

**Manuscript Culture and the Rebuilding of the London Sacred Establishments, 1660-
c.1700¹**

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The opportunity to present to you today caused me to reflect on the context in which I began to study English music seriously. As a graduate student in musicology, I found myself in a situation I suspect is rare today, taking courses mostly on Medieval and Renaissance music. I learned to transcribe Notre Dame polyphony, studied modal theory, and edited Italian madrigals, among other pursuits. I had come to musicology with a background in singing and choral conducting, and had grown to appreciate—as a performer—what I sensed were the unique characteristics of English choral music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was a seminar on the *stile antico* that finally provided an opportunity to bring together earlier performing and newer research interests. I had sung a few of Henry Purcell’s polyphonic anthems (there really are only a few), liked them a lot, and wondered if they were connected to earlier music by Thomas Tallis, William Byrd, and others, music which I soon came to learn Purcell knew himself.

First for the above-mentioned seminar and then for my dissertation, I cast my net broadly, trying to learn as much as I could about Purcell and his connections to earlier English music. I quickly came to discover that the English traditions were, in almost every respect, distinct from the Continental ones I had been studying, ranging from how counterpoint was taught (or not taught)

¹This paper was delivered at a March 2013 symposium at Western Illinois University with the title, “English Cathedral Music and the Persistence of the Manuscript Tradition.” The present version includes some subsequent revisions and a retitling that I felt more accurately described the paper.

to the dissemination of repertory. I had spent some time studying Italian music in print, especially the mid-sixteenth-century madrigal, the success of which resulted not only from the quality of the music but a burgeoning print culture in Italy. As I began to get better acquainted with English musical sources from a century later, I was initially surprised to be dealing primarily with manuscripts. In sixteenth-century Italy, the printing of music for consumption by a growing class of affluent amateurs and sophisticated music-lovers had a direct causal effect on music's fortunes. In England, by contrast, printed music was much less common, and I eventually concluded that, while some aspects of England's manuscript culture were born of necessity, others stemmed from a desire to emphasize the scribal traditions, as they related to learning and authority, and as a reflection of a venerable past.

With these things in mind, I wish to explore today the roles of a few copyists involved in the production of music manuscripts—especially partbooks—for London's major sacred establishments in the 1660s and after, in an effort to understand more fully their intentions and methods, and their commitment to manuscript transmission. I mean the word “rebuilding” in my title two ways. First, all aspects of Cathedral music-making had to be reconstituted after 1660, as the Church of England revived high-church practices after a lengthy hiatus. More literally, though, I refer to St. Paul's Cathedral, destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666. It reopened for services—still under construction—in 1697, the “topping out” of Christopher Wren's grand scheme taking more than a decade still. That manuscript partbooks were recognized as necessary furnishings in the extant building accounts indicates that the St. Paul's hierarchy fully understood the significant role music would play in breathing life into the new edifice.

St. Paul's and virtually all other English cathedral establishments trace their post-Commonwealth musical existence, to a greater or lesser extent, back to a single printed source from 1641, the highly problematic *First Book of Selected Church Musick*, compiled by John Barnard. A conspicuous example of bad timing, *The First Book*, published in ten partbooks, appeared on the eve of Civil War and essentially lay dormant while Commonwealth policies brought high-church practices to a halt. Just after the restoration of Charles II, in 1660, was another story, and extant records attest to several cathedrals' acquisition of *The First Book*; copies had apparently been stowed away for nearly two decades, for John Playford had them available for sale in his London bookshop. Only containing music by deceased composers (as of 1641)—Barnard intended but never produced a “Second Book”—the *First Book* saw wide use and helped to establish a standard repertory of pre-Commonwealth anthems and services. [SLIDE] It proved a musically deficient source, though, as Purcell himself found out in the late 1670s: I have elsewhere shown that his copies of earlier works in his scorebook, Fitzwilliam Library, Cambridge, Mus. MS 88, are for the most part corrected editions of anthems found in Barnard.²

The dissemination of the music found in Barnard and limited other evidence suggest an uneven approach in the 1660s to putting a functional and fully adequate sacred repertory into use at the major London establishments, and on numerous occasions what was available must have won out over what might have been desirable. But from the 1670s on, we see the emergence of increasingly systematic practices for creating new manuscript performing materials, substantial and broad enough to meet the demands of large, musically active organizations. Table I lists the extant performing materials from the Chapel Royal, Westminster Abbey, and St. Paul's

²Robert Shay, “Purcell as Collector of ‘Ancient’ Music: Fitzwilliam MS 88,” *Purcell Studies*, ed. Curtis Price (Cambridge, 1995), 35-50.

Cathedral, produced between 1660 and c.1700. (All tables are appended to the end of this PDF file.) I will consider each of these institutions individually for a few moments, describing briefly the major figures involved in copying music manuscripts.

The early set of six Chapel Royal partbooks, British Library Royal Music 27.a.1-3, 5, 6, and 8, contain service music and anthems, and uniquely among Restoration sources utilize parchment (or vellum) instead of paper. They were first described properly by Watkins Shaw in a 1959 article, and Margaret Laurie furthered our understanding of them in a 1980 study, which included a description of two additional books, 27.a.7 and 27.a.4, listed separately in the table and connected in some respects to the main six. As their extant condition shows, these books resulted from cannibalization; in other words, once they became unusable copyists dismantled them, preserving leaves in good condition and binding them into new books. This allowed Shaw and Laurie to identify several layers of activity, including the work of two principal early copyists: William Tucker and Edward Braddock.

Assisting in our understanding of the Chapel Royal partbooks, the Lord Chamberlain's calendar (see Table II) preserves a "Catalogue of Severall Services & Anthems" transcribed into "his Ma^{ties}" books from 1670 to 1676. In terms of a reliable account of the Restoration Chapel Royal's repertory, we have nothing earlier, and fortunately this list, unlike a later one, provides titles and composers' names, facilitating comparison with the partbooks themselves. Since the "Catalogue" indicates that William Holder, subdean of the Chapel (the second-ranking cleric), received payment for "transcribing"—subdeans were consistently paid for copying in the Chapel

partbooks between 1660 and 1700³—we might assume Holder was directly involved as a scribe, but the partbooks themselves indicate that William Tucker copied many if not all of the listed works; in other words, the subdeans subcontracted the work. Of the twenty-two items surviving in Tucker’s hand in the main six partbooks, fourteen are in the “Catalogue,” including nine of the last eleven anthems listed. Tucker was probably working on the earliest material in these books toward the end of the period covered by the “Catalogue,” as Shaw has noted, and the works copied by Tucker but not listed, including such items as Purcell’s early verse anthem, *Lord who can tell*, must have been produced in the period immediately after “Midsomer 1676.” Holder made a deliberate choice, it seems, in selecting Tucker as the Chapel’s principal copyist at this time. This was not work for a lesser figure: Tucker was an original Gentleman of the Chapel Royal at its revival in 1660, and both a clergyman and composer [SLIDE].

A final look at this “Catalogue” might provide some insight into Holder’s and Tucker’s respective roles regarding the inclusion of works. The multiple anthems listed by Blow, Child, Humfrey, and Wise—all viewed by their peers as leading figures of the period—come as no surprise, nor does the respectful inclusion of two works by Holder, who wrote very little music in his lifetime. But it seems unlikely that eleven of Tucker’s works—he is tied with Wise for first place—would have made it into the books were Tucker himself not the copyist. He was a competent, but by comparison, minor composer, whose works saw limited circulation. This suggests, though, that Tucker was given a fair amount of latitude; after all he would have been

³Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, vol. 1, 1660-1685; vol. 2, 1685-1714; vol. 5, 1625-1714; vol. 8, 1485-1714 (Snodland and Aldershot, 1986-95). Relevant page numbers given after volume numbers as follows: I.95, I.162, V.146, I.193, II.141, VIII.288. An exception to paying the subdeans for copying in the Chapel partbooks was a payment of £15 to William Tucker’s widow in 1685, more than five years after his death, for “writing in 15 Books the Anthems with Symphonies for King Charles [the] 2^{dns} use in his Chappell Royall.” This copying corresponds with two bass partbooks listed in Table I, British Library Additional MS 50860 and Nanki Library MS N-5/10, devoted to symphony anthems and produced before John Blow received his doctorate in 1677, since all of his works in these sources are ascribed to “Mr” Blow.

making music alongside figures like Humfrey, Blow, and eventually Purcell. As a member of the Chapel in high standing, Tucker was entrusted with the important work of copying, as were his successors, Edward Braddock, also a Gentleman from 1660; and John Church, appointed to the Chapel in 1697. Church was perhaps the most prolific English copyist of the early eighteenth century and a highly influential figure in shaping repertory. [SLIDES]

Turning to Westminster Abbey, the extant seventeenth-century sources present a fragmentary picture of what must have been extensive copying activities. Three partbooks survive with partial seventeenth-century material: the two books of Triforium Set I and the one book of Triforium Set II, described in Table I. Like the main Chapel Royal set, these Abbey books came into their present state in the eighteenth century, partly built from earlier layers. The copying of Tucker, Braddock, and Church also figures prominently in Abbey sources (there was considerable overlap between the musical establishments of the Chapel and the Abbey), and I can add to this group Stephen Bing, another major copyist from the period. Unlike at the Chapel, copyists at the Abbey were paid directly for their work, and there are several recorded payments in the Abbey treasurers' books that correspond to the extant partbooks. The early layers, in Bing's hand, in Triforium Set II, probably date from 1675; in 1676 Bing was paid the large sum of £32 for "Books for the Church for y^e last year then omitted" (in other words, Bing had not been paid on time). Bing's copying here is conspicuously old-fashioned, a repertory of mostly pre-Commonwealth full anthems, overlapping considerably with the works in Barnard's *First Book*, which the Abbey acquired in 1661.

The contents of Triforium Set I suggest that the Abbey maintained newer works in a distinct set of books. Tucker copied nearly all of the early layers here—over seventy anthems and services—receiving a £20 payment in 1677. This activity focused on verse anthems, with Blow, Humfrey, and not surprisingly Tucker the most heavily represented. Perhaps most importantly, Tucker included six early anthems by Purcell, all of which must have been in use by 1677, when Purcell was seventeen or eighteen. (These are listed in Table III.) When Robert Thompson and I were examining these books in 1994, we discovered a small bit of Purcell’s handwriting, correcting Tucker’s copy of Purcell’s *Let God arise* in the alto partbook, a rare instance of one of the era’s prominent composers making a cameo appearance in a partbook [SLIDE].

Unlike at the Chapel Royal, the senior clerical leadership at the Abbey seems to have had less of a role in selecting or approving repertory. Tucker is as likely a figure as any to have had charge of the Abbey books in the late 1670s, and I would suggest that copyists at the Abbey enjoyed a greater degree of repertorial freedom than at the Chapel Royal. Stephen Bing added numerous items to the Abbey books from his file-copy partbooks (I will come back to these shortly), which probably only he had available; and, despite broad correlations between Tucker’s copying for the Chapel and the Abbey, it is curious that that the six anthems by Purcell in the Abbey books never found their way into the Chapel repertory. Possibly, the Abbey’s environment allowed Purcell the freedom to experiment as a composer in a way that the Chapel’s did not.

The sources from St. Paul’s Cathedral remain, and these are closely linked to the career of John Gostling. A familiar figure in the Restoration landscape, Gostling was a renowned low-bass singer, Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, minor canon and eventually subdean at St. Paul’s

(among other clerical appointments), and an industrious and influential copyist. Table IV provides an overview of Gostling's London copying. Beginning with his appointment to the Chapel Royal in 1679, he began to preserve important sacred works—emphasizing those actually performed at the Chapel⁴—in his personal scorebooks, first in the so-called “Gostling Manuscript,” which survives at the University of Texas at Austin, and subsequently in a second scorebook, now at the Newberry Library in Chicago, providing authoritative readings of works ranging from Humfrey to William Croft. Gostling also came into possession of a set of eight partbooks owned by the aforementioned Westminster Abbey copyist, Stephen Bing, after Bing's death in 1681. These survive at York Minster, as MSS M1S. Apparently an extensive personal collection of file copies, Bing worked from his exemplars in creating actual performing materials. Robert Ford has shown how the Bing partbooks—sometimes called the Bing-Gostling partbooks, since Gostling added newer items to them—represent the nexus of the London repertory: of the nineteen services and sixty-five anthems in the Chapel Royal “Catalogue” (referring to Table II), all the services and fifty-one of the anthems are in the Bing partbooks; of the over 100 items in Tucker's and Bing's hands in the Abbey books, only one is not in the Bing partbooks.

Two decades later, the Bing partbooks once again proved a source of primary importance: Gostling relied heavily on them in his monumental task of preparing performing materials for the new St. Paul's, the choir of which opened for services in 1697. At St. Paul's, Gostling was both the subdean with the authority for choosing repertory—in fact this authority was specifically bestowed on him at St. Paul's by Bishop Henry Compton—and the high-ranking, musically

⁴Bruce Wood, Review of *The Gostling Manuscript*, in *Early Music* 9 (1981), 118.

proficient churchman, who could be completely entrusted with copying duties. Gostling was paid a substantial £80 from the building accounts at St. Paul's in 1699 for "his Paines and Charge in Pricking Anthems for y^e Service." It should come as no surprise, then, that Gostling's copying in the extant A1 and A2 partbooks, as well as a fragmentary St. Paul's organbook, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum (again see Table I, the section on St. Paul's sources), overlaps tremendously with materials he had at hand. Of the 150 items surviving in Gostling's hand in the St. Paul's books, only twelve do not derive from the Bing partbooks or the Texas scorebook.

An important factor in dating Gostling's copying is the fact that he began to mimic Bing's musical hand in the 1690s, retaining Bing's characteristic teardrop-shaped open notes, with some variance, throughout the remainder of his career. Let me illustrate this with three slides [SLIDES].

Other relationships exist among Gostling's later manuscripts and the St. Paul's sources (I refer now to items in Table IV): Bodleian Library, Oxford, Tenbury 1176-82, a set of file-copy partbooks, interestingly avoid duplication with the A2 set. Gostling seems to have envisioned 1176-82 as a retrospective set, taking items from earlier sources such as his Austin scorebook. In contrast, Tenbury 797-803, a second set of file-copies, relate closely to the Chicago scorebook. Both Tenbury sets substantially overlap with the B partbooks, extant at St. Paul's but not in Gostling's hand: presumably he provided exemplars from his personally owned file copies to his successor-copyists.

The process of manuscript production at St. Paul's—and in the London establishments generally—provides insights into the formation and maintenance of repertory in London. Copyists preserved certain works of the more distant past, though their commitment to older repertory became increasingly selective as time passed. They embraced newer compositions by prominent composers immediately; Blow and Croft appear to have been the most frequently performed composers at St. Paul's in the first decades of the eighteenth century, based on the number of their pieces copied. Copyists gave local figures (and themselves sometimes) their due, though lesser music did not show much staying power, as successive generations dismantled older books and repurposed sections of them for future use. In sum, copyists played roles distinct from composers but nonetheless enjoyed a place among the musical elite. Tucker, Braddock, Gostling, and Church became copyists for the London establishments only after accumulating significant records of musical achievement; undoubtedly, they understood their roles as tastemakers.

They also carefully nurtured England's manuscript culture. To be clear, there was no groundswell to try to establish London as a center for music printing in the seventeenth century, along the lines of Venice and an elite few other Italian and Northern European cities. And the Continental practice of publishing sets of masses and motets, in parts and via movable type, would, I believe, have struck English musicians and consumers of music—even thinking in terms of services and anthems—as foreign, in several respects. On the other hand, the practice of copying music grew in its importance in England over the last years of the seventeenth century, with the most prominent copyists increasingly embracing a calligraphic style that matched their musical accuracy. We see this in Gostling's adoption of features of Bing's

stylized hand, and especially in the fine work of Church, whom I have just touched on today. These copyists believed, it seems, they were creating musical materials that would stand the test of time, though could Edward Braddock ever thought his Chapel Royal copying would be in use for more than a century? I refer to Royal Music 27.a.4, in Table I, which came into its current state, made up of earlier leaves, in the nineteenth century. Performing from “ancient” copying must have connoted a powerful sense of tradition to the musicians and may even have contributed to the maintenance of performing practices and choral sound over a relatively long period.

Church and a few others also paved the way for the great era of engraved music in London, which would ultimately place it alongside, if not ahead, of the Continental printing capitals of the past. In a real sense, London’s prominence in music engraving in the eighteenth century flowed directly from its manuscript culture and the copyists who brought their art to new levels of achievement in the last years of the seventeenth century.

TABLE I

An Overview of Extant Manuscript Performing Materials from the Chapel Royal, Westminster Abbey, and St. Paul's Cathedral, 1660-c.1700

CHAPEL ROYAL

British Library R.M. 27.a.1-3, 5-6 & 8: six partbooks (countertenor, tenor and bass decani; countertenor, tenor and bass subdecani). These contain the remains (with 27.a.7 below) of a set of Chapel Royal partbooks begun in the 1670s. They came into their present form in the early 18th century, when John Church created a new set of books in part with earlier material in the hands of William Tucker (copied c.1676), Edward Braddock (copied c.1682-95), and their assistants.

British Library R.M. 27.a.7: fragment of a bass partbook, in the hands of William Tucker and his assistants (copied c.1676).

British Library R.M. 27.a.4: treble partbook, part of a set from the early 19th century, created in part with earlier material, including the work of Edward Braddock (copied c.1695).

British Library Add. 50860 and Nanki Library, Tokyo, N-5/10: two bass partbooks. All of Add. 50860 and approximately the first two-thirds of the Nanki N-5/10 are devoted to symphony anthems and are in the hands of William Tucker and his assistants (copied c.1677). Nanki N-5/10 continues with additions by several later hands, including a partly autograph copy of Purcell's *Sing unto God* (composed in 1687).

Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Mus. 152 (probable Chapel Royal provenance): several fragments from an organbook (or books), presumably pulled to preserve autograph manuscripts of Humfrey, Blow, Purcell and Croft; other scribes include William Tucker, Edward Braddock, and John Church (copied at various times between c.1670 and c.1705).

WESTMINSTER ABBEY

Westminster Abbey Triforium Music Set I: two partbooks labeled "Alto Cantoris 1A" and "Tenor Cantoris 4." These are the remains of a set of Abbey partbooks created in the early 18th century by John Church in part with earlier material in the hands of William Tucker and assistants (copied c.1677), Stephen Bing (copied c.1679), and Edward Braddock and assistants (copied c.1693).

Westminster Abbey Triforium Music Set II: partbook labeled "Tenor Decani 5." The remains of a set of Abbey partbooks (distinct in contents from Set I) created in the early 18th century by John Church in part with several large sections in the hand of Stephen Bing (copied c.1675).

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL

St. Paul's Cathedral A1 Partbooks: two partbooks of services (countertenor and tenor decani), begun by Stephen Bing c.1677 and continued by John Gostling c.1695-99, as part of a large copying project in connection with the opening of the choir of the new St. Paul's in 1697.

St. Paul's Cathedral A2 Partbooks: four partbooks of anthems (countertenor, tenor and bass decani; and bass cantoris) from a set created later in the 18th century in part with several large sections in the hand of John Gostling (copied c.1695-99).

Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Mus. 669: organbook created in the 18th century in part with earlier material in the hand of John Gostling (copied c. 1695-99); fragment of the original binding is embossed "St.P.C."

TABLE I (CONTINUED)

Manchester Central Library BRm340Cr71 (probable St. Paul's provenance): "Altus Cantoris" partbook, copied by a single hand ca. 1666-69, possibly produced immediately after the Great Fire. A St. Paul's provenance is implied by the inclusion of works by St. Paul's musicians Bryne, Fisher, and Jewett.

Manchester Central Library MS BRm370Bp35 (probable St. Paul's provenance): organbook in the hand of John Blow, devoted to works by Blow and Purcell (copied c.1698).

TABLE II

Summary Information of "A Catalogue of Severall Services & Anthems," 1670-76*

1 August 1676

"To Doctor William Holder, Subdeane of his Ma^{ties} Chappell Royall, for transcribing into bookes of his Ma^{ties} Chappell Royall severall Anthems and Services in the space of 6 yeares ended at Midsomer 1676, by Warr^t dated the first of Aprill 1676: £64.10s.0d."

"A Catalogue of Severall Services & Anthems that have beene transcribed into the Books of His Ma^{ties} Chappell Royall since Anno 1670 to Midsummer 1676."

19 services (or individually listed canticles) by Aldrich, Blow (4), Child (5), Farrant, Ferrabosco, Humfrey, Rogers (4), Tucker, and Wise

65 anthems by Aldrich, Batten, Blackwell, Blow (9), Byrd, Child (9), C. Gibbons, Ferrabosco, Gregory, Holder (2), Hooper, Humfrey (6), Jeffreys, Locke, Rogers (3), Tucker (11), Turner (3), White, and Wise (11)

Complete services copied at a price of £2 each, evening services at £1 each, and anthems and individual canticles at 10s. each.

*Adapted from Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, vol. I, 162-4; vol. V, 146.

TABLE III

Anthems by Purcell in the hand of William Tucker in Westminster Abbey Triforium Set I, in use by 1677.

I will sing unto the Lord (full anthem with verses: SSATB soli + SSATB chorus)

O God the king of glory (full anthem: SATB chorus)

O Lord our governor (verse anthem: SSSBB soli + SATB chorus)

Blow up the trumpet in Sion (full anthem with verses: SSSATTB soli + SSAATTBB chorus)

*Let God arise** (verse anthem: TT soli + SATB chorus)

Blessed be the Lord my strength (verse anthem: ATB soli + SATB chorus)

*With autograph corrections in the alto partbook.

TABLE IV

Principal London Manuscripts Copied by John Gostling, c.1679-1715

approximate period of copying*	manuscript and summary contents
c.1679-c.1705	<i>University of Texas at Austin, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Pre-1700 MS 85</i> (scorebook, all anthems): Aldrich (3), Blow (24), Child (1), Clark (4), Humfrey (4), Locke (3), Piggott (1), Purcell (17), Tudway (3), Turner (4)
c.1690-c.1700	<i>York Minster, MSS M.1.S</i> (eight partbooks, anthems and services); works wholly in Gostling's hand: Aldrich (4), Blow (6), Child (2), C. Gibbons (1), H. Loosemore (1), Club Anthem
c.1695-c.1699	<i>St. Paul's Cathedral A1 Partbooks</i> (two partbooks, all services); works wholly in Gostling's hand: Purcell (1), Rogers (1), Wise (1)
c.1695-c.1699	<i>St. Paul's Cathedral A2 Partbooks</i> (four partbooks, all anthems); works in Gostling's hand: Aldrich (4), Badham (1), Batten (8), Blow (16), Byrd (6), Child (13), R. Farrant (2), C. Gibbons (2), O. Gibbons (5), Hooper (1), Humfrey (9), H. Lawes (2), W. Lawes (2), Locke (2), H. Loosemore (1), Mundy (1), Parsons (1), Purcell (11), Rogers (3), Sargenson (1), Tallis (1), J. Tomkins (1), T. Tomkins (2), Tucker (9), Tudway (2), Turner (7), White (2), Wise (8), Club Anthem
c.1695-c.1700	<i>Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Mus. 669</i> (organbook, all anthems); works in Gostling's hand: Batten (4), Blow (6), Byrd (2), Child (2), O. Gibbons (2), Purcell (1), Rogers (1), Sargenson (1), Tallis (1), T. Tomkins (1), Tucker (2), Turner (1)
c.1705-c.1715	<i>Newberry Library, Chicago, Case MS 7A/2</i> (scorebook, all anthems): Aldrich (2), Blow (3), Church (4), Clarke (5), Croft (26), Greene (2), Goldwin (1), Weldon (4), Wise (1)
c.1705-c.1715	<i>Bodleian Library, Oxford, Tenbury MSS 1176-1182</i> (4 partbooks and 3 organbooks, all anthems): Aldrich (11), Blow (52), Child (1), Church (6), Clarke (11), Croft (18), C. Gibbons (1), O. Gibbons (1), Goldwin (5), Hall (1), Hawkins (1), Humfrey (5), Isham (2), C. King (1), Locke (1), G. Loosemore (1), Piggott (1), Purcell (13), Rogers (2), Tallis (2), T. Tomkins (1), Tudway (4), Turner (8), Walter (1), Weldon (1), C. Wren (1), R. 2
c.1710-c.1715	<i>Bodleian Library, Oxford, Tenbury MSS 797-803</i> (seven partbooks, all anthems); works in Gostling's hand: Blow (22), Church (2), Clarke (2), Croft (16), Goldwin (3), Harris (1),

Isham (1), C. King (1), W. King (1), Purcell (1), Tudway (1),
Turner (4), Tye (1), Walter (1), Weldon (2)

*Dates refer to Gostling's copying only.

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