

Donne, Thomas Myriell, and the Musicians of St. Paul's

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Despite widespread enthusiasm for R. C. Bald's monumental biography of Donne, which Helen Gardner doubted would ever be superseded since, she claimed, Bald had "searched all conceivable record sources," much remains to be learned about every period of Donne's life and career, even those seemingly most thoroughly researched by Bald and others.¹ Donne's career at St. Paul's is a useful case in point, for the discovery of a sermon by one of Donne's little known contemporaries challenges assumptions which have been made about Donne's preaching and illuminates an important yet little studied dimension of his biography.

In preparing some of his sermons for the collection which appeared posthumously in 1640 as the *LXXX Sermons*, Donne selected sermons from every period of his ministry and took special care to include extended series of sermons delivered on significant "emergent occasions," particularly on Christmas, Easter, and

¹Gardner, "All the Facts," *The New Statesman* 79 (1970): 370, a review of Bald's *John Donne: A Life* (Oxford, 1970). See, along these lines, Dennis Flynn's irritation at Gardner's overzealous enthusiasm (*John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility* [Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1995], esp. pp. 10-11, 198.

Whitsuntide.² He also selected a group of five sermons delivered on 2 February, Candlemas Day, the Feast of the Purification of St. Mary the Virgin, a highly symbolic and richly ceremonial occasion at St. Paul's Cathedral, where the sermon was attended annually by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, accompanied by representative members of London's twelve great livery companies.³

Although the evidence is somewhat ambiguous, the Candlemas series has consistently been linked to Donne's service as Dean of St. Paul's, with the assumption that Donne would naturally have wished to preach on such an occasion before the Lord Mayor.⁴ Since Donne did not provide dates for the sermons in this series, however, scholars have been forced to speculate on the likely dates of delivery. Potter and Simpson, the most recent editors of Donne's sermons, posit his earliest Candlemas sermon as having been delivered in February, 1621/2, a little more than two months

²On the issue of the *LXXX Sermons* stemming directly from Donne, see *The Sermons of John Donne*, ed. George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson, 10 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1953-1962), 1:11, and Janel M. Mueller, who contends that the "phrasing of the headings for the Prebend sermons and a number of others seems to come from Donne's own hand, leading to the plausible inference that this volume was printed from the copy which he spoke of writing out during his last, long illness" (*Donne's Prebend Sermons*, ed. Mueller [Cambridge, Mass., 1971], p. 69).

³*Sermons*, 3:42. For the festival and its importance as a civic occasion at St. Paul's, at which the Lord Mayor was obliged to attend, see *Sermons*, 3:42; 4:39; 10:10; and John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, 2 vols. (1908; rpt. Oxford, 1971), 2:190.

⁴*Sermons*, 3:41-3. See too, Peter E. McCullough, who assumes that Donne preached at St. Paul's annually on Christmas and Candlemas Day ("Donne as Preacher at Court: Precarious 'Inthronization'," in *John Donne's Professional Lives*, ed. David Colclough [Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2003], p. 182); and *Sermons*, 4:39.

following his installation as Dean.⁵ Bald follows their lead in then having Donne preaching Candlemas sermons at St. Paul's in 1622/3 and 1626/7.⁶

But the sequence devised by Bald, Potter, and Simpson is not accurate, for Donne did not deliver the Candlemas sermon at St. Paul's in 1622/3. Instead, that sermon was preached not by a member of the cathedral chapter, as might be expected, but by Thomas Myriell, Rector of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, who published the sermon as *The Christians Comfort. In a Sermon Appointed for the Crosse, but Preached in S. Pavls Chvrch on Candlemas day, 1623*.⁷ That Myriell preached before the Lord Mayor, furthermore, is confirmed by the Dedicatory Epistle, which is addressed to "the Right Honorable Peter Proby," who had become Lord Mayor in October 1622, and to John Hodges and Sir Humphrey Hanford, Knight, the two sheriffs who had been elected to serve with Proby during that civic year.⁸

⁵Bald accepts the conclusions of Potter and Simpson with respect to date, but not in terms of place of delivery (*John Donne: A Life*, pp. 381-3, 540-1). For the surviving Candlemas sermons, see *Sermons*, 3:41-3; 4:38-9; 7:28-32; 10:10-14.

⁶Bald, pp. 540-43. Potter and Simpson deem it likely that Donne also preached at Candlemas at St. Paul's in 1629/30, although they could not assign any of the surviving texts to that date with confidence. Thus the fourth and fifth surviving sermons in the series remain undated (*Sermons*, 9:25-6; 10:10-14).

⁷(London, 1623). The precise date of the sermon is established by the Dedicatory Epistle, which Myriell dates "Feb. 24. 1622." Millar Maclure noted the sermon in his study, but did not supply the full information on the title page (*The Paul's Cross Sermons 1534-1642* [Toronto, 1958], p. 245).

⁸The dedication is also "to the rest of the right Worshipfull Knights and Aldermen," which further indicates that Myriell, not Donne, addressed the assembly of City leaders that day. Proby, a former Master of the Barber Surgeons' Company, had transferred to the Grocers' Company in July 1622. He was a distinguished City figure who had

Two matters of importance emerge. First, the change of preacher must have been a fairly late alteration in the preaching schedule. Donne seems to have planned on preaching on this important occasion but then to have been forced by some circumstance to forego it. Donne's printed sermons reveal further irregularities in the early part of this year, although he did preach later in the month at his usual time, the first Friday in Lent.⁹ Perhaps he was ill. The autumn and winter months of 1622-3 were unusually sickly, and London witnessed "high mortality" in that period.¹⁰

Second, Donne must personally have selected the substitute. On another occasion when he felt that he might not be able to preach the "solemn Sermons" required on major occasions before his "great Auditories, at *Paules*, and to the Judges, and at Court," he wrote to a friend, "I must think of conferring something upon such a man as may supplie my place in these Solemnities."¹¹ That he

served in Parliament (Alfred B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London*, 2 vols. [London, 1913]: 1:74, 193, 299; 2:lii, lxi, 53, 177.

⁹Potter and Simpson place the sermon in this year (28 February), although it is undated in the folio (*Sermons*, 4:39, 324). McCullough points out that none of Donne's court sermons in April survive for this year, or for 1622 and 1624, although Donne provides them for all other years of his ministry ("Donne as Preacher at Court," pp. 186-7).

¹⁰In a letter dated c. 1625-28, Donne avers "I am come now...to pay a Feavour every half year, as a Rent for my life" (*Donne: Selected Prose*, ed. Simpson, p. 162). Potter and Simpson cite Chamberlain on the high mortality in the capital at this time, the result of colds, bronchitis, and outbreaks of smallpox (*Prose*, 4:27). On 24 February 1623 at the Middlesex Sessions, inhabitants on Chancery Lane were indicted for leasing rooms "to the great danger of infectious disease with plague and other diseases" (Charles Creighton, *A History of Epidemics in Britain*, 2 vols. [1894; rpt. London, 1965], 1:540).

¹¹Donne to Mrs. Cokayne, dated ?1625-1628 (*Selected Prose*, ed. Simpson, pp. 162, 165), cited by McCullough, who includes Candlemas

chose a man already prepared to deliver a sermon at Paul's Cross indicates that the change may have been very much at the last minute. Even so, Donne is unlikely to have chosen a man unknown to him for such an important occasion, and the details of Myriell's life indicate that he was indeed a man most likely to have been of Donne's acquaintance.¹²

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Information on Myriell's life is scanty, on some points contradictory, and made vexing by confusions with activities by a contemporary Thomas Myriell, who served as Precentor at Chichester Cathedral.¹³ Only recently, in fact, have scholars

among these "solemn Sermons" ("Donne as Preacher at Court," pp. 182-3).

¹²It is of interest, in this respect, that precisely in this early period, Donne had three preachers at Paul's Cross dedicate their sermons to him: Daniel Donne, *A Sub-poena from the Star-chamber of Heaven. A Sermon preached at Paul's Crosse the 4. of August 1622* (London, 1623); Elias Petley, *The Royall Receipt: or, Hezekiahs Physicke. A sermon Delivered At Pavls-Crosse, on Michaelmas Day, 1622* (London, 1623); and Thomas Adams, who dedicated *The Barren Tree. A Sermon Preached at Pauls Crosse October 26. 1623* (London, 1623) to "the reverend and learned, Doctor Donne, Deane of St. Pauls, together with the Prebend-Residentiaries of the same Church, my very good Patrons" (Geoffrey Keynes, *A Bibliography of Dr. John Donne, Dean of Saint Paul's*, 4th ed. [Oxford, 1973], pp. 255-7; Bald, pp. 394-5). The first two sermons were delivered on 4 August and 29 September 1622, respectively (Maclure, *Paul's Cross Sermons*, pp. 243-6). The circumstance suggests some special relation at the time between Donne and those chosen to deliver the sermons.

¹³Pamela J. Willetts, "The Identity of Thomas Myriell," *Music & Letters* 53 (1972): 431-3. Information on Myriell has been further rendered difficult by the more than half dozen forms in which his name appears in contemporary documents: Mirihil, Miriel, Myrill, Myriell,

determined some of the most important features of his life, and the details are suggestive. Myriell's early education was at Cambridge, where he matriculated at Corpus Christi College about 1596 and obtained his B.A. in 1600-1. Shortly thereafter, he entered the priesthood.¹⁴ Myriell's subsequent career is shadowy. Henry Davey reported as early as 1895 that Myriell lived at Barnet, and his first published sermon, *The Devout Soules Search* (1610), described him as "Preacher of the word of God, at Barnet." That sermon, moreover, had been delivered at Paul's Cross, so Donne's man was a man experienced at preaching before large London audiences. Suggestive, too, is Myriell's dedication of that sermon to James Mountague, Bishop of Bath and Wells and Dean of the Chapel to James I, whom he thanks for his patronage.¹⁵ Myriell was also presented about this time with the living of Cold Norton by Thomas Sutton, the future founder of Charterhouse, with which Myriell may have had a later connection.¹⁶

Additional patronage came Myriell's way during the following decade. The report that he became chaplain to Dr. Harsnet, the Bishop of Chichester, almost certainly applies to his namesake contemporary.¹⁷ In September 1616, the Grocers' Company presented him to the living of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, a living he held until his death in 1625. It is no accident, then, that Myriell dedicated his Candlemas sermon in 1622/3 to the Lord Mayor, and, among others, to the "Master, Wardens and *Assistants of the*

Muryell, Merrill, Merrills, and Muriel (M.E., "Muriel," *N&Q*, 4th series, 10 [31 August 1872]: 172-3).

¹⁴Willetts, "The Identity of Thomas Myriell," p. 433.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 431.

¹⁶George Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense* (London, 1898), p. cliv; Pamela J. Willetts, "Musical Connections of Thomas Myriell," *Music & Letters* 49 (1968): 41; M.E., "Muriel," p. 173.

¹⁷M.E., "Muriel," p. 173; John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1541-1857*, Vol. 2 (Chichester Diocese), ed. Joyce M. Horn (London, 1971), p. 10.

right Worshipfull Company of the Grocers, my singular good *Patrones*.”¹⁸ Of more interest here, sometime between 1616 and 1618, Myriell became chaplain to George Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who in 1620 provided him with a license to hold the living of Shellow Bowells, Essex together with the Rectory of St. Stephen’s. Myriell responded to this patronage by dedicating his final publication to the Archbishop’s brother, Maurice Abbot, the Governor of the East India Company.¹⁹

Donne’s own connections with Archbishop Abbot from at least 1616 make it highly probable that he had made Myriell’s acquaintance by this time, if not before, in Abbot’s circles.²⁰ He may also have met him and have continued to meet him through clerical circles at court. Myriell’s first patron was Dean of the Chapel Royal, and his final publication in 1625 was an edition of a sermon by Robert Wilkinson, one of James’s chaplains in ordinary, who had died in 1617.²¹ Thus Donne may also have met Myriell in the company of a fellow chaplain to the king during his early years

¹⁸Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium*, pp. cliv, 386. Myriell professes in the Dedicatory Epistle that the Company is “to me next vnder God and his Maiestie, the meanes of my temporall wel-fare and maintenance; you gaue me freely my Liuing where I feed spiritually, and am fed temporally, besides many other courtesies from time to time receiued” (*The Christians Comfort* [1623], sigs. A2-A3).

¹⁹Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium*, p. cliv; Willetts, “The Identity of Thomas Myriell,” p. 432.

²⁰See especially Bald’s comment with respect to secret correspondence in 1617, that it “looks...as if [Donne] worked more closely with Archbishop Abbot than has usually been assumed,” activities which continued until at least 1623. Abbot, we should note, instituted Donne to the rectory of Sevenoaks in Kent in July 1616 (Bald, pp. 315, 317n.). See, too, Donne’s note to Sir Henry Goodyer in August 1621 that “I have been some times with my L. of *Canterbury*” both in London and at Croydon (Bald, pp. 372-3). On Donne’s consensus with Abbot, see McCullough, “Donne as Preacher at Court,” pp. 192, 199.

²¹Willetts, “The Identity of Thomas Myriell,” p. 432.

in the ministry. Donne, in the event, was almost certainly acquainted with Myriell long before his appointment as Dean of St. Paul's, but their association unquestionably deepened once he became Dean.

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Myriell's significance for Jacobean studies derives not from his activities as a minister, but from his activities as one of the most dedicated music lovers in Jacobean London. He was, in fact, a zealous compiler and arranger of late Elizabethan and Jacobean vocal and instrumental music. Musicologists have long known of his famous anthology of more than 200 compositions, *Tristitiae remedium. Cantiones selectissimae, diversorum tum authorum, tum argumentorum; labore et manu exaratae THOMAE MYRIELL. A.D. 1616*, now in the British Library. Scholars such as Pamela Willetts, Ian Payne, and Craig Monson have further identified him as the chief scribe and compiler of additional groups of manuscript collections of late Elizabethan and Jacobean music now found at Christ Church College, Oxford and in the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels.²²

Meticulous examination of these musical manuscripts, many of which contain unique copies of works by leading composers of the period, including versions of compositions clearly antedating their first publication, has revealed that Myriell enjoyed extensive connections within London's musical communities. He was clearly a good friend of Thomas Tomkins, who dedicated his setting of "When David heard that Absalom was slain" to Myriell when it

²²Pamela J. Willetts, "Musical Connections of Thomas Myriell," *Music & Letters* 49 (1968): 36-42; Craig Monson, "Thomas Myriell's Manuscript Collection: One View of Musical Taste in Jacobean London," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 30 (1977): 419-65; Ian Payne, "The Handwriting of John Ward," *Music & Letters* 65 (1984): 176-88.

was published in 1622, and who helped to copy some compositions into one of Myriell's manuscripts.²³ Myriell's *Tristitiae remedium* likewise remains the unique source for a number of compositions by John Milton, senior, who lived not far from Myriell's cure.²⁴ Myriell may likewise have been connected, among others, to the organist Benjamin Cosyn, organist at Dulwich College and later at Charterhouse, and through Cosyn may have been in contact with Cosyn's presumed teacher, John Bull.²⁵

Myriell's connections to musical sources at court, meanwhile, are suggested by various instrumental compositions in his collections and especially by the unusual prominence in his collections of works by John Ward, a musician with known connections to court circles.²⁶ But Ward was far from his only important connection here. No record survives establishing when Myriell's good friend Thomas Tomkins became a member of the

²³Myriell had copied this composition much earlier into the *Tristitiae remedium* along with additional anthems by Tomkins (Willetts, "Musical Connections," p. 36; Craig Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650: The Sources and the Music* [Ann Arbor, MI, 1982], pp. 28, 34).

²⁴Willetts, "Musical Connections," p. 38. Monson argues that the senior Milton "must have known [Myriell] personally" (*Voices and Viols*, p. 9). Myriell officiated at the marriage of Milton's sister in 1623; in light of this fact and after examining the senior Milton's compositions in *Tristitiae remedium*, William Riley Parker concluded, "it would be difficult to doubt that the Milton family were personally acquainted with its devoted compiler ("Thomas Myriell," *N&Q* 188 [1945]: 103).

²⁵Willetts, "Musical Connections," pp. 41-2. For further indications of Cosyn's links with Myriell's circle, see Monson, *Voices and Viols*, p. 39.

²⁶Thirteen of Ward's madrigals appear in Myriell's *Tristitiae remedium* (Monson, "Thomas Myriell's Manuscript Collection," p. 429). For Ward's career and his connection with Myriell, see Monson, *Voices and Viols*, pp. 5- 47, 280; Willetts, "Musical Connections," pp. 38-41; and Payne, who cites John Aplin on the fact that Myriell's Christ Church manuscripts are "particularly rich in works by Ward" ("The Handwriting of John Ward," pp. 178-86).

choir of the Chapel Royal, but Tomkins was a Gentleman in Ordinary by 1620, and became Organist of the Chapel Royal in August 1621, where he served with Orlando Gibbons and Nathaniel Giles.²⁷

Myriell's connections to Donne are thus likely to have been quite varied. It seems likely that the acquaintance began in the second decade of the seventeenth century. But the most important dimension of Myriell's musical associations with respect to Donne concerns his wide-ranging friendships with musicians associated with St. Paul's Cathedral, associations likewise dating from the second decade of the seventeenth century and predating Donne's connection to the cathedral.²⁸ The oldest of these figures was probably Nicholas Yonge, a lay clerk and one of the vicars choral at St. Paul's from at least 1594 until his death in 1619. Yonge is particularly celebrated for his collections of Italian madrigals with English texts published as *Musica Transalpina* in 1588 and 1597, and he maintained lively musical gatherings at his residence in Cornhill, not far from Myriell.²⁹ Craig Monson, the most recent student of Myriell's manuscripts, argues further that Myriell "very likely encountered the other lay clerks of St. Paul's" in the period 1616-1622, since they owned property near St. Mary Woolchurch Haw, near his parish.³⁰

²⁷Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 275-6, 310; *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 2nd edition, 29 vols. (London, 2001), "Thomas Tomkins." Ward was also, like Myriell, the dedicatee of a composition in Tomkins' 1622 collection (Denis Stevens, *Thomas Tomkins 1572-1656* [1957; rpt. New York, 1967], p. 42).

²⁸"Myriell's musical circle centered around nearby St. Paul's Cathedral" (Monson, "Thomas Myriell's Manuscript Collection," p. 438).

²⁹Monson, *Voices and Viols*, pp. 7-9; David Scott, *The Music of St Paul's Cathedral* (London, 1972), p. 14; *New Grove Dictionary*, 2nd edition, "Nicholas Yonge."

³⁰Monson, *Voices and Viols*, p. 9.

Myriell has been connected with numerous other figures holding positions at the cathedral. One of the most interesting of these figures is the "obscure composer" Simon Stubbes, two of whose extremely rare compositions were copied by Myriell into his *Tristitiae remedium*. Stubbes served as rector of St. Gregory's, by the side of St. Paul's, where he also held the ninth canonry from late 1613 until his death early in 1622.³¹ Myriell's friendship with Stubbes, meanwhile, may help account for Myriell's access to various manuscripts held by St. Paul's.³²

Far more important, quite possibly the most important figure for Myriell at St. Paul's, is John Tomkins, the brother of Myriell's friend Thomas and a figure not even mentioned by Bald. John's association with St. Paul's may have been lifelong, for he is "almost certainly" the John "Thomkins" listed as a student at St. Paul's School.³³ Tomkins has been deemed one of Myriell's oldest musical acquaintances, their association stretching back to their student days at Cambridge, where John matriculated as a scholar at King's College, served as organist of that college beginning in 1606, and received his Bachelor of Music degree in 1608.³⁴ Sometime in

³¹Monson, *Voices and Viols*, pp. 24-8; Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium*, pp. 67, 320-1. The church of St. Gregory's had been granted to the use of the minor canons by Henry VI, who held the patronage of the church, and the cure was traditionally held by one of the lay canons (W. Sparrow Simpson, *Gleanings from Old S. Paul's* [London, 1889], p. 5).

³²According to Hennessy, the ninth canon at St. Paul's also served as librarian (*Novum Repertorium*, p. 67). Morley had served as organist from 1586 to 1592 (Scott, *The Music of St. Paul's Cathedral*, pp. 13-14), and Monson argues that Myriell copied some of Morley's sacred motets from St. Paul's sources (*Voices and Viols*, p. 42).

³³Michael McDonnell, *The Registers of St Paul's School 1509-1748* (p.p., 1977), p. 100. This fact has not been noticed by earlier writers on the family.

³⁴McDonnell, *Registers of St Paul's School*, p. 100; *New Grove Dictionary*, 2nd edition, "John Tomkins." For the contention that

1619, John migrated to London, to assume the position of organist at St. Paul's, where in 1621 he was appointed one of the vicars choral.³⁵ In 1625, Tomkins, designated "Organist of St Pauls London," joined his brother in serving at court, at which time he was sworn in as one of the Gentleman Extraordinary of the Chapel Royal, receiving a promise of the next organist's position there. That appointment did not, however, as once thought, end his service at St. Paul's. A number of documents establish that Tomkins was still serving in the choir throughout the 1620s and 1630s, together with Adrian Batten, appointed to share the duties of organist with him in 1626.³⁶ In 1638, Tomkins "received the rare compliment of burial in S. Paul's," unquestionably in tribute to his highly valued services on behalf of the cathedral.³⁷ Some of Myriell's, as well as his brother's, acquaintances with various

Myriell's association with Tomkins dates back to Cambridge, see especially Monson, "Thomas Myriell's Manuscript Collection," p. 420.

³⁵*New Grove Dictionary*, 2nd edition, "John Tomkins"; Scott, *Music of St Paul's Cathedral*, p. 15. Precise dates of employment at St. Paul's are difficult to determine (see fns. 46 and 55 below). Tomkins died in 1638, and his tombstone in St. Paul's stated that he been in service at the Cathedral for nineteen years, documentation proving that he served an extended probationary period before his official appointment in 1621. Payments for his services at King's College, Cambridge cease after March 1619, so he began at some point after that date, probably as a vicar choral, from whose ranks the organists were drawn (Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c. 1538* [Oxford, 1991], pp. 171-3, 356).

³⁶For this new information, see Scott, *Music of St Paul's Cathedral*, p. 15, who cites documents listing Tomkins in the choir in 1624, 1628, and 1637. Musical pluralism was common among cathedral musicians. Many, like Tomkins, held positions both in cathedral establishments and in the Chapel Royal, a practice Laud attempted to correct in the 1630s (Ibid., pp. 15-16).

³⁷John S. Bumpus, *The Organists & Composers of S. Paul's Cathedral* (London, 1891), pp. 34-5.

cathedral figures, therefore, undoubtedly stem from John's activities at St. Paul's.³⁸

Myriell had probable connections to a number of additional musicians working at St. Paul's during Donne's time as Dean. One such figure is John Barnard, who became a minor canon of St. Paul's in July 1623.³⁹ Like Myriell, Barnard was connected to the composer John Ward, and he, too, collected manuscripts of Ward's sacred works. In 1641 he published *The First Book of Selected Church Musick*, a collection manifesting much the same taste as Myriell's manuscript collections and publishing a number of the same pieces.⁴⁰ Equally important is Adrian Batten. In 1614 Batten migrated to London from Winchester to serve as a vicar choral at Westminster Abbey. In 1626 he left the Abbey to become Tomkins' co-organist at St. Paul's, becoming one of the vicars choral himself by 1628.⁴¹

³⁸In his 1622 publication, John's brother Thomas dedicated pieces to him—an honor which he reciprocated by penning a prefatory poem for the collection—and, among others, to Myriell and to Theophilus Aylmer, who, like Stubbes served as a prebendary at St. Paul's (Stevens, *Thomas Tomkins*, pp. 41-45). For Donne and Aylmer, who held the offices of Prebend of Holywell *alias* Finsbury and Archdeacon of London, see John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541-1857*, I (St. Paul's, London), ed. Joyce M. Horn (London, 1969), pp. 8, 34; Bald, pp. 391, 401. He died by January 1626 (*Ibid.*, p. 8).

³⁹Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium*, p. 64.

⁴⁰Payne, "The Handwriting of John Ward," p. 187; Monson, "Thomas Myriell's Manuscript Collection," p. 441.

⁴¹Peter Le Huray, "Towards a Definitive Study of Pre-Restoration Anglican Service Music," *Musica Disciplina* 14 (1960): 173; Scott, *Music of St Paul's Cathedral*, p. 15. Precise dates of service at St. Paul's are difficult to determine. Batten does not formally appear as a vicar choral until 22 December 1628. Since the vicars choral always served an extended probationary period (currently of two years), Batten is characteristically assumed to have begun as a vicar choral in 1626, although some place it as early as 1624 (J. Bunker Clark and Maurice

More important than either of these figures is Martin Peerson. Roughly the same age as Donne, Peerson's career is murky, although he seems to have served as a household musician to Sir Fulke Greville and to have received patronage from Sir William Cornwallis. Like Myriell and Tomkins, he is associated with "the Cambridge area," from which he apparently migrated to London about 1604. Like the younger Donne and Jonson, he was Catholic and was convicted of recusancy in 1606 at the same time as Ben Jonson.⁴² Myriell seems to have made Peerson's acquaintance roughly about 1613, when the latter received his Bachelor of Music degree from Oxford and by which time he had become a conforming member of the national church.⁴³ Peerson, moreover, is a figure with known connections to Donne, for Donne appointed him Master of the Choristers during his tenure as Dean.⁴⁴ Bald's brisk mention of Peerson, however, makes it appear that their association was a late one, whereas Peerson's early history makes it possible that the two had met in the early years of the century, when Donne was particularly close to Jonson and still mingling

Bevan, "New Biographical Facts About Adrian Batten," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 23 (1970): 331-3; Le Huray, "Towards a Definitive Study of Pre-Restoration Anglican Service Music," p. 173).

⁴²Marylin Wailes, "Martin Peerson," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 80 [1953-4]: 59-71; Monson, "Thomas Myriell's Manuscript Collection," p. 421; *New Grove Dictionary*, 2nd edition, "Martin Peerson"; Bald, p. 401n. More than a year before he and Jonson were indicted for recusancy, Peerson set a madrigal for Jonson's masque *Penates*, a circumstance suggesting that he and Jonson were well acquainted by 1605 (Mark Eccles, "Jonson and the Spies," *RES* 13 [1937]: 396).

⁴³Audrey Jones points out that in taking his degree, Peerson "would have had to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles and thus to Protestantism" (*New Grove Dictionary*, 2nd edition, "Martin Peerson").

⁴⁴Bald, p. 401n.; Wailes, "Martin Peerson," pp. 63-4.

with known Catholics, such as Sir Toby Mathew.⁴⁵ More important, in all likelihood Peerson had been an active musician at the cathedral for a number of years before Donne's arrival. Peerson's activities in the second decade of the seventeenth century are truly obscure, but it seems that he may have become employed as an organist at St. Paul's as early as 1613; in 1623 he also became a sacrist at Westminster Abbey.⁴⁶ Sometime between June 1624 and 1625, Donne appointed Peerson "almoner and Maister of the Choristers of the Cathedral Church of St Paule," and at some point he may have been made a petty canon of the cathedral.⁴⁷ Like Tomkins, then, Peerson is a figure with whom Donne became

⁴⁵See, for example, Donne's association with Mathew, who had converted to Catholicism, in 1607-8 (Bald, pp. 187-8).

⁴⁶Information on Peerson's employment at St. Paul's is hopelessly confused. The standard accounts afford no reference to his employment at St. Paul's until the mid-1620s. Bumpus, however, asserts that Peerson was appointed Almoner at the Cathedral in 1613 (*Organists & Composers of S. Paul's Cathedral*, p. 26), and Kenneth Long maintains that Peerson served as organist at the cathedral from 1613 until his death (*The Music of the English Church* [New York: St. Martin's, 1971], p. 192). See fn. 89 below.

⁴⁷Again, the authorities disagree. Bald places Peerson's appointment in 1626, and the official record admitting Peerson as Master of the Choristers is indeed dated 3 April 1626 (p. 401). However, musicologists report that Peerson's employment came between June 1624 and June 1625 (*New Grove Dictionary*, 2nd edition, "Martin Peerson."), and a lease dated 23 June 1625 describes him as "Martyn Pereson Batchiler in Musick Almenor of the same Church," evidence supporting the claims of Bumpus and Long above (Scott, *Music of St Paul's Cathedral*, p. 15). Wailes notes that the Almoner was by tradition chosen from the vicars choral and finds it "probable" that Peerson had become one of the vicars choral by May 1620 ("Martin Peerson," pp. 63-4, 67). Monson, moreover, on the basis of an analysis of Myriell's earliest manuscripts, contends that Peerson was one of three composers who "must represent the central figures of a musical enclave around the cathedral" in the period 1616-c. 1622 (*Voices and Viols*, p. 9).

acquainted at least as early as 1621, if not earlier, and a figure with whom he served regularly throughout his tenure as Dean. Peerson was likewise known to Myriell, who seems to have made Peerson's acquaintance roughly about 1613. He was particularly interested in Peerson's sacred compositions, and between 1613 and the early 1620s, he copied out a number of them, including six of Peerson's thirteen surviving verse anthems. Monson maintains that Myriell transcribed them from manuscripts in the collections of St. Paul's.⁴⁸ Although he may well have made Myriell's acquaintance earlier, then, Donne's acquaintance with him undoubtedly deepened through the musical friendships enjoyed by musicians serving in his cathedral.⁴⁹ Worthy of note, too, is the fact that Peerson worked for a period at Westminster with Adrian Batten, his later colleague at St. Paul's.

Two final figures further connect Donne to these circles of musicians. Walton informs us that in his near-fatal illness of 1623-24, Donne composed the "heavenly Hymn" "An Hymn to God the Father," excusing his mention of it "for that he caus'd it to be set to

⁴⁸Monson stresses that for *Tristitiae remedium* Myriell had access to a source "particularly rich in the works of Martin Peerson from St. Paul's" ("Thomas Myriell's Manuscript Collection," pp. 425, 432-3; Monson, *Voices and Viols*, p. 9). Since Myriell had copied some of Peerson's compositions into his earliest collection, Add. 29427, which dates from c. 1612/13-c. 1618, he presumably made Peerson's acquaintance early in the decade. Other compositions by Peerson are found in the *Tristitiae remedium*, traditionally dated 1616, the date on its cover, but Monson has advanced evidence suggesting that the compilation of the collection "stretched over at least two years and perhaps even into the 1620s" ("Myriell's Manuscript Collection," pp. 425, 432-4, 438).

⁴⁹It seems particularly suggestive in this context that "it is very likely that St. Paul's provided the main outlet for [John] Ward's liturgical music," another of Myriell's acquaintances (Payne, "The Handwriting of John Ward," p. 187). Monson points out that "Ward's few pieces of extant service music only survive in manuscripts associated with Barnard or Adrian Batten" (Monson, *Voices and Viols*, p. 40).

a most grave and solemn Tune, and to be often sung to the *Organ* by the *Choristers* of *St. Pauls Church*, in his own hearing.”⁵⁰ The sole surviving contemporary setting of Donne’s poem is by the organist and composer John Hilton. Hilton was the son of a church composer of the same name, and like so many of the musicians mentioned above, also received his training at Cambridge, taking a Bachelor of Music degree from Trinity College, Cambridge in 1626, averring that he had been studying that “science” for ten years. In 1628, Hilton obtained the posts of clerk and organist of St. Margaret’s, Westminster, the church of Parliament.⁵¹ It has long been suggested that Hilton’s is the setting Donne commissioned.⁵² It is important, in this regard, to recognize that Hilton early on established good relations both at court and with a number of the musicians at St. Paul’s. Contrary to earlier thinking, moreover, he was in London and in the region of St. Paul’s long before his appointment to St. Margaret’s, Westminster. Mary Chan discovered that Hilton migrated to London in 1626, shortly after receiving his degree, leasing a house in the Almonry at Westminster from the Dean and Chapter. The following year,

⁵⁰Walton rephrases the information later in the biography, saying it was “sung in the *Quire* of *St. Pauls Church*” (*The Lives of John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Richard Hooker, George Herbert, and Robert Sanderson* [1927; rpt. London, 1966], pp. 61-2, 66). His description strongly suggests that he had heard the composition performed. Hilton died in 1657 (*Sermons*, VI: 7).

⁵¹*New Grove Dictionary*, 2nd edition, “John Hilton.”

⁵²Keynes, *Bibliography of Donne*, 4th edition, p. 164. Sir Herbert Grierson printed a “corrected” transcription of Hilton’s setting from Egerton MS. 2013 and provided a harmonization of the composition by C. Sanford Terry (*The Poems of John Donne*, 2 vols. [1912; rpt. Oxford, 1966], 2:252-4). A more elaborate realization can be found in André Souris, trans., *Poèmes de Donne, Herbert, et Crashaw mis en musique par leur contemporains G. Coperario, A. Ferrabosco, J. Wilson, W. Corkine, J. Hilton*, Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 19 (Paris, 1961), p. 18.

Hilton's *Ayres or Fa La's for Three Voyces* were published by George Latham, a bookseller at the Brazen Serpent in St. Paul's Churchyard. Hilton's *Ayres* were dedicated, furthermore, to William Heather, the previous holder of the lease from the Chapter. Heather was a prominent figure in London musical circles. Hilton's association with him probably began in 1626, and Heather undoubtedly introduced him to a number of musicians working at the Abbey and at court, many of whom had strong connections to the musicians of St. Paul's.⁵³ Hilton, in turn, provided favors for musicians at St. Paul's. According to Anthony à Wood, at Candlemas 1633 Hilton presented Simon Ives, a singer, string player, and prolific composer regarded as "one of the choicest Caroline musicians," to the King at Whitehall. An excellent countertenor and instrumentalist, especially on the theorbo and the Lyra viol, Ives had become one of the vicars choral of St. Paul's about 1630.⁵⁴ In 1652, when Hilton came to publish his famous collection of catches, *Catch that Catch Can*, he included compositions by Ives and also by the singer and composer William Cranford, who had served as vicar choral at St. Paul's throughout most, perhaps all, of Donne's tenure as Dean.⁵⁵ None of Hilton's

⁵³Cecil S. Emden, "Lives of Elizabethan Song Composers: Some New Facts," *RES* 2 (1926): 422; Mary Chan, "John Hilton's Manuscript British Library ADD. MS 11608," *Music & Letters* 60 (1979): 440-9. For the prominent connections between the musicians at Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's, see fns. 89 and 92 below.

⁵⁴*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London, 1980), "Simon Ives"; Andrew J. Sabol, "New Documents on Shirley's Masque 'The Triumph of Peace,'" *Music & Letters* 47 (1966): 10-26. Compositions by Ives are also found in a manuscript collection belonging to Hilton (Chan, "John Hilton's Manuscript," pp. 442, 446, 448).

⁵⁵Cranford has been associated with the musicians of St. Paul's as early as 1612, when he composed an elegy on the death of Prince Henry. He is known to have been one of the vicars choral by 1624, but may have been serving as one at least as early as 1621 (Scott, *Music of St Paul's*

compositions are found in Myriell's collections, undoubtedly because Hilton joined the London circles after Myriell's death in 1625. But his association with Donne unquestionably arose from the same sources: the circles of the active music-makers in Donne's cathedral.⁵⁶

Finally, there is Peerson's friend, Thomas Ravenscroft, who as a boy had served as a chorister at St. Paul's under both Thomas Giles and Edward Pearce.⁵⁷ Ravenscroft probably performed as an instrumentalist and actor-singer for performances by the St. Paul's company of child actors, for whom he wrote a number of compositions.⁵⁸ He subsequently pursued advanced musical studies at Gresham College and perhaps at Cambridge, from which, like Tomkins and Peerson, he received his Bachelor of Music degree in the first decade of the seventeenth century.⁵⁹ Like Myriell, he

Cathedral, p. 15; *New Grove Dictionary*, 2nd edition, "William Cranford," "John Hilton"; Bumpus, *Organists & Composers of S. Paul's Cathedral*, p. 28). William's relation to Thomas Cranford, another vicar choral at St. Paul's, is undetermined.

⁵⁶Adrian Batten died in 1637 (Clark and Bevan, "New Biographical Facts," p. 333). It seems significant here that the so-called "Batten Organ Book," now at St. Michael's College, Tenbury, which was used in performance, included work by Stubbes, Cranford, and Hilton, as well as works by Thomas Tomkins and Ward (Le Huray, "Towards a Definitive Study of Pre-Restoration Anglican Service Music," pp. 172-3).

⁵⁷Ian Payne places Ravenscroft as a chorister at St. Paul's as early as c. 1598 ("The sacred music of Thomas Ravenscroft," *Early Music* 10 [1982]: 315, n.5). He undoubtedly met John Tomkins in that early period (see fn. 33 above).

⁵⁸Monson, *Voices and Viols*, p. 9; *New Grove Dictionary*, 2nd edition, "Thomas Ravenscroft."

⁵⁹*New Grove Dictionary*, 2nd edition, "Thomas Ravenscroft." Ravenscroft dedicated his *Briefe Discourse* (1614) to "the Right Worshipful, most worthy Grave Senators, Guardians of Gresham College in London" (Jeffrey Mark, "Thomas Ravenscroft, B. Mus. [c. 1583-c. 1633]," *Musical Times* 65 [1924]: 882-3).

became one of the most energetic compilers of musical material on the London scene, initially of popular secular material. His earliest edited collections of rounds and catches, *Pammelia* (1609) and *Deuteromelia* (1609), also reveal that he continued to compose music for the theatre, including music used in Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* and Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*.⁶⁰

Sometime around the middle of the second decade of the century, Ravenscroft's interests began to shift to sacred music, a shift perhaps leading to his appointment as master of music at Christ's Hospital, where he served from 1618 to 1622. The finest sign of his shift of interest is his *Whole Booke of Psalmes* (1621), one of the most important musical psalters of the entire period, for which he himself contributed over fifty settings. Equally important, for our purposes, is the fact that the collection also featured new settings by Simon Stubbes, John and Thomas Tomkins, William Cranford, John Milton the elder, John Ward, and Ravenscroft's good friend Martin Peerson, the very composers featured in Myriell's manuscript collections from the same period.⁶¹ It comes as no surprise, as a result, that Ravenscroft's compositions are in turn found in more than one of Myriell's manuscript collections.⁶² The fact that one of the two earliest and variant

⁶⁰*New Grove Dictionary*, 2nd edition, "Thomas Ravenscroft."

⁶¹Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England*, p. 382. Peerson had become Ravenscroft's friend well before the compiling of Myriell's collection, for he contributed a prefatory poem to Ravenscroft's *Briefe Discourse* in 1614 (Mark, "Ravenscroft," p. 883; see, too, Monson, *Voices and Viols*, p. 86).

⁶²In Myriell's earliest collection, Ravenscroft's pieces occur next to compositions by Milton and Peerson (Monson, "Thomas Myriell's Manuscript Collection," pp. 443-5). A similar conjunction occurs in the musical manuscripts of Thomas Hammond (Monson, *Voices and Viols*, p. 102). The attribution of one composition was even confused between the two composers, but the Myriell partbooks (1616) properly identify it as Ravenscroft's (Payne, "The sacred music of Thomas Ravenscroft," p. 312).

copies of Ravenscroft's *Whole Booke of Psalmes* contains a dedication to Archbishop Abbott suggests that Ravenscroft, perhaps through Myriell, also enjoyed connections with musicians within the Archbishop's circles.⁶³

For Myriell, however, the crucial point is that Ravenscroft was a man surely known to Donne. Ravenscroft's family was related to the first wife of Sir Thomas Egerton, Donne's first great patron, and three members of that family took part in the funeral of Egerton's son, Thomas, in 1599, together with Donne. Members of the family, furthermore, remained in contact with Donne throughout his life.⁶⁴

Although Donne had almost certainly met Myriell years before, then, their association inevitably deepened upon Donne's appointment as Dean of St. Paul's. At St. Paul's he found a talented group of musicians with whom he constantly worked closely on behalf of cathedral services, many of whom possessed strong connections to Myriell, connections formed many years before. His brilliant organist, in fact, was one of Myriell's closest friends. The details of Myriell's life thus make it clear that in making his choice, Donne chose a man experienced with preaching on important civic occasions, and a man known to him whom he could personally trust.

* * * *

The discovery of Myriell's sermon thus opens a number of new dimensions in Donne studies. First, it calls for a reconsideration of Donne's Candlemas sermons as a whole. The *LXXX folio* labels each of the Candlemas sermons printed as having been "Preached upon Candlemas Day," but the designation is not binding: other mistakes in time of delivery and location have been detected in the

⁶³Robert Illing, *Est-Barley-Ravenscroft and the English Metrical Psalter* (Adelaide, 1969), p. 12.

⁶⁴Bald, pp. 105-6, 132, 334, 336.

folio printing.⁶⁵ Since Donne did not deliver a sermon in 1622/3, however, at the very least the sermon assigned to this time by Potter and Simpson needs to be reassigned. Equally important, Myriell's sermon means that we can now account for nine of the ten occasions when Donne had been able to preach at Candlemas at St. Paul's. The *LXXX Sermons* preserves sermons delivered on five of these occasions. In addition, he did not, as we have seen, preach in 1622/3. It has reasonably been assumed that Donne did not preach then in the midst of his recovery from his near-fatal struggle with relapsing fever in late 1623-early 1624, the illness which produced the *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*. The coronation of Charles I on 2 February 1626, in which Donne almost certainly participated, would seem to eliminate that year as well.⁶⁶ And, as we have seen above, although he was finally unable to do so, he had planned to preach on Candlemas Day in 1631. We thus possess the majority, perhaps all, of the sermons he preached on that important occasion.⁶⁷

Equally important, Myriell's sermon leads us to a deeper consideration of Donne's relations with the musicians in his cathedral, knowledge which also leads to a better understanding of a larger pattern within his biography. Donne throughout his life was aware of musical forms (if only to subvert them), and he

⁶⁵For anomalies and inaccuracies in the folio's designations, see *Sermons*: 3:26; 4:31-3; 5:4-5, 13; 7:32; 9:26; 10:29-30, and McCullough, "Donne as Preacher at Court."

⁶⁶No documentary evidence establishes Donne's participation in the coronation, but scholars assume his presence (*Sermons*, 7:29; 10:10-11; Bald, p. 481). His participation is made even more likely in light of Peter McCullough's demonstration of Charles's remarkable favor at the outset of his reign ("Donne as Preacher at Court," pp. 187-93).

⁶⁷Various theories have been advanced for the unavailability of other years, without complete success. At one time, Potter and Simpson maintained that Donne did not preach at Candlemas when he preached on or near 25 January, the commemorative day for St. Paul, but they later retracted the theory (*Sermons*, 7:29; 10:10-11).

enjoyed associations with musicians. A number of the *Songs and Sonets*, for example, manifest awareness of popular song forms.⁶⁸ Settings of his poems from the early years of the seventeenth century by composers such as Alfonso Ferrabosco, William Corkine, and John Coperario strongly suggest his presence within various musical circles about London during the middle period of his life.⁶⁹ Corkine, for example, who published a setting of Donne's *Tis true tis day* in 1612, dedicated his first collection, *Ayres, to Sing and Play to the Lute and Basse Violl* (1610), to Sir Edward Herbert, a highly musical patron, under whom he seems to have served an apprenticeship.⁷⁰ He doubtless met Donne in Herbert's London quarters and became acquainted with his poetry through his patron, with whom Donne was particularly close about that time.⁷¹

⁶⁸See, for example, Edward Doughtie, who maintains that, despite manifest differences, Donne's lyrics may well have been influenced by song lyrics (Doughtie, edition, *Lyrics from English Airs, 1596-1622* [Cambridge, Mass., 1970], pp. 28-9, 37-9, 294-5, 389, 564, 601-2, 611-12).

⁶⁹For transcriptions of early settings of Donne's works, see André Souris, trans., *Poèmes de Donne, Herbert, et Crashaw mis en musique par leur contemporains G. Coperario, A. Ferrabosco, J. Wilson, W. Corkine, J. Hilton*, Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 19 (Paris, 1961). See, too, fn. 76 below.

⁷⁰*New Grove Dictionary*, 2nd edition, "William Corkine." For Herbert's musical proclivities, see, especially, Thurston Dart, "Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Lute-Book," *Music & Letters* 38 (1957): 136-48.

⁷¹The origin of Donne's friendship with Edward Herbert and his mother is highly contested. Bald places the friendships in the period of Donne's service with Egerton and considers Sir Edward Donne's "first poetic disciple." He sees Donne as "a frequent visitor at [Lady Herbert's] town house near Charing Cross" by 1607, and since Edward stayed with his mother when in London, the two "had every opportunity of becoming well acquainted." By 1608, Herbert and Donne were reacting to each other's poems and engaged in literary games and projects with each other, and Herbert wrote an elegy upon Donne's death, speaking of him as "Dunn, whom I so lov'd alive" (Bald, pp. 114, 118-19, 180-6,

Yet another likely environment is the household of Sir Henry Fanshawe, who maintained a London residence in Warwick Lane. Sir Henry was a great musical enthusiast and the patron of John Ward, whose compositions figure so prominently in Myriell's manuscripts as well as in the collections of the musicians of St. Paul's. Particularly pertinent here is the fact that Fanshawe was the very good friend of Donne's intimate, Sir Henry Wotton.⁷² Donne, consequently, may well have met Myriell as well as some of his future musicians in Fanshawe's London residence in Wotton's company.

Equally important may be the strong musical traditions within the household of John Egerton, the first Earl of Bridgewater, to whom Donne was close.⁷³ Egerton's musical interests were extensive. He patronized the composer John Attey, who in 1622 professed that the best of his Ayres "were composed under your

269; H.W. Garrod, "Donne and Mrs. Herbert," *RES* 21 [1945]: 161-73; Don A. Keister, "Donne and Herbert of Cherbury: An Exchange of Verses," *MLQ* 8 [1947]: 430-34; Terry G. Sherwood, "Reason, Faith, and Just Augustinian Lamentation in Donne's 'Elegy on Prince Henry'," *SEL* 13 [1973]: 53-67).

⁷²John Aplin, "Sir Henry Fanshawe and Two Sets of Early Seventeenth-Century Part-Books at Christ Church, Oxford," *Music & Letters* 57 (1976): 13-14. For Sir Henry, his friendship with Wotton, and Wotton's visits, see H.C. Fanshawe, *The History of the Fanshawe Family* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1927), pp. 73-89; Logan Pearsall Smith, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, 2 vols. [1907; rpt. Oxford, 1966], 1:118, 131. See, too, fn. 82 below. Cranford, Ives, and John Ward were all associated with the musical circle of the Fanshawe family (Aplin, pp. 14-15, 19).

⁷³For the Earl, who had known Donne since the 1590s and owned many of Donne's works, see especially Bald, *passim*, and David Novarr, *The Disinterred Muse: Donne's Texts and Contexts* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980), esp. pp. 207-10.

roof.”⁷⁴ Of greater moment for Donne, the Earl owned the holograph manuscript of John Coperario’s *Rules How to Compose*, which he signed twice, before and after he became Earl of Bridgewater in 1617. Manfred Bukofzer, who printed the work in fascimile, argued that in “all likehihood the treatise was written for or at the request of Egerton,” and that the composer presented him with the manuscript around 1610, a circumstance suggesting a strong connection between the family and this composer and from an early date. Donne’s intimacy with the Earl and his wife leaves little doubt that over the years Donne must have enjoyed musical gatherings in his household as well, and it seems noteworthy that Egerton seems to have been particularly close to Coperario.⁷⁵

Then, as we have seen, at the end of his life Donne enjoyed associations with a number of talented composers of sacred music, and the musicians of St. Paul’s may not have been the first. Among the earliest of them may have been Thomas Ford, who composed a

⁷⁴Walter L. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I* [1953; rpt. New York, 1969], pp. 59-60, 63-4].

⁷⁵Giovanni Coperario, *Rules how to Compose*, ed. Bukofzer (Los Angeles, 1952), pp. 2-3. Some have suggested that Egerton studied music under Coperario, whom he patronized, as in later years he did Attey and Henry Lawes (*William Lawes [1602-1645]: Essays on his Life, Times, and Work*, ed. Andrew Ashbee [Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998], p. 238, n.9; Willa McClung Evans, *Henry Lawes: Musician and Friend of Poets* [1941; rpt. New York: Kraus Reprint Corp., 1966], pp. 24-5; Ian Spink, *Henry Lawes, Cavalier Songwriter* [Oxford, 2000], pp. 4, 20, 90-1). Brian Morris suggests that Coperario’s setting of “Send home my long strayed eyes,” surviving only in manuscript, “may suggest a personal link between poet and composer,” although he relates it to Coperario’s possible association with the Killigrew family (“Not, Siren-like, to tempt: Donne and the Composers,” in *John Donne: Essays in Celebration*, ed. A.J. Smith [London: Methuen, 1972], p. 220). Donne clearly could have met Coperario regularly in a number of households in which they were both regular guests, but Egerton’s household seems the most likely early location.

three-part setting of two stanzas of Donne's paraphrase of *Lamentations*. Brian Morris first printed the full setting of this composition in 1972 from the surviving part-books at Christ Church, Oxford. Morris notes that Ford was appointed a musician to Prince Henry in 1611 and later became a musician to Charles I and suggests that Ford became acquainted with Donne and his work in court circles.⁷⁶

Ford's works and career, in fact, suggest strong continuities between the second and third groups of musicians noted above. In the musical establishments of Prince Henry and Prince Charles, for example, Ford came in contact with both Ferrabosco and John (or Giovanni) Coperario, who may have been Charles's teacher and was himself in Charles's service for a number of years.⁷⁷ Particularly suggestive is Ford's association with William Leighton. Leighton, a poet, amateur composer, and Gentleman Pensioner, was down on his luck and in prison by 1612. In early 1613 he published a collection of poems to testify to his repentance for his behavior under the title *The Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowfull Soule*, publishing a collection by the same title and dedicated to Prince

⁷⁶Morris, "Not, Siren-like," pp. 240-1, 252-8. Helen Gardner and others had referred to the setting, and John Shawcross had printed a modernized transcription of the melody, but Morris offered the first full printing of the work. I agree with Morris' conclusions, but his claim, that Ford became musician to King Charles in 1626, is incorrect. Ford, a talented viol player and lutenist, had already become a member of Prince Charles' establishment of seventeen musicians by 1617, many inherited from his brother Henry. Ford received, in fact, a number of gifts from Charles, including an annuity of £120 from Charles as Prince of Wales (*William Lawes*, ed. Ashbee, pp. 2-3; *New Grove Dictionary*, 2nd edition, "Thomas Ford"; Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I*, pp. 302-3).

⁷⁷*William Lawes*, ed. Ashbee, pp. 2-3. Bukofzer describes Coperario as the teacher of both Prince Henry and Prince Charles, in whose service he remained (*Rules how to Compose*, ed. Bukofzer, pp. 1-2). If so, Ford and Coperario met in the service of Prince Henry.

Charles the following year containing 55 settings of many of these poems by 21 composers, among them Thomas Ford. Other composers in the collection include Myriell's friend, John Milton, senior, John Coperario, John Ward, Alfonso Ferrabosco, and Martin Peerson.⁷⁸ Recent work has also established that in the period 1612-1625, Ford was in contact with a group of London musicians close to Myriell's group, one likewise enjoying dual connections with court musicians and a cluster of musicians about St. Paul's.⁷⁹ Here Ford appears as a composer of sacred music in the company of both Ferrabosco and Corkine. Here, too, appear musicians Donne worked with early in his career at St. Paul's: Martin Peerson, Simon Stubbes, and, even more prominently, William Cranford.⁸⁰ The fact that compositions by John Ward, who belonged to Fanshawe's establishment, and Thomas Ravenscroft are equally prominent in the collection of this circle, provides additional confirmation that these musicians were well known to each other in the decade prior to 1621, the date of Donne's appointment to St. Paul's and the appearance of Ravenscroft's *Whole Booke of Psalmes*.⁸¹ Donne, in the event,

⁷⁸*New Grove Dictionary*, 2nd edition, "Sir William Leighton"; Sir William Leighton, *The Tears or Lamentations of a Sorrowful Soul*, trans. Cecil Hill, Early English Church Music 11 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1970), pp. vii-viii, ix-xii.

⁷⁹Monson, *Voices and Viols*, esp. pp. 59-60, an analysis of the province of the collection now known as Christ Church MSS 56-60. Peter Le Huray contended that this collection was also in Myriell's hand. Monson is more cautious, though agreeing that the collection "clearly originated in a London musical circle, one reasonably close to that of Thomas Myriell and the court...[and is] roughly contemporary with Myriell's collection" (pp. 59-60, 65-6).

⁸⁰Monson, *Voices and Viols*, pp. 68-9. The appearance of Ford's music here is significant, since, as Monson notes, Ford's sacred music is "represented only rarely in manuscript sources" (p. 60).

⁸¹Monson, *Voices and Viols*, pp. 59-62. Ford and Ward each contributed two pieces to Sir William Leighton's *Teares or Lamentacions*

unquestionably met Ford and a number of his future associates at the cathedral at a much earlier point in musical circles about London and at court.⁸² That Myriell was connected with Barnard and Batten, and that Ford's compositions appear repeatedly in contemporary manuscript collections with works by Martin Peerson, Thomas Tomkins, William Cranford, and Simon Ives, suggests further that Donne characteristically made his major appointments of musicians from these very circles.⁸³

These musical associations also provide the most likely context for a late event in Donne's life. In 1629, Donne was appointed to a special commission formed to adjudicate the claims of Giles Tomkins to the position of "instructor of the choristers" at

of a Sorrowfull Soule (1614). Ward also composed elegies on Prince Henry, one of which was preserved in Christ Church MSS 56-60. Aplin suggested that this collection was prepared for Ward's patron and employer, Sir Henry Fanshawe, who was intimate with the Prince and served as his remembrancer of the exchequer ("Sir Henry Fanshawe," pp. 11-24). Ford, we have seen, was also in the Prince's employ, and Aplin notes that although "Ward was not himself a court musician, he would have known the men of the King's Musick, and probably the court circle generally, through Fanshawe's associations" ("Sir Henry Fanshawe," pp. 14-15).

⁸²Several of William Cranford's rare vocal compositions, including an elegy on the death of Prince Henry, appear in a manuscript associated with the Fanshawe family, suggesting that he was well known within Fanshawe's circle of musicians (*New Grove Dictionary*, 2nd edition, "William Cranford").

⁸³The appointment of Richard Sandy, who first appears as a vicar choral with John Tomkins and Adrian Batten in 1628 is another case in point. Sandy was a countertenor who had served with Batten at Westminster Abbey. He appears in a record of 22 December 1628 as "Pittansarie to the Vicars Choral," a position to be held by one of the vicars choral. His service in the cathedral, like Batten's, thus clearly began some time before, perhaps as early as 1626, and, like Batten, he must have worked with Peerson at Westminster (Clark and Bevan, "New Biographical Facts," p. 332).

Salisbury Cathedral.⁸⁴ Donne unquestionably met a good number of musicians serving at the court in the early years of his ministry, both through his service as Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the King from 1615 and through Myriell, who enjoyed friendships with many of these musicians. Myriell may conceivably have been the first to introduce Donne to his friends John and Thomas Tomkins, the latter the greatest composer of his generation. Whatever the sequence of acquaintanceships, at court Donne worked directly with the musicians of the Chapel Royal in offering daily services. Thus Donne is quite likely, even before his appointment to St. Paul's, to have worked with Thomas Tomkins.⁸⁵ Donne's mutual service thereafter with John Tomkins both at St. Paul's and at court, would naturally have deepened his relations to both brothers, particularly after 1623, when, upon the death of William Byrd, Thomas became the senior organist and chief composer for the Chapel.⁸⁶ Such service would naturally have brought about introductions to other members of their family, among them their brother Robert, also serving among the King's musicians, and at some point their youngest brother Giles, who became an eminent organist at Salisbury.⁸⁷ By 1629, Donne was undoubtedly known to

⁸⁴Bald, pp. 422-3.

⁸⁵For Donne's services in the Chapel Royal, see McCullough, esp. pp. 183-7. Tomkins was appointed Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1620, but "more than likely" had been serving there "for some considerable time before that--perhaps even from 1603" (Le Huray, *Music and Reformation in England*, p. 275). John Irving suggests that Tomkins had become attached to the court shortly after 1601 and that many of his anthems must have been composed in the first decade of the 17th century for use in the Chapel Royal as well as in Worcester Cathedral (*New Grove Dictionary*, 2nd edition, "Thomas Tomkins.")

⁸⁶Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England*, p. 276.

⁸⁷Robert's sacred vocal music was also performed in the Chapel Royal in Donne's time: the words, but not the music, of all his surviving anthems are found in the Chapel Royal wordbook of 1630. For the

all of the brothers, and that familiarity almost certainly lay behind his appointment to the commission, which involved a dispute over the King's *congé d'élire* on Giles's behalf for a prebend's place in Salisbury Cathedral.⁸⁸ The Tomkins brothers undoubtedly petitioned the King to include Donne, a man well known to them and fully aware of their capabilities and of their long service to the Crown, to take part in the proceedings.

Finally, the recovery of Thomas Myriell affords glimpses into features of Donne's professional and social life neglected by Bald. Apart from a brusque sentence on Peerson, Bald has nothing of significance to say about Donne's relations with the musicians in the service of his cathedral. Myriell's collections, various publications in the early seventeenth century, and recent scholarship, however, make it clear that at St. Paul's Donne presided over one of the premiere musical establishments in the nation, one that clearly rivalled Westminster Abbey and the Chapel Royal in talent.⁸⁹ Donne's musicians, furthermore, enjoyed vigorous, varied, and highly productive musical lives. In John Tomkins, he had perhaps the finest organist in the land, although he had to share him with the King.⁹⁰ A good number of the vicars choral were talented composers, as well as talented singers and

extended Tomkins family, see *New Grove Dictionary*, 2nd edition, "Tomkins."

⁸⁸*DNB*, "Giles Tomkins"; Bald, pp. 422-3. For details about the complicated case, see Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, pp. 261-2.

⁸⁹Connections between these establishments were close. Batten, Peerson, and Sandy, for example, all migrated from Westminster to St. Paul's; Peerson, in fact, seems to have served as a sacrist at the Abbey from 1623-1630 simultaneously with his service at St. Paul's (Clark and Bevan, "New Biographical Facts," p. 332; *New Grove Dictionary*, 2nd edition, "Martin Peerson").

⁹⁰Tomkins' monumental inscription in St. Paul's Cathedral, erected in 1638, proclaimed him to be "organista sui temporis celeberrimus" (Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, p. 172).

instrumentalists. In Adrian Batten, in fact, Donne had in his employ the most active composer of sacred music of his generation, with the notable exception of Thomas Tomkins.⁹¹ The fact that compositions by Peerson and John Ward formed a key part of the repertory at St. Paul's likewise demonstrates that Donne's musicians were progressive and offered at their services much of the finest music available by the best contemporary composers, performed, too, by musicians favored by the court.⁹² It hardly seems an accident, in this light, that the first great collection of Jacobean sacred music was assembled by musicians from Donne's cathedral.⁹³ Divine worship at St. Paul's in Donne's time was

⁹¹Le Huray, "Towards a Definitive Study of Pre-Restoration Anglican Service Music," p. 173. The extensive number of Thomas Tomkins' compositions in Batten's *Organ Book* suggests that his music was performed regularly at St. Paul's as well (pp. 173-4).

⁹²Much of the music of these composers has been lost, particularly the music of John Tomkins. Charles Butler, however, the author of *The Principles of Musik* (1636), who was especially well informed about musical activities in the Egerton family and about court, knew the works of both John and Thomas Tomkins well, for he called them both composers "now excelling," whose compositions could be analyzed with profit (Christopher D.S. Field, "Formality and Rhetoric in English Fantasia-Suites" in Ashbee, pp. 197-8, 238, n.9). Other vicars choral in Donne's time who enjoyed connections at court include the virtually unknown Peter Hopkins and Richard Sandy, both of whom, like Tomkins, served as members of the Chapel Royal in the 1620s, and William Cranford, whose composition, "O Lord Make thy servant," had quite possibly been composed for Charles I's coronation in 1626. Their colleague, Adrian Batten, sang at the funeral of James I (Scott, *Music at St Paul's Cathedral*, p. 15; Clark and Bevan, "New Biographical Facts," p. 332; *New Grove Dictionary*, 2nd edition, "Adrian Batten").

⁹³Scott points out that *The Firste Booke of Selected Church Musick* (1641), "the first anthology of its kind to be printed," was prepared by Tomkins, Adrian Batten, and John Barnard, who finally printed the collection (*Music of St Paul's Cathedral*, p. 16). Manuscript partbooks, bound and stamped with Barnard's initials and the date 22 August 1625,

clearly conducted with brio and at a brilliant professional level, thanks to the talents of his gifted musicians.

Like his fellow prebends Theophilus Aylmer and Henry King, furthermore, Donne unquestionably enjoyed amicable relationships with any number of these musicians, and they surely enlivened Donne's later years with both good music and good fellowship.⁹⁴ Entry into the priesthood did not end Donne's presence at musical gatherings. Thanks to the testimony of Constantine Huygens, we know that Donne was in attendance at musical evenings in the early 1620s at the London residence of Sir Robert Killigrew.⁹⁵ It seems entirely likely, then, that during his final decade Donne would have enjoyed more than a few musical evenings in the houses and in the company of his cathedral musicians. Peerson's *Private Musicke* (1620) and *Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique* (1630) were in fact published in Donne's final years. They included anthems intended to be sung in domestic settings, settings in which, in the earlier years, his friend Thomas Myriell would have been present.⁹⁶ From 1620, moreover, Peerson's residence was not far from St. Paul's.⁹⁷ Peerson doubtless, like Nicholas Yonge many years before, enjoyed the congress of "a great number of

indicate that preparations for the collection began shortly after Barnard and Batten joined the cathedral ranks (J. Bunker Clark, "Adrian Batten and John Barnard: Colleagues and Collaborators," *Musica Disciplina* 22 [1968]: 216-17).

⁹⁴King leased part of the lodgings belonging to the vicars choral, a circumstance arguing for genial relations among them (Bald, p. 401). As for Donne, not all the prebends, only the residentiary prebends (King, Montfort, and Winniff) received a gift in Donne's will; yet each of the vicars choral received forty shillings, as did Martin Peerson as Master of the Choristers (Bald, pp. 563-4).

⁹⁵Morris, "Not, Siren-like," pp. 219-20.

⁹⁶Le Huray, "Towards a Definitive Study of Pre-Restoration Anglican Service Music," p. 192; *New Grove Dictionary*, 2nd edition, "Martin Peerson."

⁹⁷Wailes, "Martin Peerson," p. 67.

Gentlemen and Merchants of good accompt...[who] have taken in good part such entertainment of pleasure, as my poore abilitie was able to afford them...by the exercise of Musicke daily used in my house," among them Donne.⁹⁸

Nor should we see this comraderie as confined to matters sacred. Donne's musicians were versatile composers, exploring instrumental and secular vocal forms of composition as well as the most exalted sacred ones, efforts which proved popular with musicians throughout the capital. Donne's frequent presence in taverns with the vestrymen of St. Dunstan's in the West reminds us that he was no stranger to taverns in his final decade, where he is likely on occasion to have joined these associates, enjoying catches, rounds, and secular partsongs of their creation.⁹⁹ Documentary evidence may yet emerge establishing Donne's presence on such occasions, but there need be little doubt that music by these men enlivened and ennobled Donne's final years.

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⁹⁸Scott, *Music of St Paul's Cathedral*, p. 14. It should be noted, too, that Peerson composed a setting of Donne's "The Primerose" (Keynes, *Bibliography of Donne*, p. 164).

⁹⁹Baird W. Whitlock, "Donne at St. Dunstan's," *TLS*, 16 and 23 September, 1955, pp. 548, 564.