)	G
Exurgat Deus (a 3)	G
Fontes et omnia (Reggio; a 2)	G
Fulcite me floribus (a 2)	G
Gaudeamus (solo motet)	G
Gaudete omnes (a 2)	G
Haec est vera Ecclesia	G
Hodie nobis de caelo (a 2)	G
Hodie nobis de caelo (Reggio; a 2)	G
Hymnum cantemus Domino (a 3)	G
Inclina, Domine, aurem (a 2)	G
In convertendo (a 2)	G
Indica mihi, quem diliget (a 2)	G
Insurrexerunt in nos (Carissimi; a 3)	G
Jesu dulcis memoria (a 2)	G
Jesu noster (Grandi; a 2)	G
Jubilate Deo (solo motet)	G
Jubilent in caelis (a 2)	G
Luce serena lucent (a 2)	G
Lucifer caelestis olim (Carissimi; solo motet)	G
Magnum hereditatis mysterium (a 3)	G
Misericordias Domini (a 2)	G
O admirabile commercium (a 2)	G
O Beatum Virum (a 2)	G
O bone Jesu (a 2)	G
O crux benedicta (a 3)	G
O Domine Deus (a 3)	G
O Domine gutte (Felice Sances; a 3)	G
O dulce nomen (a 2)	G
O dulcis Jesu (a 2)	G

O gloriosa Domina (a 3)	G
O Immaculate (a 2)	G
O Immaculate (a 3)	G
O Jesu, vita mea (a 2)	G
O lux splendidior (a 3)	G
O magnum mysterium (a 2)	G
O magnum sacramentum (a 3)	G
O Maria (solo motet)	G
Omni die dic Mariae (a 2)	G
O nomen Jesu (a 2)	G
O pulcherrima (a 2)	G
O quam dulcis (Reggio; a 3)	G
O quam gloriosus (a 2)	G
O quam iucundum (a 3)	G
O quam suave est nomen (a 2)	G
O quam tu pulchra es (a 2)	G
O sacrum convivium (a 3)	G
O vos omnes (Marini; a 3)	G
Peccavi super numerum (a 2)	G
Plage tue, Domine (Felice Sances; a 3)	G
Quam pulchra es (Carissimi; a 3)	G
Quemadmodum desiderat (a 2)	G
Quem terra (a 2)	G
Qui laudes tuas cantat (a 2)	G
Quid mihi est in caelo (a 3)	G
Quid mihi est in caelo ("Hennio"; ¹⁾ a 3)	G
Quid timidi estis (a 2)	G
Salvator mundi (solo motet)	G

1) Gilles Hennis, who published in 1640 Sacred Motets a 2, 3 & 4 voices with basso continuo.

Salve mundi gloria (a 3)	G
Salve Regina (a 2)	G
Salve Regina (a 3)	G
Salvum me fac (a 2)	G
Salvum me fac (a 2)	G
Salvum me fac (a 2)	G
Salvum me fac Deus (solo motet)	G
Sancti tui, Domine (a 2)	G
Sat est, Domine (a 3)	G
Sicut liliū (a 2)	G
Sicut oculi servorum (a 3)	G
Sub tuum praesidium (a 2)	G
Tota pulchra es (a 2)	G
Tota pulchra es (a 2)	G
Tota pulchra es (a 3)	G
Trahe me post te (a 2)	G
Tu dulcis es, Messia (a 2)	G
Veni, O Sanctissima (a 2)	G
Venite, filii, audite (a 2)	G

Various fragments in Jeffreys' hand

Courante (complete) and Gigue (incomplete) in lute tablature	P
Fragment of a Courante (melody only) by George Holmes	P
Fragment of a Sarabande (melody only)	P
Fragment of a Sarabande (melody only)	P
Melody only of a Sarabande (complete) and Gigue (incomplete)	P
Incomplete fragment of a Gavotte (melody only)	P
Incomplete fragment of an Ayre (melody only)	P

APPENDIX B

THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF GEORGE JEFFREYS¹⁾

In the name of the blessed Father, Son & Holy Ghost, the most Holy, Blessed and Glorious Trinity, Amen.

The 25th day of June in the 36th year of the Raign of our Sovereigne Lord, King Charles the Second over England &c, An. Dm. 1684. I, George Jeffreys of Weldon Magna in the County of Northampton, being weak in Body but of perfect mind and memory (thanks be given to Almighty God for it) do by his gracious providence & permission make this my last will and Testament in maner following:

First - I do most humbly comend my Soul into the hands of Almighty God, my most mercifull Creator, and my weake and contemptible Body to the Earth, from whence it was taken, to be burried therin without any more then an Ordinary & Usuall manner, in full & stedfast hope of a blessed and ioyfull resurrection to Eternall life, which I trust I shall obteyn through the merrits of the pretious death and passion of our blessed Lord & saviour Jesus Christ; with desire that, if it shall please God to put an end to this my earthly Pilgrimage at Weldon aforesaid, my Body may be layd in the Church there as neer to that of my late dear wife as conveniently I may. And, as touching all temporall goods & Estate which it hath

1) The Will, which was proved on 31st July 1685, is held by the Northamptonshire Archives Committee at Delapre Abbey, Northampton.

pleased God to bestow upon me, I thus dispose of them:

Item - I give to the poor of Weldon Magna aforesaid forty shillings, and to the poor of Weldon Parva Ten shillings to be distributed to them by my Executor herein after named.

And to such Orthodoxe preist of the Church of England as shall performe the office of giving me Christian Buriall according to the Booke of Comon prayer and the established Liturgy of the same Church, I give ten shillings: in Comunion (of which Church I trust I am a member) of the Catholick Church of Christ Jesus our blessed Lord and Saviour.

Item - I give to my dear daughter Mary Goode five pounds to be paid to hir by my Executor within sixe moneths after my decease; and to my dear Grandchild George Goode the best of my Gold Rings, and five pounds besides what I have already put into his mother's hands for him; and to my grandchild John Goode one of my gold Rings, and twenty shillings more besides what hath been diverse years since likewise put into his mother's hands for him: which I desire my Executor to see that their mother pay and performe to them. I give to my grandchild Ann Goode, to be paid within one year after my decease or when she shall attain the Age of fifteen yeares, 20 shillings.

Item - I give to my dear daughter-in-Law Ann Jeffreys five pounds or a peece of plate of that vallue at hir choice.

Item - I give to my dearly affected grandchild George Jeffreys at present, as some help towards the charge of his Education, All that Ancient Cottage or Tenement in Weldon parva, with two acres of Land thereto belonging, now in the Occupation of

Edmund Bellamy, with Comons & appurtenances; And also all my interest in that Cottage or Tenement in Weldon Magna called Frisbies, now in the Occupation of Elizabeth Eyre, widow, with the meadowes, Comons and apurtenances therunto belonging which I hold by lease for yeares from the right Honourable the Lord Viscount Hatton, with desire that my Executor will take care of both these Cottages for the profitt of my dear Grandchild till he be at Age.

Item - I give to my dear Grandchildren Anne Jeffreys, Beata Jeffreys and Frances Jeffreys each of them ten pounds apeice, and wish I had more to give them.

Item - I give to my Cousin Richard Trebick (although he have not deserved it from me) five pounds, to be paid by my Executor within 6 months after my decease; and to my dear Kinswoeman and Ancient friend Mrs Mary Diglin I give one Ring of Gold of the vallue of Twenty Shillings.

Item - I give to all the Servants of the House, where it shall please God that I depart this life, five shillings apeice; and to Henry Rowlett and his wife Elizabeth Rowlett ten shillings apeice.

And humbly beseeching Almighty God for the continuance of his grace & blessing upon my dear & onely son Christopher Jeffreys, and requiring him to be affectionately kind to his dear and onely sister Mary Goode and hir children, I do hereby give unto my dear Son Christopher Jeffreys, for and during his Naturall life, All that my Capitall Messuage or Manor house in Isham in the County of Northampton, called or known by the name of

the Overhall, with all Lands, Leys, Meadows & pasture grounds, Comons & Comon of Pastures, with their & every of their appurtenances whatsoever to the same belonging, or aperteyning, accounted and reputed to be four yard land; And also two small Closes and one Cottage, with the Patronage of the Moyetie of the Parsonage and Church there, called the Over Fee, with liberty and right of presenting therunto every other Turne, To hold the same for & during his Naturall life, with power to let the said Premisses for one year for one year after his death; and the profitts therof for that year, together with such moneys as shall be lawfully raised by Sale of the Patronage of the Moyetie of the parsonage aforesaid, my will & desire is shall be employed for the discharge of One hundred pounds of my Grandchildren Goode's Moneys for which my said Son & myself are & stand Obliged in one Bond or Obligation to Mr Henry Goode, Rector of Weldon, which I very earnestly desire my said Son & Executor to take Especial care that it be truly paid, being Orphans Money for which I was trusted. And after the decease of my said Son Christopher Jeffreys and the year after, my will & desire is that the said Messuage Lands & premisses in Isham aforesaid, & every part therof (Except the Moyetie of the Parsonage aforesaid) shall descend and come to my said Granchyld George Jeffreys, and to his heires and assignes for ever to whom I give it.

Item - I give to my said dear Son Christopher Jeffreys (my debts being paid by him & Legacyes discharged) all such Goods, Chattels, utensills, moneys, debts, Rents and Arrearages of Rents, and all other stock, Goods & whatsoever Estate personall or reall in my possession, or any wates due to me at the time of my

death and not herein disposed of. And, with humble acknowledgments to Almighty God, I render all due thanks to the Divine providence for this which he hath enabled me now to leave to my Relations. And I suppose those that have hitherto believed & reported me so much to abound in Wealth and Riches will be now Convinced of their great Error therin.

And I do hereby make, Ordeyn, constitute & apoint my said dear Son Christopher Jeffreys (whom God blesse) my Sole & absolute Executor of this, my last Will and Testament; hereby revoking all former Wills, I Ordeyn this, my last Will (which I have written with my owne hande) to be and stand in full force, not doubting but that he will see my debts paid and Legacyes performed; and have signed, Sealed & published this, my last Will, the five & twentieth day of June in the 36th year of the Raign of our Sovereign Lord, King Charles the Second over England &c, An. Dm. 1684.

Geo. Jeffreys

About four or five days before the death of the testator above named, viz. on or about the first of this instant July, the testator Mr Geo. Jefferyes declared this to bee his last will and testament, and desired that wee whose names are under-written might bee witnesses to the same. Given under our hands July 31, 1685.

Henry Rowlatt

Ann Charity

APPENDIX C

LIST OF WORKS BY JEFFREYS IN MODERN EDITIONS

At the time of writing, very few works by Jeffreys have appeared in modern editions. However, it is likely that during the next few years Novello and Company will bring out further editions, in which case a more representative selection of Jeffreys' music will eventually be available. The following list includes works in preparation as well as those which have already been published.

Fantasia of three parts in D minor (1st D minor Fantasia), ed. Ernst Meyer, Hortus Musicus 14, 'Englische Fantasien' (Basel, Bärenreiter, 1964).

Erit gloria Domini, ed. Francis Grubb (London, O.U.P., 1963).

Heu me miseram (dialogue between Mary and the Angel), ed. Peter Aston (London, Novello, in preparation).

O Domine Deus and O Deus meus (second part), ed. Peter Aston (London, Novello, 1969).

He beheld the city, ed. Peter Aston (London, Novello, 1969).

INDEX TO THE ACCOMPANYING TAPES

Most of the works included on the accompanying tapes were recorded at public concerts given during 1969 at York University and in St Wilfrid's Church, Harrogate as part of the Harrogate Festival. None of the tapes were made professionally. Consequently, the quality of the recording is not always ideal, and there is some inconsistency in the sound level. The performers are:

The English Baroque Ensemble (a), Honor Sheppard (soprano), Sally le Sage (soprano), Owen Wynne (counter-tenor), Richard Orton (tenor), Gordon Pullin (tenor), John Brownsword (baritone), Christopher Keyte (bass);

York University Chamber Choir (b);

York University Instrumental Ensemble, leader Edward Jones (c); with Richard Langham Smith (harpsichord), Andrew Wilson-Dickson (organ) and Gillian Wilson-Dickson (cello and bass viol).

TAPE 1 (recorded at 7½ i.p.s.)

- (i) Cantata Felice Pastorella (a), (b), (c).
- (ii) First D minor Fantasia of three parts (c).
- (iii) Motet for solo bass O quam suave (a).
- (iv) Dialogue between Mary and the Angel Heu me miseram (a).
- (v) Timor et tremor (a).
- (vi) Hei mihi, Domine (a).
- (vii) Ecce, dilectus meus (a).

TAPE 2 (recorded at 7½ i.p.s.)

- (i) Burial anthem In the midst of life (a).
- (ii) Anthem "for Whitsunday" A music strange (a).
- (iii) Anthem "on the Passion of our Blessed Saviour"
Whisper it easily (a), (b).
- (iv) Anthem "for the Resurrection of our Blessed
Saviour" Rise, heart, thy Lord is risen (a), (b).
- (v) Anthem "for the Ascension of our Blessed Saviour"
Look up, all eyes (b).

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