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A study of music and liturgy : choirs and organs in monastic and secular foundations in Wales and the Borderlands, 1485-1645

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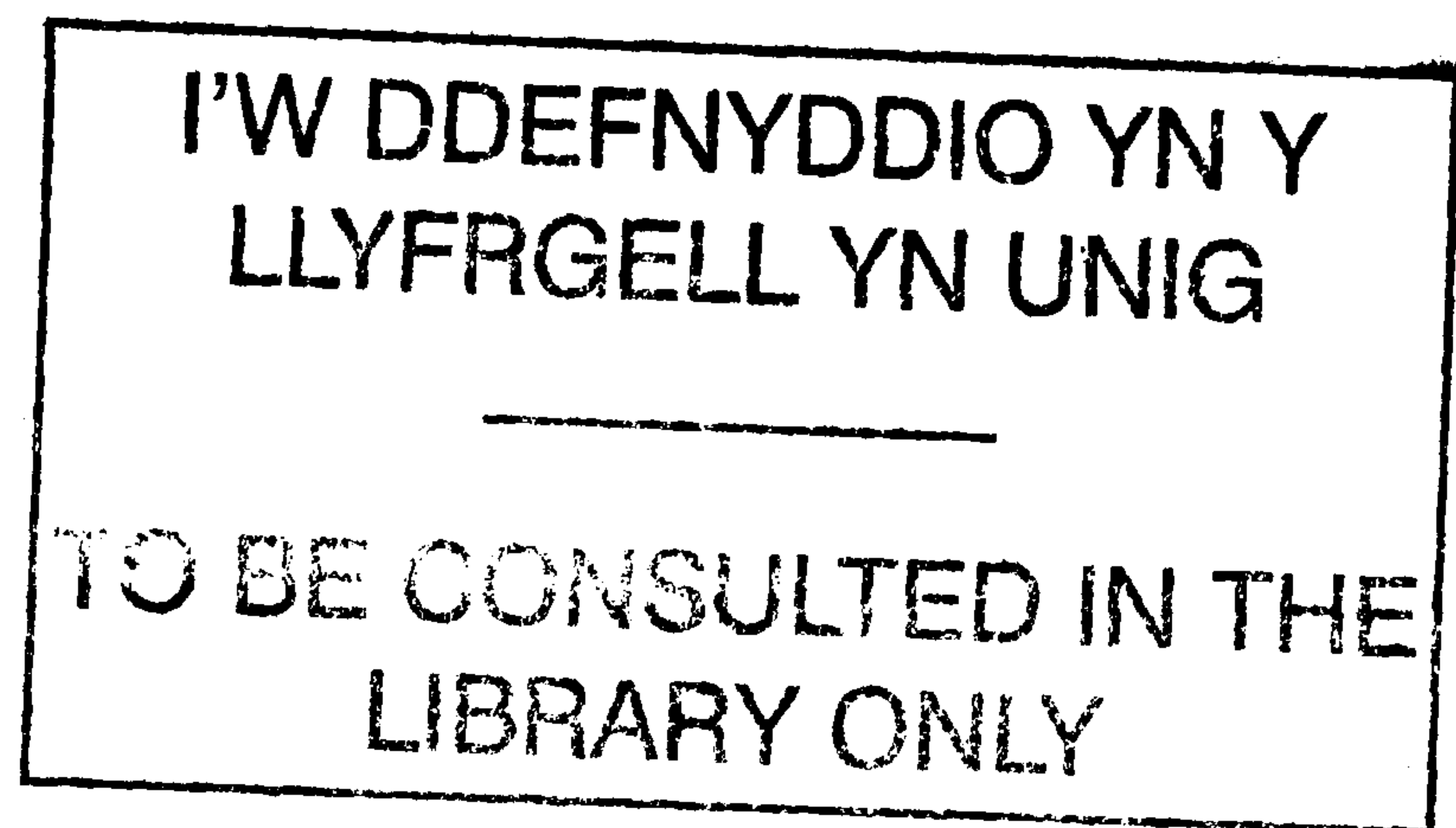
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**A Study of Music and Liturgy,
Choirs and Organs in Monastic and Secular
Foundations in Wales and the Borderlands,
1485-1645**

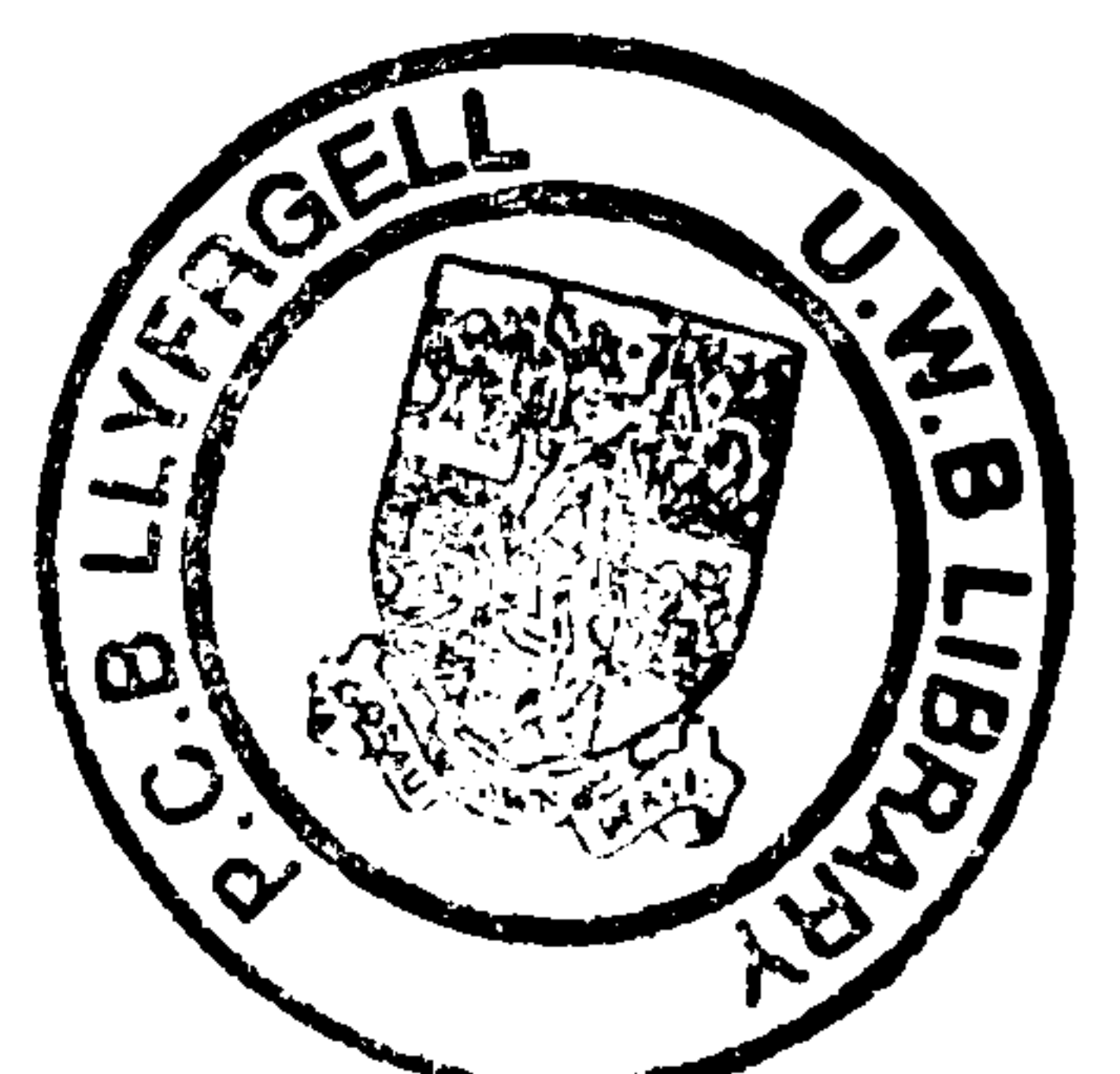


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University of Wales, Bangor

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SUMMARY

The Battle of Bosworth in 1485 marked the start of the Tudor dynasty. It had an added significance for Wales as it marked the start of a period of greater political stability, further strengthened by the Act of Union between England and Wales, 1536/43. Stability was far from reality for the Church, however, with fundamental changes in church governance emanating from Henry VIII's break with Rome in 1534. This thesis investigates the changing demands placed upon the church musician and provision for music in the liturgy in a variety of Welsh and borderland ecclesiastical institutions. The geographical area is extended beyond Wales to include (as a means of a comparison) those towns of the counties of Cheshire, Shropshire and Herefordshire which lie either on or west of the main north-south thoroughfare, namely Chester, Oswestry, Shrewsbury, Ludlow, Leominster and Hereford.

The scope of the thesis is naturally broad ranging. It advances our knowledge of church music in the region by drawing together and reconciling the fragmentary research of other historians and musicologists in addition to much original research. Important historical features of medieval Wales and its Church are presented to provide a background for the subsequent analysis of the liturgical and musical specifics of the immediate pre-Reformation period. The remaining chapters look in detail at the post-Reformation situation. Comparisons are drawn and any regional characteristics noted, especially with regard to the choral repertoire and the use of the organ.

The final date, 1645, is a convenient point at which to end this study since officially this was when public worship from the *Book of Common Prayer* was outlawed, choral services eventually brought to a standstill until the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660.

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PREFACE

The purpose of this thesis is to provide a broad survey of the provision and development of church music within a variety of ecclesiastical institutions across Wales and the borderlands over a time span of more than one hundred and fifty years. The history of Wales in the Medieval and Early Modern periods has already been covered extensively by many an eminent historian, but with music given low priority. The aim of this study, therefore, whilst recognising the need to redress this imbalance from a musicologist's stance, is to bring together, reassess and extend the limited amount of previous research in this field, identifying any local or regional features and placing them in a larger perspective. Although this is not primarily a thesis on Welsh history, a full discussion of some aspects has been deemed necessary in order to illuminate the musical discussion.

The dates of this study have been selected as convenient markers in time. Overlap has of course been inevitable, and to a certain extent essential, in order to place matters in context. The year 1485, however, is significant because it was the Battle of Bosworth that marked the beginning of the Tudor dynasty; Henry VII's Welsh ancestry undoubtedly influencing his political dealings with the Welsh people. The political framework of Wales in the early sixteenth century was not without consequence, for its governance was very different to that of today: the north west corner was the Principality of Wales whilst the remainder was organised into Marcher lordships. As a result of the Act of Union between England and Wales (1536/43), these two quite distinct areas were combined with Ludlow serving as the chief centre of political administration, the seat of the lord president of the Council in Wales and the Marches. It has, therefore, been considered necessary to include Ludlow as part of this survey together with other important border towns: Shrewsbury, Hereford, Leominster and Chester. Communication between the English and Welsh would have been much in evidence in these towns through trade, commerce and culture, with Welsh spoken in areas of Herefordshire and Shropshire at that time. The borderland towns have therefore been included to serve as a comparison with the remoter reaches of rural Wales.

Alongside the nation's political and judicial reorganisation was a turbulent period of unrest for the Church in the British Isles heralded by Henry VIII's break with Rome in

1534. Church musicians of the period had to adapt quickly to frequently changing liturgical demands and were subject also to the doctrinal persuasions and political allegiances of their ecclesiastical employers. The thesis concludes with the advancement of Puritanism, culminating in a suspension of choral services following the abolition of the *Book of Common Prayer* through an Act of Parliament of 1645.

Most past musicological work in the field of pre- and post-Reformation church music has concentrated mainly on the major English cathedrals, Oxbridge colleges and the Chapel Royal – Wales until now largely neglected with only small pockets researched in any detail. It will be shown that in spite of Wales's apparent provinciality it was in touch with current trends in musical and liturgical development, albeit perhaps on a more modest level due to financial restraints. Music ranged from the almost routine monody chanted alone by the chantry priest at a daily mass as specified in the foundation of a chantry chapel, through to the sumptuous polyphony of a well-endowed choral establishment. Examples of monastic institutions, chantries, guilds and fraternities, collegiate churches, cathedrals, parish churches, private chapels, and song schools are each examined where information has been available. Although actual music manuscripts are rare, churchwarden accounts, chapter act books and accounts, bishops' registers, chantry certificates, corporation records, contemporary writings and other documentation, although fragmentary, all contribute to the construction of a fairly comprehensive historical overview.

The cathedrals at Llandaff and St Asaph until now have had little musicological research covering the period 1485-1650, and that already in existence for Bangor has needed thorough re-evaluation. Although St David's has previously only received preliminary study, Chester has been fortunate enough to receive considerable interest during the early years of the twentieth century and Hereford, a thorough historical account was made at the end of the twentieth century.

While a large part of this thesis surveys musical provision at the cathedrals it will be seen that collegiate churches, parish churches and private chapels also made significant use of music. Some churches supported choirs singing repertoires similar to those of cathedrals, others had no choirs, yet valued the musical contribution of the organ. Many of these churches receive serious musicological attention for the very first time, especially St Mary's, Swansea, and St Mary's, Shrewsbury. For others, such as the

parish churches at Wrexham, Oswestry, and Ludlow, much additional material has been gathered (including a letter written by Benjamin Cosyn while he was employed at Ludlow, here transcribed for the first time). Appendix J is a first attempt at listing all those institutions in this region known to have possessed organs during this period. Similarly, Appendix I lists the organists and masters of the choristers identifiable for this region. The identity of many of those organists associated with parish churches have until now lain largely unnoticed by modern scholars, and this is also true of a small number of cathedral organists and choirmasters.

Where possible, the contents of surviving music manuscripts have been examined with a view of suggesting a provincial choral repertory. The issue of the movement of musicians, the sharing of ideas and the passing of music between institutions has been addressed. It will be seen that certain establishments maintained musicians whose compositions were performed 'in-house', at neighbouring choral foundations, or much further afield.

Admittedly some lines of inquiry have been hampered by the lack of documentary evidence. The ravages of time have certainly played their part with the loss or damage of much primary evidence, but also, the systematic destruction of Latin service books and music books in Wales and the borderlands during the sixteenth century was spectacularly successful. For any that have survived, we must be grateful.

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Gratitude is also due to the staff and governing bodies of the various libraries and archives visited over the past few years, particularly

The Bodleian Library, Oxford

The British Organ Archive, Birmingham Central Library

Chester Public Library

Cheshire County Records Office

Christ Church College Library, Oxford

Denbighshire Record Office, Ruthin

Hereford Cathedral Library

Hereford Public Library

Herefordshire Record Office

The National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth

The Public Record Office, Kew

The Royal College of Organists

Shropshire County Records Office
University College of Wales, Swansea
University of Wales, Bangor
University of Wales, Cardiff

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Thomas William Reynolds
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ABBREVIATIONS

a	alto / altus
AC	<i>Archaeologia Cambrensis</i>
AIM	American Institute of Musicology
b	bass / bassus
BBCS	<i>Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies</i>
BL	British Library
Bs	<i>Benedictus</i>
c	cantus
C115	Records created, acquired and inherited by Chancery, and also of the Wardrobe, Royal Household, Exchequer and various Commissions: Chancery: Master Harvey's Exhibits; Duchess of Norfolk's Deeds
<i>Cardiff Records</i>	<i>Records of the County Borough of Cardiff</i> , ed. by J. H. Matthews, 6 vols (Cardiff, 1898-1911).
CMM	Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae
CRO	Cheshire Record Office
comp.	compiled
Cr	Credo / Creed
ct	countertenor / contratenor
ctc/ ctd	countertenor cantores / countertenor decani
DCL	Durham Cathedral Library
DL38	Duchy of Lancaster: Certificates of Colleges, Chantries and Similar Foundations
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> , 63 vols (London, 1885-1900).
E36	Exchequer Treasury of Receipt Miscellaneous Books, inventories and miscellaneous material on the Dissolution
E101	Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Accounts, Various
E117	Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Depositions taken by Commission: Church Goods: Inventories and Miscellanea
E134	Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Depositions by Commission
E178	Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Special Commissions
E301	Court of Augmentations: Certificates of Colleges, Chantries and Similar Foundations
E315	Court of Augmentations and Predecessors and Successors: Miscellaneous books
ed.	editor

edn.	edition
EECM	Early English Church Music
<i>EM</i>	<i>Early Music</i>
EM	The English Madrigalists
G	<i>Gloria in excelsis</i>
HCA	Hereford Cathedral Archives
<i>JBAA</i>	<i>Journal of the British Archaeological Association</i>
<i>JBIOS</i>	<i>Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies</i>
<i>JCAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Chester and North Wales Architectural, Archaeological and Historical Society, now the Chester Archaeological Society</i>
<i>JHSCW</i>	<i>Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JWEH</i>	<i>Journal of Welsh Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JWRH</i>	<i>Journal of Welsh Religious History</i>
<i>JRMA</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Musical Association</i>
K	<i>Kyrie</i>
<i>LP</i>	<i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII</i> , ed. by J. S. Brewer, J. Gairdner, and R. H. Brodie, 23 vols (London, 1862-1932).
m	mean or medius
Ma	<i>Magnificat</i>
MB	Musica Britannica
<i>MD</i>	<i>Musica Disciplina</i>
<i>ML</i>	<i>Music and Letters</i>
<i>MMB</i>	F. Ll. Harrison, <i>Music in Medieval Britain</i> (London, 1958; 4 th edn., Buren, 1980).
<i>MT</i>	<i>The Musical Times</i>
N	<i>Nunc dimittis</i>
<i>NG</i>	<i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , 20 vols, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London, 1980).
NLW	National Library of Wales
<i>NLWJ</i>	<i>National Library of Wales Journal</i>
NYPL	New York Public Library
PRO	The Public Record Office
PROB	Prerogative Court of Canterbury [PCC] will registers (formerly at Somerset House)

<i>PRMA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association</i>
q	quintus
<i>RCOJ</i>	<i>Royal College of Organists Journal</i>
RCM	Royal College of Music
rev.	revised by
<i>RHS</i>	<i>Royal Historical Society</i>
<i>RMARC</i>	<i>Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle</i>
<i>SWMRS</i>	<i>South Wales and Monmouthshire Record Society</i>
sx	sextus
t	tenor
TCM	Tudor Church Music
Te	<i>Te deum</i>
<i>TAAS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society & Field Club</i>
<i>THSC</i>	<i>Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion</i>
tr	treble
trans.	transcribed
<i>TMHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Merioneth Historical Society</i>
<i>TSAS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society</i>
<i>TWNFC</i>	<i>Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club</i>
UWB	University of Wales, Bangor
V	<i>Venite</i>
v / vv	voice/s
<i>Valor Ecclesiasticus</i>	<i>Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henry VIII...</i> , ed. by J. Caley, 6 vols (London, 1810-13).
vol./vols	volume/s
<i>WM</i>	<i>Welsh Music / Cerddoriaeth Cymru</i>
<i>WMH</i>	<i>Welsh Music History / Hanes Cerddoriaeth Cymru</i>
WWHR	West Wales Historical Records

All NLW manuscripts with the prefixes B/, SD/, LL/ and SA/ are assumed throughout the thesis to be from the Records of the Church in Wales. Manuscripts indicated as deposited at the University Library, Swansea are all Records of the Corporation of Swansea deposited as part of the Local Archives Collection and records prefixed LB/ at SRO are part of the Ludlow Borough Collection.

Pre-decimal currency	£	s	d
Or, as found in certain documents	li	s	d
<i>Ob</i>	<i>obulus</i> , halfpenny		

CHAPTER 1

A Brief History: The Welsh Church from the Celtic Era to the Break with Rome in 1534

Before assessing the extent and function of music within the liturgy of the Church in Wales and the borders from the end of the fifteenth century through to the middle of the seventeenth century, it is first essential to identify and consider certain external socio-political features and influences upon both the Church and this geographical region.

It is traditionally claimed that the four cathedrals of the ancient Welsh dioceses of Bangor, St Asaph, Llandaff and St David's date from the middle of the sixth century. However, it is important to state here that the diocesan structures evolved and only became properly developed as territorial dioceses centred on cathedrals after re-foundation following the Norman Conquest.¹ This re-foundation served to mould more precisely the diocesan structures around which the Church has continued to be organised for centuries. A hierarchy of officials to govern the Church was also formulated and was based along similar lines as those in northern France with ordinances meticulously set out in statutes.²

From the sixth century until Norman times, there were certain mother-churches which seemed to be predominant in particular areas of Wales. Each of these churches had once been a Celtic monastery or *clas* with each laying claim to having been established by a particular saint whose cultic status had perpetuated over the generations as missionary activity spread across wide geographical regions of Wales. During the sixth century there had been a great flourishing in the Celtic Church, the so-called 'Age of the Saints'. St Padarn founded a monastic settlement at what became Llanbadarn Fawr, similarly St Iltyd at Llantwit Major, St David at St David's, and likewise St Cadog (Catwg) at Llancarfan. The extent of missionary activity by Celtic saints is evident today in the patronal dedication of ancient churches. In addition to those fore

¹ William Rees, *An Historical Atlas of Wales from Early to Modern Times* (new edn., London, 1972), 24; A. Hamilton Thompson, 'The Welsh Medieval Dioceses', *JHSCW*, 1 (1947), 91-111. See below, Map 1.

² Kathleen Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages* (Manchester, 1949), 22ff.

mentioned, Beuno, Dyfrig (Dubricious), Teilo, Garmon (Germanus), and Deiniol also had strong regional followings.³

Christianity in Wales first appeared during the time of the Roman occupation and, following their withdrawal in 383, firmly established itself within a distinct Celtic tradition. Even though the Celtic Church followed the rituals of the Western Church as laid down in 314,⁴ the Church in Wales nonetheless continued to adhere to many of its own practices and jealously guarded its independence. For instance, after Pope Gregory the Great had sent St Augustine to England in 597 to establish the see of Canterbury, the Welsh Church was invited to join him in 603 to help convert the pagan Anglo-Saxons, but it declined, considering the Church of Rome to be inferior.⁵ During the seventh century the more distant Celtic fringes of the British Isles were gradually brought into alignment with Canterbury and Rome as regards the date of Easter, though Wales was not to reach agreement in this respect until 768.⁶ Oliver Davies⁷ and Donald Allchin⁸ both draw attention to the spirituality of the Celtic Church with its closeness to nature and how they saw God's grace 'evident in the diversity and richness of creation, and in the way in which apparent opposites belong together and are at one.'⁹ Emphasis was placed on the devotion of the saints, the healing qualities of sacred objects and the medicinal properties of wells and springs.¹⁰ These are expressed in the many poetic writings of the period and the *Vitae* of the saints.

The Welsh Church promoted learning through the establishment of song schools and scriptoria at the larger churches and monasteries. Wales developed its own literary tradition during this period and many religious centres became noted for their scholarship. Particularly noteworthy in this respect were the foundations at Llancarfan, Llantwit Major, and Llanbadarn Fawr.¹¹ Surviving manuscripts show that Llanbadarn Fawr had attained a high reputation by the second half of the eleventh century. The

³ Rees (1972), 22.

⁴ The Council of Arles: see E. G. Bowen, *A History of Llanbadarn Fawr* ([Llandysul], 1979), 12; John Davies, *A History of Wales* (London, 1994), 37.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 78-79.

⁷ Oliver Davies, *Celtic Christianity in Early Medieval Wales* (Cardiff, 1996).

⁸ A. M. Allchin, *God's Presence makes the World* (London, 1997).

⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰ Francis Jones, *The Holy Wells of Wales* (Cardiff, 1922).

¹¹ E. G. Bowen, *The Settlements of the Celtic Saints in Wales* (Cardiff, 1956), 45, 64-65.

eleventh-century *Vita beati Daidis archiepiscopi et confessoris* was originally written by Rhygyfarch, the son of Sulien, bishop of St David's¹² and originates from Llanbadarn Fawr (Ceredigion), the provenance also of the famous Psalter and Martyrology written by Ithael, with illustrated capitals by Rhygyfarch's brother Ieuan, now at Trinity College, Dublin.¹³

The spread of Norman control brought about the demise of the once influential *clas* church. The Cistercian abbey at Tewkesbury was granted possession of the endowments of Llantwit Major, while Llancarfan and Llanbadarn passed into the hands of the Benedictine abbey of St Peter's, Gloucester.¹⁴ Scholarship was to continue with the Cistercian abbeys becoming the natural successors to the Celtic foundations as centres of learning.¹⁵ Many of these abbeys had industrious scriptoria, where history was recorded in various registers, chronicles and annals. Welsh heritage was maintained in the copying of the *Mabinogion* and the *Book of Taliesin*, and theological works and service books were also copied. Neath abbey, which can lay claim to having produced from its scriptorium a copy of the *Red Book of Hergest*, had, through the fame of its last abbot Leyshon Thomas, earned a reputation immediately before its dissolution as

Unifersi Nedd, llyna fowrson Lloegr,
Llugorn Ffrainc a'r Werddon...
Ysgol hygyrch ysgolheigion...
Ac organau i'r Gwŷr Gwynion,
A mawr foliant ymrafaelion,
Arithmetic, Music, Grymyson, Sophistr,
Rhetrig, Syfyl a Chanon.¹⁶

¹² A copy of which survives, c.1090, as London, BL, Cotton MS Vespasian A.xiv, *Vitae* of Welsh saints; see A. W. Wade-Evans, 'Rhygyfarch's Life of St David', *Y Cymmrodor*, 24 (1913), 1-73.

¹³ Dublin, Trinity College, MS A.4.20, The Rhygyfarch Psalter and Martyrology.

¹⁴ Glanmor Williams, *Wales and the Reformation* (Cardiff, 1997), 8; E. G. Bowen (1979), 25.

¹⁵ David H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, 2 vols (Caldey Island, 1984), i, 161-63.

¹⁶ E. J. Saunders, 'Gweithiau Lewis Morgannwg' (unpublished MA dissertation, University of Wales, 1922), 162, quoted with translation in Glanmor Williams, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation* (2nd edn., Cardiff, 1976), 395: 'The convent of Neath, how much talked of in England! The lamp of France and Ireland! A school much resorted to by scholars... With its organs for the White Men, and the great praise of disputants, Arithmetic, Music, Grammar (?), Philosophy, Rhetoric, Civil and Canon (Law).'

Occasionally the enterprise and initiative demonstrated by certain religious communities went beyond the simple life style intended by their founders. The Cistercian monks of Dore, whose abbot Adam II (c.1216-26) had produced a treatise *Rudimenta Musices*, were admonished in 1217 (as were the monks at Tintern) for singing in three or four-part harmony instead of the plain Cistercian chant. But these simple complaints at Tintern and Dore were just one of many in a list of abuses presented to the General Chapter alleging various charges of immoral conduct, problems that faced almost every religious community in one form or another during the Middle Ages.¹⁷

It is important to emphasise that a tradition of writers and poets continued from Celtic times onwards through the Middle Ages and was by no means confined solely to the cloisters. A bardic tradition (which also included music) flourished; it was patronised by the wealthy and was promoted within its own ranks by the *eisteddfodau*. In the context of this thesis poetry serves to illustrate and support certain issues where hard evidence is either scanty or non-existent. Complementary passages in praise of patrons inevitably gave rise to clichés, hyperbole and poetic licence and these should be treated accordingly.

Caution must also be exercised even with the writings of ecclesiastics, as for example, Gerald of Wales. Writing during the twelfth century, Gerald, archdeacon of Brecon and later St David's, makes numerous musical references, but is unfortunately constrained by his limited musical education and his lack of suitably descriptive technical vocabulary.¹⁸ In an investigation into Gerald's background and education Philip Weller places Gerald's descriptions within the context of prior experiences. Gerald's vocabulary is limited to that encountered in the standard literature of a medieval classical education from which corpus he often draws his imagery. Furthermore, there are the linguistic problems; he sometimes struggles to find equivalent Latin terms for certain Welsh vocabulary and so draws on classical Latin texts for inspiration, the results not always conducive to clarity of meaning. As a cleric his early ecclesiastical training would have undoubtedly brought him into contact with the main principles of plainchant and somewhere along the line he would have met with the embellishment of

¹⁷ David H. Williams, *White Monks in Gwent and the Borders* (Pontypool, 1976), 9, 104, citing J. Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum Ordinis Cisterciensis* (Louvain, 1933-41), i, 472 (1217/30, 31).

¹⁸ Philip Weller, 'Gerald of Wales's View of Music', *WMH*, 2 (1997), 1-32.

plainchant through discant or faburden techniques, whether improvised or transcribed. He would also have been aware of Guidonian techniques in reading notation. Gerald would have drawn from these experiences when he spoke specifically about any musical features encountered on his journeys, though it is obvious that Gerald was no skilled musician.

Despite the apparent ambiguity of Gerald's writings scholars have agreed that music was prominent in medieval Welsh society. In the late twelfth century, music to the average person was not a formal academic discipline. It was an aural tradition very much alive for which the skills were passed down the generations through practical application and a keen ear rather than by formal pedagogy. Instruments such as the harp, pipe and crwth were common, as was the singing in harmony though opinion is that this may have been improvised with various techniques drawn together such as discant or canon. Voices would eventually end together on a unison, suggesting some sort of cadential formula, a feature of traditional penillion singing.¹⁹ Folk incursions on the liturgy, however, seem to be infrequent. There were in certain areas special traditions of Plygain (*Missa galli cantu*), Candlemas and carol singing. Firmly rooted within the folk tradition of the more remote Welsh speaking areas, they persisted in spite of sixteenth-century Protestant teachings against popular Catholic religious practices. These traditions lie beyond the scope of this thesis.²⁰

The tightening of Norman control across Britain also brought with it a move towards the standardisation of religious practices. Regional variants in the liturgy existed during this period and are termed *Uses*, that of Sarum becoming predominant. The Use of Sarum was certainly practised as early as 1224 at St David's, for when Bishop Iorwerth (*alias* Gervais) established the precentorship, he also stipulated that services of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of the dead were to be performed according to the Sarum ordinal (*'servitium de Sancta Maria et servitium pro defunctis fiat secundum ordinale*

¹⁹ See Peter Crossley-Holland, 'Wales', *NG*, xx, 159-71, especially 160-61, 164.

²⁰ See Gwynfryn Richards, 'Y Plygain', *JHSCW*, 1 (1947), 53-71; Trevor Owen, 'The Celebration of Candlemas in Wales', *Folklore*, 84 (1973), 238-51.

Ecclesiae Sarum').²¹ During the following century Bishop Houghton made suitable provision for those officiating in the choir, declaring 'that the choristers, who shall be four in number, may, according to their duty, attend the canonical hours in the said church and in proper habits, humbly to minister as choristers according to the use of Sarum'.²² In more affluent religious institutions, the spectacle and splendour of the drama of the liturgy was further enhanced by the smell of incense, the pageantry of processions often with relics and other sacred objects, lavish plate and richly adorned vestments, and the sound of bells, chant and instruments. As the Middle Ages progressed the Church established itself as a patron of the arts; musicians were subject to whatever demands were required by the institutions in which they worked, whether imposed externally or internally.

The pre-Reformation Church in Britain extended across political and social divisions, its governance deriving ultimately from Rome. The Church had possessed great power and wealth during the Middle Ages but often came into conflict with secular authorities who would have had their own financial and political interests at heart. This was an active period during which a large number of ecclesiastical institutions were established, cathedrals built and diocesan boundaries drawn up. Religious orders, whose members had their own hierarchical structure showing allegiance to a motherhouse and not subject to direct diocesan episcopal control, spread in popularity across the land. In spite of their vows of poverty, the monasteries were to become wealthy landowners and were very much a part of the local economy in which their great houses lay. The monastic houses, of which the majority in Wales belonged to the Cistercian Order, drew their income not only from rents due from land ownership, but also from bequests, the almsgiving of the penitent and the entitlement to collect tithes from the local community. The practice of collecting tithes was also an important source of income

²¹ Owain Tudor Edwards, *Matins, Lauds and Vespers for St David's Day* (Cambridge, 1990), 151-52, citing London, BL, Harley MS 1249; see also, *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Records Relating to Welsh Dioceses, 1066-1272*, ed. by J. Conway Davies, 2 vols (Cardiff, 1946-48), i, 355: Acts and statutes of St David's (1224), *Cap.6*. Local variants, however, may have co-existed in other services. Incidentally, *Cap. 9 (ibid.)* decreed that the precentor was to have 'the dignities and customs and powers which the Precentor of Salisbury has in the Church of Salisbury'.

²² Maria Hackett, *A Brief Account of Cathedrals and Collegiate Choirs* (London, 1827), 18, quoting London, BL, Harl MS 6280, register and statute book of St David's cathedral, f.133; see also Harl MS 1249, and Edward Yardley, *Menevia Sacra*, ed. by Francis Green, *AC supplement* (London, 1927), 384-86. Hackett's English translation of Houghton's 1263 statutes is transcribed below in its entirety, Appendix D.

for the secular clergy and was to continue long after the Reformation by the holder of the advowson of the parish. However, many advowsons passed into the hands either the Crown or into the hands of a lay rector who also reserved the right to appoint a priest to serve the faithful of the parish.

The political boundaries and governance of Wales prior to the Act of Union between England and Wales, 1536/43 differed considerably with that which we are familiar today. Significant political events distributed over several centuries have contributed towards formulating stability and union with the rest of the British Isles. Following the Conquest of Edward I, 1282-83, Wales was effectively divided into two: the ancient Principality of Wales, now under the English Crown, and the Marcher lordships, within which the King's writ did not run. These lordships had emanated from conquests over the Welsh chieftains by the Norman earls of Chester, Shrewsbury and Hereford. Subsequently, the earldoms of Shrewsbury and Hereford passed into the hands of the Crown following the revolts of their respective earls and achieved shire status; Chester, on the other hand, remaining for some time independent as an earldom palatine. The Marcher lordships, however, remained independent of the Crown until Tudor times extending in a broad arc from Chester southwards to Newport then westwards along the south Wales coast to St David's in the west, with each lordship maintaining its own individual system of local government and judiciary process.²³

Economically speaking Wales during the fifteenth century was an underdeveloped country. The distribution of wealth was typical of a feudal system, with society dependent on the produce of the land – a situation which had remained unchanged for centuries. Agriculture was the focus of man's efforts to support himself and his family and each community strove to be self-sufficient. Farming was very much governed by geographical influences – the terrain and the climate, both of which in the more rugged upland areas of the north-west restricted the amount and type of possible agriculture. In the lowland areas of Wales greater emphasis was placed on cattle while the upland areas relied on sheep farming, the growing of corn was also widespread. Woodland

²³ David Williams, *A History of Modern Wales* (London, 1969), 12-13. For a concise description of the formation and setting up of the Council of the Marches towards the end of the fifteenth century, see Hugh Thomas, *A History of Wales, 1485-1660* (Cardiff, 1972), 56-58.

management together with river and sea fishing further supplemented these farming activities.²⁴

Land ownership was mostly under the control of the Church or the Marcher lords and the nobility, and this was closely connected with control over those working on the land, namely the peasant farmers. The Cistercian monasteries, major landowners in Wales, had introduced advanced farming methods for breeding and land management as, for example, in the seasonal movement of their livestock between upland and lowland granges. International links, facilitated perhaps by the presence of an overseas motherhouse, encouraged foreign trade which in turn encouraged economical growth in Wales.²⁵

The towns were the foci of trade in Wales in addition to centres for the community.²⁶ Weekly markets and fairs were held and towns were still dependent on the land for their economy; various trades relied on agricultural produce, namely the food trades, butchers, bakers, fishmongers, brewers, vintners and innkeepers; the clothes trades, weavers, tailors, tanners, etc.; and the craftsmen, smiths, carpenters, masons, etc. The tradesmen often organised themselves into guilds thus helping protect the interests of guild members. In the larger towns local government emerged with the granting of charters by the Crown or the local marcher lord to form town or borough corporations with their burgesses and freemen. A mayor, portreeve or bailiff then headed the corporation which consisted of aldermen and a common council; other civic officers were also appointed including sergeants at mace and chamberlains or bailiffs.²⁷ The towns had become administrative centres, and, in response to the spiritual needs of growing populations, a church presence firmly established itself with its various centres for religious worship in parish churches, collegiate churches, friaries, priories, and chantry chapels accompanied often by schools, hospitals and almshouses. As a result, the towns included amongst their inhabitants educated and professional men who acted as clerks, scribes, lawyers, teachers, friars and other clerics, some of whom were members of religious houses, others secular priests.²⁸

²⁴ Glanmor Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation Wales, c.1485-1642* (Oxford, 1987), 55.

²⁵ See D. H. Williams (1984), Chapters 16 and 17.

²⁶ See Ian Soulsby, *The Towns of Medieval Wales* (Chichester, 1983).

²⁷ H. Thomas (1972), 69-70.

²⁸ G. Williams (1987), 71.

The Church was able to exert its influence where senior clergy held influential positions at Court or in local government. Up and coming clerics were shown favour in order to maintain good relations between Church and Court. On the other hand, many local gentry showed a personal interest or were encouraged by the secular authorities to become involved in the financial and political ordering of church affairs. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 payments are recorded showing that the monasteries employed the services of bailiffs. Drawn from the local gentry they had responsibility for the collecting of rents from tenant farmers. Likewise, the town corporations who had the best interests of their inhabitants at heart were involved in the affairs of their parish church as, for example, at St Mary's, Swansea,²⁹ whilst at Brecon, the various trade guilds established their own chapels within the former Benedictine priory church of St John the Evangelist and the parish church of St Mary.³⁰

Local secular magnates often patronised the Church, either by granting land or by some other means of financial assistance, sometimes as a benevolent act of charity or religious piety, sometimes vying for political gain. It is evident from a study of the wills belonging to the upper strata of medieval society how important it was considered to include the Church in bequests. A standard formula prevailed regarding the preparation of a will, usually commencing with the testator's name and statement of physical and mental health. The testator then leaves his soul to the Almighty, seeking the intercession of the saints, followed by instructions concerning bequests directed to the Church. No doubt he was influenced, or at least encouraged, by the scribe copying the will – a role often filled by a clergyman. Often particular institutions are named with the careful outlining of a specified number of masses or other religious observance. Here the testator also names others whom he wishes to benefit from prayers after his own demise. The worldly goods and possessions were then divided amongst family and friends, but only after the testator had made careful provision for his soul suffering in purgatory. A comparison with post-Reformation wills reveals how the general view of death and provision for the after life transformed itself during the course of the sixteenth century.³¹

²⁹ Margaret S. Walker, 'Church life in sixteenth-century Swansea', in *Links with the Past: Swansea & Brecon Historical Essays*, ed. by Owain W. Jones, and David Walker (Llandybie, 1974), 89-115, 89.

³⁰ *The Cathedral Church of St John the Evangelist, Brecon*, Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales (Brecon, 1994), 18.

³¹ J. D. Alsop, 'Religious preambles in early modern wills', *JEH*, 37 (1989), 19-27.

The hundred and fifty years following the Edwardian Conquest of 1282-83 were far from peaceful, with a succession of rebellions and riots erupting across Wales from which the Church did not go unaffected.³² The Glyndŵr Rebellion of 1400-15 had been a culmination of a social unrest in Wales. Anti-English sentiment continued throughout the fifteenth century, even after the death of Owain Glyndŵr. The State had increased its intervention in the life of the Welsh people and was resented by many, though some influential characters in fifteenth century Welsh political affairs (Jasper Tudor and William Herbert), carefully manipulated patriotic feeling to their own advantage, as did Edward IV emphasising his descent from Llewelyn the Great's daughter, Gwladys Ddu. Henry Tudor who, following his victory at the Battle of Bosworth became Henry VII, was proud of his Welsh roots³³ and encouraged many other Welshmen to take up positions at court. The Church was fortunate in that Henry VII aptly appointed native Welshmen as bishops in the Welsh dioceses during his reign.³⁴

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries mortality rates in Wales were high due to disease, and in particular the onset of the Black Death, c.1348-50. Occasional bad harvests would have had a detrimental economic effect on local communities. Under such conditions the payment of tithes to the Church, combined with the absenteeism of the higher clergy due to responsibilities elsewhere (often in service to the State), raised feelings of anti-clericalism. The bishop of Bangor in 1421 maintained that it would take at least ten years to start improving the condition of his diocese, whilst in 1428 the bishop of Llandaff declared his church and diocese to be in danger of total desolation on account of the Rebellion and pestilences.³⁵ The religious houses of the province fared no better. The monasteries at Abergavenny, Beddgelert, Carmarthen, Conwy, Strata Florida and Cymer experienced financial hardship, though towards the middle of the fifteenth century many of the houses under strong leadership approached a period of rehabilitation and new found opulence. Thomas Franklin, abbot of Neath, and later Margam, restored and repaired over a period of forty years beginning in 1422 the abbeys of both Neath and Margam, improving the fabric and increasing the population of religious at the two foundations.³⁶

³² G. Williams (1976), 229-31.

³³ D. Williams (1969), 18.

³⁴ David Walker, *A History of the Church in Wales* (Penarth, 1976), 52.

³⁵ G. Williams (1976), 231: for the impact of the plague, see Colin Platt, *King Death* (London, 1996).

³⁶ D. H. Williams (1984), i, 72.

The power and influence of the Church gradually strengthened as the fifteenth century progressed reaching a climax during the early years of the Tudor period. The economic recovery of the Church was reflected by a surge in the amount of major building work undertaken. Many fine examples of the Perpendicular style remain to be seen today – albeit on perhaps a more modest level than in England – the towers of Wrexham, Gresford, and St John’s, Cardiff, are particularly noteworthy. Once the main structure of the church fabric was in place, craftsmen would then set to work on the interior furnishings, elaborately carved stalls and canopies and the building of rood-screens and lofts. Many fine features survive today, with regional styles of craftsmanship and design also discernible, as for example in the carved screens of Llananno, Llanfilo, Llanrwst, Patricio and Conwy.³⁷ Similar developments within the liturgy and worship with its provision for music would without doubt have reflected this beautifying of the worship space.³⁸

An offshoot of the wealth of individual churches was the personal wealth of individual clergy, and this was by no means restricted to those of a secular calling. Patronage was extended towards travelling bards and poets, who from their writings provide glimpses into the lifestyles of certain prominent churchmen. Flatteringly filled with exaggerated complements, these poems are at the least able to provide an idea of the wealth, splendour and types of patronage available at that time. At Valle Crucis we are informed that in the abbot’s hall ‘during dinner will arise strains of Organs, vocal and instrumental music’.³⁹

Education, power and wealth had, until now, been largely in the domain of the church. Renaissance thinkers began to challenge the morality of a church that in certain aspects had become more interested in this world than the next. Pluralism, absenteeism and nepotism of the higher clergy and the ignorance of the lower clergy did nothing to win support from their critics. Men of a genuine religious reforming zeal, influenced by the

³⁷ See F. H. Crossley, ‘Screens, lofts and stalls situated in Wales and Monmouthshire’, *AC*, 97-107 (1943-59); also, Francis Bond, *Screens and Galleries English Churches* (London, 1908), 77-86.

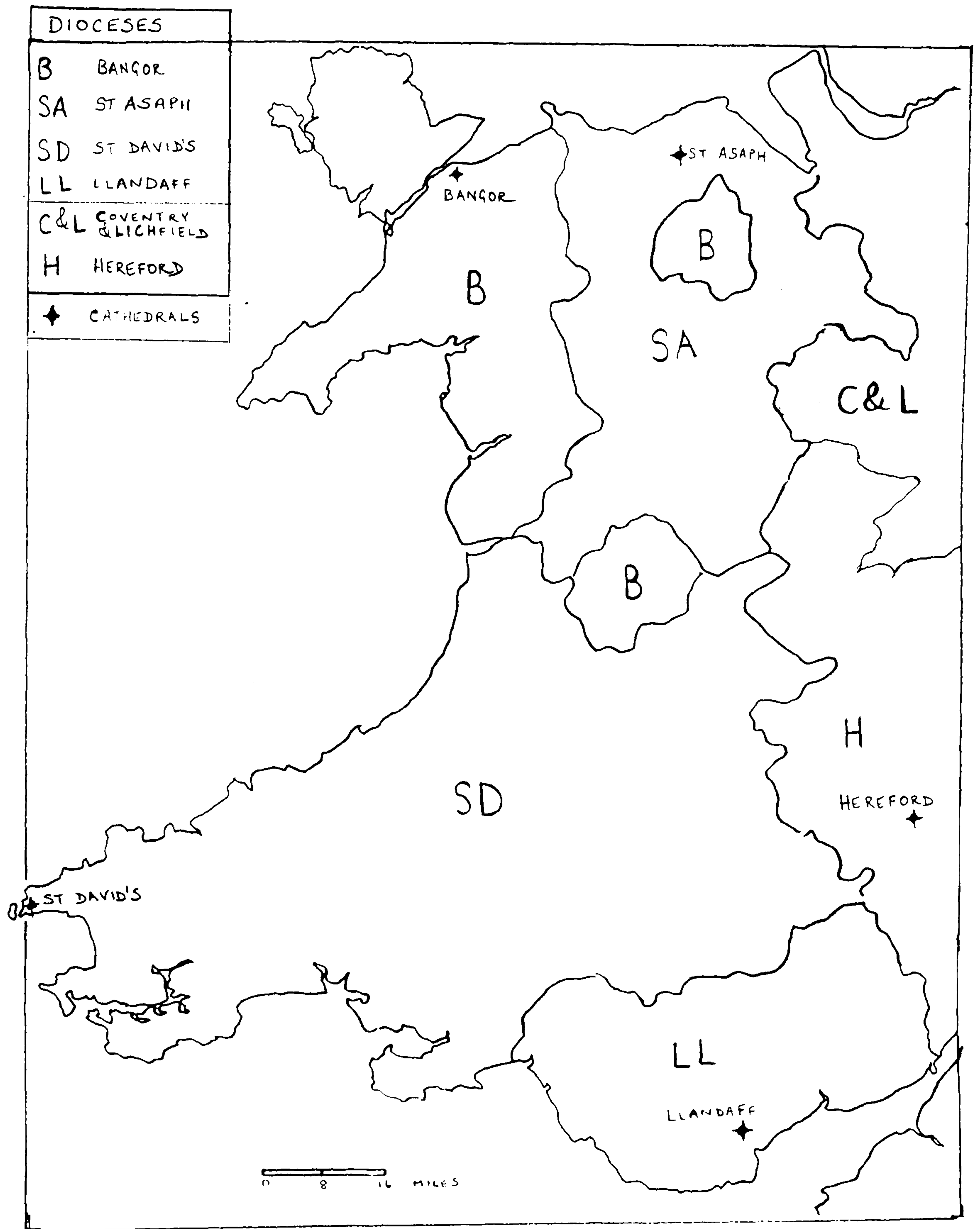
³⁸ Roger Bowers, ‘Choral Institutions within the English Church: their constitution and development, 1340-1500’ (unpublished PhD thesis, University of East Anglia, 1975): § 6.6; see also *MMB*, pp. xiv-xv, 218-19.

³⁹ G. V. Price, *Valle Crucis Abbey* (Liverpool, 1952), 164; for another reference to its organ, see *The Oxford Book of Welsh Verse*, ed. by Thomas Parry (Oxford, 1962; repr., 1977.), 269, 552-53.

onset of the Protestant Reformation in Europe also sought to amend the worship of the Church and its position in society. Those of a political inclination also sought to redress the balance, as they perceived it. The previous century had witnessed the Hundred Years War with France, and then a number of internal problems, the Wars of the Roses, the Battle of Bosworth in 1485, the outbreak of the Irish Rebellion in 1534 and the ongoing fear of possible threats from mainland Europe. Consequently, the treasury was running severely low on assets; the Crown initially tried raising its funds through the taxation of the Church's wealth, and then seized property from the dissolved monasteries that by the 1530s had already begun a decline. Furthermore there was the issue of the Church being allied with a foreign power, namely the Pope. It was the refusal of the Pope to annul the marriage of Henry VIII to Catherine of Aragon that prompted the King to break with Rome in 1534.

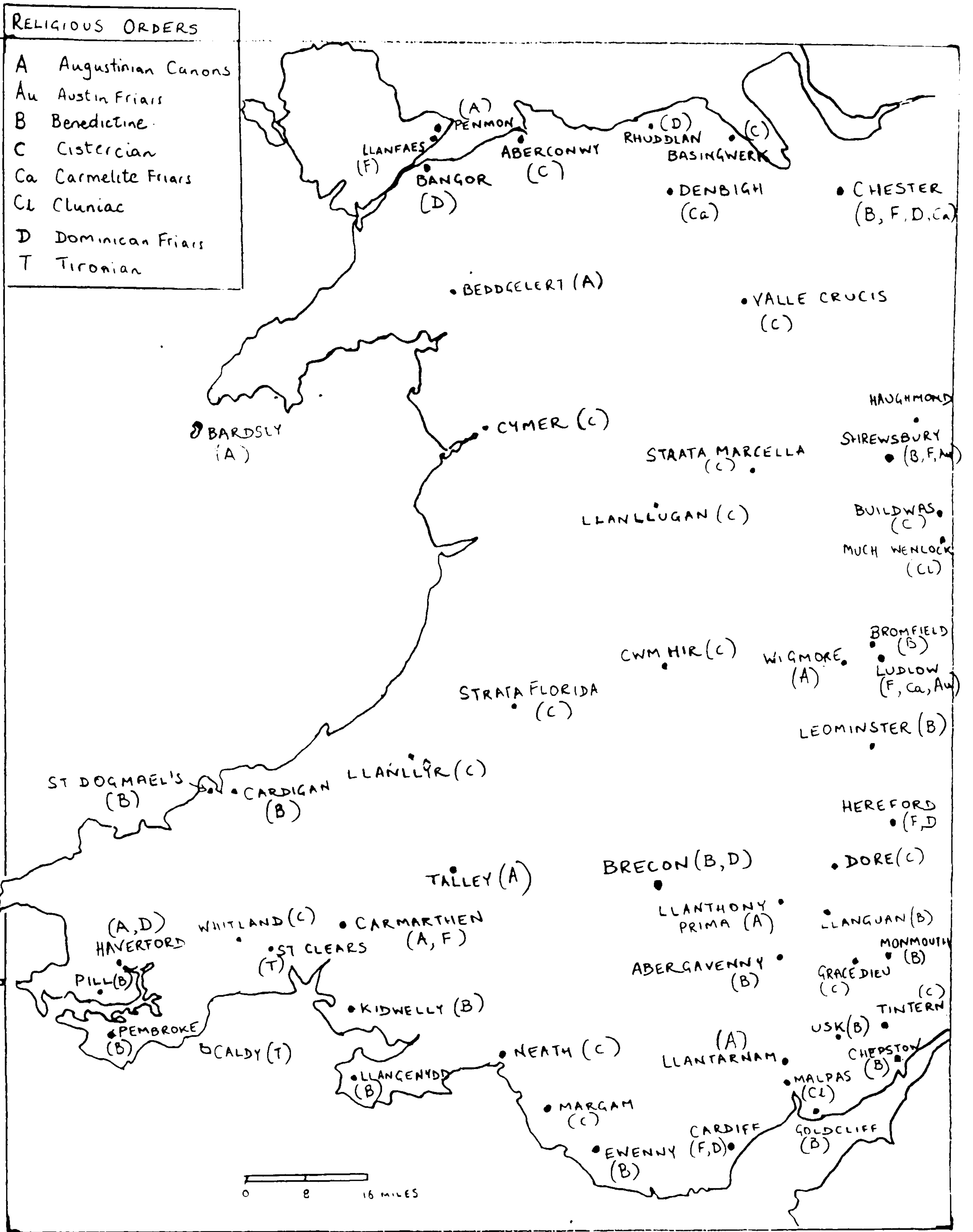
The Church of the sixteenth century was set for major upheaval. The rich trappings of the liturgy as sustained in the more affluent churches with its rich vestments and ornaments, ritual, choirs and organs were due to become casualties of changing times. The majority of musicians were in the service of the Church, and external pressures beyond their control were to affect not only their livelihood, but also their art.

Chapters 2 and 3 survey the state of church music and liturgy in Wales and the borderlands immediately before the religious upheavals of the 1530s and 40s. In Chapter 4 the various stages of reform and counter-reform are examined with regard to the church musician. Chapters 5 and 6 provide an overview of those institutions for which evidence for church music survives. The choral repertory of Welsh and borderland composers is investigated in Chapter 7 and details concerning the sixteenth and early seventeenth-century organ are presented in Chapter 8. The thesis closes with the advancement of Puritanism, the turmoil of the Civil War and the cessation of the choral service *c.*1645, the result of a succession of puritanical acts of Parliament.



MAP 1: Medieval Diocesan Boundaries and Cathedrals of Wales and the Borderlands¹

¹ Based on William Rees, *An Historical Atlas of Wales from Early to Modern Times* (new edn., London, 1972), Plate 33.



MAP 2: Religious Houses in Wales and the Borderlands

CHAPTER 2

Aspects of the Liturgy and Religious Practices of the Pre-Reformation Church in Wales and the Borders

This chapter deals primarily with those regional features of liturgy specific to Wales and the borderlands and prepares the way for Chapter 3 where the position of music at the various pre-Reformation institutions will be discussed in greater depth. Source material for this chapter is mostly drawn from extant service books (some of which include musical notation) and cathedral records (statutes, bishops' registers and chapter act books). Works by older antiquaries are utilised which provide details from manuscript sources now no longer extant, as for example, Yardley's *Menevia Sacra*, or the collection of Thomas Wiliems, recusant scholar of Trefriw, Caernarfonshire.

Section 1: Liturgical Development

Across medieval Europe the mass was central to people's religious expression. Supplementary to the mass, but very much a structure around which the day was organised, were the constituent parts of the daily office or canonical hours. Further devotions took the form of the offices of the Blessed Virgin Mary or the office of the dead (*placebo* and *dirige*: vespers and matins). Other occasional services also marked rites of passage; the visitation of the sick had great significance, as did the sacrament of extreme unction. Seasonal observances figured prominently in church life with liturgies designed specifically to mark the importance of the Purification, Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday and Holy Week leading towards the Great Triduum in addition to numerous other festivals.¹ Processions were used to mark particular dates in the liturgical year and would actively involve the congregation. Devotions were made at various stations in the course of a procession, a reflection of pilgrimage as a further aspect of medieval religious observance.

¹ John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1991), 45-57.

Numerous books were necessary in order to fulfil the demands of the extensive round of services. Those in regular use at any of the cathedrals would have included the psalter, antiphoner, gradual, manual, pontifical, missal, calendar, breviary, processional, temporale, sanctorale, epistle book, gospel book, and consuetudinary, though some of these may in practice have existed as composite volumes. Inventories frequently list the various volumes owned by churches and it can be seen that multiple copies were of course essential where a more complex liturgy demanded the participation of several sacred ministers and/or choir. This vast array of books necessary to perform the various offices and masses was swept away at the Reformation when in 1549 the *Book of Common Prayer* included all those services necessary for public worship conveniently printed within a single cover.

Slight variations occurred in the liturgy depending on the institution concerned and its location. By the sixteenth century five main *Uses* prevailed in Britain. An oft-quoted passage from the Preface of the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* reads as follows:

Heretofore there hath been great diversitie in saying and synging in churches within this realme: some following Salisbury use, some Hereford use, some the use of Bangor, some of Yorke, and some of Lincoln.

Other *Uses* were also practised prior to the publication of the *Book of Common Prayer* including those of Exeter, Winchester and Lichfield together with various monastic uses. G. J. Cuming, in *A History of Anglican Liturgy*,² draws a comparison between the number of printed editions of the three principal *Uses* of Sarum, York and Hereford concluding that, by far, Sarum had become the predominant *Use* across the whole nation well before the onset of the Reformation. Within Wales and the borders, in addition to the *Use* of Sarum, Hereford and Bangor would also have been known. Monastic *Uses* would have also been practised; an inventory of the church goods belonging to the Black Friars of Chester includes a ‘prynt masses bo[o]ke of o[u]r vse’.³

The standardisation of liturgy was a gradual process. The Celtic Church had had its own liturgies; the Welsh Church to the end of the eighth century used a Gallican liturgy originating from France. The Celtic Church had its own Latin version of the Bible which agreed with neither the Old Latin nor the Vulgate. The Latin psalter was of great

² G. J. Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy* (London, 1969), 30-31.

³ *LP*, XIII (i), 477.

importance to every monk's life, a major part of their discipline being to observe the canonical hours. There are no traces of a vernacular liturgy as practised by the Celtic Church – only Latin – the Celtic tongue was reserved solely for rubrics and sermons.⁴

During Norman times the Welsh Church had come increasingly under the progressive influence of England, its southern archiepiscopal see of Canterbury and the Use of Sarum. In 1188 Archbishop Baldwin, accompanied by Gerald of Wales, sang a pontifical mass, probably after the Sarum Use, at each of the four Welsh cathedrals.⁵ In establishing the precentorship at St David's, Bishop Iorwerth's statutes of 1224 specify that certain services at the cathedral were to follow the Use of Sarum.⁶ When Archbishop Pecham visited the Welsh dioceses in 1284, he issued injunctions to Anian, bishop of St Asaph, requiring all beneficed clergy in the diocese to observe the canonical hours, as well as all priests with cure of souls to perform divine service daily and sung with reverence:⁷

Horas autem Canonicas Beneficiati, et Missam ordinarium Sacerdotes curam animarum habentes cum cantu et reverentia debita celebrent omni die, quando impedimentum canonicum non obsistit.

Pecham also addressed a similar set of injunctions to the Bangor diocese.⁸

A letter from Archbishop Winchelsey of Canterbury to Bishop Anian of Bangor in 1295, enjoined for the cathedral, collegiate, and parish churches of his diocese a mass on ordinary Wednesdays '*pro Terra Sancta*' (for the Holy Land), and on Fridays '*Salus populi*' (for the realm of England), and that at ferial masses the celebrant and people

⁴ John Fisher, 'The pre-Reformation Services of the Church in Wales', *The Directory and Yearbook of the Church in Wales* (1925), 5-17, 5-6.

⁵ *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Records Relating to Welsh Dioceses, 1066-1272*, ed. by J. Conway Davies, 2 vols (Cardiff, 1946-48), i, 291-92; see also Gerald of Wales, *Journey Through Wales*, translated with an introduction by Lewis Thorpe (London, 1978), 126 (Llandaff), 169 (St David's), 185 (Bangor), 196 (St Asaph).

⁶ *Episcopal Acts*, i, 355: acts and statutes of St David's (1224), *Cap.6*. See above, Chapter 1, pp.5-6.

⁷ Browne Willis, *A Survey of the Cathedral Church of St Asaph*, ed. by Edward Edwards, 2 vols (London, 1801), ii, 40. [Translation: The beneficed clergy and the priests having the cure of souls shall celebrate daily the canonical hours and the mass in a regular manner with song and due reverence when the canonical impediment does not prevent this.]

⁸ *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. by A. W. Hadden and W. Stubbs, 3 vols (Oxford, 1869), i, 570.

should kneel before the *Pax Domini* and say, *sine nota*, the three psalms, 78, 66 and 122:⁹

*In vestra siquidem cathedrali ecclesia, et singulis collegiatis et parochialibus ecclesiis vestræ dioececes, missam peculiarem pro Terræ Sanctæ subsidio, necnon et pro statu Regis et regni Angliæ, cum officio 'Salus populi', et orationibus propriis, ad præmissa faciatis in hebdomado – quarta viz et sexta feria, [...] flexis a clero et populo genibus, psalmos, 'Deus venerunt, Deus misereatur, Ad Te Levavi', cum precibus et orationibus interclusis, rotunde pronuncient sine nota.*¹⁰

The direction to say these psalms infers that chanting was the norm. At St Asaph, Bishop Llewelyn ap Ynyr (*alias* Leoline de Bromfield) in 1297, however, ordered that masses and the canonical hours to be sung in choir '*cum nota*':¹¹

Quod omnes beneficiati in Ecclesia de Godelwen intersint omnibus Horis Canonicis in Ecclesia Assaven. Singulis Diebus sub pæna Unius Denarii pro singulis defectibus. Ita quod omnes sacerdotes in eadem Ecclesia Beneficiati celebrent Divina cum Nota secundem Ordinationem Præcentoris Ecclesiæ per Circuitum, &c.

In 1363 Bishop Houghton appointed four choristers at St David's to 'attend at the canonical hours [...] in proper habits, humbly to minister as Choristers according to the

⁹ Latin Vulgate numbering.

¹⁰ *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, i, 614-16, 615. [Translation: Certainly in your cathedral church and each collegiate and parish church of your dioceses, a private mass for the aid of the Holy Land and also for the state of the King and realm of England, with the office of *Salus populi* [the well being of the people] and the proper prayers will be said, and you will do the aforesaid things in the week – namely Wednesday and Saturday ... with the clergy and the people on bended knee, and the psalms *Deus venerunt* [O God, the heathen are come], *Deus misereatur* [God be merciful unto us], *Ad Te Levavi* [Unto Thee lift I up mine eyes] with the designated prayers said plainly without music.]

¹¹ Browne Willis (1801), ii, 75. This document also specifies the provision of an organist and four choristers: see below, Chapter 3, p.91, and Appendix C. [Translation: That all benefice [priests] in the Church of Godelwen [*sic*] be present at all the canonical hours in the Church of St Asaph, on each day under the penalty on one penny for each lapse. Likewise that all priests beneficed in the same church shall celebrate divine [service] with music according to the ordinance of the precentor of the Church in turn.]

use of Sarum'.¹² Soon afterwards, Houghton again stipulates the Use of Sarum, this time on the foundation in 1365 of St Mary's college (adjacent to the cathedral):¹³

The said Bishop farther made statutes and Ordinances enjoining that ye Master & (seven) priests should live together in a collegiate manner, and perform Divine Offices in their Chapel according to ye Salisbury Missale; & ordered that ye Master & Chaplains should assist on Sundays & double festivals at High Mass & Vespers in the Cathedral among ye Vicars there [...] and that there should always be two choristers under ye Precentor's care, who was to instruct them in grammar and singing.

From the above documentation it can be seen that the clergy were under an obligation to perform a daily round of services in addition to masses and litanies for designated purposes. The diocesan bishop would have periodically laid down injunctions to encourage consistency across his diocese with measures in place to maintain discipline. Archiepiscopal visitations from Canterbury enforced the influence and rights of the metropolitan see over the Welsh dioceses; however, a degree of friction had been experienced at St David's, especially in view of its own ancient tradition of having once being a metropolitan see. The most important liturgical influence from England would have been the Sarum Use. This would have been practised for at least some if not most of the services at St David's, though in view of the importance of the shrine and relics of St David, and the survival of non-Sarum liturgical fragments concerning that saint,¹⁴ it is probable that deviation from the Sarum liturgy would have occurred in order to meet these needs.

Devotion to the Saints

The Welsh Church had always held their saints in veneration, and so occasionally local liturgical practice drew on traditions and customs relevant only to that institution or locality. A church may have wished to celebrate its dedication to its patron, or may perhaps have been a centre of pilgrimage where the faithful venerated a shrine or relics. When a diocesan bishop issued a mandate addressed to a particular institution or group

¹² London, BL, Harl MS 6280, f.133, Register and statute book of St David's, 8th June 1588, as quoted in Maria Hackett, *A Brief Account of Cathedrals and Collegiate Choirs* (London, 1827), 18-19; see also Edward Yardley, *Menevia Sacra*, ed. by Francis Green, *AC* supplement (London, 1927), 384-86.

¹³ Yardley (1927), 372; see also, William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. by John Caley, Henry Ellis, Bulkeley Bandinel, 6 vols (London, 1817-30), vi.3, 1388-91.

¹⁴ i.e. the survival of collects, the office and parts of the mass propers for St David which are not normally included in Sarum service books. See below, pp.21-24.

of churches, there was an immediate inference that there has arisen a need for an alteration in procedure or the clarification of some discrepancy. Certain parties may have needed to be brought into line with the rest, or else granted some special privilege. A larger institution may have been endowed with a larger number of staff or with particular stipulations laid down in its foundation statutes. Occasionally, therefore, local variations in liturgical practice were considered necessary if the liturgy was to have been relevant and serve effectively a particular worshipping community.

Legends portraying the miraculous deeds and the holy and devout lives of various saints were compiled in numerous *Vitae* or lives of the saints. The vitae were then used to perpetuate the cultic status of the saints and were often the sources from which liturgists drew when compiling prayers or lections for the office or proper of the mass. This is demonstrated later in the chapter.

Section 2: Books and Manuscripts

Extant pre-Reformation liturgical books in manuscript form are relatively rare, though the advent of the printing press had enabled printed service books to be produced uniformly and more economically. A consultation of W. H. Frere's catalogue, *Bibliotheca Musica-Liturgica*,¹⁵ shows a vast array of material but with frequent dispersal from their original place of origin. Although there may appear to be a wide selection of both manuscripts and printed liturgical books of the period available for study there is but a small fraction of what was once in daily use in every church and chapel across the country. It has been estimated, for example, that there is a ratio of less than one in a thousand for the survival of pre-Reformation antiphonals from England and Wales. Now, only twenty-two examples are extant in a more or less complete form, whereas during the first half of the sixteenth century there would probably have been

¹⁵ *Bibliotheca Musica-Liturgica: A Descriptive Handlist of the Musical and Latin MSS of the Middle Ages preserved in the Libraries of Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. by W. H. Frere, Plainsong and Medieval Music Society (London, 1901, 1932; repr., 1967).

around five thousand antiphonals.¹⁶ Save for the Penpont Antiphonal¹⁷ there are no other antiphonals surviving of proven Welsh provenance. Of other types of extant medieval service books associated with Wales there is likewise a great dearth.

Medieval service books were all hand-written on vellum and copied by monks in the scriptoria of monasteries, or by professional scribes, and perhaps chantry priests. Many significant manuscripts of a more general historic nature originated in Welsh scriptoria. These included the *Black Book of Carmarthen* (twelfth-century), attributed to the Black Canons of Carmarthen;¹⁸ the *Book of Aneirin*, from Basingwerk abbey; the *Llyfr Coch Hergest*, copied at Neath abbey from a Strata Florida manuscript; the *Mabinogion* and the *Book of Taliesin* (both thirteenth-century), probably either from Strata Florida or Strata Marcella (though Margam has also been suggested);¹⁹ and the *Llyfr Ancr* (1346), from Llanddewibrefi.²⁰

The majority of the medieval liturgical manuscripts and printed service books in regular use in the British Isles up to the middle of the sixteenth century would have vanished soon after the introduction of the *Book of Common Prayer*. As the English vernacular reformed liturgy became law, so too did the wholesale systematic destruction of Latin service books. Cranmer stipulated in the Preface to the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* that 'from henceforth all the whole realme shall haue but one use' and a royal injunction the following year called for the surrender of all the old books, specifying 'all antiphoners, missals, grayles, processionalles, manuelles, legendes, pies, portasses, jornalles, and ordinalles after the Use of Sarum, Lincoln, Yorke, or any other private use, and all other bokes or service'. They were to be 'defaced and abolyshed' according

¹⁶ This is based on a low average number of antiphonals per parish. See Owain Tudor Edwards, *National Library of Wales MS.20541E, The Penpont Antiphonal*, Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts, 22, Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript, The Institute of Mediaeval Music (Ottawa, Canada, 1997), 8; and O. T. Edwards, 'How many Sarum antiphonals were there in England and Wales in the middle of the sixteenth century?', *Revue Bénédictine*, 99 (1989), 155-80.

¹⁷ Aberystwyth, NLW, MS 20541 E, the Penpont Antiphonal.

¹⁸ Glanmor Williams, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation* (Cardiff, 1976), 29.

¹⁹ David H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, 2 vols (Caldey Island, Tenby, 1984), i, 162.

²⁰ G. Williams (1976), 84-85.

to the ordinances.²¹ Bishops' visitation articles of the latter half of the sixteenth century frequently inquire as to the possession of such books whether by the church itself, the clergy, or the laity. At St David's cathedral an incident occurred in 1571 where:²²

Elis ap Howel, Because he being Sextene in the Cath[edral] churche of S. Dauids, of long tyme did conceall certain vngodly popish books: as masse books, hympnalls, Grailes, Antiphon[e]'s, and such like (as it were looking for a day): m^r Chau[n]tor dep^t[i]vid hym of the sextenship and the ffees thereunto belonging. In the p[rese]ns[e] of m^r Richard Ed[wards] chau[n]cellour and other &c. And the said m^r Chanter on the...day of this instant July, caused the said ungodly books to be cancel[le]d and torne in pieces in the Vestrie before his face, In the p[rese]ns[e] of m^r Chau[n]cell^o[r] & other *vt supra*. &c.

Destruction and loss of liturgical books was not solely confined to the sixteenth century. Lists of medieval church books may sometimes be found in the wills of ecclesiastics (as for example, in the will of Bishop Trevor of St Asaph, 1357²³) and in the latter part of the fourteenth century we know that among its service books St Asaph cathedral possessed the following:²⁴

j porteforium, j missale, iij gradalia, j psalterio glossato [...] j portiforium, j missale pro capella, j magnum missale [...] j Portiforium indignum pro capella Episcopi in asseribus cum albo corio xiijs viijd, Missale magni volumnis in asseribus in albo corio xxvjs viijd, Gradale in asseribus cum albo corio xs, j gradale in asseribus cum rubeo corio impresso, j Psalterium cum ympnari glossatum in fine in asseribus cum albo corio xs, j temporale Portiforii cum psalterio in asseribus cum albo corio veteri vjs viijd, j lib[er] de officio Episcopi pro clericis ordinandis in asseribus cum albo corio xs, j Missale in asseribus cum rubeo corio xvjs viijd.

²¹ Act of Parliament, 3 and 4 Edward VI, c.10, following an order of Council, 25th December 1549, in *Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England*, ed. by E. Cardwell (Oxford, 1834), i, 85.

²² W. B. Jones and E. A. Freeman, *The History and Antiquities of St David's* (London, 1856), 343, quoting Aberystwyth, NLW, MS SD/Ch/B1, St David's chapter act book, 1561-77, p.236.

²³ Fisher (1925), 11.

²⁴ Inventory of goods, including vestments, ornaments and service books belonging to the cathedral during the reign of Edward III, the episcopacy of Leolini ap Madoc, 1360-1375, printed in *Original Documents*, I, AC supplement (London, 1877), p.iii. [Translation: 1 breviary, 1 missal, 3 graduals, 1 glossed psalter, 1 breviary, 1 missal for the chapel, 1 great missal ... 1 breviary not worthy for the chapel of the bishop, in boards with white leather 10s, 1 gradual in boards with red stamped leather, 1 psalter glossed with a hymn book at the end in boards with white leather 10s, 1 temporal of the breviary with a psalter in boards with old white leather 6s 8d, 1 book of the office of the bishop for ordaining clerks, in boards with white leather, 10s, 1 missal in boards with red leather 16s 8d.]

These, however, would have been swept away during the Glyndŵr revolts of the early fifteenth century. Writing a hundred and fifty years later Bishop Richard Davies recalls the great losses during the civic unrest: ‘What destruction of books Wales suffered from the destruction of townships, bishops houses, monasteries and churches that were burnt throughout Wales at that time.’²⁵ By the end of the fifteenth century however, the Church had regained a firm footing but not without cost to its independence, for its higher-ranking clergy had become political servants of the state, their loyalty divided and a great gulf between them and the lower clergy.²⁶ The Church was balanced precariously, and had reached a peak from which descent was now the only direction. The State had gradually gained the upper hand and was soon to take control and alter structures and liturgies that had stood in place for a number of centuries.

Extant Liturgical Sources

When discussing the pre-Reformation liturgies of Wales and the border counties several questions immediately spring to mind. What sources survive, and how do survivals compare with what was once known to have existed? Of the surviving manuscripts and published service books of the period, how much deviance was there between sources? From the Uses known to be in existence before the Reformation, how did the religious practices of Wales and the borders differ from the rest of the British Isles and did any of these originate in the Celtic Church? Important liturgical survivals will be dealt with in turn, beginning for convenience with the Penpont Antiphonal, the main significance of which is that it can boast the only surviving medieval office of St David, the patron saint of Wales.²⁷

The Diocese of St David

The Penpont Antiphonal

As stated earlier in the chapter, the Sarum Use was observed from at least 1224. The most prevalent Use of the Canterbury province, it was often supplemented by liturgical

²⁵ G. Williams (1997), 15, citing the introduction to *Testament Newydd* (1567; repr., Caernarfon, 1850).

²⁶ G. Williams (1997), 18-19.

²⁷ Aberystwyth, NLW, MS 20541 E.

material of local relevance. St David, patron saint of Wales, bishop and founder of the cathedral bearing his name, must surely have received a place of honour in the lives of Welsh churchmen and honoured accordingly in the liturgy. Perhaps one of the most significant Welsh medieval liturgical manuscripts in this respect is a fourteenth-century antiphonal of the Use of Sarum purchased by the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, from a Sotheby's auction in 1969, and referenced as NLW MS 20541 E. It is also known as the 'Penpont Antiphonal' from its sixteenth-century association with the manor of Penpont, near Brecon – an association made from marginal insertions. Its main point of interest is that it contains the only surviving office of St David (ff.205-208v), hitherto considered lost at the Reformation. Although much of the musical material of this office derives from the office of St Thomas á Becket, its musical content may nonetheless be dated as the oldest example of musical composition to survive from medieval Wales. A detailed study of the office and the manuscript itself has been made by Owain Tudor Edwards.²⁸

Proper offices of two non-Sarum saints, St David and St Leonard, are featured in this manuscript. Other differences and omissions from what may be regarded as a normal Sarum form may be due perhaps to the early date of this manuscript and its exemplars. It is thought, however, that two exemplars were used by the scribe, one a standard Sarum antiphonal of the period another with the office of St David.²⁹ Other than Winifred, who has a collect included as a later marginal addition, other Welsh saints of importance to Bangor, Llandaff or St Asaph dioceses do not figure in this antiphonal, with no offices provided or mention in the calendar or litany. Justinian (but spelt instead as Sustinian) is noted in the litany, a significant addition to the usual Sarum saints. There is a local connection here. He was a hermit on Ramsey Island off the Pembrokeshire coast; his remains were buried in St David's cathedral, and churches dedicated to his name include chapels on Ramsey Island, and at Capel Stinian near St David's, and the church of Llanstinian, near Fishguard.³⁰ Other saints of significance at St David's were Andrew, to whom the cathedral is also dedicated, and Non, David's mother. The *Liber Communis*, in 1492-93, records payment of 11s 1d for binding or

²⁸ Owain Tudor Edwards, *Matins, Lauds and Vespers for St David's Day: The Medieval Office of the Welsh Patron Saint in National Library of Wales, MS 20541 E* (Cambridge, 1990); O. T. Edwards (1997).

²⁹ O. T. Edwards (1990), 35-36.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 27.

copying a number of special offices, viz. ‘*De visitatione beatae Mariae, transfiguratione Sancti Andreae, Sancti David et Sanctae Nonnae*’.³¹

The Status of St David in the Medieval Liturgy

The earliest liturgical mention of St David (as also of St Deiniol) is found in the Martyrology of Tallaght (c.800), a source for later Irish Martyrologies. He appears in extant English martyrologies beginning with that of Christ Church, Canterbury, from the end of the thirteenth century³² and the Exeter Martyrology of the following century.³³ Printed martyrologies of the sixteenth century also note St David, in common with earlier manuscripts, as 1st March.³⁴ English calendars from the west country include the feast of St David on 1st March from the tenth and eleventh centuries, a tradition of liturgical observance which is believed to have spread outwards from Glastonbury and Cornwall.³⁵ By the fifteenth century St David received official recognition throughout the province of Canterbury for in 1398 Roger Walden, archbishop of Canterbury, decreed that St David and St Winifred should each receive the ranking of a feast of nine lessons. In 1415 Archbishop Chichele (translated from bishop of St David’s) raised their rank, together with that of St Chad, yet higher by requiring observance ‘*cum regimine chori*’ (with ruling of the choir).³⁶ St David and St Winifred, however, remained the only Welsh saints normally included in Sarum service books, and the same may be said of those of Hereford, though St Dyfrig (Dubricious) is also found in certain editions of the latter.³⁷

The earliest Welsh calendar forms part of London, BL, Cotton MS Vespasian A.xiv, (c.1200) and is followed by various *Vitae* of Welsh saints, including a copy of Rhygyfarch’s *Vita Sancti David*. Henceforward all later Welsh medieval calendars have mention of St David. Rhygyfarch’s *Vita* (written c.1090), as copied in this manuscript,

³¹ Silas M. Harris, *Saint David in the Liturgy* (Cardiff, 1940), 2 citing Aberystwyth, NLW, MS SD/Ch/B/13, St David’s chapter account book (*Liber Communis*), 1384-1661. Translation: Of the Visitation of the Blessed [Virgin] Mary, the Transfiguration, St Andrew, St David and St Non.

³² London, BL, MS Arundel 68.

³³ London, BL, MS Parker 93.

³⁴ Harris (1940), 4-6.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 8

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 21.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 22, 25.

concludes with a collect, secret and post-communion for the proper of St David.³⁸ Similarly Gerald of Wales provides a respond (or antiphon) and a collect at the end of his *Vita Sancti David*, written, c.1200. The *Responsio* subsequently appears as an antiphon in Sarum and Aberdeen breviaries, the collect in the Hereford Missal and Breviary, and in the MS breviary of Battle abbey.³⁹ The latter may have come via Brecon since the Benedictine priory of St John the Evangelist at Brecon was a cell of Battle abbey and Gerald of Wales himself was archdeacon of Brecon.

The Crickadarn Missal

Near the end of a Sarum manual-missal c.1440, now deposited in Hereford Cathedral Library as MS P.3.iv, is the name 'llan vair Keric Kadarn' (St Mary's, Crickadarn) written several times alongside some records of Welsh court proceedings, the draft of the opening section of a Welsh will and what appears to be a Welsh pedigree.⁴⁰ It was probably, therefore, in use at St Mary's, Crickadarn, Breconshire. More importantly, however, towards the end of this manuscript is the mass proper of St David, the mass of the dedication and the Candlemas ceremonies. Harris observes that the rubrics following the introit and gradual of the proper of St David indicate the liturgical provision not only for mass on the patronal festival but more frequently perhaps, a weekly observance at a church dedicated to St David or even throughout the diocese of St David's.⁴¹ This would tie in with Sarum or Hereford practice where each day of the week was allotted a particular intention. The 1372 statutes of Bishop Houghton for St Mary's college at St David's ordered the week as following (major festivals permitting): Sunday, the Trinity; Monday, the angels; Tuesday, St David; Wednesday, for peace; Thursday, St Andrew; Friday, the Cross; and Saturday, the Holy Spirit.⁴²

The Llanbadarn Missal

An imperfect copy of a Sarum missal printed in Paris by Franciscus Regnault, 31st May 1531 survives from Llanbadarn Fawr and is now deposited at the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.⁴³ The insertion of the names of non-Sarum Welsh saints in the

³⁸ Transcribed in A. W. Wade-Evans, 'Rhygyfarch's Life of St David', *Y Cymmrodor*, 24 (1913), 1-73.

³⁹ Harris (1940), 16-17.

⁴⁰ Discussed in further detail *ibid.*, 32-41.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁴² Dugdale, vi.3, 1388.

⁴³ Aberystwyth, NLW, Department of Printed Books, b.31P(5F), Sarum missal (Paris by Franciscus Regnault, 31st May 1531), once belonging to Llanbadarn Fawr.

calendar is significant; they demonstrate the emphasis still placed on the devotion of the saints, especially the heritage of the Celtic Church, right up to the very eve of the Reformation. There are two festivals of St Padarn, founder of the mighty Celtic *clas* church at Llanbadarn Fawr; one on 17th April the other on 21st May, St Padarn's translation. Other saints include David, Patrick, Samson, Alban, Germanus, Guistilianus of Henfynwy (St David's teacher), Non (St David's mother), Kiriani, Riomi and Caradog.⁴⁴

Other Service Books associated with the Diocese of St David

A Sarum missal survives from Tregare, Monmouthshire⁴⁵ but has no proper for St David. Reference to this saint is confined to his listing in the calendar and his mention in the *sanctorale*.⁴⁶ Frere also catalogues an Augustinian collectar once belonging to Llanthony priory⁴⁷ and a pontifical once belonging to Guy de Mohun, bishop of St David's (1397-1401).⁴⁸ Although this latter manuscript was prepared for Bishop Mohun it was subsequently in the possession of bishops at Worcester, London and Ely and contains nothing to distinguish it as characteristically Welsh.

No doubt St David's cathedral was well equipped with service books prior to the Reformation. In addition to the necessary provision of new books and manuscripts to replace older well-worn volumes and keep pace with liturgical developments, the cathedral also benefited from bequests. The will of Bishop William Lindwode, dated 22nd November 1443 (proved 26th November 1446), leaves to St David's cathedral 'two great antiphone[r]s, & his Legend in two volumes'. Towards the end of that same century Bishop Hugh Pavie, in his will dated 3rd March 1495 (proved 4th December 1498), 'Gives his sute of blew velvet & several vestments, copes & antiphone[r]s to his Cathedral Church of St David; To Lantefey, a Mass Book painted in colours'.⁴⁹ It is, however, unfortunate that so little survives today.

⁴⁴ See E. G. Bowen, *A History of Llanbadarn Fawr* (Llandysul, 1979), 66-67, for additional background history. As stated above, Llanbadarn was a prominent seat of learning during the latter part of the eleventh century with many important manuscripts emanating from its scriptorium during that period.

⁴⁵ Oxford, All Souls College, MS 11.

⁴⁶ O. T. Edwards (1990), 144.

⁴⁷ *Bibliotheca Musica-Liturgica*, no.503.

⁴⁸ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 79; *Ibid.*, no.896. Listed in 'Pontificals in England and Wales', *Traditio*, 29 (1973), 404-05.

⁴⁹ Yardley (1927), 282-83.

The Diocese of Bangor

Of all the Uses observed in the British Isles immediately prior to the Reformation the Use of Bangor has proved to scholars to be the most elusive. This Use was listed among those of Salisbury, Hereford, York, and Lincoln in the *Book of Common Prayer*. There are, however, only a relatively small number of extant service books with proven connections with the medieval diocese of Bangor. In each case scholars have speculated at some time or other whether any of these may be considered a remnant of the Bangor Use perhaps once common across north Wales.

Bishop Anian's Pontifical

The most famous of all the manuscripts associated with the medieval diocese of Bangor is a pontifical, proudly owned by the dean and chapter of Bangor cathedral. It is now in the care of the University of Wales, Bangor. On f.164v of this manuscript is an inscription, following on from the main text of the manuscript and in the same scribal hand, '*Iste liber est pontificalis domini Aniani Bangor[ensis] Episcopi*'. There were two bishops of Bangor bearing the same name, Anian I (1267-1305/6) and Anian II (1309-28), *alias* Anian Sais. Below this is a further inscription claiming ownership by another bishop of Bangor, Richard Ednam (1465-94). Other features supporting an association with Bangor include two indulgences on f.166. Dated 1279, one indulgence gave a remission of ten days, the other of twenty days. These were intended for pilgrims from Bangor parish and diocese visiting and contributing to the fabric of the Augustinian priory at Stoke Clare, Suffolk, and praying for the soul of Richard Christeshale and Bishop Anian.⁵⁰ Following on from these indulgences were originally the constitutions of a diocesan synod held at Llanfair Garth Bran in Bangor but now only the heading remains.⁵¹ Finally, at the very end of the manuscript is a series of legal items of a seemingly miscellaneous nature; these also lend support to the argument favouring ownership by bishops of Bangor.

Interestingly, in spite of the above evidence strongly indicating an association and use by bishops of Bangor (and there is no reason to doubt this) there is nothing in the main

⁵⁰ Transcribed in Sally Harper, 'The Bangor Pontifical: A Pontifical of the Use of Salisbury', *WMH*, 2 (1997), 65-99, 88.

⁵¹ T. J. Morris 'The Liber Pontificalis Aniani of Bangor', *Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club Transactions* (1962), 55-85, 63; see also M. L. Clarke, *Bangor Cathedral* (1969), 101-02.

liturgical body of the manuscript to suggest a Bangor or even Welsh interest.⁵² There is absolutely no mention of Deiniol, Beuno, or Dwynwen, saints locally revered at Bangor, nor of David or Gwenfredi (Winifred), two saints known extensively throughout Wales and both possessing popular centres of pilgrimage.⁵³ There is absolutely nothing to lend support to Browne Willis's claim, when he included an 'Extract of the 3 first offices of the Missale, *secundum Usam* [after the Use of] Bangor, and Heads and Title of the rest' in his history of 1721, that the pontifical provided a Use that can specifically be described as that of Bangor.⁵⁴

Recent scholarship considering liturgical features of Anian's Pontifical has noted similar characteristics to service books of the Use of Salisbury.⁵⁵ Included with a series of the episcopal benedictions closely following those compiled by Archbishop Pecham are some further benedictions of a Franciscan nature⁵⁶ and, together with the litany, it can be seen that there is a deliberately strong emphasis placed on English saints. Furthermore the inclusion by the scribe of St Ethelberga in the ceremony for the consecration of virgins (perhaps unintentionally copied from an exemplar) tallies with the probably East Anglian provenance of the artist of the illumination on f.8v of a bishop blessing a church.⁵⁷

In view of the above, the manuscript has been confidently dated to between 1310-30. It was most likely to have been compiled for Anian II though connections between Bangor and Stoke Clare (its probably place of production) were forged by Anian I. Although without any particular local liturgical features significant to Bangor alone the survival of Anian's Pontifical is nonetheless important both from musical and liturgical points of view. Ostensibly the manuscript contains a large quantity of musical items, 115 in all, but under closer scrutiny there is much duplication and in reality there are only 67. The pontifical, however, is comprehensive in its inclusion of chants for, in addition to those

⁵² S. Harper (1997), 69.

⁵³ Winifred and Beuno were also venerated at the Benedictine abbey at Shrewsbury where there were shrines to these two saints. The relics of Winifred had been acquired by the Shrewsbury monks from Basingwerk c.1138, adding in the late fourteenth century the relics of Beuno which they forcibly seized from Rhewl, near Chirk. See G. C. Baugh and D. C. Cox, *Monastic Shropshire* (Shrewsbury, 1982), 9.

⁵⁴ Browne Willis, *A Survey of the Cathedral Church of Bangor* (London, 1721), 192-99.

⁵⁵ S. Harper (1997), 81.

⁵⁶ T. J. Morris (1962), 67-71: Morris also notes other Franciscan features of the manuscript.

⁵⁷ S. Harper (1997), 75.

items specifically performed by the bishop alone, there are many items included which are intended for performance by a group of singers. The rubrics suggest the participation of a choir; perhaps the bishop had his own private choir which accompanied him around his diocese. Only three musical items are unique to this manuscript, *In civitate domini*, for the blessing of a bell, *Unguentum in capite*, for the election of a bishop, and *Benedictus deus*, for the consecration of an archbishop. Sarum features of this manuscript allow lacuna to be filled in the incomplete Coventry Pontifical (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff.Vi.9). This is of great liturgical significance since no complete copy of a Sarum pontifical survives.⁵⁸

The 'Conwy' Missal

The Sarum Use in the diocese of Bangor in the early sixteenth century is demonstrated by evidence from a printed Sarum missal at the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.⁵⁹ Formerly owned by Lord Kenyon, the *Missale secundum vsum ecclesie Sarum Anglicana* was printed in Venice in 1494. It receives a thorough description in an article by Daniel Huws.⁶⁰ Its connection with the diocese of Bangor, more specifically the parish of Conwy, is made evident by an inscription on the final page of the missal: 'thys bo[o]ke ys Rycharde Peicke vycvyr of conw[y]'. The link with Conwy is further fortified by the inclusion of manuscript additions to the calendar of obits naming three persons with typical Conwy surnames; Thomas Peicke (*d.* 30th October 1518), Grace Holland (*d.* 4th July 1526) and Elen Brygdall (*d.* 5th May 1528).⁶¹

A feature of this missal is the insertion into the binding of a pamphlet printed by Richard Pynson c.1519 titled *Missa preciosissimi sanguinis domini nostri iesu api* which has an association with pilgrimages to Hayles abbey in the Cotswolds. Of the manuscript additions to the missal there is a proper for St Ninian, probably inserted when the missal was in Bruges,⁶² but most significantly in view of its connection with the Bangor diocese are prayers for the proper of St Deiniol and St Dwynwen. This is clear evidence that Sarum Use was practised, but supplemented by additional liturgical material of a local concern. St Deiniol, patron of the cathedral church and diocese of

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 81-84.

⁵⁹ Aberystwyth, NLW, Department of Printed Books, Shelf mark IE Ven 94, *Missale secundum vsum ecclesie Sarum Anglicana* (Venice, 1494): The 'Conwy' Missal.

⁶⁰ Daniel Huws, 'The earliest Bangor missal', *NLWJ*, 27 (1991-92), 113-30.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 117.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 118-19.

Bangor, has been entered into the calendar of this missal on 11th September: ‘*S. Danielis Maius Duplex et principal*’ (St Deiniol, Major Double and principal [feast]). The proper for St Deiniol has been inserted by hand on the second flyleaf at the end of the missal and consists of the text for the collect, secret, and post-communion and is considered to be in the hand of Richard Peicke.⁶³ On the verso of this flyleaf are the collect, secret and post-communion for the proper of St Dwynwen, the patron saint of lovers, whose cultic following had gained in popularity in north Wales during the fifteenth century. No other source is known with a specific liturgical provision for this saint.⁶⁴

Aberystwyth, NLW MS Peniarth 225

In 1602 the recusant scholar Thomas Wiliems of Trefriw copied the text of an office of St Deiniol consisting of nine lections and a collect.⁶⁵ Wiliems would have used as his source material either a breviary or legendary from the Bangor area. This manuscript also contains copies of the Laws of Hywel Dda, various charters, *vitae* of saints, an assortment of *cywyddau* and other miscellaneous transcriptions datable from between 1594 and 1610. The liturgical material for St Deiniol (pp.155-160) bears the heading ‘*Legenda novem lectionum de sancto Daniele Episcopo Bangoriensi*’ [For reading of the nine lessons of St Deiniol, bishop of Bangor]. The section concludes with the date 1602 and ‘*ex libro manuscripto antiquo*’ [from an ancient manuscript book]. The collect bears a close similarity with that of the Conwy Missal; the lessons would initially have originated from a now lost *Vita* of St Deiniol.⁶⁶ The content of the lessons themselves further suggests that, if a *vita* did once exist, then it had been written from a Pembrokeshire rather than a Bangor perspective for, in addition to the obvious foundation at Bangor cathedral, the cult of Deiniol was once widespread. Churches to his dedication are to be found in Pembrokeshire (Capel Bangor), Ceredigion, Gwent, Herefordshire (Llangarran), and Bangor Iscoed (also known as Bangor Monachorum and Bangor-on-Dee). Although Deiniol receives no mention in English calendars and has no official status in the Uses of Sarum, Hereford or York, Harris observes that out of some thirty manuscript copies of Welsh calendars dated 1450-1650, ‘Gwyl Ddeiniol’

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 121.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 121-22. Huws notes other liturgical manuscript insertions, *ibid.*, 123-24.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 121.

⁶⁶ Silas M. Harris, ‘Liturgical commemorations of Welsh Saints, I: St Deiniol’, *JHSCW*, 5 (1955), 5-22, 16. Harris, *ibid.*, 9ff, provides a transcription of the Latin with a parallel English translation.

is allotted the date 11th September in sixteen of them.⁶⁷ In Ireland he receives mention in the Martyrology of Tallaght (c.800) and the twelfth-century *Félire* or metrical Martyrology of *Máel Muire Úa Gormáin*. A more distant recognition of his festival is made in a martyrology of the Cologne Carthusian, Hermann Greven (d.1477).⁶⁸

The Llanbeblig Book of Hours

Another type of book in widespread circulation prior to the Reformation was the primer and was intended for the private devotions of the layman. It had no standard form but usually included in its contents the hours of the Blessed Virgin, the seven penitential psalms (6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143), the fifteen gradual psalms (120-34), the Litany, the *Placebo* and *Dirige*, the *Pater Noster*, the *Ave Maria*, the Apostle's Creed, the Decalogue, and the Seven Deadly Sins. Primers circulated throughout the later Middle Ages firstly in manuscript and then more widely in printed form, the earliest printed copy dating from 1494.⁶⁹ Their language could be Latin, English, Welsh or perhaps a combination. Often referred to as the 'Little Office' (*Officium Parvum Beatae Mariae Virgine*), some manuscript copies were highly decorative. The Llanbeblig Book of Hours⁷⁰ dates from the late fourteenth century and has the significance of being the first manuscript of this type to contain an example of a lily crucifixion motif.⁷¹ In its calendar St Peblig and St Deiniol are present as Welsh, non-Sarum additions; also we find St Dwynwen included in the litany. A similar, but incomplete, book of hours from this period, Stonyhurst, MS 61, has in its calendar three non-Sarum Welsh saints: Deiniol, Beuno and Peblig.⁷² These three saints are also included in the litany of this manuscript alongside the names of Mwrog, Tanwg, Brothen, Tecwyn, Hillary (Eilian), Cybi, Gallgo, Gredifael, Peris, Baglan, Gwnda, Aelhaearn and Pedrog, together with the virgins, Dwynwen, Melangell and Ceinwen.⁷³ In its Welsh form the hours were often referred to as the 'Gwasanaeth Mair'; in medieval writings, prose and verse, they were commonly known as the 'Prydlyfr', that is, 'hour book'.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 7. These manuscripts are of a miscellaneous character, and although they do not necessarily form parts of service books, they have their derivation from such and substantiate evidence that certain festivals were observed with their dates.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁶⁹ Cuming (1969), 24.

⁷⁰ Aberystwyth, NLW, MS 17520A.

⁷¹ E. J. M. Duggan, 'Notes concerning the Lily Crucifixion in the Llanbeblig Hours', *NLWJ*, 27 (1991-92), 39-48.

⁷² Huws (1991-92), 119.

⁷³ See *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, ed. by N. R. Ker and A. J. Piper, 4 vols (Oxford, 1969-92), iv (1992), 449-51.

The Diocese of St Asaph

The 'Oswestry' Missal

This fifteenth-century missal, Aberystwyth, NLW, Add MS 492 E, bears an inscription at the end of its calendar:

This Booke was geuen to the hy[gh]e Alter of the Paryshe Churche of Oswestrey by Syr Morys Griffith Pri[e]st. To Praye for all Christen Sowles the ye[a]re of oure Lorde god a thowsande fyue hundred fyftey & foure.

In spite of this the missal gained the misnomer 'The Bangor Missal' following an assumption, made by William Maskell in his *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England* of 1844, that this manuscript missal (then in his possession) was a missal of the supposedly lost Use of Bangor.⁷⁴ When further inspection is made the missal may be classed as being of the Use of Sarum. Moreover, research by A. J. Collins has shown that the inclusion in the calendar of '*dedicacio ecclesie sancti Egidii de Eyston. ad montem*' [dedication of the church of St Giles of Easton on the mount] for 4th August reveals the missal's origins – St Giles's, Great Easton, Essex.⁷⁵ An insertion into the calendar proves that this missal was still in use at St Giles in 1508.⁷⁶ The linking of Morys Griffith with Oswestry has not been proved; perhaps that is where he originated from or had family ties. What is known, however, is that he was the incumbent of Great Easton from 1543/4 until his death sometime before 1557.⁷⁷ The missal must have continued to be used at St Giles's until 1549 and then hidden away safely until its donation in 1554 by Morys Griffith to the church at Oswestry.⁷⁸ Although not strictly used in a Welsh church prior to the Reformation, it provides evidence that the Use of a Sarum was practised at Oswestry following the Marian revival of the Latin rite.

⁷⁴ Fisher (1925), 8-9, records that when auctioned by Sotheby's in 1916, it was described in the sales catalogue as, '*Missale ad usum Ecclesiae Bangoriensis cum Calendario*'.

⁷⁵ A. J. Collins, 'The Bangor Missal', *NLWJ*, 4 (1945), 57-60, 58: The church of St Giles, Great Easton, now bears a patronal dedication to St John.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 58. Collins observes the obit of William Jaye (*d.* 20th July 1508) with a note of his legacy to the church and arrangements for the keeping of his obit.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁷⁸ References to the bishop of Rome and to Thomas à Becket have been cancelled in accordance with the Injunctions of 1538 and 1543, so we can presume therefore that use of this missal continued during the 1540s.

Little else remains liturgically from the diocese of St Asaph. John Fisher, in his *Pre-Reformation Services of the Church in Wales*,⁷⁹ refers to a manuscript of sequences and breviary hymns of the Sarum Use in St Asaph cathedral library.⁸⁰ Dating from the fourteenth century and written on vellum, it is imperfect at the beginning and end; it begins with the sequence for the Second Sunday of Advent. D. R. Thomas makes passing reference to a 'Latin MS Hymnal of the Sarum Use' in St Asaph cathedral library.⁸¹

With regard to the status of St Asaph in the liturgical calendar he, unlike St Deiniol, did not have the benefit of a long established cultic following. The only church with its foundation attributed to St Asaph is that of Llanasa, a church that may have held status as an ancient *clas* church but had limited influence in the locality. The cathedral and diocese dedicated to St Asaph was essentially a Norman foundation dating only from 1143.⁸² St Asaph, who receives no recognition in any extant medieval calendar of Welsh provenance, only emerges in later sixteenth and seventeenth century printed calendars. He does, however, receive recognition in the early sixteenth-century service books of the diocese of Aberdeen, for on 1st May in the calendar of the 1509-10 *Breuiari Aberdonensis* and the 1527 *Epistolare in usum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Aberdonensis*, is entered, '*Asephi episcopi confessoris. iii lectiones cum regimine [chori]*' [Asaph, bishop [and] confessor, 3 lessons [at matins] with ruling [of the choir]], the breviary itself contains a collect and three lessons. It was Bishop William Elphinstone (1431-1514) who introduced the observance of St Asaph to Scotland, probably in view of Asaph's discipleship to St Kentigern as described in Jocelin's *Vita Kentigerni*. Many later references to St Asaph are probably dependent on Jocelin or the fore-mentioned Scottish sources.⁸³

The inclusion of St Asaph however in the post-Tridentine Roman martyrology may be ascribed to the influence of Bishop Thomas Goldwell. He had been consecrated bishop of St Asaph in 1555 and from 1558 served as ambassador for Queen Mary in Rome; he

⁷⁹ Fisher (1925), 10.

⁸⁰ Time has not permitted its history to be researched or the confirmation of its present location.

⁸¹ D. R. Thomas, *The History of the Diocese of St Asaph*, 3 vols (Oswestry, 1908-13), i (1908), 379.

⁸² Silas M. Harris, 'Liturgical commemorations of Welsh Saints, II: St Asaf', *JHSCW*, 6 (1955), 5-24, 5-6.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 7.

was held in high regard by the Roman curia and remained there following the accession of Elizabeth I. Goldwell attended the Council of Trent (1561-63) and was a member of the commission for revising the missal and breviary. Subsequently his presence and influence among the revisers of a new martyrology in 1582 may account for the inclusion of both St Asaph and St Winifred, the two principal saints of the diocese of St Asaph.⁸⁴

The St Asaph Gospel Book

Fisher draws attention to a gospel book once belonging to the cathedral of St Asaph.⁸⁵ The St Asaph Gospels (or *Eueggulthen* as it was sometimes known) was held in great veneration and was carried about by the cathedral clergy as a *sanctuarium* in order to raise much needed revenues for the cathedral. Several references to this gospel book date from the late thirteenth century, for instance, in 1277, the archdeacon of St Asaph is granted safe conduct to travel with it 'in the King's Land' to collect alms and in 1284 Archbishop Pecham issued a circular letter to the clergy and laity in Wales and the Marches, commending the St Asaph clergy who were touring with it for alms to rebuild their cathedral.⁸⁶ It must have been a considerable source of revenue for nine years after, in 1293, we learn from the *Llyfr Coch Asaph* that the amount collected during the three preceding years was £95 6s 10¼ d.⁸⁷ There are no post-Reformation references to the gospel book.

The Diocese of Llandaff

Teilo, Dyfrig and Euddogwy

Little now remains liturgically from the pre-Reformation period relating to this cathedral or diocese. Although Llandaff was probably the poorest of the Welsh cathedrals a 1550s investigation into the church goods of the cathedral and diocese describes the rich adornment of the shrine of St Teilo:⁸⁸

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 18-20.

⁸⁵ Fisher (1924), 10.

⁸⁶ D. R. Thomas (1908), i, 57.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁸⁸ London, PRO, E117/12/17, certificates of church goods, Glamorganshire: printed in *Cardiff Records*, i, 372.

Furst oon[e] Shryne of St Tiliaw [Teilo] of silver p[ar]cell gilte of the coveringe in o[u]r Lady Chapell of Landaf aforesaid. Taken by John Broxholme and Baker.

It[e]m xij Apostles of silver with the Trinitie

It[e]m St Elios [Teilo's] he[a]dde of sylver gylte an arme of the same Seynte gylte St Dubrice [Dyfrig / Dubricious] hedde of silver & an arme of the seyde Seynte of silver. And St Odothyhe [Euddogwy / Oudoceus] his he[a]dd of silver and an arme of the seid St Odithe of silve[r].

It is assumed that these three Celtic bishops would have received appropriate liturgical recognition at the cathedral church where their relics were enshrined. Fisher notes that propers for the mass of St Teilo exist in fourteenth and fifteenth-century hands.⁸⁹ Of the other two saints only Dyfrig has proved to possess extant liturgical material in his honour. A fifteenth-century manuscript missal of the Hereford Use from St Dubricious [Dyfrig], Whitchurch, Gwent,⁹⁰ includes a listing in its calendar and the proper of a mass of St Dyfrig for the dedication festival of that church on 11th March (*Dedicatio ecclesiae albae in honore sancti Dubricii, festum principale*) and the feast of St Dyfrig on 14th November, both ranking as principal double feasts. He also figures as a later insertion to the calendar of the thirteenth-century noted breviary at Hereford cathedral.⁹¹

The Book of St Chad

It has been suggested that the ancient Book of St Chad, a treasured possession of Lichfield Cathedral Library and dated c.700, should be more properly called the Book of St Teilo.⁹² The chief reason for this is an inscription (one of several ninth-century additions) stating that the donor had given his best horse for this manuscript and that 'he gave for his soul's sake this Evangel to God and St Teilo upon the altar'. The manuscript itself consists of the Old Latin text to the gospels of Matthew and Mark complete with Luke 1- 3.9. Though written in a large half-uncial hand in an Irish-style script, it may well have been a product of a Welsh scriptorium.⁹³

⁸⁹ Fisher (1924), 6: his sources are not referenced, it has not proved possible to research this further.

⁹⁰ Oxford, University College, MS 78A, fourteenth-century missal from St Dubricious, Whitchurch, Gwent.

⁹¹ Harris (1940), 22; *Missale ad usum percelebris ecclesiae Herefordensis*, ed. by W. G. Henderson ([Leeds], 1874; repr., Farnborough, 1969), p.xiii.

⁹² Fisher (1924), 6.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

The Diocese of Hereford

The Use of Hereford

It is fortunate that several surviving manuscripts are identifiable as service books according to the Use of Hereford. Detailed study of these manuscripts has not been deemed necessary to this thesis though a brief summary follows, based primarily on recently published investigations made by John Caldwell and John Harper in *Hereford Cathedral: A History*.⁹⁴

First and foremost of the liturgical manuscripts is the *Breviarum Herefordiensis* deposited in Hereford Cathedral Library as MS P.IX.7. It is the only known copy with music and was copied c.1265-70. There are three extant manuscript missals, the earliest being the Dewick Missal, London, BL, MS Add 39675, named after its donor to that library, the Revd E. S. Dewick. There is also a missal from the fifteenth century intended for the church of St Dubricious, Whitchurch, Gwent,⁹⁵ located at Oxford, University College, MS 78A, and a third missal, dating from the late fourteenth century at Worcester Cathedral Library, MS F.161. Also at Worcester is a thirteenth-century psalter with an added fourteenth-century breviary, MS Q.86. Another psalter, Oxford, University College, MS 7, dates from the fifteenth century. A fourteenth-century collectar is deposited at Oxford, Balliol College, MS 321, and a twelfth-century pontifical at Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 226, the latter intended for use by bishops of Hereford.⁹⁶ Of incomplete service books, there is a gradual, London, BL, MS Harley 3965, and an ordinal, London, BL, Harley 2983. From the sixteenth century come two printed books, *Missal ad usum famose et perceloebtis ecclesie Herfordensis* (Rouen, 1502), and *Breviarum secundum usum Herfordensis* (2 vols, Rouen, 1505). They both lack music but contain the chants sung by the priest during mass and at the Easter Vigil.⁹⁷ Modern editions of the Hereford missal and breviary were prepared

⁹⁴ John Caldwell, 'Music before 1300', and John Harper, 'Music and Liturgy, 1300-1600', in *Hereford Cathedral: A History*, ed. by Gerald Aylmer and John Tiller (London, 2000), 363-74, 375-97. Both Caldwell (*ibid.*, 369, 371) and Harper (*ibid.*, 376) admit that there is yet much detailed work of a specialist nature to be done by scholars.

⁹⁵ See above, p.34.

⁹⁶ Harper, in *Hereford Cathedral*, 377.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

respectively by W. G. Henderson (1874)⁹⁸ and W. H. Frere and L. E. G. Brown (1904-15).⁹⁹

The Use of Hereford was not as widespread as that of Salisbury or York and was basically confined to its own cathedral and diocese. It appears also that the famous noted breviary itself, MS P.IX.7, originally intended for the cathedral, received subsequent use in the parish of Mordiford in the deanery of Ross.¹⁰⁰

Caldwell observes that the Uses of Hereford, York and Salisbury ‘differed in their details rather than in their essentials’.¹⁰¹ Though there is much common material to each of these Uses, peculiar to the Hereford Use is the inclusion of offices and masses for two ‘local’ saints both of whom were buried in the cathedral. Firstly, there was St Ethelbert (*d.*792), the patron saint of the cathedral and martyr king of East Anglia, and secondly, St Thomas Cantilupe, bishop of Hereford, 1275-82.¹⁰²

The office of St Ethelbert is to be found in the thirteenth-century breviary, complete with music.¹⁰³ The readings at matins are taken from the life of St Ethelbert written by Gerald of Wales (*c.*1146-1223) who held a canonry at Hereford; the form of the office, however, is likely to date from the first half of the thirteenth century.¹⁰⁴ In this form it bears many hallmarks typical of a medieval rhymed office, but lacks consistency in both the rhyming and metrical scheme: a particular feature of this office, however, is the ordering of each chant by mode.¹⁰⁵

The texts and chants of the office and mass of St Thomas Cantilupe were probably compiled in the years leading up to his canonisation in 1320, perhaps by Robert of

⁹⁸ *Missale...Herefordensis* (repr. 1969).

⁹⁹ *The Hereford Breviary*, ed. by W. H. Frere and L. E. G. Brown, 3 vols, Henry Bradshaw Society, 24, 40, 46 (London, 1904-15).

¹⁰⁰ Caldwell, *ibid.*, 369, 371.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 369.

¹⁰² For other saints included in the Use of Hereford but not typically part of the Uses of Sarum or York, see *Missale...Herefordensis*, pp.xiii-xvii. For information concerning some local saints of the Hereford diocese, see Simon Keynes, ‘Diocese and Cathedral before 1056’, in *Hereford Cathedral*, 3-20, 4-5.

¹⁰³ Hereford, HCA, MS P.IX.7, noted breviary of the Use of Hereford, *Breviarum Herefordiensis*, *c.*1265-1270, f.261v; *The Hereford Breviary*, ii, 167-82.

¹⁰⁴ Harper, in *Hereford Cathedral*, 387.

¹⁰⁵ Caldwell, *ibid.*, 373.

Gloucester, canon of Hereford cathedral, 1279-1322.¹⁰⁶ In a full rhymed office the antiphons and responds are in rhyming Latin verse, but here only the antiphons are rhymed. A parallel may be seen between the cathedrals of Hereford and St David's: both had shrines to their patron saints, foci of pilgrimages, rituals and other devotions, both compiled rhymed offices to their respective saints.¹⁰⁷ It is interesting to note here that, whereas the office for St David (Penpont Antiphonal) was based on that of St Thomas of Canterbury, the office for St Ethelbert borrows from that of St Edmund (also an East Anglian king and martyr).¹⁰⁸

By the end of the fifteenth century at Hereford three principal feasts of St Thomas Cantilupe were celebrated. Octaves were kept and Thursdays designated for a weekly observance. The important dates were 2nd October for the main feast, 25th August in commemoration of his death, and 25th October, marking the 1349 translation of his remains to a new shrine in the Lady chapel. A feature of the medieval devotion to the saints were para-liturgical observances where a votive antiphon was sung daily at a statue of the Virgin and in some places similar antiphons were also sung at statues or shrines of other saints. Evidently such may well have occurred at Hereford in honour of St Thomas Cantilupe, for a fifteenth-century polyphonic three-voice motet survives by John Benet (*fl.c.*1420-50) setting seven antiphon texts from the office of St Thomas using the melody of another (*Salve Thoma*) as a *cantus firmus*.¹⁰⁹ It has been argued that the motet may have been commissioned by Bishop Edmund Lacy to mark the centenary of Cantilupe's canonization (1420), though it is possible the text '*Lux fulget ex anglia*' may indicate the promulgation of the feast on the Continent.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Philip Barrett, 'A Saint in the Calendar: the Effect of the Canonisation of St Thomas Cantilupe on the Liturgy', in *St Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford: Essays in his Honour*, ed. by Meryl Jancey (Hereford, 1982), 153-57. Andrew Hughes, 'British Rhymed Offices: A Catalogue and Commentary', in S. Rankin and D. Hiley, eds., *Music in Medieval English Liturgy*, (Oxford, 1993), 278.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, for further examples of rhymed offices.

¹⁰⁸ Caldwell, in *Hereford Cathedral*, 372.

¹⁰⁹ Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS a.X.1.11, ff.135v-136r. Brian Trowell and Andrew Wathey, 'John Benet's "Lux fulget ex Anglia - O pater pietatis - Salve Thoma"', in *St Thomas Cantilupe*, 160-61.

¹¹⁰ John Benet, who was London based, has no known association with Hereford. It has been suggested, however, that Bishop Lacy's appointments as a canon of St George's, Windsor (1401-17), and especially as dean of the Chapel Royal (1414-17) would have brought him into contact with leading musicians: Trowell and Wathey, in Jancey (1982), 169-70. See also, Harper, in *Hereford Cathedral*, 388-89.

Devotions in the Lady Chapel at Hereford Cathedral

The Lady chapel figured prominently in the life of the cathedral and the services held there benefited considerably in 1330 when a bequest made by Joanna de Bohun endowed this chapel with eight priests, a deacon and subdeacon; they were all to have good voices and skilled in music (*'voce sonora et sciencia precipue artis musicae sufficientur imbuto'*).¹¹¹ During weekdays, but not festivals, it was intended that four priests would be responsible for singing Lady mass with another four saying the mass and office of the dead. All were expected to contribute to the daily office in choir. The laity making devotions to the Blessed Virgin Mary or paying homage at the shrine of St Thomas Cantilupe also visited the Lady chapel.¹¹² The liturgical and musical provisions of the Lady chapel were maintained continuously until the Reformation. A bequest by Richard Mayhew, bishop of Hereford (1504-16), provided an organ for the Lady chapel to honour both the Blessed Virgin and St Thomas Cantilupe:¹¹³

Item do et lego ad usum cotidiane misse beate Marie, virginis, ad honorem ipsius domine Marie et gloriosi Thome confessoris, organa mea noviter empta situanda in capella eorundem [sic] infra ecclesiam meam cathedralem Herefordensem.

Masters of the choristers and organists were regularly appointed in the earlier part of the sixteenth century with specific responsibilities in the Lady chapel. The chapter acts of 1525, for instance, required that the master of the choristers and choir were to sing antiphons and collects daily following compline. They were also to perform ceremonies before crucifix in the choir and image of the Virgin near the body of William Porter (the late precentor) saying prayers for Porter and the departed.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 384.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 388-89.

¹¹³ *The Register of Richard Mayhew, Bishop of Hereford (1504-1516)* ed. by Arthur Thomas Bannister, Cantilupe Society (Hereford, 1919): Will of Bishop Richard Mayhew, 24th March 1515/16, probate granted 10th May 1516. [Translation: Item I give and bequeath for the use of the daily mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary, to the honour of the same Lady Mary and glorious Thomas the Confessor, my newly bought organs to be situated in the chapel of the same, within my cathedral church of Hereford.]

¹¹⁴ Hereford, HCA, MS 7031/1, chapter act book, 1512-66, as transcribed in typescript by P. G. S. Baylis, p.29, no.253. See below, Chapter 3 for further examples.

The City of Chester

The Processional of the Nuns of Chester

A small quarto vellum fifteenth-century processional, formerly in the collection of the Earl of Ellesmere at Bridgewater House at the end of the nineteenth century, is now deposited in the University Library at San Marino, California.¹¹⁵ A number of clues are indicative of its provenance, firstly, an inscription near the end of this manuscript states ‘This booke longeth to Dame Margery Byrkenhed of Chestre’, secondly, directions included in the processional for the ceremonies at Palm Sunday and Maundy Thursday (here titled ‘Shere Thursday’) are clearly addressing a convent of women. There are also more than the usual references to Our Lady, with hymns and anthems to her honour aplenty. The principal altar also bears her dedication and it would seem that the Convent itself would also bear such dedication. Finally, St Benedict is honoured prominently with processions on his feast days in March and July and with other memorials. All these meet the criteria of a processional deriving from the Benedictine nunnery of St Mary, Chester. The manuscript dates from c.1425, the writing on the flyleaves from later in the fifteenth century.¹¹⁶

The processional appears to possess many features in common with other processionals of the Use of Salisbury.¹¹⁷ This is to be expected, as Chester was part of the medieval diocese of Coventry and Lichfield. The latter part of the book, however, consists of additional items in the form of private prayers in English. A particular feature of this processional is the use of the vernacular for the rubrics detailing the ceremonies for Candlemas, Palm Sunday, and Maundy Thursday. Musical notation is limited to antiphons and hymns – collects, versicles and cues to antiphons remaining without – though for the latter part of the book musical notation is not always included for the antiphons.

Rubrics refer to both musical and liturgical performance of the chants: being a processional, information is quite specific as to the location of the liturgical or musical

¹¹⁵ San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library, MS EL 34 B.7, Processional of the Nuns of Chester. See *The Processional of the Nuns of Chester*, ed. by J. Wickham Legg, Henry Bradshaw Society (London, 1899), for a modern edition with critical commentary.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. v, x.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.viii.

activity. For instance, ‘On candlemas day when [the] candles [have] byn hal[l]owed the pr[i]est shal[l] begyn this ps[alm] (an antiphon and *Nunc dimittis* follows), then during the next antiphon, ‘here shal[l] be goyng owte of the stallis to the churche do[o]r’. Subsequent rubrics include ‘Oute at ye churche do[o]re with this a[n]thym’, ‘At the frater doore begyn thys ant[h]ym’, and, ‘at the parlowr do[o]re begyn thys ant[h]ym’.¹¹⁸ Likewise rubrics specify the liturgical requirements at Palm Sunday and again the ceremonial moves around both inside and outside the church.¹¹⁹ The rubrics specify the allocation of chant to the priest, the prioress, the chanters, and the nuns. The rubrics for Maundy Thursday order the ceremonies of the washing of the altars and the washing of the feet. The altars listed are dedicated to Saints Mary, John the Evangelist, James, Nicholas, Benedict, Margaret, Thomas of Canterbury, Katherine, Anne, Mary Magdalen, John Baptist and All Hallowes. Reference is later made to an altar of St Edmund.¹²⁰

During the twentieth century the *Oxford Book of Carols* introduced to the public the ‘Song of the Nuns of Chester’ with the text *Qui creavit coelum, Lully, Lully, lu.*¹²¹ This was transcribed from the Processional of the Nuns of Chester.

The Benedictine priory of St Werburgh

Twenty-eight monks were resident at the Benedictine priory of St Werburgh at its dissolution in 1540.¹²² Judging from the reorganisation on becoming a cathedral of the New Foundation and the retention of the former Benedictine community to become the nucleus of the cathedral staff, it can safely be assumed that the musical resources for the full round of services was readily available at St Werburgh’s. Today the south transept of the abbey church provides clear evidence of the large number of altars in use during the pre-Reformation period. In addition to saying masses the monks would also have kept the daily office as set out in the Rule of St Benedict, in addition to devotions in the

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹¹⁹ Summarised in William Fergusson Irvine, ‘Notes on the History of St Mary’s Nunnery, Chester’, *JCAS*, n.s., 13 (1907), 67-109, 85.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 86.

¹²¹ *The Oxford Book of Carols*, ed. by Percy Dearmer, Ralph Vaughan Williams and Martin Shaw (London, 1928), 140-44.

¹²² Roland W. Morant, *Monastic and Collegiate Cheshire* (Braunton, 1996), 33.

Lady chapel and at the shrine of St Werburgh.¹²³ The pattern of worship at Chester abbey would have been similar to that at the Benedictine cathedral priory churches of Worcester or Winchester, albeit perhaps on a smaller scale. Fragments of medieval service books with musical notation may be seen in the some bindings of diocesan and cathedral records at Cheshire Record Office. Following the dissolution of St Werburgh's, the church maintained a quasi-collegiate existence until it was re-founded as a cathedral in 1541. In common with other New Foundation cathedrals the Use of Sarum was enforced until the issuing of the English liturgy of the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*.¹²⁴

¹²³ St Werburgh, whose relics lay at Chester abbey, had links with nunneries at Hanbury (Staffs), Threckingham (Lincs), Trentham (Staffs) and Weeden (Nothants): see Morant (1996), 23.

¹²⁴ See C. S. Knighton, 'Collegiate Foundations, 1540 to 1570, with special reference to St Peter in Westminster' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1975), 13; London, PRO, E36/116, instructions and memoranda concerning the dissolution and visitation of religious houses; *LP*, XIV (i), 1189, 1190.

CHAPTER 3

Pre-Reformation Institutions and their Music

Organised religion in Medieval Britain may be categorised into two domains. Firstly, there were those institutions that existed within the hierarchical diocesan structure: cathedral, collegiate churches and parish churches. Secondly, there were the religious orders with their monasteries, priories or friaries not necessarily directly answerable to the diocesan bishop. Chantries were also significant to medieval church life. Founded for the commemoration of souls to ease time in purgatory, their endowments often enabled clergy and other ministers to contribute to the sacramental, pastoral, educational and musical life of the parish, and to keep the observances connected with the chantry itself.

Written historical evidence for this period is available in many forms. Surviving liturgical manuscripts are discussed in Chapter 2 and surviving musical manuscripts in Chapter 7. Much relevant historical detail is contained in ancient statutes and charters, chapter act books from the cathedrals, bishops' registers, consistory court proceedings, monastic writings and administrative documentation, State papers, deeds, contracts, wills and legal documentation. The *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, chantry certificates, inventories of church goods and related documentation illuminate the position immediately before and during the various stages of reform. While St Laurence's, Ludlow, is fortunate to possess churchwardens' accounts from 1472 onwards, Holy Trinity, Chester, from 1532, St Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester, from 1536, and St Mary, Shrewsbury, from 1544, there are no such documents for any parish church in Wales itself prior to 1558.

Section 1: The last days of Monasticism in Wales and the Borders

David H. Williams in *The Welsh Cistercians* comments on how little there is to be known concerning music in the Cistercian monasteries of Wales and this is confirmed by the present study.¹ In fact this is unfortunately true for all the Welsh and borderland religious houses. The most useful sources suggesting liturgical and musical provision derive from the various stages leading to their dissolution in the 1530s and consist mainly of inventories relating to the sale of church goods.

During the medieval period the religious orders were commonplace. The Cistercians, established during the twelfth century, had become major landowners in Wales and were renowned for the splendour of their abbey churches. While the Cistercians established their abbeys in rural areas on land donated by the Marcher lords in the south, or by the Welsh princes in the north, the Benedictine houses were usually located within the towns and were shadowed by castle walls. The orders of the friars mendicant, famous for their preaching, naturally chose major centres of population and established their houses in the larger towns. Their rules of poverty prevented them from becoming significant landowners, relying instead on acts of charity, though they were later to accept gifts of land sufficient for their maintenance. Other religious orders also existed, but without any additional evidence of musical interest relevant to this thesis.²

The Benedictines

Abergavenny, Brecon, Cardigan, Chepstow, Ewenni, Kidwelly, Monmouth, Pembroke, Chester, Leominster, Shrewsbury

Benedictine Nunneries: Usk, Chester

The Benedictine Order established itself in Wales during the latter part of the eleventh and early part of the twelfth century. Introduced as a part of the Norman Conquest their houses were confined only to those areas where Norman control had firmly taken hold. The Welsh viewed the fortress-like construction of the Benedictine monasteries and their positioning within the shadow of a Norman castle as signs of foreign domination.

¹ David H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, 2 vols (Caldey Island, Tenby, 1984), i, 140.

² For example, the Cluniac Order at St Clear's and Malpas, and the Tironian Order at Caldey, Pill, and St Dogmael's.

Furthermore, as alien priories they were subject to a distant motherhouse and for the recruitment of new members they drew primarily from among a non-Welsh population.³

Evidence of musical practice in the Benedictine priories of Wales and the borders is slight, though it is safe to assume that the use of chant in the liturgy would have been almost universal. The appointment in 1400 of a new prior to the alien Benedictine priory of St Cynydr in Llangenydd, Glamorganshire (a cell of St Taurin d'Evreux in France), was conditional

that the prior of Llangennith for the time being shall have with him one fellow from the monastery of St Taurin, and they will say the canonical hours every Sunday, and on the other solemn and festal days, with chant, and they are not bound to other observances.⁴

A fifteenth-century processional surviving from the Benedictine nunnery of Chester provides insight into liturgical practice at this institution. Of particular interest is the use of English rubrics to indicate appropriate ceremonial for Candlemas, Palm Sunday and Maundy Thursday and the movement of the liturgy around the church and convent. The manuscript also includes plainsong antiphons and hymns.⁵ The nuns may have been following the practices of larger Benedictine abbey churches such as St Peter's, Gloucester, Tewkesbury and St Alban's, or the cathedral priories of Durham and Worcester.

In 1541 the recently dissolved Benedictine abbey of St Werburgh's, Chester, was made into a cathedral with the staff of the new foundation consisting mostly of the former Benedictine monks.⁶ The Sarum liturgy replaced the old monastic use, and the musical performance of the services adapted accordingly. The Benedictine abbey of St Peter and Paul, Shrewsbury, almost followed a similar transformation but plans were halted at draft level.⁷ Leominster priory is known to have had musical provision for its parish

³ Glanmor Williams *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation* (2nd edn., Cardiff, 1976), 18-19.

⁴ *The Episcopal Registers of St David's, 1397-1518*, ed. by R. F. Isaacson, 3 vols (London, 1917-20), iii, 66. Llangenydd as an alien priory was seized and suppressed by Henry V in 1414.

⁵ See above, Chapter 2, pp.39-40.

⁶ See below, Chapter 4, pp.131-32.

⁷ See below, Chapter 4, p.133.

services and so it is more than probable that the monastic worship was also similarly enriched.⁸

The Cistercians

Basingwerk (Savignac), Conwy, Cwmhir, Cymer, Grace Dieu, Llantarnam, Margam, Neath (Savignac), Strata Florida, Strata Marcella, Tintern, Valle Crucis, Whitland
Cistercian Nunneries: Llanllŷr, Llanllugan

The Cistercian Order was by far the most prevalent of the religious orders in medieval Wales, but, unlike the Benedictines, they were situated in rural locations. Since they arrived in Wales later than the Benedictines they were not viewed as being a part of the Norman invasion, though many were initially of Anglo-Norman foundation. Furthermore, in spite of their usually remote locations, they were able to integrate themselves into Welsh life due to their ascetic lifestyle and farming involvement. The first Cistercians arrived in Wales in 1131 when they founded Tintern abbey. Other houses to be founded in south Wales during this early period included Margam and the two Savigniac houses of Neath and Basingwerk absorbed by the Cistercian Order in 1147. Another group of Cistercian houses emanated as daughter houses of the abbey at Whitland which had been founded in 1151 and included Strata Florida, (1164), Strata Marcella (1170) and Cwmhir (1176). These in turn founded yet more daughter houses, Llantarnam (1179), Aberconwy (1186), Llanllŷr (c.1180), Valle Crucis (1201), Llanllugan (before 1236), and Cymer (1199). Grace Dieu (1226) was the last of the houses to be founded. The northern houses benefited from grants and patronage from the Welsh princes, those in the south from the Marcher lords.⁹

The earliest of the musical references for the Cistercians in Wales dates from the early thirteenth century. In 1217, following an investigation into several causes of complaint, the monks of Dore and Tintern were admonished for singing in three or four-part harmony instead of the plain Cistercian chant.¹⁰ The musical enterprise at Dore is

⁸ See below, pp.114-15.

⁹ G. Williams (1976), 18-22; D. H. Williams (1984), 3-6.

¹⁰ See above, Chapter 1, p.4.

further evident through the compilation by Adam II, abbot (c.1216-26), of a musical treatise entitled *Rudimenta Musices*.¹¹

Dafydd Nanmor (fl.1450-80), in his *cywydd* addressed to Morgan, abbot of Strata Florida, also makes reference to part-singing, applying musical terms such as burden, treble and mean:¹²

Teg yw sŵn byrdwn lle bo
Trebl a mên trwy blwm yno.

The words ‘trwy blwm’ translate literally as ‘through lead’, implying either through the lead of the organ pipes or the lead covering the roof. Furthermore, it may also be perceived as a pun on the musical term ‘triplum’, again referring to a type of part-singing, probably faburden. Similar references may be found in other contemporary poetry of this period.¹³ Also at this time Dafydd ab Owain makes reference to an organ at Strata Marcella:¹⁴

A sain organ ar gan gŵyl,
A desgant yn ei disgwyl,
A musig oll ymysg gwin,
a melodio mewn Lladin.

Poetic references to the abbeys readily praise the abbots for their generous hospitality. At Valle Crucis, Gutyn Glyn describes how the feasting from the abbot’s hall was accompanied by ‘strains of Organs, vocal and instrumental music’.¹⁵

¹¹ David H. Williams, *White Monks in Gwent and the Borders* (Pontypool, 1976), 7.

¹² ‘The sound of the burden is pleasant where there is / Both treble and mean through lead [pipes] there’, translation from *The Poetical Works of Dafydd Nanmor*, ed. by T. Roberts and I. Williams (Cardiff, 1923), 73.

¹³ Bethan Miles and David R. A. Evans, ‘Rhai termau eglwysig yng ngwaith y cywyddwyr’, *WM*, 8.9 (1988-89), 28-42, 29-30.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 32 from Aberystwyth, NLW, Llansteffan MS 133, f.47r. Translation [kindly provided by Glenda Carr]: And the sound of the organ at a hundred festivals, / and descant awaiting it, / And all the music amidst wine, / and the singing of melodies in Latin. [If in the first line the word *gan* is instead read as *gân*, then the translation begins: And the sound of the organ in a festival song]

¹⁵ G. V. Price, *Valle Crucis Abbey* (Liverpool, 1952), 164; for its organ: see T. Parry, *The Oxford Book of Welsh Verse* (Oxford, 1962; repr., 1977), 552-53. Quoted above, Chapter 1, p.11.

There is a reference to the chanting of the *Salve* at Neath by Ieuan Ddu y Bilwg (*fl.c.*1470) who wrote that ‘after Vespers manifold will be, the uttering of praise to Mary’.¹⁶ During the early sixteenth century Lewis Morgannwg’s tribute to the abbey of Neath praises it as a centre of scholarship, of which music listed is as one of its disciplines, and passing reference is also made to the organs: ‘ac organau i’r Gwŷr Gwynion’.¹⁷

In 1524 Cwmhir was bequeathed £8 ‘to bye a paire of Organs to honour God within the Abbey’.¹⁸ Morgan Jones, in 1532, bequeathed that at Llantarnam the monks were to observe a yearly dirge [=dirige or matins of the dead] and requiem mass.¹⁹ Similarly, Gruffydd David Duy (*d.*1538) a priest, bequeathed that Whitland abbey was to receive 40s for ‘a *De Profundis* every Sunday for my soul’.²⁰

The Dissolution of the Monasteries resulted in the availability for sale of their land, buildings and contents, records of which survive to provide details of all manner of items including bells, vestments, organs, kitchen equipment, etc.²¹ Details of the sale of goods at Dore record that John Scudamore (who bought the vast majority of items available) paid 40s for a lot that included the roof, slates and timber of the frater, an old house, and ‘the organs in the quyer’.²² Similarly, the ‘quire’ was removed from Basingwerk in 1536 to the church of St Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester.²³ Occasionally the acquisition of church goods was not made honestly and in 1547 a Commission of Inquiry at Welshpool examined the dealings of Nicholas Purcell, tenant of the abbey of Strata Marcella under the Crown and later sheriff of Montgomeryshire (1553), who was

¹⁶ J. E. de Hirsch-Davies, *Catholicism in Mediaeval Wales* (London, 1916), 124.

¹⁷ See above, Chapter 1, p.3.

¹⁸ London, PRO, PROB 11/21 (35 Bodfelde), see below, p.57; D. H. Williams (1984), 140.

¹⁹ D. H. Williams (1984), 140, 185, citing PRO, PROB 11/14 (21 Holgrave).

²⁰ D. H. Williams (1984), 185; Francis Green, ‘Early wills in West Wales’, *WWHR*, 7 (1917-18), 143-64, 154. See below, p.55.

²¹ See D. H. Williams (1984), 123-24; also London, PRO, LR6/152/1-4, monastic lands and possessions for south Wales [but missing for north Wales].

²² London, PRO, C115/34, no.1937, accounts of the sales of goods of the dissolved monasteries of Monmouth, Dore, Clifford and Aconbury, 1536-37. See David H. Williams, ‘Sale of Goods at Abbey Dore’, *Monmouthshire Antiquary* (1975), 192-95, for a full transcription.

²³ *Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire: II County of Flint*, Royal Commission for Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire (London, 1912), 41.

alleged to have had a role in the destruction of the abbey, including the sale of its organ for £13 6s 8d to St Mary's, Shrewsbury.²⁴

The Augustinian (Austin) Canons

Bardsey, Beddgelert, Penmon, Haverfordwest, Carmarthen, Llanthony Prima

The three north Wales houses of Bardsey, Beddgelert and Penmon were originally Celtic *clas* churches. They continued, following the Norman invasion, due to their transformation into houses of secular canons of the Augustinian Order. Talley abbey had also once been a *clas* church; this became a Praemonstratensian house.²⁵ In contrast to these the three south Wales houses of Austin Canons were each of Anglo-Norman foundation. Carmarthen and Haverfordwest were established as the two major Norman towns of south-west Wales. Llanthony Prima (so called to distinguish it from Llanthony Secunda, Gloucester), on the other hand, owed its foundation to the piety of a knight who sought solitude and became an anchorite.²⁶

Carmarthen in the sixteenth century was the largest town in Wales and was renowned as the foremost merchant and market town in south west Wales. Its population is estimated at around 2000 of whom a significant number were English speaking.²⁷ It was favourably described in the chantry certificates for south Wales as 'a fayre Markett Towne, having a fare haven, and the ffa[i]rest Towne in all South Wails and of most Scevillytie'.²⁸ The medieval town of Carmarthen was divided into two areas between which there was occasional disputes and rivalry. Old Carmarthen was subject to the jurisdiction of the priory while New Carmarthen was under the authority of a mayor and corporation. This persisted until the dissolution of the priory and the subsequent granting of a borough charter on 28th April 1546 for a mayor and twenty burgesses to

²⁴ See below, Chapter 6, p.203; D. H. Williams (1984), i, 125; Edward Owen, 'Strata Marcella immediately before and after its dissolution', *Y Cymmrodor*, 29 (1919), 1-32, 27-28; E. A. Lewis and J. C. Davies, *Records of the Court of Augmentations Relating to Wales* (1954), 152-53; London, PRO, E315/516/26-27, composite volume from the Court of Augmentations.

²⁵ G. Williams (1976), 18.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.

²⁷ Glanmor Williams, 'Carmarthen and the Reformation, 1536-58', in *Carmarthenshire Studies: Essays presented...*, ed. by Tudor Barnes and Nigel Yates (Carmarthen, 1974), 136-57, 136.

²⁸ London, PRO E301/74/39-40, chantry certificates, south Wales, 1548.

form a corporate body representing the whole town under a common seal.²⁹ The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* records the value of the priory as £164, thus placing it as the third wealthiest monastic house in Wales. This, however, is considered to be a deliberate understatement on the part of the commissioners, it is possible that they may have misrepresented the priory's value in order to dissolve it by bringing it under the purview of the 1536 Act of Suppression that enforced closure on all religious houses valued below £200. A more accurate figure has been estimated at £209.³⁰

Lewis Glyn Cothi (fl.1447-86), in a poem praising the prior of Carmarthen (part of which is quoted below), made reference to worship at the priory where the singing surpassed that of the birds, and the organs were as sweet as the honey of the bees:³¹

Maestr Morgan a gân a'i wŷr gwynion – gerdd
o gôr yr engylion
[...]

Ys gwell fu leisiau ei gôr
erioed no llais yr adar
gan naw o glych, gan y glêr,
i gan wyth organ o wŷr.

Ei wŷr a ganant bob drugeinyn,
engylion gwynion hwy a genyn',
organ Maestr Morgan o myn – ei datgan,
yr organ a gân fel mêl gwenyn.

The Friars Mendicant

Franciscan: Chester, Shrewsbury, Hereford, Cardiff, Carmarthen, Llanfaes

Dominican: Bangor, Brecon, Chester, Shrewsbury, Hereford, Cardiff, Haverfordwest,
Rhuddlan

Carmelites: Ludlow, Chester, Denbigh

Augustinian: Ludlow, Shrewsbury, Newport

²⁹ G. Williams (1974), 145-46.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 142.

³¹ *Gwaith Lewis Glyn Cothi*, ed. by Dafydd Johnston (Cardiff, 1995), 154-55. [Translation: Master Morgan and his white [clad] men sing a song from the choir of the angels. / Better were the voices of his choir than ever was the voice of the birds, with nine bells, with the choir and with eight organs of men. / His men sing in groups of sixty, blessed angels they sing. Master Morgan's organ if he chooses to play it – the organ will sing like the honey of bees.]

The various orders categorised as Friars mendicant originated in Italy, establishing themselves in Britain during the thirteenth century. Their primary vocation was preaching and so they chose to found their houses near major centres of population. They adhered to their strict vows of poverty, originally refusing to own property other than their actual churches and monastic houses and relying on almsgiving and other acts of charity for their subsistence. The Franciscan Friars were the first order to arrive in this country; founded in 1209 by St Francis of Assisi who laid great emphasis on the vow of poverty, they were also known as Grey Friars or the Order of the Friars Minor. They established houses at Chester, Shrewsbury, Hereford, Cardiff, Carmarthen and Llanfaes (Anglesey).

The Dominican Friars followed the Rule of St Augustine and placed emphasis on the importance of study and proper theological training for its members. They were also known as Black Friars or the Order of Friars Preacher. Dominican houses were established at Chester, Hereford, Shrewsbury, Bangor, Brecon (the largest in Wales), Cardiff, Haverfordwest and Rhuddlan. The Carmelite Friars, known variously as the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Friars Carmel, or White Friars were founded by St Berthold in Palestine, c.1154, who prescribed solitude, absolute poverty and abstinence from flesh-eating. They were reorganised in 1247 along Dominican lines and maintained houses at Ludlow, Chester and Denbigh. Lastly, the Augustinian Friars or Hermits, also known as the Austin Friars (not to be confused with the Austin Canons), adhered to the Rule of St Augustine, and possessed houses at Ludlow, Shrewsbury and Newport.

With regards to music at the friaries, information is limited and is confined largely to the inventories of church goods compiled for their dissolution. The friaries of Chester appear to have well furnished for the liturgy. The Black Friars followed their own liturgical practices having 'A prynt masses bo[o]ke of o[u]r vse' and 'All bo[o]kes necessary for the quyere'. They were also fortunate to possess 'A peyer of organs' and a colourful array of vestments including 'ij yelow coppes for Chyldren'.³² The White Friars of Chester were also comparatively well equipped. There were two organs, 'A peyer off organs in the quyere' and 'A gre[a]tte peyre of organs ou[e]r the qu[i]ere

³² J. H. E. Bennett, 'The Black Friars of Chester', *JCAS*, n.s., 39 (1952), 29-58, 40-41.

do[o]re'.³³ Again there were many vestments and a plenteous supply of liturgical books.³⁴

iiij antiphone[r]s
 iiij grayles wi[h] spalt's [psalters]
 ij ordinalls wi[h] colle[c]tres
 A legende wi[h] a marty[r]lege

The Grey Friars of Chester, however, did not compare so favourably, having only 'a pore payer of organs' valued at 3s 4d.³⁵ There are no organs mentioned at any of the Ludlow or Shrewsbury friaries.³⁶ The Hereford Grey Friars which did have 'A peyar of orgaynys', also had a collection of service books to match that of the Chester White Friars.³⁷

v masse bo[o]kis
 iiii antyphoner a[nd] ii qu[i]ers
 vi greylls & a[n] [e]pistill bo[o]ke
 iii legents & a marti[ro]log[y]
 iii [p]salters a portas & ii colle[c]tors

Three Welsh friaries are known to have had organs: the Grey Friars and Black Friars of Cardiff,³⁸ and the Carmarthen Grey Friars who possessed 'a goodly peyer of orgaynis'.³⁹ The inventory of goods at Ruddlan includes 'new stallys', 'po[o]re bo[o]ks for ye q[ui]re' valued at 14d, and 'a massebo[o]ke a gospel bo[o]ke & a[n] [e]pystell bo[o]k' valued at 2s.⁴⁰ At Llanfaes there were 'bo[o]kes for y^e q[ui]re paper [worth] nowthe [nothing]', and 'ii pryntt masse bo[o]ke' valued at 2s.⁴¹

³³ J. H. E. Bennett, 'The White Friars of Chester', *JCAS*, n.s., 31 (1935), 5-54, 44-45.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ J. H. E. Bennett, 'The Grey Friars of Chester', *JCAS*, n.s., 24 (1921), 5-85, 33.

³⁶ London, PRO, E36/153, volume containing inventories, surrenders, valuations and correspondence (of Thomas Cromwell) concerning friaries, c.1535-c.1538, pp.36-37, 39-40, 42, 43, 45.

³⁷ London, PRO, E36/115, Dissolution documents, original surrenders of religious houses and inventories of their goods, p.48.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 35.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 99.

⁴⁰ London, PRO, E36/153, inventories, surrenders, valuation, etc. concerning friaries, pp.97-99.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp.94-95. The wooden stalls of Llanfaes are to be seen today situated in the choir of nearby St Mary and St Nicholas's, Beaumaris.

Many of the friary churches were surplus to requirements following their dissolution and quickly became quarries for dressed stone.⁴² The friary church and other conventual buildings of the Black Friars, Brecon, housed from 1541 the translated college of Abergwili which had been re-founded as Christ College, Brecon.⁴³

⁴² Edward Owen, 'The fate of the Structures of Conway Abbey, and Bangor and Beaumaris Friaries', *Y Cymmrodor*, 27 (1917), 70-114.

⁴³ See below, pp.69-71.

Section 2: Chantries and Guilds

During the Middle Ages chantries had come to play an integral part in popular religious belief, especially concerning mortality and the afterlife. In societies where pestilence and war was commonplace and life expectancy low, a culture had emerged where one was only too aware of an imminent death and the possible ways of alleviating the suffering of the soul in purgatory.

The foundation and support of a chantry could be categorised as being either private or corporate in its intention. A chantry could be established and maintained either on behalf of an individual and their family – it had become commonplace for the more affluent members of society to allow bequests in their wills towards a chantry – or alternatively by a fraternity, trade guild or corporation, but in both cases it was usual also to offer prayers for ‘al[l] Cristen soules’. Fraternities or guilds also emerged with the specific purpose of maintaining chantries on behalf of their members as with the Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Montgomery or the Palmers’ Guild at Ludlow.

The form a chantry takes is first of all dependent on the amount of money that has been set aside for that particular purpose. A chantry by definition requires an ongoing activity and is therefore dependent on financial sustenance through investment whether its continuance is for a set duration of time or for perpetuity. Evidence of the financial support of chantries is found in wills and chantry certificates. A gift or stock of money may be invested, or a stock of cattle maintained, its profits funding the chantry. Similarly plots of land or other forms of property such as brew houses and mills could be let out. Stocks of cattle, however, remained the most common forms of property to be owned by the fraternities of Welsh parishes, especially in the more mountainous regions of Montgomeryshire and Merionethshire.⁴⁴ At Magor, Monmouthshire, a brew house had been donated by one Thomas Bird for the ‘fyndyng of an obbitt & mayntenynng a masse [...] w[i]’[h]in the churche of Magor that they paye for the bruyng [brewing] of everie burthyn of ayll made in the said bruehouse, vija’.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ G. Willams (1976), 296; London, PRO, E301/74, chantry certificates, south Wales; E301/76, chantry certificates, north Wales.

⁴⁵ London, PRO, DL 38/7, chantry certificates, Monmouthshire, Glamorganshire, Carmarthenshire, 1548.

An endowment may provide stipendiary priests to serve at various altars in a parish church, a salaried priest (hired priest) for a chapel, or more specifically chantry priests attached to a particular chantry. At St Mary's, Tenby, the three stipendiary priests funded from the investment of land were required to 'Celebrate & synge at the Aulters of Jesus, the Alter of Saynt Anne & the Aulter of the Ro[o]de of Grace for the so[u]les of the doners & their Successors'.⁴⁶

If a potential chantry founder was extremely wealthy, then a college of priests could be established to remember his soul in prayers and masses. The college of clergy would usually live and worship in community under a capitular arrangement, headed by a warden, dean, or provost and endowed with land or proceeds from appropriated churches.⁴⁷ Hospitals or almshouses were also founded as chantries. Headed by a warden and assisted by a chaplain or two, the poor, elderly or infirm residents of the hospital would have been required to say prayers daily for the soul of their founder.

Alternatively an existing band of clergy may have been requested to remember the departed in return for a gift of money. The will belonging to John Bulton, a burgess of Haverfordwest, who died in 1463,⁴⁸ meticulously sets out details regarding his funeral and yearly obit, and even provides alternative arrangements for the latter in case of negligence on the part of the clergy of St Mary's, Haverfordwest. Concerning music, of particular interest is the singing of a requiem by note and the singing of a dirge with nine lessons:

Also to lete syng my dyryge ix lessonys cordyng thereto unto the laste ende with xij pr[i]ests and t[w]o clerks of the same church. Allso my will is that all procuratowrys of the seyde churche y[a]^t shall before the tyme do pay the pryowyr of Haverford furste and all priowrys that shall be ever aftyr with all his bretheryn to be ye[a]rly att my obytt and both to durge and to masse and after y[a]^t so do to gete as mony pr[i]ests more as woll fulfill ye number of xij and a mor[r]owe nexte upon to lete ryng iij pe[a]lys agen with the seyde v bellys afore masse and that the seyde xij pr[i]ests every one of them to sey a lowe masse excepte one y[a]^t shall syng a masse of requiem be note And the seyde iiij tapys to bren at that mass tyme of requiem And also y[a]^t all the s[e]yd pr[i]ests to be gedd[ered] yn the qu[i]ere to helpe synge that masse of requiem And when the seyde masse of requiem ys to do and full endyd the seyde procuratowrys to pay to the seyde priowyr for dirige and masse xij^d and to every other pr[i]est v^d, that is to

⁴⁶ Evan D. Jones, 'Survey of South Wales Chantries, 1546', *AC* (1934), 135-55, 145.

⁴⁷ See below, p.66.

⁴⁸ Transcribed fully in Appendix A.

sey iiij^d for syngyng dirige and j^d for massynge a morrowe And to every of the seyde clerkys iiij^d

Furthermore, in the event of the death of his daughter without having borne an heir, her inheritance was to be used to provide for further obits, again with musical content:

I woll and graunte y[a]^t all the avale of all the se[y]de lands rents and tenements returne into the use of a pr[i]est syngyng dayly and perpetually yn owyr seyde lady church of Haverford [...] And that the seyde pr[i]este shall dayly ke[e]pe oure lady qw[i]ere at matynys masse and evensongs.

Also in west Wales, the will of Griffith David Duy, priest, dated 1537, specifies carefully the number of masses and other observances (involving the use of music) for his soul and that of his family through monetary remuneration and gifts of clothing:⁴⁹

To my curate Sir Hugh, my furred gown (reserving the fur thereof), also a bonnet and a jacket of cloth, he to say for the same in memory of my soul 5 masses of the Five wounds of Christ, and 30 masses of the name of Jesus, beginning, '*In nomine Jesus,*' &c. To my nephew, Sir Griffith ap David, my single violet gown, a chamber jacket and a bonnet, and I remit to the said Griffith such pilcorne as he standeth indebted to me for the parcel tithes of the farm of Penryn, and he to say 5 masses for my soul for the same. To Sir David Jones, 6s 8d, and a new pair of stocked hose, he to say 5 masses thereof, and to have 12d for writing this testament. To the grey friars of Carmarthen, 20s, they 'to keep my father, mother, and brother, Llewys ap Reynall is obite solemplye by note the next Lent,' in the presence and oversight of my friend Thomas Bruyn. To the friars of Haverfordwest, 3s 4d to be spent by some credible person who shall be present at certain masses for my soul. [...] To the abbot and convent of Whitland for a *De Profundis* every Sunday for my soul, 40s. [...] To a friar observant at Karm[er]d[en] 53s 4d to sing masses daily for my soul. [...] To David ap Ieuan Duy, his obligation so that he pay a parson Bang[o]r for 5 masses.

Cathedral chantries

Certain chantries were founded for a set duration of time. Bishop John Cliderow's foundation in the chapel of St John the Baptist and Evangelist at Bangor cathedral in 1435 made provision for a chaplain to say masses for his soul for five years.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Green (1917-18), 154.

⁵⁰ Browne Willis, *A Survey of the Cathedral Church of Bangor* (London, 1721), 232 (*Ex Archivis Archiepisc. Cantuar. In Registr. Chicheley*, ff. 454, 455). [Translation: Item I order and command that one good chaplain celebrate there for five years in the Chapel of Saints John the Baptist and Evangelist for my soul and [the souls] of my parents, receiving each year as salary 8 marks provided however that he know how to sing plainsong daily in the choir, also that he say during the five years the commendatory office of the dead every week, with the morrow mass [first mass of the day] in the said chapel.]

[...] *Item ordino & mando quod unus bonus Capellanus celebret ibidem per quinquennium in Capella S. Johannis Baptistae & Evangelistae pro anima mea & Parentum meorum, percipiens quolibet anno pro Salario 8 Marcas dum tamen sciat cantare planum cantum quotidie in choro, etiam quod dicet durante quinquennio exequias mortuorum cum commendatione omni Septimana, cum Missa in crastino in dicta Capella.*

Dean Richard Kyffin's (d.1502) chantry of St Catherine at Bangor cathedral supported two chantry priests in 1504, but only one in 1535. Maurice Glyn, archdeacon of Bangor (d.1525), founded two chantries, one at Bangor cathedral the other at St Beuno's, Clynnog Fawr, but these came to an end in 1548 under the Chantries' Act.⁵¹

At St David's, in addition to the college of St Mary,⁵² there were two chantries dedicated to St Nicholas within the cathedral itself 'to find ij priestes for euer to the[i]ntent to say Masse every day & to keep the quyer [...] euery Sunday & Holyday'.⁵³

Whereas the chantry priests of St David's joined with the vicars choral on Sundays and feast days, the vicars choral of Hereford supplemented their income by serving as chantry priests,⁵⁴ attention is drawn in the chantry certificates that primarily they were vicars choral and always referred to as such.⁵⁵ There was also liturgical and musical activity in the Lady chapel at Hereford due to the benefaction of Joanna de Bohun in 1327. Selected for their voices and musical talent, the clergy attached to the Lady chapel were, following the fulfilment of their duties in the Lady chapel itself, to join with the rest of the cathedral clergy to sing the daily office in the choir.⁵⁶

⁵¹ M. L. Clarke, *Bangor Cathedral* (Cardiff, 1969), 53-54.

⁵² St Mary's was itself a type of chantry whose members were obliged to commemorate the souls of its founders – Bishop Adam Houghton, John of Gaunt and Blanche his wife. See below, pp.72-74.

⁵³ E. D. Jones (1934), 143.

⁵⁴ *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, iii, 12-13.

⁵⁵ London, PRO, E301/25, chantry certificates, Heref. and Worcs., f.33v.

⁵⁶ See below, pp.103-04.

Organists

Clerks, choristers or organists may also have been required to partake in chantry observances. This was particularly true at St Nicholas's, Montgomery, where the Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary supported an organist, a choirmaster, two choristers, and a holy-water bearer.⁵⁷ The Palmers' Guild of Ludlow was responsible for maintaining the organist and choir of St Laurence's; its rent collector's account for 1486 introduces an additional chaplain's stipend for supervising the choir.⁵⁸ The chantry certificate for St Mary's, Cardiff, shows that one of its chantry priests, in addition his sacerdotal duties, also played the organ.⁵⁹

In the stipend or wage of Thomas Smythe pr[i]este serving at th[e] altre of o[u]r laydy and ke[e]ping the Organs w[i]th[i]n the sayd churche being of th[e] age of xxxiith ye[a]res having none other sp[irit]uall promocion by ye[a]re, xiiij*li* iijs iiij*d*

Another chantry certificate appertaining to the same church fails to mention Smythe's duties as organist and otherwise recording John Pill as 'syngingman' instead of 'p[ar]ishe clerke'.⁶⁰ At nearby St John's, Cardiff, an organist was funded from the discontinued chantry of St Catherine:⁶¹

Hew Lame clerke organ player there being no pr[i]est of the age of xxviiith having none other lyving by ye[a]re, vj*li* xiijs iiij*d*

A similar arrangement was in place at Monmouth in 1548 where there were two chantries both funded from land rentals. One provided a priest, Sir David Janken, who received £8 p.a. to celebrate mass in the church; the other, originally intended for similar use, had 'be[e]ne convertid to annother use thatistowit to the ffyndyng of an Organne player & of the ye[a]rele valew of iiij*li*'.⁶²

⁵⁷ See below, p.62.

⁵⁸ *A History of Shropshire*, vol. ii, ed. by Alexander Thomas Gaydon, The Victoria County History of the Counties of England (Oxford, 1973), 136; Shrewsbury, SRO, MS LB5/3/50, rent collectors' accounts, 1486-87. See below, pp.62-65.

⁵⁹ London, PRO, E301/74/3.

⁶⁰ London, PRO, E301/75/2, chantry certificates, south Wales.

⁶¹ London, PRO, E301/74.

⁶² London, PRO, DL38/7.

Repair and maintenance of churches in addition to masses

Provision may also be made for the repair and maintenance of churches. Sir Rowland Velvell, illegitimate son of Henry VII and constable of Beaumaris Castle, bequeathed £5 to the friars to say masses for his soul and varying sums of money to churches in the locality:⁶³

£5 to a chaplain to celebrate masses ffor my soul; also; I bequeath to the said Monasterye of Minor Friars 13s 8d and to the Chapel of the Blessed Mary att Beaumaris, 15s. To the Monastery of Preachinge Friers at Bangor, 13s alsoe I bequeath to the Church of St Eistyn, 6s 8d. To the fabric of Bangor Cathedrall, 6s 8d the same to the Church of St Tegvan, and to St Catherine, 6s 8d. Alsoe I bequeath to Agnes, my Wiffe, all the landes, burgages, fines, houses, &c lying in Beaumaris.

When Dame Agnes Velvell, the widow of Sir Rowland Velvell, died in 1543, she bequeathed £4 to have a year's provision of masses sung by a chaplain for both her own and her late husband's souls.⁶⁴

In the name of God, Amen, the 16th day of December, the year of our Lord, 1542. I Agnes Velvill, widowe, [w]hoole of my mynde and of perfect memory, make thys my laste wyll and testament, in fforme following; Fyrste I bequeathe my soule to Almighty God, and my bodye to be buried in the Chappell of the Blessed Virgine Mary of Beaumares, where my husbände was buryed. Item, I bequeathe to the repariacyon and buyldynge of the saide chappelle iiiij/ storlinge. Item, I bequeathe to a pr[i]este of good conversations, to singe ffor the he[a]lthe of my husband's soul and myne, for one whoole ye[a]re, iiiij/.

Other bequests in addition to masses

Some endowments and bequests may have specifically funded a light before an altar, an image, statue or rood. Others may have contributed towards a morrow mass or other service. Alternatively, a benefactor may have simply wished to be prayed for from the pulpit or to have had his obit commemorated. Examples of this type may be seen in the chantry certificates for south Wales where, at Sully, an orchard and meadow rented for an annual 14d provided a 'light before o[u]r lady there'. Similarly at Wenvoe, a meadow funded a light before the statue of St Baroc, while at Kenfig arable land provided a light before the image of St Mary Magdalene and prayers from the pulpit at Pyle.⁶⁵

⁶³ Angharad Llwyd, *History of the Island of Mona* (Ruthin, 1833), 166.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 336-37.

⁶⁵ London, PRO, E301/74; see also *Cardiff Records*, ii, 300-01.

Some gifts may have consisted of service books, organs, vestments, chalices, etc. In 1524 Sir Rhys ap Thomas, Knight of the Order of the Garter, bequeathed money, vestments and chalices to various churches in the Carmarthen area and £8 to buy an organ for the abbey of Cwmhir.⁶⁶

And my body to be buried in the chauncell of the gray friers of kermerdyn then as my mother lyeth and whansoever it please god to call my wife owt of that trans[it]ary lyfe my will that she be buried by me. Item I bequeth to the Cathedrall church of Saint David *xxli*. Item to the ff[ri]eres of Kermerden *xxli*. Item to the priory of kermerdyn *vjli xiijs iiijd*. Item to the Ro[o]de Church at Kermerdeyn a vestment price *liijs iiijd* Item to Saint Peters Church at Kermerdyn a vestment and a chalas price *vli*. Item to Saint Barbara Chapell a vestment price *xls* [...] Item to the Abbey of C[w]mhir *viii li* in money to bye a paire of Organs to honour god w[i]th[i]n the said Abbey.

The last will and testament of William Bulkely the elder (10th June 1490) made provision for saying mass for the souls of himself and his wife, and for those of his father, mother, and sister, Felys, and for supplying a missal and antiphoner for the church of Beaumaris.⁶⁷

[...] fynde an able and sufficient Chapplen to saye masse and p[ra]y dayly for my so[u]le and for my wyfe ys so[u]le and for the so[u]les of my fadyr and modyr and all c[h]risten so[u]les by the space and time of ii hole ye[a]res and that w[i]^t[h]in the chyrche of Bewmarris gyffying ye[a]rely unto the sayde Chapplen for hys sallare and wages *vli vis viiid*. It[em] I will and Ordeyne that my sayde fe[o]ffes fynde an able and sufficient Chapplen to saye masse and p[ra]y dayly for the so[u]le of my syste^r felys by the span of on[e] [w]hole ye[a]re gyffying the sayd chaplen for hys salare as ys above Re[a]lised. It[em] I will and Ordeyne that my sayde fe[o]ffes by the advyse of them that shal[l]be myne executo[rs] b[uy] an antifon[er] and a mas[s]bo[oke] prys [price] of Bothe *xli* and that they gyffe Bothe the sayde mas[s]boke and antifon[er] to the chyrche of Bewmarris for my so[u]le and my wyfe ys so[u]le ther[e] to be pr[a]yde for. It[em] I will and Ordeyne that my sayde fe[o]ffes b[uy] a sewte off vestements of the pryce of *xxiiii li* and gyffe thyme to the chyrche of Bewmarris for my so[u]le and the so[u]le of my wyfe [...]

⁶⁶ London, PRO, PROB 11/21, f.774v (35 Bodfelde).

⁶⁷ Bangor, UWB, Baron Hill, MS 4.

Guilds and fraternities

Guilds or fraternities of the period approaching the Reformation were of two main types, trade and religious, both of which may have shown an interest in their parish church, perhaps maintaining chantries. The trade guilds helped maintain and support the business interests of the various occupations of the town and regulated trading standards, rates of pay and conditions of apprenticeship and exercised concern in the well being of its members' families in times of hardship. Involvement was also shown in the social and religious aspects of the town with festivities, miracle plays and processions. Endowments, or levies, on members may have provided torches in procession, as was the tradition of the Corvisers' Guild of Brecon at Corpus Christi or the Ascension.⁶⁸ One of the responsibilities of the Smiths' or Hammermen's Guild of Ludlow was:⁶⁹

to ke[e]pe and [re]pere the same lights yerely about and affore the blessed sacrament on Corpus X [Christi] day and the Sondag next fol[l]owying rev[er]ently in p[ro]cession lyke as all other worthy Crafts of the s[a]id town.

The guilds of Brecon maintained chapels in the priory church of St John's or St Mary's where they conducted their guild business. Of these six guilds the corvisers had the use of chapels at both churches but shared with the tailors at St John's. The weavers and tuckers were also at St John's, and while the glovers met under a thorn tree as they had no chapel, evidence relating to the mercers remains uncertain.⁷⁰ In Cardiff the cordwainers worshipped at the chapel of St Piran which also formed part of their guildhall, and the glovers used the Trinity chantry of St John's as their chapel and hall.⁷¹ Similarly at St Mary's, Swansea, the glovers maintained a chapel.⁷² At St Chad's, Shrewsbury, the mercers' guild provided a priest to sing at the altar of St Michael, and the tailors a priest to sing at the altar of St John the Baptist. The shoemakers and the weavers also provided chantry priests for St Chad's. Other Shrewsbury churches also benefited from the guilds. St Julian's had a priest at the altar of Our Lady provided by the shearmen's guild, while at St Mary's the drapers provided a priest to sing at the altar

⁶⁸ W. S. K. Thomas, *Brecon, c.1093-1660: An Illustrated History* (Llandysul, 1991), 117.

⁶⁹ Charter, dated 6th May 2 Hen VIII, in Llewellyn Jones, 'The Antiente Company of Smiths and Others Commonly called "Hammermen" of Ludlow', *TSAS*, 11 (1888), 3-4.

⁷⁰ W. S. K. Thomas (1991), 115-16.

⁷¹ Dennis Morgan, *The Cardiff Story* (Cowbridge, 1991), 61-63.

⁷² W. S. K. Thomas, *The History of Swansea from Rover Settlement to the Restoration* (Llandysul, 1990). 49.

of the Trinity.⁷³ At Chester each of the guilds was responsible for producing at least one play in the cycle of mystery plays held at annually at Whitsun. The performance of these plays continued at Chester throughout the years of reformation but eventually came to a halt in 1578. Music figured prominently in these plays, and records relating to Elizabethan performances show that choristers and singing men from the newly founded cathedral were often employed by the guilds.⁷⁴

The other category of guild or fraternity was not confined to a single trade or occupation and emphasised a religious aspect for its members. They were corporate chantries intended to provide for its members in the next life in addition to the present. Corpus Christi guilds, with their devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, became popular in the larger English towns from the end of the fourteenth century; especially noteworthy were those at Chester, York and Shrewsbury. On the feast of Corpus Christi colourful pageants were arranged by these guilds; the procession of 1478 at Shrewsbury also included the craft guilds of the millers, bakers, cooks, butchers, and shearmen.⁷⁵ Also at Shrewsbury was the Guild of St Winifred, whose purpose it was to bring together monks and burgesses in a common fraternity.⁷⁶ A chantry had been founded for St Winifred's Guild at Shrewsbury abbey (Church of the Holy Cross) by Thomas, late abbot of St Peter's, Shrewsbury, 'for the fyndyng of ij preestis to sing within the sayd parishe churche of the holy cross'.⁷⁷ The two religious guilds of greatest significance to this thesis, however, are the Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Montgomery and the Palmers' Guild of Ludlow.

⁷³ London, PRO, E301/40, chantry certificates, Salop and Staffs, 1546; see also, A. H. Thompson, ed., 'Certificates of the Shropshire Chantries', *TSAS*, 3rd series, 10 (1910), 269-392, 305-11.

⁷⁴ Alan Smith, 'The practice of music in English churches and cathedrals, and at the Court, during the reign of Elizabeth I' (unpublished PhD thesis, Birmingham, 1967), 219-21.

⁷⁵ H. F. Westlake, *The Parish Gilds of Mediæval England* (London, 1919), 51.

⁷⁶ *A History of Shropshire*, ii, 35; H. Owen and J. B. Blakeway, *A History of Shrewsbury*, 2 vols (London, 1825), ii, 125.

⁷⁷ London, PRO, E301/40.

The Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Montgomery

The religious guild for which we have the fullest information in Wales is the guild, fraternity or service of Our Lady of Montgomery.⁷⁸ Based at the parish church of St Nicholas, the guild maintained three priests, a small choral foundation and song school. During the 1540s the guild relied financially on a stock of cattle valued at £330 15s 4d which yielded an annual profit of £40 through ‘good husbandry, Industry & insight of the late Incu[m]bente & of the ward[ens] & ke[e]p[er]s of the said stocke & catiell [...] kept onely upon the Com[m]ens wastes & mounta[i]nes w[i]t[h]out any charge for the[i]r pasture’.⁷⁹ To this a further profit of £1 6s 9d could be added from various lands and tenements.⁸⁰ Together these investments funded three stipendiary priests, Matthew D[avi]d and William Ilke, at £8 p.a. each, another priest, Hugh Woodde, at £5 6s 8d, an organist, Richard Smythe, at £5, a choirmaster, John Elke (‘ke[e]p[er] of the Quayre’), at £4 0s 8d, two choristers, John Bacher and Matthew ap Richard, at 13s 4d each, and a holy-water bearer, William ap John, at 6s 8d. For the thirty years before dissolution under the Chantry’s Act the guild also maintained a free school in the town. One of the stipendiary priests, William Ilke, was ‘uselye hyred for that purpose [and] taught but yo[u]nge begynners onelye to write and syng and to reade so farre as th[e] accidens Rules and noo gram[m]er’.⁸¹ William Ilke and Hugh Wood both appear in pension lists for north Wales.⁸²

The Palmers’ Guild of the Blessed Mary and of St John the Evangelist of Ludlow

The Palmers’ Guild of Ludlow dates back to the middle of the thirteenth century when the town of Ludlow began to prosper as an important merchant town and a centre for the flourishing Marches wool trade.⁸³ The reference in the guild’s title to a palmer associates the guild with pilgrims to the Holy Land who were also known as ‘palmers’. This association is finely illustrated in the fifteenth-century stained glass window

⁷⁸ G. Williams (1976), 296. See below, Appendix B for a transcription of the chantry certificate for the Guild of the BVM, Montgomery: London, PRO, E301/76/13.

⁷⁹ London, PRO, E301/76/13; E301/76/33, m.2.

⁸⁰ See J. D. K. Lloyd, ‘The Ecclesiastical History of the Parish of Montgomery’, *Montgomeryshire Collections*, 62 (1971-72), 58-84, 70-72.

⁸¹ London, PRO, E301/76/13: see below, Appendix B.

⁸² London, PRO, E101/75/33.

⁸³ Michael Faraday, *Ludlow, 1085-1660: A Social, Economic and Political History* (Chichester, 1991), 77.

situated in the chapel of St John the Evangelist, the guild chapel in the parish church of St Laurence.⁸⁴ The stained glass illustrates a legend from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and depicts pilgrims returning to Ludlow from the Holy Land bearing palms. They bring back with them a ring as a token from St John the Evangelist which they then present to King Edward the Confessor, who responds by granting a charter to the guild.⁸⁵ Also depicted in the stained glass is a procession of choristers, including crucifer, acolytes, and holy water sprinkler, all wearing long surplices, followed by the chaplains carrying their books.

One of the guild's earliest extant documents, dated 1284, promulgates the ordinances and objectives of the guild which had probably already been in existence for a number of years. The guild received most of its income from annual rent charges and by 1389 had become a significant property holder requiring careful financial management. Many of its objectives were charitable in intention, and members were to receive assistance if hardship came upon them through, fire, robbery, shipwreck, house collapse or other misfortune. Legal aid was also offered its members, as were dowries for girls who wished to enter into marriage or a religious order. Provision was also made for members' funerals and night watches, and a chaplain was to be supported to serve in the parish church.⁸⁶

The support of chaplains figures prominently in the activities of the guild. In 1284 there were three and in 1344-45 four, who, by 1364, were accommodated together in a house near the church. By the end of the fourteenth century there were eight chaplains now housed in a specially built college. Numbers increased further when in 1486 an additional chaplain was provided to supervise the choir.⁸⁷ That same year John Hosier had provided stipends for the six best-voiced children commonly singing at Lady mass. In doing so he also required the choristers to sing before his tomb and that of Piers Beupie.⁸⁸ Two guild chaplains (or singingmen) served the Lady chapel in 1492; the guild porter was also paid for serving in the choir. This is the earliest known date for

⁸⁴ David Lloyd, *The Parish Church of Saint Laurence: A History and a Guide* (Ludlow, 1980), 8-9.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 9; Faraday (1991), 77-78.

⁸⁶ Faraday (1991), 78-79.

⁸⁷ *A History of Shropshire*, ii, 136; Shrewsbury, SRO, MS LB5/3/50, rent collectors' accounts, 1486-87.

⁸⁸ Shrewsbury, SRO, MS 356, box 315, the foundation deed of Hosier's almshouses, 1486.

the payment of an organist, Thomas Sherman receiving 40s from the rent collector's account in 1492-93.⁸⁹ Sherman appears to have occupied the position of organist until 1508 (with relief provided by John Perche in 1493-94); from 1501 he is also referred to as 'Master of the School'.⁹⁰

In his will dated 12th November 1500, Geoffrey Baugh generously bequeaths an organ for use in the chancel of St John the Evangelist, the chapel of the Palmers' Guild:⁹¹

[...] to the Gilde of our lady and Seynt John Evangelist of Ludlow and to the bretheryn And the[i]r Successoures that after them shalbe seaten landes and tenements In and abouwte the towne of ludlowe to the ye[a]rely valew of iii*li* xis iiiid [in order that] they shall doe ffynde and ordeyne An honest pr[i]est and also Syngars to syng solemly the masse of Jhu [Jesus] on the ffridays for evermore with the devowtest song which for the tyme shallbe used in the Church And organce ordeyned to the sayde use in the Chauncell of Seynt John Evangelist w[i]^th in the for[e]seide Church of Seynt laurence [...].

The will also makes provision for 'a payre of vestments, a Chalice, a payre of Organce, a payre of Cruetts of silver, a paxbred of silv[er] and gilte, a Candelst[i]cks of silv[er], a Torch, a tapre of wax'.

Three guild chaplains appear to have been employed as singing men until 1530, and by 1546 there was provision for four.⁹² The chantry certificates of 1546 show that the foundation of the Palmers' Guild supported the following:⁹³

a warden, vij preestis, iiiij^{or} singyng men, two Deacons, syx Queristers to sing diuine service within the paryshe Church of saynt Laurence and also for the mey[n]tenaunce of a Sc[ho]lemaster of Gram[m]er & xxxij po[o]re Almes people.

The Palmers' Guild survived the 1548 dissolution of the chantries, its activities continuing until 1551 when, following lengthy negotiations with the Privy Council and

⁸⁹ Shrewsbury, SRO, MS LB5/3/46-61, rent collectors' accounts.

⁹⁰ Richard Francis and Peter Klein, *The Organs and Organists of Ludlow Parish Church* (Ludlow, 1982), 7, 23.

⁹¹ Shrewsbury, SRO, MS LB15/3/39, Will of Geoffrey Baugh, a palmer, 12th November 1500.

⁹² *A History of Shropshire*, ii, 136.

⁹³ London, PRO, E301/40, m.5; printed in Thompson (1910), 327.

the Court of Augmentations, the guild with its possessions and responsibilities passed into the hands of the corporation of Ludlow. The choral foundation, which was the size of one of the smaller cathedrals, therefore continued in accordance with current liturgical practice, its financial support now provided by the corporation.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ See below, Chapter 4, p.134, and Chapter 6, p.195.

Section 3: Collegiate Churches

In Wales there were a total of six collegiate churches. In St David's diocese there was Llanddewibrefi, Abergwili (formerly Llangadog), and St Mary's college, whilst in Bangor diocese there was St Beuno's, Clynnog Fawr, St Cybi's, Holyhead, and St Peter's, Ruthin.⁹⁵ In the borderlands three such institutions are considered: St John the Baptist, Chester, with St Mary's and St Chad's, Shrewsbury. Additional to these, St Werburgh's, Chester, operated under the supervision of a warden as a quasi-college from the dissolution of the Benedictine abbey until its foundation as a cathedral; this institution will be dealt with in Chapters 4 and 5.

A pre-Reformation collegiate church may be defined as a community of secular clergy usually living and worshipping together and founded with a set of statutes which laid down the rules of communal life. These regulate the pattern of worship, and included any special observances such as the commemoration of the soul of the founder. In common with secular cathedrals there was a capitular structure usually headed by a warden, dean or provost, or occasionally a precentor or bishop. Members of the chapter would hold prebends entitling them to a share of the income from certain estates or from a common fund; hence the term *portioner* which is occasionally encountered. Prebendaries or canonries were often sinecure positions providing a useful supplement to wages earned elsewhere by higher-ranking clergy living locally or further afield. It was usual for vicars to maintain the daily round of services assisted by clergy in minor orders, lay vicars choral, choristers, clerks, etc. Though many parish churches maintained a number of chantry priests who probably assisted the incumbent with music (whether chant, polyphony or by playing the organ), as may have happened at Tywyn, Merionethshire, and Llanbeblig, Caernarfonshire,⁹⁶ the lack of a capitular structure exempts them from classification as collegiate churches.

It is thought that the ancient *clas* churches of Wales were made acceptable to the Norman administration by their re-foundation as collegiate churches.⁹⁷ The collegiate churches of St Beuno, Clynnog Fawr, and St Cybi, Holyhead, in the diocese of Bangor,

⁹⁵ G. Williams (1976), 283.

⁹⁶ Arthur Ivor Pryce, *The Diocese of Bangor in the Sixteenth Century* (Bangor, 1923), 82.

⁹⁷ Glanmor Williams, 'The Collegiate Church of Llanddewibrefi', *Ceredigion*, 4 (1963), 336-52, 340.

and Llanddewibrefi and Llangadog in the diocese of St David's, each date back to Celtic times. Other Celtic *clas* churches flourishing before the Norman Conquest included Llanbadarn Fawr, Llancarfan, Llantwit Major, but these were not awarded collegiate status. In common with the old *clas* churches, collegiate churches were locally influential. In founding his collegiate churches of Llanddewibrefi and Llangadog, Thomas Bek, bishop of St David's (1280-93) may have intended to establish centres for learning and worship that functioned as sub-cathedrals for his vast diocese. A parallel may be seen in the great churches of Ripon and Beverley in the diocese of York.⁹⁸

The statutes usually described the staffing arrangements, the endowments that provided the college's revenue and the liturgical requirements, including any special observances or commemorations. The commemoration of a founder's soul made the colleges subject to the Act for the Dissolution of Chantries and Colleges of 1547. By this point in time, however, many of the colleges had changed from their original organisation. Llanddewibrefi functioned simply as a parish church serving a population of 2000; the precentor was resident as the incumbent and was assisted by two stipendiary priests.⁹⁹ St Mary's college had amalgamated with the neighbouring cathedral church of St David's towards the end of the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁰ Abergwili college had been translated to Brecon where it became Christ College in 1541/2, revenue from its prebends contributing towards a lecturer in divinity, a schoolmaster, an usher, twenty poor scholars and a chaplain.¹⁰¹ The remaining churches had their colleges dissolved and assumed a purely parochial existence.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 342.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 347.

¹⁰⁰ Edward Yardley, *Menevia Sacra*, ed. by Francis Green, *AC* supplement (London, 1927), 375.

¹⁰¹ *The College of Christ of Brecknock: Some Documents and Notes to Illustrate the History of the College, 1538-1811*, compiled by P. V. Davies (Brecon, 1968), 12.

The Diocese of St David's

St Maurice and St Thomas at Abergwili

In 1283 Bishop Thomas Bek founded a college dedicated to St Maurice and his companions and St Thomas the Martyr at Llangadog.¹⁰² Some authorities give the year of foundation as 1287, but this was most probably that of its translation to a new site at Abergwili: it had certainly been relocated by the year 1293, though there is no evidence of the issuing of a new charter. Edward III reaffirmed the original foundation in 1329, but by then the college had been firmly instituted at Abergwili.¹⁰³

The statutes placed the college under the immediate governance of the bishop, who in essence acted as dean with a stall in the choir and a voice in the chapter. There were to be 21 canons, equal number of priests, deacons and sub-deacons, each maintaining a perpetual vicar of his own degree, five clerks in minor orders (*clerici inferioris gradus*), and 'certain singing men and boys'. The canons were endowed with the revenues of 21 parishes. In 1331 Bishop Henry Gower annexed the precentorship to the prebend of Llanfynydd and created two new offices of chancellor and treasurer, bonding them to perpetual residence on the forfeiture of their profits.¹⁰⁴

Towards the end of the fifteenth century the occasional use of the collegiate church for ordinations suggests the status of this institution.¹⁰⁵ In 1535 the entry for Abergwili college in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* records four priests, four choristers and two clerks celebrating divine service every day in the week, which indicates that liturgical activity within the college had been scaled down since the foundation statutes:¹⁰⁶

The College there founded for ever of the foundation of Thomas de la Beke formerly Bishop of St David's for the support of 4 priests, 4 choristers and 2 clerks there celebrating divine service every day in the week and for the maintenance of the bread, wine, wax and fabric of the said college so to be taken of the possessions and Churches underwritten one year with another to the said

¹⁰² William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. by J. Caley, *et al.*, 6 vols (London, 1817-30), vi.3, 1332.

¹⁰³ Terence James, 'The Bishop's Palace and Collegiate Church, Abergwili', *The Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, 16 (1980), 19-35, 19-20.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁰⁵ *The Episcopal Registers of St David's, 1397-1518*, ed. by R. F. Isaacson, 3 vols (London, 1917-20), ii, 582, 598, 602.

¹⁰⁶ Translation of *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, iv, 410 in John Lloyd, *Historical Memoranda of Breconshire*, 2 vols (London, 1904), ii, 36.

use and not otherwise as appears by the foundation and the appropriation thereof made by the said late Bishop, to wit, of 3 closes enclosed with hays or nets (*indaginibus*) to the said College annexed whereof one of the same is called Ludfeld, which are worth per annum in all issues of Llangadok one year with another £18; and of the parish Church of Methvey one year with another £13 6s 8d as aforesaid appropriated to the use aforesaid are worth £32 with the pensions yearly taken to the said use of 22 prebend which are worth in the whole per annum £10. And so the whole exhibition is worth £42 whereof the whole is expended for the use aforesaid.

And so there remains nothing clear.

Soon conditions were to change dramatically for members of the college at Abergwili, for in 1539 Bishop William Barlow made a proposition to Thomas Cromwell:¹⁰⁷

for the translacyon of ye See to Kermarddyn, & transposinge of Abergwilly College to Brecknocke, the principall townes of South Wales, where, provision had for le[a]rnyng as well as grammar, as yn other sciences, & knowledge of Scripture, ye Welsch rudenesse wo[u]ld so[o]ne be framed to English cyvilitie.

It is possible that part of Barlow's incentive in moving the foundation from Abergwili was the consequent release of the college buildings for adaptation as a new bishop's palace in close proximity to Carmarthen.¹⁰⁸ The bishop failed in his attempt to transplant the see of St David's to Carmarthen, but did nonetheless achieve his ambition to translate and re-found Abergwili college, for which statutes were granted by Henry VIII in 1542. The college was to be known as the College of Christ and was to make use of the buildings of the recently dissolved house of the Dominican Friars at Brecon:¹⁰⁹

And Whereas also in the said college of Alberguyly stipends and salaries yearly attaining to the sum of £53 sterling are provided for the singers in the said college which said sum of £53 may be turned to better use as in instructing young men and youths in letters and in lectures to be given every day by some pious and learned man whereby the truth may be made clearer to them and they may be better understant that which ought to be done to God and the King, to the great advantage of all our people dwelling there, as we understand more fully by the relation of William, Bishop of St David's. [...]

And that the said late priory of the Friars Preachers shall be henceforth be called by all Christ's College (the College of Christ) of Brecknock, and for such college we take and accept it by these presents, and desire that it may not be known in any other way henceforward, and that the said now Bishop of St

¹⁰⁷ Yardley (1927), 388; London, BL, Cotton, MS Cleopatra E.iv, 171, letter from Bishop William Barlow to Thomas Cromwell, 1538.

¹⁰⁸ James (1980), 23-24.

¹⁰⁹ Patent Roll, 33 Hen VIII, Part 9, m.30: transcribed in John Lloyd (1904), ii, 38-40.

David's and all the prebendaries, canons, choristers, vicars or ministers of the said college of Albergully, all the 'ludi' masters, pedagogues, readers and other persons there and their successors may freely dwell and inhabit in the said town of Brecknock and in the Church of the said late priory and in the other possessions, lands and tenements to the said late priory belonging and within the circuit and precinct of the late priory.

And that the said now Bishop of St David's and his successors may at their will freely transfer the said residenciaries, prebendaries, canons, choristers, etc., of the said college of Albergully to the said College of Christ of Breckno[c]k, and may cause them to dwell there under pain of the said statutes of the said college of Albergully at anytime heretofore used without molestation of us, our heirs or ministers.

The move to Brecon was recounted in 1595 by 63-year-old Watkin David Benwyn, a tucker of Brecon and former scholar of Christ College, who stated that Bishop Barlow had brought with him from Abergwili:¹¹⁰

the canons, prebendaries, quiristers, organistes and other the mynisters and officers of the relinquished colledge of Abergwyllye, together with the books, vestiments, organes, and other the implementes and ornamentes of the said relinquished colledge, unto the said Christes Colledge at Brechon; and harde the belles of Brechon and Llanvaes solemnelie roonge with greate joy at their cominge [...] He sawe the said canons, prebendaries, queristers and mynisters in the said Colledge at Brechon placed, set[t]led and incorporated; and saw the service then used, with singinge and organs playinge.

The chantry certificate for Christ College shows that Henry VIII's statutes had been fulfilled and that mass was still sung by the chaplain:¹¹¹

There ys w[i]^t[h]in the said p[ar]ishe one Colledge called Christ colledge ffounded by o[u]^r lat[e] Souvergne Lord of most famous memories Henry th[e] eight[h] late King of England in the xxxith yere of his reigne to ffynde one Reidder of holy Scripture, one gram[m]er Master, one husher, xxth scollers and one stipendare pr[i]est. They havinge thor[e] Stipends hereaftermencyned wher[e] onto there dothe apertayne and belonge lands and ten[emen]ts syn[od]alls permocyns and pencyons as more planely y[a]t may appe[a]re in the Rentall ther[e]of the which amounteth to the some of lxxiili xvis viiid. The Rowle whereof grauntyd by the said late kinge his letters patents to Will[ia]m late Bysshoppe of Saynt Davyd and to his successors lxxiili xvis viiid

the stipends and wages
James ffaber Gramer Master
To the same James for Re[a]ding of Devyne lector there

¹¹⁰ London, PRO, E134/37&38 Eliz / Mich 60 (mm.4, 4d and 11d); *The College of Christ of Brecknock: Some Documents...*, 19.

¹¹¹ London, PRO, E301/131 (formerly SC6/EdwVI/775), composite volume containing a copy of chantry certificate for Christ College, Brecon, f.45.

Richard Watkyns ussher of the schoole
 D[afyd]d Edwards Chapelyn to singe masse da[i]ly there and to teach the
 Younge Children resorting to the said sc[h]oule ther[e]
 to xxth poore sc[h]olers
 Griffith Mathew Clerk Steward of the said howse

Though Abergwili college technically survived dissolution through its translation and re-foundation in 1542, its liturgical and musical status went into sharp decline, the chapel and other buildings of the former Dominican friary also suffering neglect over the ensuing decades. A report addressed to Marmaduke Middleton, bishop of St David's (1582-92), witnesses 'that at the taking awie of the Organnes, which was above xxx yeares agoe, ye service ceased in the Colledge Churche.'¹¹²

St David's, Llanddewibrefi

In 1287 Bishop Thomas Bek founded a college at Llanddewibrefi for a precentor and twelve prebendaries in honour of St David.¹¹³ Llanddewibrefi claimed an important place in Welsh ecclesiastical history, Rhigyfarch wrote in his *Vita* of St David that the famous synod combating the Pelagian heresy was held there, and that Dewi Sant had himself preached on that occasion.¹¹⁴ Despite its many legends, Llanddewibrefi was certainly a Celtic foundation and may well have had a link with David or his followers; it subsequently became an important *clas* or mother church for the district. There is no evidence to suggest that the ancient *clas* church at Llanddewibrefi survived beyond the Norman period and had become towards the end of the thirteenth century (immediately prior to its foundation as a collegiate church) an ordinary parish church.¹¹⁵ A 1348 grant to Bishop John Thoresby states that his predecessor, Bek, is said to have instituted the college at Llanddewibrefi to celebrate divine service for the souls of Edward I, his ancestors and heirs, and for other souls.¹¹⁶

It was this provision to commemorate souls that made the college subject to the Chantry's Act of 1547. In 1549 the chantry certificates recorded that 'there is within the said parish of Llanddewibrefi one parish church commonly called the College of

¹¹² *The College of Christ of Brecknock: Some Documents...*, 16: quoting from Cecil Papers 214/15, a record of depositions taken on behalf of Bishop Middleton apparently before the Court of High Commission [document preserved among the papers at Hatfield House].

¹¹³ Dugdale (1817-30), vi.3, 1475.

¹¹⁴ G. Williams (1963), 336.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 338-39.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 341.

Llanddewibrefi', making note of the incumbent, the letting of tithes and the stipendiary priests. It concluded, however, by way of a memorandum 'that I by no means could learn that there was a foundation there; but by the report of the parishioners there was a bishop sometime in St David's that did intend to erect a college there'. As a result Llanddewibrefi was to lose none of its possessions or endowments, probably on the grounds firstly that its precentor Rowland Meyrick (later bishop of Bangor) enjoyed his rights as parson of Llanddewibrefi. Furthermore, there were no collegiate buildings as such and no evidence of communal or capitular activity on the part of the canons, who received pensions from their prebendal churches.

Subsequently, proceedings were instigated against Meyrick on the grounds that Llanddewibrefi was a concealed college and ought to have passed into possession of the Crown. Meyrick defended his case testifying that Llanddewibrefi had been to all intents and purposes an ordinary parish church.¹¹⁷ The church continued to maintain its endowments until after the death of Meyrick, but the legal wrangle surfaced again in the 1560s and the lands once belonging to the collegiate church at Llanddewibrefi were finally sequestrated in 1568.¹¹⁸

No sure evidence has come to light concerning musical activity at Llanddewibrefi during the sixteenth century other than that assumed to have occurred in common with practices at other parish churches. Stephen Green, in his evidence presented in the case against Meyrick, testified to having 'heard that solemn service was conducted there, and that he had heard of choristers there'. This evidence was based on hearsay and was accordingly ignored by the Court of Augmentations.¹¹⁹

St Mary's College at St David's

St Mary's college was founded in 1365 by John Duke of Lancaster (John of Gaunt), Blanche his wife, and Bishop Adam Houghton of St David's and consisted of a master, seven priests (fellows), and two choristers.¹²⁰ It was under the visitation and patronage of the cathedral chapter, and the master was supported with revenue from the Hospital of Whitewell near St David's and the appropriated churches of Mailros, Haroldston, St

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 347.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 348.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 348.

¹²⁰ Dugdale (1817-30), vi.3, 1387.

Ishmael, Llangunnor and Nevern.¹²¹ Situated adjacent to the cathedral church the college chapel was elevated on a large crypt rising like a tall clerestory over the cloister, with the floor of the chapel level with the roof of the cloister.¹²²

The statutes, dated 1372, carefully explain the governance of the college which was under the immediate governance of the precentor of the cathedral or, in his absence, the treasurer. The master was elected by the fellows, who in turn were admitted once their good character, literacy and singing ability were attested by the master.¹²³ The fellows were to live under strict rules within the precincts of the college and were ‘not to go into St Davids Town nor frequent ale-houses or taverns; & that they should be daily clad in proper vestments, & reside at St Davids’.¹²⁴ The offices of precentor, sacrist and steward were elected from among the fellows. The two choristers were to be in the care of the precentor, who was responsible for instructing them in grammar, learning and singing.¹²⁵

The statutes also detailed the rigorous religious obligations of the college. The daily office was to be observed according to the Use of Sarum, and forms of commemoration for the souls of the college’s founders were also specified. Following matins in the cathedral, they were to proceed to the chantry chapel to sing distinctly and in antiphony matins of the Blessed Virgin Mary under the supervision of the precentor:¹²⁶

Inprimis statuimus, et ordinamus, quod magister et presbyteri prædicti cotidie convenient in capella dictæ cantariæ post matutinas de die finitas in ecclesia cathedrali Menevensi, in choro dictæ capellæ, juxta ordinationem et dispositionem præcentoris dictæ cantariæ, in habitibus suis plenius inferius descriptis; et dicant matutinas cotidianas de beata Maria per notam distincte et aperte, ex utraque parte chori ejusdem capellæ, divisi, prout moris est, ad ordinationem præcentoris ejusdem cantariæ.

¹²¹ W. B. Jones and E. A. Freeman, *The History and Antiquities of St David’s* (London, 1856), 327.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 179.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 327.

¹²⁴ Yardley (1927), 372.

¹²⁵ Dugdale (1817-30), vi.3, 1390.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 1388. [Translation: Firstly we decree and order that the master and the aforesaid priests meet daily in the chapel of the said chantry following the matins of the day in the cathedral church of St David’s [Menevia] in the choir of the said chapel, according to the order and disposition of the precentor of the said chantry, in their habits fully described below; and they shall say the daily matins of the Blessed [Virgin] Mary with music distinctly and clearly, from both parts of the choir of the same chapel, divided as is the custom, at the command of the precentor of the same chantry.]

Further stipulations regarding the round of daily services follow. Each day of the week was allotted a particular mass: for Sunday, the Trinity; Monday, the angels; Tuesday, St David; Wednesday, for peace; Thursday, St Andrew; Friday, the Cross; and Saturday, the Holy Spirit. On Sundays, double feasts and the three days before Easter they were obliged to join with the vicars of the cathedral in processions, high mass and vespers.¹²⁷

The chantry certificates of 1549 relate that the college of St Mary had ‘about 60 years past, ye same, as is reported, was united to ye Cathedral Church of St David’. This had the effect of increasing the staffing levels of the cathedral to ‘27 Vicars Choral, 8 Queristers, & other servants’ supported in part through the endowments of St Mary’s.¹²⁸ It would appear, however, that where the names of the cathedral vicars choral and the masters and fellows of the college are known, certain clergy drew stipends from both foundations.¹²⁹ Following the 1547 Chantries’ Act, St Mary’s college was formally dissolved, its property confiscated for the Crown.

The Diocese of Bangor

St Cybi’s, Holyhead

St Cybi’s, Holyhead, is an ancient *clas* church said to have been founded by the Celtic saint whose name it bears. As a collegiate foundation it is traditionally said to date back to the twelfth century, when the church was rebuilt by Llywerch ap Bran and Hwfa ap Cynddelw. These two benefactors are also attributed with the granting of patronage to the twelve prebends of the college. This patronage was in the form of lands known as *gwelyau* which were passed down through the generations of their families or *cenhedloedd*, who in turn were responsible for appointing and maintaining the clergy to the prebends – this form of tribal patronage persisting at least until the mid-fourteenth century.¹³⁰ The archiepiscopal visitation of 1504 records the name of the provost, Mag[istro] Richard Bromfelde, a curate, Lewis ap Madoke, and three chaplains, Lewis

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1388-89.

¹²⁸ Yardley (1927), 375.

¹²⁹ See below, pp.95-96, for the names of the vicars choral with the members of St Mary’s listed in the archiepiscopal visitation of 1504, pp.96-97, for the chantry certificate of 1549, and Yardley (1927), 377, for the list of pensions granted in 1553.

¹³⁰ A. N. Palmer, ‘The portionary churches of mediæval North Wales; their tribal relations, and the sinecurism connected therewith’, *AC*, 5th series, 3 (1886), 175-209, 177-83.

ap John, Howell ap Ieuan ap Howell, and Lewis ap Ieuan ap dicus.¹³¹ The chantry certificates for north Wales show that the prebends were mainly held by the higher clergy of the diocese.¹³² No musical references have come to light concerning this foundation.

St Beuno's, Clynnog Fawr

A major centre of pilgrimage in medieval north-west Wales, Clynnog church contained the shrine of St Beuno, the founder of the church. Beuno's *clas* church survived into Norman times when it was transformed into a collegiate church. From at least the end of the thirteenth century the revenues of St Beuno's consisted of five portions, from which three chapelries; Llanwnda with Llanfaglan, Llangeinwen with Llangaffo on Anglesey, and Llangelynin in Merionethshire were maintained. The distance of these chapelries from Clynnog Fawr exempted the chaplains from regular service at St Beuno's, leaving only two portioners serving the mother church.¹³³ The provost, *Mag[istro]* Mathew Pole, a vicar, *Dom[inus]* John Boderwyd, and two priests, Hugh Conway and John Howell, are listed in the visitation returns of Archbishop Warham, 1504.¹³⁴

A period of substantial rebuilding occurred at Clynnog from the closing years of the fifteenth century into the sixteenth century, and there is much similarity with the architecture at Bangor cathedral, St Cybi's, Holyhead, and St Mary and St Nicholas, Beaumaris.

An eminent sixteenth-century provost of Clynnog Fawr was John Gwynedd (Siôn Gwynedd / John Guinneth), a native of the Lleyn peninsula, born c.1495, the son of David ap Llewelyn ap Ithel. A respected composer and holder of an Oxford DMus, his career as a cleric included rector of the free chapel of Stokesbury (Northampton) in 1530, provost of Clynnog Fawr from 1537, rector of St Peter, West Cheap, 1543, and vicar of Luton in 1554.¹³⁵ It is uncertain whether Gwynedd was attracted to Clynnog

¹³¹ Pryce (1923), 82.

¹³² London, PRO, E301/76/33, m.3.

¹³³ Harold Hughes and Herbert L. North, *The Old Churches of Snowdonia* (Bangor, 1924, reprinted with additional material, Capel Curig, 1984), 263-64.

¹³⁴ Pryce (1923), 81.

¹³⁵ *Biographical Epitomes of Bangor Clergy*, comp. by R. R. Hughes, 9 vols (1932, typescript at University of Wales, Bangor), iii, 324-25.

for musical reasons, financial gain, or simply a return to his roots.¹³⁶ Other than a possible contribution by John Gwynedd while provost, there is no evidence to illuminate any musical activity at Clynnog Fawr beyond the chant normally sung by the priest during the mass and office.

St Peter's, Ruthin

St Peter's, Ruthin, was raised to official collegiate status in 1310 when a charter made provision for at least seven regular priests to live and worship in community.¹³⁷ Its subsequent history until the latter part of the fifteenth century remains vague. Before becoming collegiate, St Peter's had served as the chapelry of St Peter's round the castle walls c.1286. From the late fifteenth century until its dissolution secular priests served at St Peter's.¹³⁸ The chantry certificates compiled before its dissolution record a warden, Hugh ap Ieuan (who had recently succeeded John Strynger to the post), and five stipendiaries, Thomas Hughes, Robert ap Madock, John Holland, Thomas David ap Rese and William Pirs. The last named also served as chaplain of the castle. The certificate continues to plead a case for maintaining more than one cleric on the staff of the church:¹³⁹

The said church of Rithyn (beinge not onely Collegiate, but allso a personage) of bothe whyche the said late warden were Incumbent and the Town & p[ar]yshe conteynyng in swenyt above fyve myles wherin be of all sorts Ccc houselynge people. I thynk requisite that the Kings Ma[jes]^{tie} do not onelly endiwe a vicar for service of the Cure there but also fynde one other prest yerelie for his assistens the p[ar]yshe churche of Llanrithe wherunto presentlie for his Ma[jes]^{ties} most benefyte ii of the late Incumbents maie well serve of whom Thomas Hughes above named, a man noted to be bothe of good conversation & indyfferent le[a]rnyng be one [...]

It has not been possible to associate any musical activity or provision with this institution prior to the early seventeenth century.

¹³⁶ For further details see below, Chapter 7, pp.220-21.

¹³⁷ D. R. Thomas, *The History of the Diocese of St Asaph*, 3 vols (Oswestry, 1908-1913), ii, 118.

¹³⁸ G. Williams (1976), 283.

¹³⁹ London, PRO, E301/76/33, m.1.

The City of Chester

St John the Baptist

This college is said to date back to Anglo Saxon times when it was probably founded by Ethelred, earl of Mercia, and his wife, Ethelfleda, during the first decade of the tenth century. Towards the end of the eleventh century during the episcopate of Bishop Peter (*d.*1085) St John's replaced Lichfield as the cathedral for the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield. In 1095 St John's resumed its collegiate status when Bishop Robert de Lymesey in preference centred his see on Coventry, though St John's was often recognised as the third cathedral of the diocese. In 1318 the status and independence of the college was increased when exemption was claimed from the jurisdiction of the archdeacon of Chester.¹⁴⁰ St John's became a centre for pilgrimage, its rood having gained fame across Cheshire, Lancashire and north Wales as the 'Crucifix of Chester' and was the subject of five *awdlau* attributed to Gruffydd ap Maredudd ap Dafydd (fl.1346-82). In 1331 Bishop Roger de Northbury set aside part of the offerings of the Rood for the purchase of new vestments and ornaments. He then decreed in 1346 that the stipends of the vicars choral be increased and four choristers appointed to assist in the singing of the offices.¹⁴¹

In 1535 the college consisted of a dean (Galfridus Blythe), eight canons, twelve vicars choral (Richard Sherman, William Wall, Richard Ledshan, Robert Green, John Wilkinson, Henry Highton, Hugh Johnson, Henry Whyxsted, John Repington, Robert Bower, Hugh Johnson, Peter Brereton) and four choristers.¹⁴² The chantry certificates for Cheshire list the college as a parish church with a dean, six prebendaries, four vicars (Robert Barber, Thomas Latimer, Richard Cross and Roger Houghton) a clerk and a sexton.¹⁴³ A list of pensions granted to members of the dissolved college 2 Edward VI records seven prebendaries, two vicars and two ministers.¹⁴⁴ Until this time the college was in possession of 'a payre of organs' which was, according to an inventory of church goods, 7 Edward VI, 'to be kept safe [...] without imbesl[e]ment or alienac[i]on untill

¹⁴⁰ Rowland W. Morant, *Monastic and Collegiate Cheshire* (Braunton, 1996), 151-54.

¹⁴¹ Douglas Jones, *The Church in Chester, 1300-1540* (Manchester, 1957), 51, 53.

¹⁴² *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, v, 201.

¹⁴³ London, PRO, E301/8, chantry certificates, Cheshire, 1548.

¹⁴⁴ London, PRO, E101/75/5, m.1, pensions assigned to incumbents and other ministers of the late dissolved colleges, chantries, etc., Cheshire.

the King's Maj[es]t[y]'s further pleasure be therein knowne'.¹⁴⁵ Subsequent to its suppression under the Chantries Act, the nave and crossing of St John's became the parish church for the parishioners of neighbouring St James's, whose own church had become inadequate.¹⁴⁶

The Town of Shrewsbury

St Chad's

St Chad's was one of the oldest of Shrewsbury's churches, perhaps established on the site of an earlier Celtic church. As a collegiate church it was probably founded by an eighth-century bishop of Lichfield, the majority of its estates granted by subsequent Anglo-Saxon bishops. During the early part of its history there was provision for sixteen canons making St Chad's one of the largest of the Shropshire colleges. Following the Norman Conquest, however, its collegiate status was weakened with the loss of many of its estates.¹⁴⁷ It was re-founded in the early twelfth century by Roger de Clinton, bishop of Chester, Lichfield and Coventry, 'for the mayntenaunce of a Deane, x prebendaries and twoo preestes to saye and sing dayle diuine seruice', and also functioned as a parish church.¹⁴⁸ It became the privilege of the diocesan bishop to nominate the deans and canons of St Chad's who were mainly diocesan officials supplemented in the fourteenth century by family and friends of the bishop. Although there were houses near St Chad's for the use of its canons, many were absentee pluralists with responsibilities and more pressing duties elsewhere. The vicars choral maintained the daily round of services at St Chad's and lived together in a communal house. St Chad's was central to everyday life in pre-Reformation Shrewsbury, serving as a parish church in which the various trade guilds of the town also showed an interest. Chantries were funded at St Chad's by the weavers, mercers, tailors, skimmers and shoemakers, and were an opportunity for the vicars choral to supplement their income

¹⁴⁵ R. H. Morris, *Chester in the Plantagenet and Tudor Reigns* (Chester, [1893]), 152.

¹⁴⁶ Morant (1996), 157.

¹⁴⁷ G. C. Baugh and D. C. Cox, *Monastic Shropshire* (Shrewsbury, 1982), 37.

¹⁴⁸ London, PRO, E301/40, m.1d; Thompson (1910), 306-07.

as chantry priests.¹⁴⁹ In 1417 there were eight vicars choral, the same number in 1524, but only four by 1548.¹⁵⁰

The chantry certificates in making reference to the clergy of St Chad's record the salaries of the dean and ten prebendaries, two stipendiary priests, the clerks, a deacon and 'a reward to a Welshe preest at lent tyme vjs viijd'. This latter was probably to allow the Welsh speakers in the town to make their confession before Easter. The certificate continues listing each chantry at St Chad's in turn: the Mercer's Guild 'fyndynge [...] a preste to synge at th[e] altare of saynt Michael', the guilds of tailors, weavers, and shoemakers each making a similar provision.¹⁵¹ Another certificate actually names the ten prebends and other clergy at Chad's. The four vicars choral were Roger Hewster, Michael Hodson, Richard Sherer and Humphrey Ketcherewe, the two curates, Edward Stevens and John Marshall, and the two conducts, John Cotton and William Brayne.¹⁵² The college at St Chad's was dissolved June 1548.¹⁵³ A list of pensions dated 2 Edward VI corresponds to those listed in E301/41.¹⁵⁴

As regards music at St Chad's, a thirteenth-century *Alleluya, Ave Dei genitrix Maria* for two voices survives supplemented to a twelfth-century martyrology known to have come from St Chad's.¹⁵⁵ Its tradition of music must have continued into the sixteenth century for when Sir Henry Sidney, president of the Council in the Marches, visited St Chad's in 1581 the 'divine service was sung by note'.¹⁵⁶ It would have been unusual to introduce a musical performance of the liturgy had a tradition not already existed prior to the Reformation.

¹⁴⁹ Baugh and Cox (1982), 39.

¹⁵⁰ *A History of Shropshire*, ii, 117 citing Shrewsbury, SRO, Shrewsbury Borough Records, MS 827, Court Roll, 4 Henry V (1416-17); Lichfield, Joint County Record Office, B/V 1/1, volume of monastic visitations, 1517-24, pt 2, p.34; London, PRO, E101/75/28, m.1d, pensions assigned, etc., Salop; Thompson (1910), 340.

¹⁵¹ London, PRO E301/40, m.1d.

¹⁵² London, PRO E301/41, chantry certificates, Salop, 1548.

¹⁵³ *A History of Shropshire*, ii, 119.

¹⁵⁴ London, PRO, E101/75/28 m.1d.

¹⁵⁵ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl D.1225, f.131v. See A. Hughes, *Medieval Polyphony in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1951), 47.

¹⁵⁶ Alan Smith, 'The practice of music in English churches and cathedrals, and at the Court, during the reign of Elizabeth I' (unpublished PhD thesis, Birmingham University, 1967), 305.

St Mary's

St Mary's college was founded by King Edgar (*d.*975) 'for the mayntenance of a deane, vij prebendaries & a parishe preest to celebrat[e] & singe diuine seruice daylie within the sayd parish church of saint Marie & to dischargdes the Cure of the same'.¹⁵⁷ In contrast to St Chad's, the dean of St Mary's was nominated by the king. There was therefore a preponderance of royal clerks among the deans, mostly from the Royal Wardrobe, who in due course appointed other royal clerks or relatives to the prebends. Consequently, there was a high degree of absenteeism among the canons of St Mary's, with the pastoral and religious duties being deputed to vicars choral and stipendiary priests.

At its dissolution in January 1548, the chantry certificates show that in addition to the dean William Cureton and the seven prebendaries, there were also three vicars choral, Thomas Leche, Thomas Wodman (both in orders), and William Hyll (a layman). There was also a curate, John Buttry. Thomas Leche also served as chaplain to Our Lady's Service in the church.¹⁵⁸ Another chantry was maintained by the Drapers' Guild for 'a preest to sing at the Altere of the Trinity'.¹⁵⁹ The dean was appointed vicar of St Mary's after the college was dissolved.¹⁶⁰

As with St Chad's there is no mention of an organ in the 1552 inventories of church goods, though one was itemised at another Shrewsbury church, St Alkemun's.¹⁶¹ However, the St Mary's churchwardens' accounts (which date from 1544) show that an organ was present in 1549: 'Item payd to hewghe of cotn & harry bawnold for car[r]i[a]g[e] of the orgen [edge of page worn away]'.¹⁶² This was probably a reference to the organ from the dissolved Cistercian abbey of Strata Marcella, sold by Nicholas Purcell to St Mary's for twenty marks (£13 6s 8d) in 1549, perhaps to compensate for the musical provision lost at the dissolution of the college.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁷ London, PRO, E301/40.

¹⁵⁸ London, PRO, E301/41.

¹⁵⁹ London, PRO, E301/40.

¹⁶⁰ *A History of Shropshire*, ii, 122.

¹⁶¹ J. Hunter, 'Inventories of the Church Goods in the Town of Shrewsbury at the time of the Reformation, and Proceedings respecting them in the reign of Edward VI, AD 1552-3', *TSAS*, 1st series, 10 (1887), 399-411, 399, 402-03.

¹⁶² Shrewsbury, SRO, MS P257/B/3/1, churchwardens' accounts, St Mary's, Shrewsbury, 1544-1633, p.15.

¹⁶³ London, PRO, E315/516, f.27.

Section 4: Cathedrals

As stated in Chapter 1 the Norman Conquest saw a standardisation of church organisation which was to remain largely in place until the Reformation. England was organised into nineteen territorial dioceses administered from nine secular cathedrals now known as cathedrals of the Old Foundation, nine priory cathedrals served by Benedictine monks and another served by Augustinian canons. Following dissolution, the monastic establishments were re-founded at the Reformation as cathedrals of the New Foundation.¹⁶⁴ In Wales, four dioceses were organised at this time around the secular cathedrals of Bangor, Llandaff, St Asaph and St David's. The dioceses of Hereford, and Coventry and Lichfield also took in some parishes within the Welsh border.

By the twelfth century the clergy at each secular cathedral had organised themselves into a body of canons headed usually by a dean,¹⁶⁵ other dignitaries and officers having specific administrative responsibilities. Influenced by the capitular constitution at Salisbury, the constitutions of the chapters of other cathedrals gradually developed appropriate to their own particular circumstances.¹⁶⁶ Customs evolved slowly and were highly respected; they were only committed into written statutes when clarification or amplification was considered necessary due to a departure from ancient custom. These customs and statutes regulated liturgical practices within each cathedral; they included details of liturgical observances, the portioning of common funds, and the rights and duties of the cathedral clergy. The chapters did not always appreciate the diocesan bishop encroaching on the rights or privileges they jealously guarded. Having said that, bishops were regularly called upon to give confirmation of statutes as formulated by a chapter, and, conversely, where a bishop had introduced a set of statutes, they would be formally accepted and confirmed by the dean and chapter.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴ Kathleen Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages* (Manchester, 1949), 11-12.

¹⁶⁵ At St David's the bishop held the title of dean, the precentor headed the chapter; at Llandaff the bishop acted as head of chapter.

¹⁶⁶ K. Edwards (1949), 18-19.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 115-20.

*Surviving documentation*¹⁶⁸

Of the five pre-Reformation cathedrals in this survey¹⁶⁹ only three possess sets of medieval statutes – St David’s, St Asaph and Hereford. Statutes and customaries set forth the ordering of cathedral worship, outlining also the structuring of cathedral hierarchy and administration. It was the duty of the cathedral chapter (with occasional intervention by the bishop through visitations) to monitor adherence to the statutes, and introduce changes occasionally deemed necessary to keep pace with current liturgical and musical developments and other local needs. The enforcement or modification of statutes was then recorded for future reference in bishops’ registers and act books, or chapter act books.

Statutes detailed the staffing levels of a cathedral along with corresponding duties and responsibilities. No doubt liturgical developments occurred between the thirteenth century and the early sixteenth century which demanded further additions to the staff. Endowments, bequests and the founding of chantries would also have influenced the daily round of worship. From the early sixteenth century extant documentation becomes in some cases more prevalent. Records of bequests, Warham’s archiepiscopal visitation returns of 1504, the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535, and chantry certificates of the 1540s all shed further light, particularly concerning numbers of clergy. The provisions made for the staffing of cathedrals would have had due effect on the liturgy and its musical performance, especially with regard to the ratio of clergy and laymen and the employment of specialist musicians whether ordained or lay.

However, it is the chapter act books and account books (where extant) that potentially provide the clearest picture of the daily life and management of a cathedral. Chapter act books and account books include, among the many other necessities for efficient daily management of the cathedral, expenditure on singers and organs. The earliest book of chapter acts from any of the cathedrals in this study belongs to Hereford cathedral and covers the period 1512-66. In fact it is the only chapter act book for the region that survives from the pre-Reformation period, though account books survive for both Hereford and St David’s from the end of the fifteenth century. While the chapter act

¹⁶⁸ See J. Conway Davies, ‘The Records of the Church in Wales’, *NLWJ*, 4 (1945-46), 1-34, for a summary of the Church in Wales Records deposited at the National Library of Wales.

¹⁶⁹ The Benedictine abbey of St Werburgh, Chester, was re-founded as a cathedral in 1541: see below, Chapter 4, pp.131-32, and Chapter 5, pp.167-68.

books of St David's date from 1560, and Llandaff from 1573 (thus providing details of the management of these cathedrals during the post-Reformation period), those of St Asaph and Bangor are only extant for the latter part of the seventeenth century onwards, from 1674 and 1680 respectively. No chapter accounts survive from Bangor, Llandaff or St Asaph before the latter part of the seventeenth century.

Music was intrinsically tied in with the ritualistic aspect of the liturgy. Allocation of the musical portions of the liturgy, usually plainchant, made demands on specified persons depending on the ranking of the occasion. Significant also was the positioning of the ritual within the cathedral. The whole community seated in the choir would have sung the daily office in plainchant. Solo portions were allotted to a particular minister, whether a ruler of the choir, the precentor or succentor, the dean, the bishop, the celebrant during mass, a deacon or subdeacon. Although touched upon in the statutes, the allocation of such within the service was made explicit in the rubrics of the service books. At Hereford cathedral it was the responsibility of the succentor acting on behalf of the precentor to allot musical and ceremonial duties.

Small groups of singers may have been attached to a particular chapel or shrine, their main duties confined to that part of the cathedral under the provision of a chantry or other endowment, as was the situation at Hereford cathedral. The governance and supervision of such groups was often separate from that covering activity within the choir, though its members were frequently required to participate in choir services. These singers may also have been specialists in polyphony whose talents were called upon as occasion arose, whether for the singing of votive antiphons at a shrine or image, or in the provision of polyphony for mass in the choir on a festival.

Plainchant formed the majority of liturgical music prior to the Reformation and any polyphony or organ music was often based on a chant. The repertory of plainchant would have been notated in the service books listed and described in Chapter 2. Slight variations in the chant may have existed depending on the liturgical Use observed. Reference to polyphony is found in chapter act books and appears to have been reserved for particular occasions. Little polyphony survives from Wales or the borderlands and part of this repertory is detailed in Chapter 7.

The building, maintenance and use of organs during this period are detailed in Chapter 8, while the employment of the organist and his duties are outlined later in the present chapter for the pre-Reformation period, and in Chapters 5 and 7 for the post-Reformation period.

Bangor Cathedral

One of the four ancient Welsh cathedrals, Bangor is reputed to be the oldest foundation in the British Isles. It is dedicated to St Deiniol who established the monastery and see of Bangor in the sixth century. Surviving pre-Reformation documentation, however, is meagre. There are no surviving statutes for Bangor, nor are there any chapter acts until 1680. Of the liturgical remains, Bishop Anian's Pontifical and other liturgical fragments have been detailed in the previous chapter. Browne Willis made use of a composite volume of manuscripts, 'Acta No.3', in his *Survey*.¹⁷⁰ A nineteenth-century transcript of historical documents covers the years 1561-1835.¹⁷¹ Of the bishops' registers, the earliest dates from 1409-17.¹⁷² Concerning the period of this thesis, the bishops' registers or act books for 1512-1646 record mostly collations and institutions, though ordinations are also included from 1544 onwards.¹⁷³ The earliest of the episcopal visitation returns dates from 1560 and provides some useful snippets of information concerning the staffing of the post-Reformation cathedral.¹⁷⁴

Bangor cathedral from the end of the fifteenth century through to about the 1530s benefited from an extensive programme of rebuilding. This was begun under Richard Kyffin, dean from 1480-1502, with Bishop Henry Deane, an enthusiastic proponent of the project. By 1502 the quire had been re-roofed and new windows inserted. The transepts were also rebuilt at this time and a chantry founded by Richard Kyffin in the chapel of St Catherine in the south transept where he was buried. The nave was then

¹⁷⁰ Aberystwyth, NLW, MS B/misc.vols/27, a composite volume 'Acta No.3'; Willis (London, 1721).

¹⁷¹ Aberystwyth, NLW, MS B/misc.vols/23.

¹⁷² Arthur Ivor Pryce, 'The Register of Benedict, Bishop of Bangor, 1408-1417', *AC*, 7th series, 2 (1922), 80-107.

¹⁷³ Pryce (1923), vi, 1ff.

¹⁷⁴ B/misc.vols/23; Bangor, UWB, MS 22808, transcript of visitation returns for Bangor cathedral, 1560, 1567, 1617, 1620, 1623 and 1632.

rebuilt during the episcopate of Bishop Skevington, instructions in his will of 1533 making provision for the completion of the west tower.¹⁷⁵

Staffing

According to the return made 1504 to Archbishop Warham on the death of Thomas Pigot, bishop of Bangor, the cathedral staff consisted of a dean, three archdeacons, chancellor, treasurer, precentor and five canons. Additionally, there were two vicars choral (John Vechan and Mathew ap Gruffith), two chaplains of the chantry of St Catherine (Richard Wynter, John Norland) and lastly a conduct (Richard Shawe).¹⁷⁶ Both chaplains are described also as *Chanter*; the conduct was probably a stipendiary priest.

A nineteenth-century transcription of documents relating to the history of the cathedral states that the two vicars choral were first appointed by composition in 1445.¹⁷⁷ According to the bishops' register books from 1542 they appear to have been collated and instituted sometimes as vicars choral, sometimes choral and parochial, and sometimes cathedral and parochial. It is impossible to say with any certainty whether the official duties of the two vicars choral prior to the Reformation included anything specifically musical other than the rendering of the plainchant prescribed in the liturgy. The earliest of the extant bishops' visitation returns, dated 1560, touches on the responsibility of the vicars choral to teach the choristers.¹⁷⁸ Nothing is mentioned of the choristers (if any) or their teaching before these dates.¹⁷⁹ The same visitation return, however, does suggest that a small number of choristers (two, possibly three) had been in place for at least six or seven years, their salaries provided by the prebendary of Llanfair and the archdeacons of Anglesey, Bangor and Meirionydd:¹⁸⁰

thes[e] vi or vii ye[a]res past the [choristers] receyved ye[a]rely of th[e] Archdeacon of Anglesey xls, of the Prebend of Llanfair xls for his wages, and that called Thomas Moythe receyved for his wages xls viz xxs of the Archdeaconry of Bangor, and xxs of th[e] Archdeaconry [of Merioneth].

¹⁷⁵ See M. L. Clarke (1969), 16-20.

¹⁷⁶ Pryce (1923), 81.

¹⁷⁷ B/misc.vols /23.

¹⁷⁸ Bangor, UWB, MS 22808.

¹⁷⁹ See below, Chapter 5, pp.144-45.

¹⁸⁰ Bangor, UWB, MS 22808, visitation reply by Prebendary David Moythe, 1560.

It appears that this arrangement still existed in 1623, there also being places for two conducts, one to be paid for by the dean, the other by the bishop as archdeacon of Anglesey.¹⁸¹ As with the choristers, there is no reason to doubt that there were also two conducts serving the choir at Bangor in pre-Reformation days, though one only is listed in 1504.

The 1535 *Valor Ecclesiasticus* shows that other than a change in personnel, staffing at Bangor remained consistent with that of 1504 the exception being that in 1535 there was only one chantry priest in the chapel of St Catherine. Staffing levels therefore would have probably remained constant throughout the Reformation period with the exception of the chantry priests, the chantries themselves being discontinued following the 1547 Chantries' Act.

Poetic references

The absence of any reference to an organist or organ playing in the cathedral records until the seventeenth century suggests that if an organ was present it maintained a low profile in the liturgy. One further source of additional information about Bangor cathedral is in the poetic writings of the bards. It is tempting in the lack of more substantial evidence to try to read too much into these writings. However, in spite of the imagery and various interpretations of these, it is safe to say that they at least bear witness that an organ was present at least from the middle of the fourteenth century. One such poem c.1360 by Dafydd ap Gwilym, *Golwg ar Forfudd*, has the following couplet:¹⁸²

Yn gwranddo ar salm balchnoe
Yng nghôr Deiniol Bangor ddoe.

One translation reads as follows:¹⁸³

She heard St Deiniol's organ play
The psalms of evening yesterday.

¹⁸¹ Bangor, UWB, MS 22808, visitation reply of Dean Edmund Griffith, 1623. The 1620 replies of John Martyn and Rowland Mason, vicars choral suggest that it was the respective responsibilities of the prebendary of Llanfair and the archdeacon of Anglesey to support each of the two of the conducts.

¹⁸² *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym*, ed. by Thomas Parry (Cardiff, 1958), 294-95.

¹⁸³ *Dafydd ap Gwilym: Fifty Poems*, translated with an introductory essay by Idris Bell and David Bell (London, 1942), 106.

An alternative interpretation changes the implication of the original Welsh couplet completely:¹⁸⁴

Yesterday listening in Deiniol's choir at Bangor
to the mystery play (?) of Noah's Ark.

Leslie Paul, however, deciphers the above excerpt as a metaphor comparing the Bangor organ with Noah's Ark (*Balch Noe*).¹⁸⁵

Another poem by Dafydd ap Gwilym does however make more specific mention of an organ in the cathedral. Dated c.1360, it is in an *awdl* addressed to Hywel ap Goronwy, dean of Bangor:¹⁸⁶

Tëym Llwyd broffwyd hil Brân, – mae ungwr [*sic*],
Ym Mangor mewn gwn pân,
Tý geirwgalch teg, ei organ,
Tant côr, heb atynt a'i cân.

Other bards also took an interest in the Bangor organ. A poem of Gruffydd Grug addressed to Dafydd ap Gwilym, composed during the second half of the fourteenth century includes the verse:¹⁸⁷

Ail yw'r organ ym Mangor;
Rhai a'i cân er rhuo côr.
Y flwyddyn, erlyn oerlef,
Daith oer drud, y doeth i'r dref,
Pawb o'i goffr a roi offrwm
O'r plwyf er a ganai'r plwm.

¹⁸⁴ *Dafydd ap Gwilym: A Selection of Poems*, trans. and ed. by Rachel Bromwich (Llandysul, 1982), 28-29.

¹⁸⁵ Leslie D. Paul, 'Music at Bangor Cathedral Church: some historical notes', *WM*, 3.9 (1971), 11-33, 13.

¹⁸⁶ *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym*, 42. Translation: Pious chieftain, a prophet from the lineage of Brân – / there is in Bangor a man in a gown of fulled cloth (ermine) / A whitewashed house, fair its organ / and the sound of its choir, skilful its song.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 395-96. Translation: The organ in Bangor is similar; / Some play it despite the roar of the choir. / In the year, driving away a chilling sound, / a cold and rash journey that he came to the town, / everyone gave an offering from his coffer / from the parish, so that the lead pipes might sing.

At a similar point in time, Dafydd Trefor also wrote in favourable terms about the cathedral at Bangor:¹⁸⁸

Organ bêr cân offeren,
Clych Bangor ail Windsor wen,
Cantorion gwychion, ar gân
Pob irgainc pibau organ.

It may be concluded therefore that an organ existed at Bangor cathedral from an early date, though little further may be said concerning such an instrument and its use. Similarly, the liturgy would have been sung most probably to plainsong as there are no specific references to polyphony of any kind or to the forces of necessary for its performance. The cathedral clergy consisted of the chapter with its dean and other dignitaries many of whom had commitments away from the cathedral and so the two vicars choral, two chantry priests and conduct were relied upon to maintain the daily round of services.

Llandaff Cathedral

Surviving documentation is extremely limited; there are no books of chapter acts available prior to 1573. Available information on the staffing is to be found in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* and later Reformation documents harking back to an earlier period. The information appertaining to Llandaff cathedral in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, in addition to listing the senior clergy (canons, prebendaries, precentor, archdeacons) and their payments, includes the stipendiary clergy and such lower ranks who served variously as singingmen, choristers and orderlies:¹⁸⁹

RESOLUC[IO] STIPENDARIIS

Can[to]r[ibus] q[ui] no[n] deb[ent] exon[onerari]

[In payment to the stipendary singers which should not be charged]

	<i>li</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>
<i>In primis d[omi]no Joh[ann]i Jankyns</i>	-	iiij	iiij
<i>It[em] d[omi]no Joh[ann]i Synger</i>	iiij	-	-
<i>It[em] d[omi]no Thom[a]e Gethyn</i>	iiij	vj	viiij
<i>It[em] d[omi]no Thom[a]e Robert</i>	vj	-	-

¹⁸⁸ Irene George, 'The poetical works of Syr Dafydd Trefor' (unpublished MA dissertation, University of Wales, 1929), 203 as quoted in Miles and Evans (1988-89), 34. Translation: A sweet organ and the music of the mass, / The bells of Bangor like those of fair Windsor, / excellent singers and the sound / of every fresh tune on the organ pipes.

¹⁸⁹ *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, iv, 347.

<i>It[em] d[omi]no</i> Will[iel]mo Davy	vj		
<i>It[em] d[omi]no</i> Joh[ann]i Eton	vj	xij	iiij
<i>It[em] d[omi]no</i> Hugoni Phi[lips]	iiij	-	-
<i>It[em]</i> Thom[a]e Synger	vj	xij	iiij
<i>It[em]</i> Thom[a]e Morga[n]	iiij	xij	iiij
<i>It[em]</i> Sawndyr	iiij	xij	iiij
<i>It[em]</i> Will[iel]mo Raglan	iiij	-	-
<i>It[em]</i> Math[ew] D[avi]d <i>chorist[arum]</i> [chorister]	-	xx	-
<i>It[em]</i> Lewys Which	-	xx	-
<i>It[em]</i> Morgano Thomas	-	xx	-
<i>It[em]</i> Will[iel]mo Edmund	-	xij	iiij
<i>It[em]</i> Joh[ann]i Gogh <i>Sacriste</i> [sacristan]	-	liij	iiij
<i>It[em]</i> Ric[ard]o Seis <i>custodi orilegij</i> [clock keeper]	-	x	-
<i>It[em]</i> Thome Howell <i>pro custodia & mu[n]da[ti]o[n]e aq[uae]ducto[rum]</i> <i>eccl[es]i[a]e cath[edralis]</i> [for the care and cleaning of the conduits of the cathedral church]	-	xij	iiij

The above list of paid, hired or stipendiary members of cathedral staff suggests seven in holy orders titled *d[omi]no*, the remainder perhaps identified as being lay persons, including four lay vicars or singingmen and three, possibly four choristers.

Documents at the Public Record Office concerning an investigation in the 1550s into the destruction of the shrine of St Teilo and embezzlement of cathedral property *c.*1538-40 bring to light certain details of pre-Reformation practices and staffing levels at Llandaff cathedral.¹⁹⁰ One such document, dated *c.*1554, a petition from the diocese of Llandaff to Stephen Gardiner, lord chancellor of England and bishop of Winchester, contrasts the number of the clergy, singingmen and choristers maintaining sung masses in pre-Reformation days with their contemporary situation:¹⁹¹

And wher[e]as also there were always xii Canons, viii Priests, iv Vicars, vi Queresters, with a Sexton by whom God was solempny served withe two masses by note everie daie to the great comfort of the inhabitants of these Diocese. The Canons Resident there and the[i]re freends have not only spoyled conveyed and imbeslyd the said goods to there owne uses so narrowly as they have not p[ro]pry[e]tted to plucke up and sell the paving stones. But also have withdrawn the proffites of the same churche w[hi]^{ch} went to the maintenance of godds s[er]vice so that thereis oonly two preestes now w[i]hout either vicars or conduct and no messe by note nor any song this thre or fower ye[a]res, skarsly oon[e] low messe a daye and that not verye s[e]rtayne.

¹⁹⁰ Lawrence Thomas, *The Reformation in the Old Diocese of Llandaff* (Cardiff, 1930), 75 dates the destruction of the shrine of St Teilo as 1541-42, whereas Glanmor Williams, *Wales and the Reformation* (Cardiff, 1997), 128 dates this episode as being prior to June 1540, when Thomas Cromwell fell from power, most probably during 1538 or soon afterwards when similar attacks were made on other shrines such as that of St Thomas at Canterbury, St David at St David's, or St Mary's image at Penrhys.

¹⁹¹ London, PRO, E117/12/17, m.3, certificates of church goods, Glamorganshire, 1 Mary – 2/3 Philip & Mary.

Little else may be said of music at pre-Reformation Llandaff. It would appear that Llandaff, the poorest of the four Welsh dioceses, supported a small-sized choral foundation immediately prior to the Reformation and was probably comparable with the choir at St Asaph cathedral.¹⁹² Once the effects of the Reformation had set in, it subsequently suffered decline due to lethargy and greed on the part of the senior clergy.¹⁹³ An investigation into the affairs of the cathedral took place during the Marian period, closely followed by the 1559 Elizabethan injunctions for Llandaff cathedral which served to re-establish the choral foundation.¹⁹⁴

St Asaph Cathedral

In common with Bangor cathedral no chapter act books or account books survive from before the latter half of the seventeenth century.¹⁹⁵ The entry for St Asaph cathedral in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* names only the four vicars choral among the lower clergy of the cathedral – David ap Jevan, John Barker, Hug[o] ap Jevan and Galfrid ap Ll[ywely]n who each received a salary of £6 14s 6d; no mention is made of the organist, singing men or choristers.¹⁹⁶

One of the earliest records relating to the history of the diocese of St Asaph is the Medieval *Llyfr Coch Asaph*, a bishops' register dating from the episcopate of Llewelyn ap Ynyr (1293-1315).¹⁹⁷ Other than this, there is no known register of episcopal acts within the diocese until the sixteenth century, when there are three volumes covering the period 1506-71.¹⁹⁸ A digest and commentary by G. Milwyn Griffiths mostly includes

¹⁹² See Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549-1660* (London, 1967; 2nd edn., Cambridge, 1978), 15 for a comparison with the choral forces of other cathedrals.

¹⁹³ See below, Chapter 5, p.150.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 148-49.

¹⁹⁵ J. C. Davies (1945-46), 15.

¹⁹⁶ *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, iv, 437.

¹⁹⁷ See D. L. Evans, 'Llyfr Coch Asaph', *NLWJ*, 4 (1946), 177-83, and 'Index to "Llyfr Coch Asaph"', *AC*, 3rd series, 14 (1868) 151-66.

¹⁹⁸ Aberystwyth, NLW, MSS SA/MB/14, exhibition book of Bishop Richard Davies, 1561-73; SA/BR/1, act book or bishops' register, 1536-58; SA/MB/21, bishops' register, 1536-59.

institutions and collations, but with some miscellaneous entries.¹⁹⁹ One such miscellaneous entry of significance to the music of the cathedral is the ratification made in 1558 by Bishop Goldwell of a statute dating back to 1297.²⁰⁰ It is the 1297 statutes that indicate the staffing of the pre-Reformation cathedral.²⁰¹

The choral foundation

It is recorded in the *Valuation* of Pope Nicholas in 1291 that the tithes of the parish of Godelwern (Gwyddelwern), Merionethshire, belonged to the vicars choral of St Asaph.²⁰² This appropriation is confirmed in the statutes of Llywelyn ap Ynyr (Leoline de Bromfield)²⁰³ which indicate clearly that they should be for the maintenance of divine service together with the tithes of St Asaph parish. Furthermore, it was to be the duty of all clergy beneficed in Godelwern to attend the daily office at the cathedral. The statutes state clearly that it was the responsibility of the dean and prebendaries of Vaynol and Llanufydd to provide three priests who were good singers and expert in the science of music (*‘tres Presbyteros bene cantantes, & in eadem scientia expert[os]’*), whose duty it was to assist the vicars choral at the time of divine service. The chanting of the services was to be supervised by the precentor. The archdeacon was to provide and maintain someone (a priest or layman) skilled in singing and organ playing (*‘Et quod Archidiaconus Ecclesie praedictae pro seipso inveniet unum Presbyterum, vel Laicum bene cantantem, & ad Organa ludentem’*). The prebendaries of Meliden and Llanfair were required to support four boys, being good singers, as choristers. Finally, there was to be a holy water bearer (*Aquæ bajulus*) maintained by the prebendary of Meifod.

The maintenance of singing men and choristers by specific members of the chapter was also followed at post-Reformation Bangor – an arrangement which had probably been in place earlier in the sixteenth century.²⁰⁴ At St David’s each vicar choral was also

¹⁹⁹ G. Milwyn Griffiths, ‘St Asaph Episcopal Acts, 1536-1558’, *JHSCW*, 9 (1959), 32-69. See also G. M. Griffiths, ‘A St Asaph “Register” of Episcopal Acts, 1506-1571’, *JHSCW*, 6 (1956), 25-49.

²⁰⁰ Aberystwyth, NLW, MS SA/CR/6, summary of chapter acts, 1674-1733, f.22v; SA/MB/21, f.17: See below, Chapter 5, p.155.

²⁰¹ Transcribed in Appendix C.

²⁰² Maria Hackett, *A Brief Account of Cathedral and Collegiate Choirs* (London, 1827), 1-2.

²⁰³ See Appendix C.

²⁰⁴ Bangor, UWB, MS 22808: visitation returns 1560, 1620. See above, pp.85-86.

allocated to a specific canon, but as a corporate body they also benefited by statute from the appropriation of a number of churches.

The organ

St Asaph cathedral seems to have had an organist granted by statute from the end of the thirteenth century. The names of organists at St Asaph remain unknown until the seventeenth century, as is also the case also at Bangor cathedral. However, the inclusion of an organist in the 1296 statutes of St Asaph does imply the presence of an organ from this early date, albeit perhaps modest in size. Similarly, little is known concerning the purchase of an organ until 1635 ‘when the greate and newe organ in the Cathedral was sett up [...] the same beinge brought and carried thither from London’.²⁰⁵

Graham Elliott incorrectly states that in 1512 the chapter granted £40 for an organ, thus making this the earliest known reference to the St Asaph organ.²⁰⁶ Subsequent writers have since copied this,²⁰⁷ a misunderstanding which could only have derived from a confused reading of D. R. Thomas.²⁰⁸ As far as can be ascertained, Browne Willis states that in 1535 Bishop Henry Standish bequeathed £40 to pave the choir of St Asaph.²⁰⁹ According to tradition, this money was then diverted so that an organ could be purchased, prompting the late bishop’s executors to sue because the cathedral authorities had not performed the letter of his will.²¹⁰ This organ probably stood in the stone pulpitem erected in the east of the crossing arch during the episcopacy of Bishop

²⁰⁵ D. R. Thomas, ed., *Y Cwitta Cyfarwydd: The Chronicle written by the famous Clarke, Peter Roberts* (London, 1883), 161.

²⁰⁶ Graham Elliott, *The Music of St Asaph Cathedral: Survival and Revival* (unpublished MA dissertation, University of Wales, Bangor, 1982), 62.

²⁰⁷ Hugh Hooper Davies, *St Asaph Cathedral: The Organ*, Information Leaflet (St Asaph, 1997): the Chinese whispers continue when £40 is stated as having been ‘donated’ for an organ in T. R. Kerry Goulstone, *St Asaph Cathedral: Yesterday and Today 560-1999* (St Asaph, 1999), 19.

²⁰⁸ D. R. Thomas, *The History of the Diocese of St Asaph*, 3 vols (Oswestry, 1908-13), i, 287.

²⁰⁹ Browne Willis, *St Asaph Cathedral*, 2 vols, ed. by Edward Edwards (London, 1801) i, 93.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Richard Redman (1471-95).²¹¹ This same pulpitum was described by Richard Symonds in 1645 as an organ loft with Redman's coat of arms carved upon it.²¹²

St David's Cathedral

The choral foundation

The Use of Sarum was known at St David's from at least the end of the twelfth century, and the application of such is noted the statutes of Bishop Iorwerth (Gervaise) in 1224 when he established the precentorship.²¹³ The next two bishops of St David's, Anselm Crassus (1230-48) and Thomas Wallensis (1248-55) are reputed to have appropriated two benefices to provide financial support for the vicars choral.²¹⁴ Subsequently, Bishop Wallensis emphasised the importance of communal living for the canons and vicars choral in his statutes of 1253, the Use of Sarum also receiving mention.²¹⁵ The 1259 statutes of Bishop Richard de Carew, which founded the treasurership of the cathedral, also specify payments to the vicars choral but are much more stringent in details of attendance and discipline. They must be 'present each day at the four canonical hours, namely, matins, prime, great mass and vespers', absence without permission resulting in a fine, which was also the penalty for lateness. They were to be suitably attired in surplice and black hood in winter and surplice without the hood in summer. The vicars choral are also warned against fornication, the frequenting of taverns, dwelling alone and wandering through the city at night.²¹⁶ Further provision for the vicars choral in the form of a common dwelling place was granted by the 1287 statutes of Bishop Thomas Bek, '*Vicarii domus proprias non habentes simul habitent, et quod domus ad ipsor[um] habita[ti]o[n]em specialiter construatur*' (Let the vicars [choral] not having their own houses dwell together and let a house be specially built for them to dwell in). Some vicars were, however, permitted to live in the houses of their

²¹¹ T. W. Pritchard, *St Asaph Cathedral* (Much Wenlock, 1997), 7.

²¹² Richard Symonds, *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army during the Great Civil War*, ed. by C. E. Long, Camden Society (London, 1859), 260. The organ in the pulpitum during the visit of Symonds would have been the instrument of 1635: see below, Chapter 5, p.157.

²¹³ See above, Chapter 2, p.15.

²¹⁴ Yardley (1927), 46.

²¹⁵ *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Records Relating to Welsh Dioceses, 1066-1272*, ed. by J. C. Davies, 2 vols (Cardiff, 1946-48), i, 386-89.

²¹⁶ *Ibid*, 396-401.

respective canons; but Bishop Houghton withdrew this concession in 1379.²¹⁷ The residence or college of vicars choral was situated to the north of the cemetery adjacent to St Mary's college, but was destroyed during the episcopacy of Bishop Barlow (1536-48).²¹⁸ In addition to the financial provisions made in the medieval foundation statutes, later grants ensured continuity. Such a case in point was Llansantfraid church, appropriated for the maintenance of the vicars choral by Bishop Edward Vaughan in 1517.²¹⁹

Following the statutes of Thomas Bek, nothing appears in the cathedral records of consequence to music for almost a century, though the probable compilation for the cathedral of the Penpont Antiphonal, c.1325-50, is evidence of the demands placed on the choir, especially during festivities in honour of St David.²²⁰ The vicars choral, in addition to the observance of choir services, would also have served at the many altars of the cathedral: Holy Trinity, St Mary, St John, St Andrew, St Stephen, the Holy Innocents, St Nicholas, St Catherine, St Thomas, the Holy Cross, the Blessed Sacrament, King Edward, and the Chanter's chapel.²²¹

During the episcopacy of Adam Houghton (1361-88), the choral foundation at St David's was expanded further. Houghton's statutes of 1363 instituted four choristers, appropriating for their benefit the church of Llanwnen. They were to be the responsibility of the bishop's vicar who was to act as 'Preceptor and Master of the said Choristers, to elect and perfect them as Choristers', and was to 'receive half a mark of silver annually for his trouble'. Once more the Use of Sarum is emphasised.²²²

Significant also were Houghton's statutes of 1372 which founded St Mary's college.²²³ Situated on the north side of the cathedral its staff consisted of a master, seven fellows or chaplains, and two choristers under the visitation of the cathedral chapter. They were to

²¹⁷ Jones and Freeman (1856), 217.

²¹⁸ Yardley (1927), 88.

²¹⁹ *The Episcopal Registers of St David's, 1397-1518*, ii, 826-31.

²²⁰ See above, Chapter 2, pp.21-23.

²²¹ Jones and Freeman (1856), 95.

²²² London, MS Harl. 6280, f.133, register and statute book of St David's cathedral, 24th March 1363, see Appendix D for transcript.

²²³ See above, pp.72-74.

live together in a collegiate manner, and perform ye Divine Offices in their Chapel according to ye Salisbury Missale; & ordered that ye Master & Chaplains should assist on Sundays & double festivals at High Mass & Vespers in the Cathedral among ye Vicars there.²²⁴

It was recorded in the 1549 chantry certificates for Pembrokeshire that the college of St Mary had amalgamated with the cathedral some sixty years previously, its clergy and choristers functioning in effect as part of the cathedral foundation.²²⁵

In 1501 Bishop John Morgan added two choristers to the cathedral foundation. The hospital or priory of St Edward at Llawhaden with the church of Llanycefn was appropriated to the choristers on condition that they should say certain daily prayers before the crucifix in the nave of the cathedral for the soul of Bishop Morgan.²²⁶ For the first half of the sixteenth century therefore, the cathedral functioned with a total of eight choristers: four established in 1363, two in 1501, and two from St Mary's college, though from the Marian period onwards the cathedral accounts reflect provision for only six.²²⁷ There were also two priests attached to chantries 'founded within ye Cathedral Church there to ye intent to finde two Pr[i]ests to say Masse every day, & to keep ye Qu[i]ere within ye said Church every Sunday & Holy day'.²²⁸ The 1504 visitation of Archbishop Warham lists the following cathedral personnel:²²⁹

[21 senior clergy, canons, prebendaries, etc., then:]

Nomina Vicariorum Choralium [names of vicars choral]

<i>D[ominus]</i> Will[iam] Stevyns, <i>Subdecanus</i>	<i>D[ominus]</i> Joh[an]es Vachan
<i>D[ominus]</i> Tho[mas] Bacon, <i>Succentor</i> .	Joh[ann]es Lloyd
<i>D[ominus]</i> Tho[mas] Karun, <i>Vice Thesaur[us]</i> , <i>detegitur de incontinentia</i> [=detected in fornication]	
<i>D[ominus]</i> Joh[ann]es Sydon	Philip[us] Glynn
<i>D[ominus]</i> Hugo Lloyd, <i>detegitur de incontinentia</i>	Jacob[us] White
<i>D[ominus]</i> Will[iam] Laurence	Joh[ann]es Adams
<i>D[ominus]</i> Philip de Wile	Joh[ann]es Parker
<i>D[ominus]</i> Jacobus Wilcoks	Henricus Pab
	Ric[ard]us Pab

Nomina Choristarum [names of choristers]

Tho[mas] Jevan	Ric[ard]us Jeffry
Will[iam] Morgan	Hugh Tawe

²²⁴ Jones and Freeman (1856), 372.

²²⁵ Yardley (1927), 375.

²²⁶ Jones and Freeman (1856), 102, 326.

²²⁷ London, BL, MS Harl. 6280, f.209. The annexe of a clause, enjoining prayers for the welfare of his soul, and the souls of all faithful Christians, made this augmentation subject to the Chantries' Act, the property therefore passing into into lay hands.

²²⁸ Yardley (1927), 377.

²²⁹ Yardley (1927), 383: from *Registro Warham in Archivis Lambeth*, f.227a.

David Morrice
Will[iam] Jenkins

Morris David

Cantarista de la Wogan [Chaplain of the Wogan Chantry]
D[omi]nus Tho[mas] Robert comparuit [present]

Nomine Magistri & Sociorum Coll[egii] B[eatae] M[ariae] Virg[ine] Menev[ensis]
[Names of the master and fellows of the College of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St David's]
Ric[ardus] Rayder, LLD, *Magister* D[ominus] Philip Lewis
D[ominus] Tho[mas] Bacon D[ominus] Tho[mas] Corner
D[ominus] Will[iam] Stevyns D[ominus] Will[iam] Laurence
D[ominus] Joh[ann]es...

<i>Numerus 51 viz, Prebendarii (quorum 8 Canonici Residente)</i>	
[Number 51 viz, Prebendaries (of whom 8 are residentiary canons)]	21
<i>Vicarii (quorum 8 Pre[s]byteri, & 8 Diaconi)</i>	
[Vicars (of whom 8 are priests, and 8 deacons)]	16
<i>Subdiaconi vel Quaeristae</i> [Subdeacons or choristers]	7
<i>Cantarista</i> [chantry priest]	1
1 <i>Magister</i> & 6 <i>Soci[orum] Coll[egii] B[eatae] Mariae Menev[ensis]</i>	
[1 master and 6 fellows of the College of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St David's]	7
<i>In tot[um] ut supra</i> [In all as above]	<u>51</u>

The chantry certificate of 1549 lists '27 [*sic*] Vicars Choral, 8 Queristers, & other servants' as forming the combined staff of the cathedral and St Mary's college. While it is perfectly possible that one of the oldest vicars choral, John Lloyd, aged 72, may be identifiable as the vicar of that name listed in the archiepiscopal visitation of 1504,²³⁰ a significant proportion of the vicars choral in 1549 were aged in their twenties and thirties. 41% of the 1549 vicars' ages lie within a narrow age bracket of 34-38 years old. If these vicars choral had all been choristers at the cathedral, then it is possible that there must have been a suitably vibrant atmosphere in the choir during the mid-1520s which encouraged them to remain at the cathedral as vicars choral. Part of the 1549 chantry certificate for St Mary's college reads as follows:²³¹

Stipends or wages of ye Master & Vicars with others.

In stipend or wages of Stephen Greene, Master there, of th[e] age of 38 years having no other promoc[i]on to ye some by ye[a]re	20	0	0
And in ye stipend or waxis of dyverse & sondry Vicars Choral by ye ye[a]re, viz:			
In ye stipend or waxis of Will[iam] Castell, one of ye Vicars Coral of th[e] age of 60 years, having none other promoc[i]on	4	0	0
Peter Fenne one other of ye same vicars, of th[e] age of 50 years, having ye[a]rely of other promoc[i]on £4	2	0	0
John Batha, one of ye same Vicars, of the age of 36 years, having yearly of other promoc[i]on £30	2	0	0
John Williams one other Vicar, of th[e] age of 44 years, having none other promoc[i]on	2	0	0
Roger Philip, Sexton there, of th[e] age of 51, having none other promoc[i]on	2	0	0
The same Roger, Vycar C[h]oral	2	0	0
Will[iam] Hire of th[e] age of 58 yeres, for his penc[i]on out of ye said College	6	13	4
The same William, Vycar Choral there, for his waxis	2	0	0
Philip Peire, Vicar there, of th[e] age of 34 ye[a]res, having none other promoc[i]on	2	0	0

²³⁰ See above, p.95.

²³¹ Yardley (1927), 375-77.

William Thomas, Vycar there, of th[e] age of 54 ye[a]res, having none other promoc[i]on	2	0	0
Lewes Morres, Master of ye children, of th[e] age of 34 ye[a]res, having none other promoc[i]on			
	10	0	0
Morres Blacknes, Vycar there, of th[e] age of 35 ye[a]res, having none other promoc[i]on	1	6	8
John Lea, Vycar there, of th[e] age of 80 ye[a]res, having none other promoc[i]on	1	6	8
Hugh Jackson, Vycar there, of th[e] age of 38 ye[a]res	1	6	8
John Lloyd, Vycar there, of th[e] age of 72 ye[a]res	1	6	8
Will[iam] Walter, Vycar there, of th[e] age of 26 ye[a]res	1	6	8
Will[iam] Philip, Vycar there, of th[e] age of 38 ye[a]res	1	6	8
David Lloyd, Vycar there, of th[e] age of 34 ye[a]res	1	6	8
Griffith Jones, Vycar there, of th[e] age of 36 ye[a]res	1	6	8
David ap Hoell, Vycar there, of th[e] age of 38 ye[a]res	1	0	0
John Ho[w]ell, Vycar, of th[e] age of 58 ye[a]res, having none other promoc[i]on	1	0	0
And Francis Robert, Vycar there, of th[e] age of 24 ye[a]res, having none other promoc[i]on	1	0	0

The organists and masters of the choristers

The earliest identification of an organist at St David's is found in the account book (*Liber Communis*) 'et sol[utum] Will[ielm]o Warryn organizanti 40^s' (and paid to William Warryn, organist) for each of the three years 1490-92, Warren also receiving payment at this time for the keeping of these accounts.²³² As a vicar choral of the cathedral, Warren was in holy orders. According to the bishops' registers, he was made deacon 20th May 1486, titled to a stall in the choir of St David's cathedral, and ordained priest 23th September 1486.²³³ It would appear that Warren combined his duties at the cathedral with other commitments, for in 1490 he was admitted to and instituted as chaplain in the parish church of Talbenny on the presentation of John Deveroux, Lord Ferrers, true rector there, a post he held until his death in 1500.²³⁴ He is also mentioned in the bishops' register as having resigned the rectory to the church of Freystrop in 1494.²³⁵

The *Liber Communis* at this time also names the master of the choristers, a separate post to that of the organist but again held by one of the vicars choral. Nicholas David is named as such in 1492: 'et sol[utum] D[omi]no Nicholas David M[agist]^{ro} Choristar[um] pro foedo suo 6^s 8^d', though the payment is obviously a mistake for 26s 8d which was paid 'pro informac[i]o[n]e 4^r choristar[um] p[er] annu[m]' (for the instruction of 4 choristers) to the unidentified holder of the post in the previous

²³² Aberystwyth, NLW, MS SD/Ch/B13, chapter account book (*Liber Communis*), 1384-1661 (partly a transcript), pp.13, 15, 19, 22; also in Jones and Freeman (1856), 375.

²³³ *The Episcopal Registers of the Diocese of St David's*, ii, 462, 474.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 600, 720.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 688.

accounting year.²³⁶ The death of Nicholas David, rector of Letterston, appears in the bishops' register in 1497.²³⁷

The *Liber Communis* also records payments for the care of the four choristers: 'et sol[utum] pro tabula 4^r choristarum una cum 2^s pro eorum tonsura, sotular & togis ut patet per billas inde examinatas 8[£] 13^s 6^d' in 1490,²³⁸ and 'et sol[utum] vicariis Eccl[esi]æ Cathed[ralis] Menev[ensis] p[ro] eorum robis 11[£] et sol[utum] pro tabula 4^r Choristarum una cum 2^s pro eorum tonsura sotular & togis ut patet per billas inde examinatas 8[£] 18^s 2^d' in 1492.²³⁹ With reference to music in the liturgy, wine was provided for those vicars who sang the passion narrative on Palm Sunday: 'et sol[utum] pro vino vic[ariorum] passionem D[omi]ni cantant in Dominica Palmarum 6^d' in 1490 and similarly in 1492.²⁴⁰ The *Liber Communis*, which is a sixteenth-century copy of a now lost original, pauses after 1492 and recommences in 31 Henry VIII.

Certain documentation now lost but available in the early eighteenth century was utilised by Edward Yardley in his history of St David's. It is from Yardley that we are made aware of another pre-Reformation cathedral organist, namely John Norman, 'a skilfull & learned musician'.²⁴¹ His exact dates of tenure remains unknown but he served during the episcopacy of Edward Vaughan, 1509-22. It is possible that he proceeded to London and is identifiable as the John Norman who enrolled as a member of the Fraternity of St Nicholas in 1521, was then a clerk of St Thomas's chapel, London Bridge, 1528-34, and a clerk at Eton College, 1534-45.²⁴² Three extant compositions are attributed to a John Norman, a five-voice *Missa 'Resurrexit Dominus'*, a three-voice psalm antiphon, *Miserere mihi, Domine*, and a five voice Marian antiphon, *Euge dicta sanctis oraculis*.²⁴³ It is possible that these or similar works may have been

²³⁶ SD/Ch/B13, p.21; Jones and Freeman (1856), 375.

²³⁷ *Episcopal Registers...*, ii, 766.

²³⁸ SD/Ch/B13, p.15; Jones and Freeman (1856), 375. [Translation: and paid for the maintenance of 4 choristers along with 2s for their tonsures [haircuts], shoes and gowns as appears by bills thence examined.]

²³⁹ SD/Ch/B13, p.22, Jones and Freeman (1856), 375. [Translation: and paid to the vicars of the cathedral church of St David's for their robes £11 and paid for the maintenance of 4 choristers along with 2s for their tonsures, shoes and gowns as appears by bills thence examined.]

²⁴⁰ SD/Ch/B13, pp.14, 21, Jones and Freeman (1856), 375. [Translation: and paid for wine for the vicars who sing the Lord's passion on Palm Sunday.]

²⁴¹ Yardley (1927), 86.

²⁴² John Bergsagel, 'Norman, John', *NG*, xiii, 284.

²⁴³ See below, Chapter 7, pp.220-21.

performed at St David's during Norman's employment: certainly there must have been sufficient musical activity at the cathedral to interest a talented musician and composer. It may also have been Norman who prompted the appropriation of Llansantffraid for the vicars choral in 1517.

The last of the pre-Reformation masters of the choristers was Lewis Morris: he is listed as such in the chantry certificate of 1549 for St Mary's college receiving a stipend of £10; he is recorded here as being aged 34 years.²⁴⁴ His name also appears in a list of pensions from 1553, receiving £6 13s 4d.²⁴⁵ A lacuna in the chapter accounts limits further knowledge of this period, but it is safe to assume that his career as master of the choristers and probably also as organist extended until Thomas Elliot was appointed to the post in 1563.²⁴⁶

The organ

Little is known concerning the pre-Reformation organ at St David's. Repairs to the organ are first mentioned in 1565 when two stops were added.²⁴⁷ Browne Willis states that before the Civil War, the organ was placed under the western lantern arch on the pulpitum facing the choir, the implications of which have been considered by subsequent writers.²⁴⁸ The western lantern arch had become insecure towards the end of the fifteenth century with the result that £5 was spent in 1492 on essential building work. A projecting balustrade surmounting the canopies of the stalls allowed space for a small organ.²⁴⁹

Hereford Cathedral

An Old Foundation cathedral dedicated to the honour of St Mary the Virgin and St Ethelbert the King, extant documentation for Hereford cathedral from the medieval and pre-Reformation period is considerably more complete than for any of the Welsh cathedrals. Among the records are the cathedral's thirteenth-century customs and

²⁴⁴ Yardley (1927), 376: see above, p.94.

²⁴⁵ Yardley (1927), 377.

²⁴⁶ See below, Chapter 5, p.161-62.

²⁴⁷ See below, Chapter 5, p.167.

²⁴⁸ Willis (1717), 8; Jones and Freeman (1856), 83, 93.

²⁴⁹ Jones and Freeman (1856), 83, 87, 93; See below, Chapter 8, pp.288-89.

statutes (*consuetudines et statuta*),²⁵⁰ liturgical books and manuscripts belonging to the Use of Hereford,²⁵¹ chapter act books from 1512 onwards, and cathedral accounts from the end of the fifteenth century. Its bishops' registers from 1275 pre-date those of St David's by a century and a half.

The choral foundation

The medieval statutes of Hereford cathedral date from the middle of the thirteenth century. Bannister is of the opinion that they could not have been compiled before the constitutional disputes of 1245-46, but predate 1264, since Corpus Christi (instituted that year) receives no mention among the greater festivals.²⁵² Ascribed to Bishop Peter of Aigueblanche (1240-68), they are incredibly detailed, outlining the staffing with their duties at the cathedral with strict rules governing dress, attendance and general discipline. Religious observances also receive mention and, together with the service books of the Use of Hereford, a complex picture to be built up of liturgical practices at the medieval cathedral church.²⁵³ The statutes are divided into two parts. Firstly, there is the organisation of the cathedral church (*Consuetudines Ecclesiae*), and secondly, detailed points relating to the choir (*Consuetudines Chori*).

Many rules in the *Consuetudines Ecclesiae* concern the ranking of cathedral dignatories and their differing roles, privileges and responsibilities in the liturgy. For example, it is the privilege of the bishop when present to preside at mass on Christmas Day, Ash Wednesday, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, Easter Eve and Easter and on the feast of the Assumption of the BVM. On other principal feasts the dean takes precedence.²⁵⁴ The duties of the precentor are carefully described. He was to

start the singing in solemn processions, to begin the Sequence in the Mass or at Vespers, to assign their duties to the masters of the choir, to hand to the Bishop when he is present in pontificals, the Antiphon that he must begin and the *Gloria*

²⁵⁰ Hereford, HCA, MS Cap 41/1 S.XIV; *Consuetudines et Statuta Ecclesiae Cathedralis Herefordensis*, in *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, ed. by H. Bradshaw and C. Wordsworth, 2 parts in 3 vols (Cambridge, 1892-97), ii, 36-89; abstract in English in A. T. Bannister, *The Cathedral Church of Hereford* (London, 1924), 58-67; Hereford, HCA, MS Cap 41 (ii), typescript *Consuetudines et Statuta Ecclesiae Cathedralis Herefordensis*: a paraphrase in English of the thirteenth-century manuscript in the Cathedral Library, Hereford, by E. F. H. Dunncliff (1962).

²⁵¹ See above, Chapter 2, pp.35-36.

²⁵² Bannister (1924), 49ff, 58.

²⁵³ See above, Chapter 2, pp.35-39.

²⁵⁴ Dunncliff, 28-29.

in excelsis Deo in the Mass. He is, together with the Dean, to take the Bishop to the High Altar to cense it, and to bring him back. In processions he is to assist the Bishop for his part to bear the responsibility for all the singing and psalmody.²⁵⁵

The succentor

The precentor bore a great responsibility for the music and liturgy in the medieval cathedral, so much so that the statutes made provision for an assistant to take a share in this load. The succentor was therefore to be appointed by the precentor. He was to 'support his master in his duties with zeal and diligence' and have care of the songbooks and psalters.²⁵⁶ Furthermore, the succentor was to

bear the burden of all the psalmody and singing; to set out the lists for singing; to control the choir and master of the choir; to allot the copes at the Greater Feasts and to arrange processions; to provide five clerks from his school to sit on the first form whose duty is to begin the Antiphon on Ferial days and at the burial of the dead, according to custom. They are to carry the crosses and thuribles when the occasion demands it.²⁵⁷

Hereford, in common with Exeter cathedral, differed from other medieval English cathedrals in that the succentor, as the precentor's deputy, acted as song schoolmaster. He also seems at Hereford to have held responsibility for selecting the choristers.²⁵⁸ The succentor was also responsible for the enforcing discipline on the choristers and other clerks of the first form and was therefore permitted 'to beat them with blows but not eject them from the choir except with the knowledge of their masters'. Any serious problems were to be referred to the chapter.²⁵⁹ It was the duty of the succentor to regulate carefully performance of chant in the choir. He was to ensure

that they sing altogether and they stop altogether and take up their singing again together – none by running ahead faster than the others or by following more slowly is to draw out his note when the others have stopped, but like oxen joined in one yoke let them proceed together to one end. Let him take care with all his skill that the Psalms are sung, especially at night, plainly, clearly and openly and with a deep voice so that toil and devotion may run together, neither may there be toil in the Psalms without devotion nor devotion without toil. If there is a type of break in the metre in the middle of the verse let all finish together and start again in what remains of the verse, being very carefully attentive to the

²⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 30.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid*.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 48.

²⁵⁸ K. Edwards (1949), 318.

²⁵⁹ Dunnicliff, 42.

ugliness of Psalmody when one holds to the beginning of a verse and the other to the end.²⁶⁰

In the same manner as the precentor deputed his duties to the succentor, by the early sixteenth century the succentor had in turn passed over many of his duties to an instructor of the choristers who may also have held the post of organist or verger. This had developed from the activities of the Lady chapel, which operated independently of the succentor under a custos of the chapel, elected annually, and its own master of the choristers. The Lady chapel chaplains and choristers were expected to participate in services in the choir on feast days. William Wode, instructor of the choristers of the Lady chapel in 1517, in addition to playing the organ in the Lady chapel, was also to play the organ in the cathedral choir on feast days.²⁶¹

One of the succentors of the cathedral during first half of the sixteenth century was William Chell, holder of an Oxford BMus degree. He became a deacon in 1518, a priest vicar choral in 1520, succentor in 1527 and finally, precentor from 1554 until his deprivation during the reign of Elizabeth I.²⁶² It would appear that Chell as succentor in 1540 maintained an interest in the appointment of the choristers even though their training was exercised by an instructor of the choristers:²⁶³

October 4th and 5th Ethelbert Lane and Walter Cowarne, scholars admitted choristers. Presented by W[illiam] Chell, succentor and accepted by John Hoge, instructor of choristers.

The vicars choral

The statutes stipulate that four vicars of the abbots of Lyre and Corneilles and six vicars (two priests, two deacons, two subdeacons) founded in memory of Ralph de Maidstone were to be funded from the church of Diddlesbury, priests receiving three marks, deacons 30s and subdeacons two marks. Additionally there were a further four priest vicars. The first was to celebrate before the crucifix, the second at the office of the Blessed Virgin, the third for the soul of Master Rufus, and the fourth for the soul of

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 58.

²⁶¹ See below, p.107.

²⁶² See below, Chapter 7, pp.221-23, for further information on Chell and other prominent pre-Reformation Hereford-based musicians.

²⁶³ Hereford, HCA, MS 7031/1, chapter acts, 1512-66, f.85v; also in a three-volume transcript made by P. G. S. Baylis (1969-70) with numbering of acts with typescript digest and index by P. E. Baylis: Baylis, no.636.

Master Alexander. All four were to 'bear the heat and burden of the day in the divine office' in the choir.²⁶⁴ The vicars' seating arrangements in the choir was also specified in the statutes. Priests were permitted to sit in the third form (row), vicars who were deacons or subdeacons orders were to sit in the second form and all lesser clergy in the first form.²⁶⁵

The *Consuetudines Chori* emphasises behaviour and presentation in the choir. The clergy were to be punctual and dressed in 'suitable clothing, fit for the occasion, not dirty or torn, a comely tonsure and a broad expanse of bald head as each man's Order commands'.²⁶⁶ Members of the Hereford choir were under curfew as at St David's. They were prohibited from

frequenting taverns or suspicious or dishonourable places or from wandering the streets or suburbs of Hereford; strolling there by night from which practice scandal could arise and a good man's reputation be diminished.²⁶⁷

In order to encourage a high standard of execution of the liturgy, they were also required to learn by heart the psalms, the antiphonary and hymnary within a year and a day of their appointment.²⁶⁸ Moreover, those who made mistakes in the singing or reading of the forementioned would have their name read out in chapter meetings. If the offenders were deacons or subdeacons, they were to receive punishment from the hebdomadary on their bare backs.²⁶⁹ If, on the other hand, they were priests then they were to kneel before the chapter and humbly beg for pardon and a more severe punishment administered if deemed appropriate.²⁷⁰

The vicars serving the cathedral, whose number was increased by ten in 1330, had specific duties in the Lady chapel according to the ordinances of Bishop Thomas Charlton. These additional clergy were funded from a bequest made in 1327 by Joanna de Bohun of the rectory of Lugwardine with its dependent chapelries.²⁷¹ In addition to

²⁶⁴ Dunicliff, 45.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 41.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 52.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 55.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 41.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 56.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 57.

²⁷¹ John Harper, 'Music and Liturgy, 1300-1600', in *Hereford Cathedral: A History*, ed. by Gerald Aylmer and John Tiller (Hereford, 2000), 372-97, 384; Philip Barrett, 'The College of Vicars Choral', in *Hereford Cathedral: A History...*, 441-60, 444.

their duties in the Lady chapel,²⁷² they were to join with the other clergy of the cathedral to sing the daily office in the choir.²⁷³ The Lady chapel became the focus of religious devotions and musical activity in honour of Our Lady and St Thomas Cantilupe, whose shrine was situated there from 1349.²⁷⁴

The contribution of the vicars choral to the cathedral received recognition in 1395 when they were incorporated as a statutory body by Richard II as a college of vicars choral (*Collegium vicariorum in choro ecclesiae Herefordensis*).²⁷⁵ The college survived the Dissolution of the Chantries in 1547, persisting until the twentieth century when it was finally dissolved in 1937. Two minor canons remained part of the cathedral foundation until 1966; the title of vicar choral was reinstated until it was discontinued in 1979.²⁷⁶

In addition to commitments in the Lady chapel and the choir, the services of the vicars choral were required by other parts of the cathedral. These included the ‘parish church’ of St John the Baptist; this was originally in the north transept, but later moved to the nave with its altar situated on the right hand side of the pulpitum. Other chapels and altars would have been in the transepts, on either side of the pulpitum, the two eastern transepts, the crypt and above the Booth porch at the north door, where there was a second Lady chapel and an altar of the Holy Name of Jesus. The chantry priests who celebrated at these altars would also have had other duties in the cathedral and would normally have sung in the choir.

The chapter act book, 1512-66, brings to light some of the activities of the vicars choral, their duties, careers and occasional failings. Attendance received particular attention, especially on festivals when the ‘song commonly called pricksong was sung’, i.e., polyphony (*quando cantus vulgariter nuncuptus prykkydsong ibidem cantabatur*). The absence from the choir of David Orton, vicar choral of the Lady chapel is noted in 1522,²⁷⁷ while in 1527 reprimands were given for the absence of certain vicars choral from the daily office.²⁷⁸ In 1528 attendance was once more an issue; the vicars choral

²⁷² See above, Chapter 2, p.38.

²⁷³ *Ibid*, citing *Registrum Thome de Charlton, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1327-1344*, ed. by W. W. Capes, Canterbury and York Society, 9 (London, 1913), 34-40.

²⁷⁴ See above, Chapter 2, pp.37-38.

²⁷⁵ Barrett, in *Hereford Cathedral*, 444.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 459-50.

²⁷⁷ MS 7031/1, f.30r; Baylis, no.190

²⁷⁸ MS 7031/1, f.40r; Baylis, no.280.

were instructed to celebrate six masses daily, or five at the very least.²⁷⁹ The vicars were impressed upon to give due care to both their choir duties and their schooling, for in 1527, 1530 and 1531 the chapter acts record failings on both counts.²⁸⁰ As a result of continuing difficulties it was decreed in 1532 that in future all vicars choral, deacons and subdeacons were to be admitted on a year's probation in the first instance.²⁸¹ The moral behaviour of the vicars choral also came under the scrutiny of the chapter. In 1519 one of the vicars choral, David Mey was charged with incontinence with Elena Aswell. He confessed and was ordered to have no further dealings with the woman and to give public penance on the following three Sundays at high mass, when he was to say seven penitential psalms and a litany, bare footed and headed, wearing a surplice in the middle of the choir.²⁸²

The twenty vicars choral listed in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* were each paid £4 8s 8½d and are shown also to be in possession of a chantry as an additional source of revenue. Furthermore, the first six vicars choral in addition to receiving remuneration as vicars choral and chantry priests, are also listed as minor canons or petty canons, receiving an extra 60s 10d a piece. The vicars choral of 1535 (in the order listed in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*) are Henry Walker, David Orton, David Watts, Thomas Yatton, John Taylor, Phillip Kingley, Thomas Spicer, Thomas Bristow, John Barrett, Thomas Farmor, William Home, Henry P[ier]pointe, John Tailor Jun[ior], Richard Grove, John Kingley, John Boughan, Thomas Tokey, John George, David Benlloide, and Humfrey Holande. William Chell is listed as the succentor and John Taylor as the subtreasurer.²⁸³

The choristers

The medieval statutes place the succentor in charge of the cathedral song school from which he was to select five boys with good voices to sing as trebles in the choir. They were to be dressed appropriately and were not to enter the choir without stockings and shoes; their heads were also to be properly shaven to leaving 'a broad and comely crown'. Their musical duties included beginning the antiphons on ferial days at vespers

²⁷⁹ MS 7031/1, f.44v, Baylis, no.325.

²⁸⁰ MS 7031/1, ff.40r, 65v, 67v; Baylis, nos.280, 380, 409.

²⁸¹ MS 7031/1, f.68v; Baylis, no.432.

²⁸² MS 7031/1, f.18r; Baylis, no.139.

²⁸³ *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, iii, 12-13.

and in the burial office, according to custom.²⁸⁴ The statutes also gave prominence to the ceremonial role of the choristers. The succentor was responsible for training them in the carrying of the candles, crucifix or thuribles, especially important when a procession took place to cense the high altar or for the reading of the gospel.²⁸⁵

By the end of the fifteenth century the musical demands placed on choristers had increased considerably since the compilation of the medieval statutes. Although the chapter acts do not predate 1512 and first mention is made of the appointment of an instructor or master of the choristers as distinct from the office of succentor in 1517, developments elsewhere suggest that the teaching of polyphony now required specialist expertise. In 1525, in addition to their duties in the Lady chapel and the choir, the choristers with their master were now instructed to sing antiphons and collects daily after compline before the crucifix in the choir and at the image of the Virgin near the body of William Porter, the late precentor, saying prayers, etc. for Porter and the departed.²⁸⁶

The choristers were usually placed in the care of senior members of the cathedral staff, often helping in their households. Supplementing the five choristers at Hereford, additional boys were often admitted who were attached to the households of individual canons.²⁸⁷ The chapter acts show occasional concern for the welfare of the choristers. In June 1526 the canons were reminded that if they were to leave the town any choristers were to be boarded with another canon, paying the latter 10*d* per chorister per week. The following month a request was made to the prebendary of Putson Major to board his choristers and other clerical subordinates in his canonical quarters and not in his prebend of Putson, on account of the long and dangerous crossing of the Wye.²⁸⁸ Provision was also made for the chorister's clothing, as was the practice at Ludlow and St David's. In 1530 William Burley as master of the choristers was to receive £18 yearly to provide them with food, drink and clothing.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁴ Dunicliff, 60.

²⁸⁵ Dunicliff, 62.

²⁸⁶ MS 7031/1, f.37r; Baylis, no.253.

²⁸⁷ K. Edwards (1949), 314.

²⁸⁸ MS 7031/1, f.37v; Baylis, nos.256, 258.

²⁸⁹ MS 7031/1, f.65v; Baylis, no.379.

The organists and masters of the choristers

Although there is no mention of the post of organist in the medieval statutes, it is evident that Hereford cathedral had an organist during the early years of the fourteenth century:²⁹⁰

Pateat universis quod ego Egidius, clericus, dictus cissor custos organorum, recepi de dominis decano et capitulo Herefordensis ecclesie quinque marcas argenti annue pensionis, in quibus ipsi michi [sic] tenebantur pro servicio meo in dicta ecclesia consueto, videlicet de termino omnium sanctorum anno Domini M^oCCC^o septimo incipiente In cujus rei, etc. Datum Hereforde Veneris proxima post diem animarum, anno supradicto.

Another reference to an organist at the cathedral dates from c.1310 (or earlier) appearing as an obit to be kept on II Kals, Aprilis, which reads ‘*Obitis Gilberti Clerici de Organis*’, a sign that this organist was a respected member of the cathedral community.²⁹¹

The names of the cathedral organists after the early fourteenth century remain unknown until the appointment in 1517 of William Wode as organist of the Lady chapel. He was to receive an annual stipend of ten marks for which he was expected to play the organ daily at morning mass in the Lady chapel and on feast days when choir sings, and to serve as instructor of the choristers, exercising his office in person or through an approved deputy.²⁹² It would appear that Wode held this position simultaneously with that of verger (an office he had held since 1513), until his death in 1521.²⁹³ A second chapel to Our Lady positioned over the north porch was also served by choristers who in 1524 were placed in the charge of William Burley (Burghill), chaplain of the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary *supra le northe dore*. He was paid 20s p.a. for his labour

²⁹⁰ G. Marshall, *Hereford Cathedral its Evolution and Growth* (Worcester, [1951]), 109 from *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral*, ed. by W. W. Capes (Hereford, 1908), 178): Let it be known to all concerned that I Giles, clerk, called tailor, keeper of the organs, have received from the Dean and Chapter of the Church of Hereford, five marks of silver being the annual salary they owed me for my customary service in the said church, that is to say, beginning from the day of All Saints (1st November) in the year 1307. In which matter, etc. Dated at Hereford on the Friday next after the day All Souls, In the year above written.

²⁹¹ Marshall ([1951]), 108, quoting from R. Rawlinson, *The History and Antiquities of the City and Cathedral Church of Hereford* (London, 1717): the obit of Gilbert, Clerk of the Organs.

²⁹² MS 7031/1, f.10r, Baylis, no.98.

²⁹³ MS 7031/1, ff.4r, 161; Baylis, nos.52, 161.

and entitled to wear the robes of a petty canon.²⁹⁴ The next entry concerning an organist occurs in 1527 when Richard Palmer was appointed organist at the daily mass in the Lady chapel and in the main choir at principal feasts.²⁹⁵ Palmer is referred to as master of the choristers in 1528 when he was appointed verger with a salary of £7 6s 8d.²⁹⁶ The workload, however, became too burdensome for Palmer. According to the 1534 chapter acts, where he is described as verger and instructor of the choristers (*vergifer ecclesie et instructor choristarum*), he delegated his teaching duties to John Slade, paying him an annual fee of 26s 8d.²⁹⁷ An entry in 1536 grants an annual stipend of ten marks to John Slade as instructor of the choristers, and it is evident that he and Palmer had divided the duties of organist and master of the choristers.²⁹⁸ Following the death of Palmer, John Hodges, formerly master of the Lady chapel of the recently dissolved Augustinian priory of Llanthony Secunda, Gloucester, was appointed organist at Hereford on 4th October 1538.²⁹⁹ Hodges, a highly respected musician, was to retain his post until the 1580s. He was assisted during the 1540s by Richard Ludby (Ledbury) who served as master of the choristers from 1543.³⁰⁰

The organ

The earliest surviving reference to an organ is in the will of Bishop Richard Mayhew, dated 24th March 1515/16, who donated an instrument for use in the Lady chapel.³⁰¹ A chapter act dated 14th June 1525 states that £14 from the estate of Hugh Green was to be spent on a new organ in the choir (*'xiiijli de debentis M[agister] Hugonis Grene que exspendabantur super nova organa in choro...'*).³⁰²

According to Marshall, the remains of the loft for the choir organ are to be seen in the second bay on the south side of the presbytery, twelve feet high on the aisle side, where

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, ff.36r, 36v; Baylis, nos.231, 241. Burley is mentioned in 1530 (f.65v, Baylis no.379) as master of the choristers when he is granted £18 yearly to provide the choristers with food, drink and clothing.

²⁹⁵ MS 7031/1, f.40r; Baylis, no.296.

²⁹⁶ MS 7031/1, f.44r, Baylis, no.318.

²⁹⁷ MS 7031/1, f.73v, Baylis, no.487.

²⁹⁸ MS 7031/1, f.78v, Baylis, no.549.

²⁹⁹ MS 7031/1, ff.81v, 82r; Baylis, nos.589, 595. William Browne, a canon regular of Llanthony, was appointed at the same time a vicar choral at Hereford.

³⁰⁰ MS 7031/1, f.90r; Baylis, no.686.

³⁰¹ *The Register of Richard Mayhew, Bishop of Hereford (1504-1516)*, ed. by A. T. Bannister (Cantilupe Society, Hereford, 1919), p.viii. Probate granted 10th May 1516. See above, Chapter 2, p.38.

³⁰² MS 7031/1, f.36r; Baylis, no.240.

a wall projects into the aisle about ten inches with eight or nine feet between piers.³⁰³ The choir organ appears to have been reserved for use on principal feasts, whereas the Lady chapel organ was used daily in the celebration of Lady mass.³⁰⁴ In 1533, a third instrument was built and positioned over the sacristan's room, '*supra cameram sacristarum*', though this was probably a practice instrument for teaching the choristers.³⁰⁵ This latter instrument along with another in the choir was completed by one of the vicars choral, John Hichons.³⁰⁶

³⁰³ Marshall ([1951]), 108-110.

³⁰⁴ MS 7031/1, f.40r; Baylis, no.296.

³⁰⁵ Harper, in *Hereford Cathedral*, 392n.

³⁰⁶ See below, Chapter 8, p.276.

Section 5: Parish Churches and Private Chapels

This section deals primarily with musical references relating to parish churches, but inevitably there is overlap with previous sections of this chapter since the majority possessed chantries and some held collegiate status. Occasionally, as at Leominster, the nave of a cathedral, abbey or priory may have also functioned as a parish church for the local townspeople; mention of such is made as appropriate, cross-referencing as necessary. For those parish churches with books and manuscripts of a liturgical rather than directly musical bias as, for example, Conwy and Llanbadarn Fawr, the reader is referred to Chapter 2.

A tradition recorded in the eighteenth century by Iolo Morganwg states that Jasper Tudor (c.1431-95), earl of Pembroke and uncle to Henry VII, bestowed organs on several Glamorganshire parish churches. Morganwg's source of information was a memoir from a Mr Gamais of St Athans. Quoted below, the memoir lists some of these churches as being Llandaff, Cardiff, Llantwit Major, Cowbridge, Llancarfan, St Athans, Llangynwyd, Aberdare, Gelligaer, and St Fagans. The organs themselves are said to have been destroyed during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI with the exception of Llandaff and Cardiff.³⁰⁷

Mangoffeion o Lyfr Mr Gamais o Landathan.

Jasper Iarll Penfro a wnaeth glochdy Caerdydd, a clochdy mawr Llandaf ag a roddes glych i amryw blwyfau ym Morganwg ag organ i Gaerdydd a Llandaf a Llanilltyd a'r Bont Faen a Llancarfan a Llandathan a Llangynwyd ac Aberdar a Chelligaer a Llanffagen a lleodd eraill. Y rhain bob un a dynnwyd i lawr yn amser Harri'r wythfed ac Edward y chwechfed oddierth un Caer Dydd ac Llan Dâf.

Unfortunately the writings of Iolo Morganwg must be treated with extreme caution,³⁰⁸ however, other evidence supports that there were organs at Cardiff and Llandaff. As for

³⁰⁷ Aberystwyth, NLW, Llanover, MS C74, p.174: as quoted in L. Hopkin James, *Old Cowbridge Borough, Church, and School* (Cardiff, 1922), 167. [Translation: *Memoir from a book belonging to Mr Gamais of St Athans*. Jasper, earl of Pembroke built the Cardiff belfry, and the great Llandaff belfry and gave bells to certain parishes in Glamorganshire and organs to Cardiff and Llandaff and Llantwit Major and Cowbridge and Llancarfan and St Athans and Llangynwyd and Aberdare and Gelligaer and St Fagans and other places. Each one of these were pulled down in the time of Henry VIII and Edward VI apart from the one at Cardiff and Llandaff.]

³⁰⁸ See G. Williams (1976), 457.

the remaining parish churches listed, there is no proof beyond the above quoted document.

Of all the documentation available, churchwardens' account books provide the most valuable insight into the localised organisation and administration of sixteenth-century parish churches. The survival rate of manuscripts of this type for Wales and the borderlands from the earlier part of the sixteenth century however is extremely poor; there are none from Wales prior to 1558.³⁰⁹ St Laurence's, Ludlow, has churchwardens' accounts dating from 1464 onwards (fragmentary until 1540) and the only other borderland parish churches retaining such records from the first half of the sixteenth century are Holy Trinity, Chester, from 1532, St Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester, from 1536, and St Mary's, Shrewsbury, from 1544. Consequently, much remains uncertain.

Brecon: St Mary's and St Catherine's

An indenture dated 22nd April, 6 Hen VIII (1515) from the bailiff and commonalty of Brecon to Sir Thomas ap Howell, chaplain, grants the 'Chappell of Saint Cat[h]eryne' to Sir Thomas, on condition that

he shall ke[e]pe his stall secundary in the qu[i]ere sundaies and hollydaies at matens masse and evyn song within the chappell of our Ladie, within the said town of Brecknocke, and also ke[e]pe our Ladie's masse daily, having sufficient company with him, with pricked songe, else to be excused, also ke[e]pe the organs and teach two children limited by the bailie their pricked songe and plaine songe upon his owne cost and charge dureing the said tyme, and also sing mass at the chapell of St. Kat[h]reine when he is disposed.³¹⁰

Brecon: St Nicholas's Chapel in Brecon Castle

A composition dated 1st August 1527 makes reference to the continuing responsibility of the prior of St John's to provide sung masses in the chapel of St Nicholas within the castle:³¹¹

Also Covenant is, that the said Prior and Convent, shall have all manner of Offerings done within the Chapel of St Nicholas, being within the Castle of

³⁰⁹ Swansea, University Library, MS D2: churchwardens' accounts, St Mary's, Swansea, 1558-69.

³¹⁰ Theophilus Jones, *History of the County of Brecknocke*, 2 vols (Brecknock, 1809; reprinted, 1898), ii, part 2, appendix 2.

³¹¹ J. Lloyd (1904), ii, 48.

Brecknock; and the said Prior and his Successors shall find Masses to be sung or said within the said Chapel, according to the old Custom there.

Cardiff: St Mary's and St John's

Both these churches benefited from a number of chantries providing additional clergy and organists.³¹²

Chester: Holy Trinity

A mid-seventeenth-century transcription of the churchwardens' accounts, 1532-1633 shows that Holy Trinity, Chester in 1532 was extremely well equipped to perform the pre-Reformation liturgy.³¹³ An inventory, dated 1532 (see Appendix F), shows a vast and colourful array of vestments and over thirty liturgical books. These included six missals of which two were printed and four in manuscript; a great antiphoner for the choir with two older antiphoners, also for the choir; a 'booke for the Sondays & for the quere w[i]th a legender of saints' (i.e. a calendar); two grails with a psalter, two printed and two manuscript processional, two hymnals, two manuals, a pye with a collectar, a legendary and '2 bo[o]ks of parchment wryttyn of fe[a]stes of the names of Jhu [Jesu] and the vycytatyon of oure Lady'.³¹⁴ In spite of this apparent affluence, there is, however, no reference to an organ in either the churchwardens' accounts or the Edwardian inventories of church goods.³¹⁵

Chester: St Mary-on-the-Hill

There was most certainly an organ at St Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester during the 1530s and 1540s, and possibly also a small choir. The earliest mention of an organ at St Mary's is in the churchwardens' accounts for 1536 when money was collected from the parishioners to undertake necessary repairs: 'It[e]m we gedd[e]red [gathered] for

³¹² See above, p.57.

³¹³ London, BL, MS Harl 2177, f.19ff (transcript made in 1650 by Randle Holmes of the Churchwardens' accounts of Holy Trinity Chester, 1532-1633); Chester, CRO, MS P1/142, a transcription of Harl 2177 made in 1920; printed in J. R. Beresford 'The Churchwardens' Accounts of Holy Trinity, Chester, 1532 to 1633', *JCAS*, n.s., 38 (1951), 95-172, 106-07.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.* See Appendix E.

³¹⁵ London, PRO, E117/14/16, accounts of church plate and ornaments, Chester, Henry VIII – Philip & Mary. See also, R. H. Morris *Chester in the Plantaganet and Tudor Reigns*, (Chester, [1893]), 152-53.

mending of the Organs, *vis vid ob*'.³¹⁶ It is, however, impossible to say what repairs these were, due to damage to the manuscript. The fragmentary entries for payments appear thus:

It[e]m for...
 ...ort orgyn maker for [torn]
 It[e]m for glu[e] to the organse ..., *viijd ob*

In 1537 expenditure includes 1½*d* 'for glue to the organs and ballis [bellows]' and 4*d* 'for workemanship to the Same'. More extensive work was undertaken in 1539 for which 3*s* 2*d* was 'gedd[e]'[e]d for the organse',³¹⁷ 2*s* 'paid vnto the carver for setting vppe of organse' and 6*d* 'for the beyring of the organs with the loft the[y] sto[o]de in'. This carpentry work may somehow be related to the purchase and incorporation of the choir stalls ('quire') from the recently dissolved Basingwerk Abbey.³¹⁸ Subsequent repairs to the organ took place in 1541: 'for a hynge to ye organs, *jd*' and 'for a poly [pulley] to the organs, *jd*'; in 1542-43, 'for a Rope to the organs & a candle for the vale & pynns for the aw[l]t[er], *ijd ob*'. The Receipts for 1543 record that 30*s* was 'Receyved for metell of the orgaunce And for the case of the same'.³¹⁹ This latter entry may refer to the sale of an old organ for in 1545-46 payments included 6*d* 'for mendynge of the bellowse of the organse'.³²⁰ The organ was listed in the 1553 inventory of church goods, and the vestments listed in the churchwardens' accounts for that year compare favourably with those of Holy Trinity.³²¹

References to a choir at St Mary-on-the-Hill in the churchwardens' accounts are vague and infrequent. In 1538 Thomas Strete received 4*s* 'In parte payment for the qu[i]ere'; 10*s* 4*d* was paid in 1540 to Richard Joneson 'the whiche was vnpaid for the qu[i]ere', and in 1544-5, 12*d* 'for iiij newe p[ro]cession bo[o]ks for ye qw[i]ere' – the new English litany of 1544.

³¹⁶ Chester, CRO, MS P20/13/1, churchwardens' accounts, St Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester, 1536-1690: printed in J. P. Earwaker, *The History of the Church and Parish of St Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester*, ed. by R. H. Morris (London, 1898), 211ff.

³¹⁷ Chester, CRO, MS P20/13/1: receipts, 1539, not transcribed by Earwaker who notes on p.216 that this page is missing.

³¹⁸ *Inventory of the Ancient Monuments...: II County of Flint*, 41.

³¹⁹ Chester, CRO, MS P20/13/1: receipts, 1543, not transcribed by Earwaker who notes on p.216 that this page missing.

³²⁰ Chester, CRO, P20/13/1.

³²¹ Earwaker (1898), 5.

With regard to music at other pre-Reformation parish churches in Chester, evidence has not been forthcoming, save for organs listed in an inventory of church goods for St Peter's, St John the Baptist's, and the cathedral.³²²

Leominster: St Peter's

The nave of the Benedictine priory church of St Peter's, Leominster,³²³ also functioned as a parish church, and contained three chantries dedicated to the Trinity, Our Lady, and Our Lady of Pity. Little is known of the music of this church prior to the seventeenth century, however, in 1529 Charles Bothe, bishop of Hereford (1516-35), issued a mandate to the vicar of Leominster decreeing that on principal feasts services in the parish church were to be sung with the organ and with all possible solemnity, a duty hitherto neglected.³²⁴

MANDATUM VICARIO DE LEOMINSTRE AD PSALLENDUM DIVINA IN ECCLESIA PAROCHIALI DIEBUS FESTIS PRINCIPALIBUS – Carolus, etc. magistro Ricardo Halle, vicario perpetuo parochialis ecclesie de Leominstrie, salutem, etc. Clamosa parochianorum tuorum insinuatione ad nostrum auitum pervenit quod quum tibi animarum parochianorum ibidem cura comissa existit ac vicarius in eadem ecclesia de Leominstre ut eidem in divinis officiis ac cure animarum ibidem deservias institutus es, divina tamen officia in eadem ecclesia diebus festis principalibus cantare aut dicere in cultus divina diminutionem renuis et recusas, immo tuos parochianos ad divina officia in ecclesia

³²² Morris (1893), 152-53.

³²³ Leominster Priory was a cell of Reading Abbey.

³²⁴ *The Register of Charles Bothe, Bishop of Hereford, 1516-1535*, ed. by A. T. Bannister, Cantilupe Society (Hereford, 1921), 245-46. [Translation: Mandate to the vicar of Leominster that services be sung in the parish church on the principal feast days – Charles etc to Richard Hall, perpetual vicar of the parish church of Leominster, greeting etc. It has come to our ears by means of loud complaints of your parishioners that when the cure of the souls of the parishioners was entrusted to you in that same place and also to be vicar in that same church of Leominster that you are instituted to officiate in divine services and in the cure of souls in that place, however you refuse and object to say or sing divine service in that same church on the principal feast days to the diminution of respect for divine service; instead you send your parishioners to hear divine service in the church of the conventual priory of Leominster on the said days, heedlessly leaving the parish church with no service on the said days to the grave peril of your soul; we therefore do not accept your neglect in this matter with equanimity, as is our duty, we command you by virtue of [your] obedience, having summoned to you and assembled each and every priest and clerk and minister celebrating and serving the divine office in the said church on the aforesaid festivals with music and organs as solemnly as you can now in the parish church of Leominster that you attend and practise to the praise and honour of God whom every spirit is commanded to praise with song and chant with watchful care under penalty of contempt. Given in our manor of Whitborne, under our seal the twelfth day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and twenty nine.]

conventuali prioratus Leominstrie dictis diebus audienda transmittis, ecclesiam parochialem dictis diebus inofficiatam in anime tue grave periculum temere dimittendo, nos igitur tuam huiusmodi incuriam equo animo non ferentes, sicuti nec debemus, tibi in virtute obediencie mandamus quatenus vocatis et adjunctis tibi omnibus et singulis presbiteris et clericis ac ministris in dicta ecclesia celebrantibus et deservientibus divina officia predictis festivitibus cum cantu et organis solemiori qua poteris modo in ecclesia parochiali de Leominstre ad laudem et honorem Dei quem omnis spiritus laudare jubetur modulari et psallere vigilantibus sollicitudine cures et studeas sub pena contemptus. Datum in manerio nostro de Whitborne, nostro sub sigillo duodecimo die mensis Octobris, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo xxix^o.

Ludlow: The chapels of Ludlow Castle

Ludlow Castle came to the fore in 1471 on two accounts. Firstly, it became the administrative centre for the newly established Council of Wales and the Marches, and secondly, it gained prestige from its royal status as the provincial seat of the Prince of Wales.³²⁵ This role was maintained until the young Prince of Wales, on the death of his father Edward IV in 1483, moved from Ludlow to London to reign as Edward V. He was soon usurped by his uncle who was then crowned Richard III, but this reign was to be short lived for Richard was defeated by Henry Tudor at the Battle of Bosworth in 1485. Henry VII's son, Arthur, became Prince of Wales in 1490 and was to make regular visits to the Marches from 1494, subsequent to the Council's re-establishment in 1493. In 1501, following his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, Arthur took up residence at Ludlow, where he died only five months later.³²⁶

The Council continued at Ludlow and was reconstituted in 1525 and its powers expanded to assume some of the duties previously fulfilled by the Star Chamber. At this time also Ludlow Castle became the home to the ten-year-old Princess Mary and it is known that music figured in her education and recreation. Her father had decreed that she should 'pass her time most seasons at her Virginals and other instruments musical'.³²⁷

There were two chapels within the castle; one was the twelfth-century round chapel dedicated to St Mary Magdalene, and a second, founded in the fourteenth century, was dedicated to St Peter. During the latter part of the fifteenth century it was the duty of

³²⁵ Faraday (1991), 96.

³²⁶ David R. A. Evans, 'Music in the lost capital of Wales', *WM*, 9.4 (1991-92), 64-72, 64-65.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, 65.

clergy from the Hospital of St John, Ludlow, to staff both chapels. The chapel of St Peter served as the private chapel of Edward Prince of Wales and occasionally as a forum for diocesan administration, though it was later to become a courtroom for the Council.³²⁸

Ludlow: St Laurence's

Throughout the sixteenth century, St Laurence's, Ludlow, was the centre of religious observance of the town, the Palmers' Guild, and the Council of the Marches. The Palmers had their own chapel at St Laurence's and the lord president and members of the Council of Wales and the Marches had pews in the church immediately in front of the pulpit.

The status of Ludlow was further raised when Roland Lee, bishop of Lichfield, was appointed president of the Council in 1534. This was to be a new era in the life of the Council. The Act of Union (1536/43) reorganised Welsh local government, concentrating the region's judicial administration on the high courts of Caernarfon, Carmarthen, Denbigh and Brecon. These were in turn subject to the Council at Ludlow, which was responsible also for overseeing the counties of Monmouth, Salop, Hereford, Worcester and Gloucester.

The choral foundation at St Laurence's prior to 1551 was supported by the Palmers' Guild.³²⁹ The earliest known mention of repairs to an organ at St Laurence's, Ludlow, occurs in 1473: 'It[em] paied to Sir Edmu[n]d White for mendyng of ye organs ijs vjd'.³³⁰ Repairs feature regularly in the Ludlow churchwardens' accounts from 1540 onwards, and it is clear that there was more than one organ during the first half of the sixteenth century.³³¹ The various organs were situated in different parts of the building: the Palmers' Guild chapel of St John the Evangelist, for instance, had an organ bequeathed by Geoffrey Baugh in 1500.³³² In 1542 reference is made to 'our Lady organs' suggesting an instrument near the altar of Our Lady, perhaps contributing

³²⁸ Faraday (1991), 56.

³²⁹ See above, pp.62-65.

³³⁰ Llewellyn Jones, ed., 'Churchwardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow' [1470-71, 1472/73 and another fragment, and 1576/77-1606/7], *TSAS*, 2nd series, 1 (1889), 235-84, 242.

³³¹ T. Wright, ed., 'Churchwardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow' [1540-1573/74], *Camden Society*, 1st series, 102 (1869), 8.

³³² See above, p.64.

liturgically to the Lady mass. Later references are made to ‘gre[a]te’ and ‘smal[l]e’ organs.³³³

Monmouth: St Mary’s

An organist was maintained here as part of a chantry endowment.³³⁴

Montgomery: St Nicholas’s

The Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary supported three priests, an organist, a choirmaster, two choristers and a holy water bearer who would have enriched pre-Reformation worship at St Nicholas’s.³³⁵

Old Radnor: St Stephen’s

St Stephen’s, Old Radnor, possesses the oldest surviving organ case in the British Isles, probably from the period 1500-30.³³⁶ Characteristic features of the sixteenth-century organ case are discussed in Chapter 8.³³⁷

There is much speculation as to the arrival of this organ at Old Radnor,³³⁸ though it is difficult to comprehend such an instrument arriving during the post-Reformation period. Late medieval Radnorshire benefited as part of the borderland wool trade, and St Stephen’s, Old Radnor, would in turn, have benefited from this local prosperity. The richly carved medieval screen-work of the church survives today as testimony to this – perhaps the organ at St Stephen’s was also a product of such opulence.

³³³ Wright (1869), 8, 10, 46, 137: these issues are discussed in context below, Chapter 8, pp.287-288.

³³⁴ See above, p.57.

³³⁵ See above, p.62.

³³⁶ Frederick Heathcote Sutton, *Some account of the Mediaeval Organ Case still existing at Old Radnor, South Wales with an Appendix containing fifteen etchings, illustrative of the Construction of Gothic Organs* (London, 1866); F. H. Sutton, *Church Organs their Position and their Construction with an Appendix containing some account of the Mediaeval Organ Case still existing at Old Radnor, South Wales* (3rd edn., London, 1883; repr., Oxford, 1998 with an introduction by Hilary Davidson), 26; Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge, 1996), 56; Richard J. Morton, ‘The Organ at St Stephen’s Old Radnor, Powys, Wales’, *JBIOS*, 24 (2000), 108-31

³³⁷ See below, Chapter 8, pp.270, 272.

³³⁸ R. W. D. Fenn and J. B. Sinclair, ‘Old Radnor Parish Church’, *The Radnorshire Society Transactions*, 58 (1988), 78-90, 84.

Oswestry: St Oswald's

Poetic reference to an organ at this church is made during the latter part of the fifteenth century by Guto'r Glyn (c.1435-c.1493) of Glyn Ceiriog, domestic bard to the abbot of Valle Crucis. His panegyric *Canmol Croesoswallt* includes the following stanza:³³⁹

Gorau eglwys gareglwych
A'i horgan achlân a'i chlych.
Gorau côr, a gwŷr cywraint
A gwŷr, a gwisg hyd Gaer Gaint.

The church was well staffed prior to the Reformation, for the three chantries at Oswestry – the Service of the Rood, the Service of our Lady, and the Service of St Katherine – together made provision for four priests to celebrate mass at the various altars in the church.³⁴⁰

Oswestry School was established in 1407 as a free school by deed of trusteeship and included Owain Glyndŵr among its co-founders. It is one of the oldest instances of a school entrusted to a mixed body of laymen and clerics together and was not part of, or dependant on, a church or chantry.³⁴¹ It did, however, benefit from £2 p.a. from the revenues of the Service of Our Lady following the Chantries' Act in 1548.³⁴²

Shrewsbury: St Mary's, St Chad's, St Alkemade's, St Julian's, and the nave of the abbey church

St Mary's and St Chad's during the pre-Reformation period were collegiate churches, they both possessed chantries supported by craft guilds and although they also served as parish churches, their pre-Reformation musical provision has already been presented earlier in this chapter.³⁴³ Following the dissolution of the chantries and colleges, they assumed roles simply as parish churches; musical activity from this later period is considered in Chapter 6. The nave of Shrewsbury abbey had always served the local population as a parish church and continued as such following the abbey's dissolution

³³⁹ *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, ed. by J. Llywelyn Williams and Ifor Williams (Cardiff, 1939), 183-84. Translation: 'The best church, splendid chalice, / Its organ and its bells: / The best choir, and skilful men, / As far as Canterbury', from Joseph P. Clancy, *Medieval Welsh Lyrics* (London, 1965), 220.

³⁴⁰ London, PRO, E301/40, m.4: printed in Thompson (1910), 269-392, 322-23.

³⁴¹ R. R. Oakley, *A History of Oswestry School* (London, n.d.), 8-9.

³⁴² *Ibid.*, 41.

³⁴³ See above, pp.78-80.

as the church of the Holy Cross.³⁴⁴ Of the other Shrewsbury parish churches, organs were present at St Alkemade's and St Julian's in 1552, but beyond this any further musical evidence has remained elusive.³⁴⁵

Swansea: St Mary's

The pre-Reformation parish church of St Mary's, Swansea, came under the aegis of the neighbouring Hospital of the Blessed David. The hospital was founded in 1332 by Henry de Gower, bishop of St David's, and was to consist of a warden and six chaplains celebrating divine service daily. It was also to provide care for the blind, decrepit, and infirm priests and laymen of the diocese.³⁴⁶ Two thirds of the tithes were decreed to the warden of the hospital, the remaining third to the vicar of St Mary's. In 1403, during the reign of Henry IV, it was ordained that the vicar of St Mary's ought to be a secular priest and not a member of any religious house; he was to be canonically instituted and inducted and sufficiently remunerated.³⁴⁷ The six chaplains attached to the hospital in 1403 had decreased to two by 1547/8, and the poor housed in the hospital had also fallen to two by 1548/9.³⁴⁸

The involvement of the Corporation of Swansea in church affairs is seen in surviving records from the mid-sixteenth century onwards. The common hall and book of orders (1549-1665) records in an early inventory 'the counterpayne of John organ player', evidence that there had been an organist under a formal arrangement from at least 1549.³⁴⁹ The earliest book of churchwardens' accounts (1558-1694) also suggests that the post of organist had long been established.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁴ Information concerning the dissolution of the Benedictine abbey and its proposed transformation into New Foundation cathedral is presented below, Chapter 4, p.132.

³⁴⁵ Hunter (1887), 399-403.

³⁴⁶ *Calendar of Patent Rolls Edward III (1330-34)*, 331; *ibid. (1334-38)*, 20.

³⁴⁷ *Calendar of Papal Letters (1396-1404)*, 556.

³⁴⁸ W. S. K. Thomas, *The History of Swansea from Rover Settlement to the Restoration* (Llandysul, 1990), 162-64.

³⁴⁹ Swansea, University Library, MS B1, p.5.

³⁵⁰ Swansea, University Library, MS D2. See below, Chapter 6, p.209.

Talgarth: St Wenna's

There are several names inscribed in the Penpont Antiphonal linking this manuscript with mid-sixteenth-century Talgarth.³⁵¹ One such marginal inscription reveals the identity of its player: 'John Wylyams organ player of Tall[garth]',³⁵² evidence perhaps that there was an organ in use at St Wenna's, Talgarth. Furthermore, the presence of names associated with Talgarth may also indicate that the Penpont Antiphonal was in use at St Wenna's either in the years approaching the Reformation or during the Marian revival of the Latin service.³⁵³

³⁵¹ Owain Tudor Edwards, *Matins, Lauds and Vespers for St David's Day: The Medieval Office of the Welsh Patron Saint in National Library of Wales, MS 20541 E* (Cambridge, 1990), 6.

³⁵² Aberystwyth, NLW, MS 20541 E, the Penpont Antiphonal, f.135v.

³⁵³ Edwards (1990), 6.

Section 6: Song Schools

In 1516 the humanist scholar Erasmus criticised the contemporary performance of church music and the education of choristers:³⁵⁴

Modern church music is so constructed that the congregation cannot hear one distinct word. The choristers themselves do not understand what they are singing, yet according to priests and monks it constitutes the whole of religion. [...] money must be raised to buy organs and train boys to squeal, and to learn no other thing that is good for them [...] Boys are kept in the English Benedictine colleges solely and simply to sing morning hymns to the Virgin. If they want music let them sing Psalms like rational beings, and not too many of these.

Indeed, there was a marked difference in England and Wales between the priorities of song schools and grammar schools of the early sixteenth century. There had long been a tradition of song schools in Wales, especially at the larger churches and monasteries.³⁵⁵ The medieval statutes of the cathedrals and collegiate churches often mention choristers who, in return for their keep, were expected to participate fully in the liturgy primarily as acolytes, crucifers and thurifers, but also in the chant, and as servants to the canons in their homes.³⁵⁶ Even if no statutes survive, if there were choristers at a church, then it stands to reason that someone would have needed to be responsible for their pastoral and educational upbringing.

As the centuries progressed, in addition to an already demanding liturgical involvement, their musical involvement was eventually extended to include polyphony – though it had always been essential to have knowledge of chant if they were to progress into the ranks of the adult clergy. Their education was therefore mostly of a practical nature, carefully tailored around the performance of the liturgy, reading and writing, and instruction in Christian morals.³⁵⁷ Evidence relating to the pre-Reformation education of choristers is not as forthcoming for Wales and the borders as for certain other parts of

³⁵⁴ Percy A. Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England: A Contribution to the Cultural History of Two Nations* (London, 1934), 216 citing *Life and Letters of Erasmus*, ed. by Fronde, Chapter 7.

³⁵⁵ As at Llanbadarn Fawr, see above, Chapter 1, p.2.

³⁵⁶ K. Edwards (1949), 316.

³⁵⁷ Jane Flynn, 'The education of choristers in England during the sixteenth century', in John Morehen, ed., *English Choral Practice, 1400-1650* (Cambridge, 1995), 180-99, 180.

England, but we may assume that a similar though probably more modest line of development took place.

Bangor

Pre-Reformation evidence at Bangor cathedral is scanty, especially with regards to its music and choir. A significant date linking the cathedral with education is 1557 when Dr Geoffrey Glyn founded the Bangor Grammar School, though the earliest of the extant bishops' visitation returns dated 1560 touches on the responsibility of the vicars choral to teach the choristers.³⁵⁸ From this we can assume that choristers had at least until this date (and probably from before the Reformation) been educated by the clergy of the cathedral to at least a high enough standard to equip them for singing in the liturgy.

Brecon: St Mary's

In 1515, it was the responsibility of the chaplain of St Mary's, Brecon, Thomas ap Howell, to maintain a song school in which two children were instructed in 'pricked songe and plaine songe'.³⁵⁹ In doing so he was expected to keep masses at St Mary's and St Catherine's and was answerable to the bailiff of Brecon.

Brecon: Christ College

The College of Abergwili was translated to Brecon to the site of the dissolved Dominican friary in 1541, when it was renamed Christ College. While there are reports that the clergy and choir of Abergwili moved to Brecon, the continuity of the choral service much beyond this date is to be doubted.³⁶⁰

Chester

In 1541 when Henry VIII founded the new diocese of Chester and the cathedral of Christ and St Mary, he also established a school to be known as King's School, Chester.³⁶¹ It probably absorbed the former school of the dissolved Benedictine abbey of St Werburgh. Many of the cathedral staff had previously served the abbey either as monks or laymen, as for example, John Byrcheley, schoolmaster of St Werburgh's, who

³⁵⁸ Bangor, UWB, MS 22808. See below, Chapter 5, pp.144-48, for further references to the Bangor Grammar School and the provision of choristers.

³⁵⁹ See above, p.111.

³⁶⁰ See above, pp.69-71.

³⁶¹ See below, Chapter 4, pp.131-32, for the foundation of the cathedral.

was appointed organist of the new cathedral, and Thomas Clarke, the last abbot, who became the first dean.³⁶²

The statutes of the school are included as part of those appertaining to the newly founded cathedral and dated c.1544.³⁶³ There was to be a master and an usher to teach Latin and Greek to twenty-four 'poor and friendless boys' aged between nine and fifteen, though choristers were admitted if younger. Eight of the King's scholars were also to serve the cathedral as choristers and were to have a master of their own to teach them music.³⁶⁴

Of the Choristers & their master

We appoint & ordain that in our church aforesaid there be eight choristers at the option & appointment of the Dean or (in his absence) the Vice Dean, and Chapter. Boys of clear voices and fit for singing who are to attend the choir, officiate and sing there. For their instruction as well as in good manners and in the art of singing we will that a person (besides the six conducts already mentioned) be chosen by the Dean or (in his absence) the vice dean and Chapter of good Character and regular life, that well understands singing & playing the organ, who shall closely apply himself to instruct the Boys, to play the organ at proper times & sing divine service. But if he be proved idle or negligent in teaching after the third admonition he shall be turned out of office who also shall swear to discharge his office faithfully.

According to the cathedral accounts of 1541 however, there were initially two posts, a petty canon acting as master of the choristers, and a separate organist; the two posts were then combined in the 1544 statutes.³⁶⁵ To maintain standards among the choristers a clause was included stating that

[...]if any Boy shall appear remarkably dull and stupid and naturally averse to learning then after repeated probation we would have expelled by the Dean and sent somewhere else, lest like a Drone he should devour the Bees honey [...].³⁶⁶

It is not known for certain where exactly the school was situated when founded. In 1570 it was housed in the monastic refectory but was then relocated to a house in Abbey

³⁶² J. C. Bridge, 'The Organists of Chester cathedral', *JCAS*, 19 (1913), 63-124, 65; R. V. H. Burne, *Chester cathedral: From its Founding by Henry VIII to the Accession of Victoria* (London, 1958), 5; R. V. H. Burne, *Monks of Chester* (London, 1962), 180.

³⁶³ The statutes only survive in late copies, e.g., Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv, 717-24; Chester, CRO, MS EC/1736/78; Chester, CRO, MS EDD2/55/2 (a nineteenth-century copy with English translation).

³⁶⁴ Chester, CRO, MS EDD2/55/2, *Cap.25* (nineteenth-century English translation).

³⁶⁵ Burne (1958), 10.

³⁶⁶ EDD2/55/2, *Cap.28*.

Square, moving in turn to St Nicholas's chapel and the south transept of the cathedral before returning to the refectory in 1613.³⁶⁷

Hereford

During the thirteenth century there appears to have been three schools attached to the cathedral: a song school, a grammar school and a theology school.³⁶⁸ According to the medieval statutes of the cathedral the song school was the responsibility of the succentor, and it was his duty to choose five boys from the school to contribute both ceremonially and musically to the liturgy.³⁶⁹ There were probably other boys attending the school, wards and relations of the clergy of the cathedral who benefited from an elementary education which including the alphabet, basic Latin and the rules of plainsong.³⁷⁰

During the two and a half centuries since the issuing of the medieval statutes, musical and liturgical developments had taken place at Hereford which included the performance of polyphony in the Lady chapel and on feast days in the main choir of the cathedral. From 1330 a specific group of clergy and choristers was employed in the Lady chapel under the charge of a warden (or *custos*) of the Lady chapel for the performance of Lady mass and other devotions. A separate post of master of the choristers was created, thus relieving the succentor of many of his duties involving the choristers.³⁷¹ The first mention of this post in the chapter acts is when William Woode was instituted organist of the Lady chapel and instructor of the choristers in 1517.³⁷²

Ludlow

A school was established by the Palmers' Guild in the early fifteenth century. The schoolmasters were usually clergymen, guild chaplains or other clerics. During the late fifteenth century the schoolmaster was Thomas Sherman who was also the organist at St

³⁶⁷ Burne (1958), 121-23.

³⁶⁸ Nicholas Orme, 'The cathedral School before the Reformation', in *Hereford cathedral: A History...*, 565-78, 567.

³⁶⁹ See above, p.101.

³⁷⁰ Orme, in *Hereford cathedral...*, 568.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 572; Nicholas Orme, 'The Early Musicians of Exeter cathedral', *ML*, 59 (1978), 397-98.

³⁷² Hereford, HCA, MS 7031/1, f.10r; Baylis, no. 98.

Laurence's. At the dissolution of the guild in 1551, the responsibility of the school passed to the town corporation, becoming Ludlow Grammar School.³⁷³

Montgomery

A free school was recorded in the chantry certificates of 1547 as having been maintained by the Fraternity or Service of Our Lady of Montgomery for the past thirty years. William Elke, one of the guild's stipendiary priests was hired as schoolmaster. He 'taught but yo[u]nge begynners onelye to write and syng and to reade so farre as th[e] accidens Rules and noo gram[m]er'.³⁷⁴ The guild also maintained a small choral foundation.³⁷⁵

St Asaph

A school was maintained at St Asaph cathedral during the 1540s, though its foundation probably pre-dates this considerably. It is not known whether this was a grammar school or a song school or if the choristers of the cathedral attended, but a clergyman served as schoolmaster in 1547. The Edwardian Visitors allowed the school to continue and set out plans to maintain it from revenue attached to prebendal livings.³⁷⁶

St David's

When the four choristers of the cathedral were instituted by Bishop Houghton's statutes of 1363 he appropriating for their maintenance the church of Llanwnen. The bishop's vicar was delegated 'Preceptor and Master of the said Choristers, to elect and perfect them as Choristers' and was to 'receive half a mark of silver annually for his trouble'.³⁷⁷ The *Liber Communis* 1490-92 records annual payments of 26s 8d for teaching the four choristers and in the latter of these years D[omi]no Nicholas David is revealed as master of the choristers (M[agist]^{ro} Choristar[um]), though this was a separate post to that of organist.³⁷⁸ In 1549, Lewes Morres is listed as 'Master of ye children'.³⁷⁹ The accounts for 1557-58 record: 'To the master of the choristers for keeping of the organs and

³⁷³ Faraday (1991), 86. For Thomas Sherman, see above, p.64.

³⁷⁴ London, PRO, MS E301/76/13: transcribed fully in Appendix B.

³⁷⁵ See above, p.62.

³⁷⁶ From William P. Griffith, 'Schooling and Society', in *Class, Community and Culture in Tudor Wales*, ed. by J. Gwynfor Jones (Cardiff, 1989), 79-119, 84; D. R. Thomas (1918), i, 387.

³⁷⁷ See above, p.94.

³⁷⁸ Jones and Freeman (1856), 375.

³⁷⁹ Yardley (1927), 376.

teaching of the choristers, £10', and though the recipient is unnamed, this was in all likelihood, Lewes Morres.³⁸⁰ The next holder of the post, Thomas Elliot when instituted in 1563 was directed by the precentor to 'teach the Choristers their plainsong, prick-song, & discant, & shall play the Organ when time requireth'.³⁸¹ The younger vicars choral and choristers were ordered by a chapter act of 1564 to attend school daily at six in the morning as directed by the schoolmaster, and in 1557-58 the bishop's vicar was remunerated for assisting the master of the choristers by teaching the choristers 'their lessons and versicles in y^e quyer'.³⁸²

³⁸⁰ See above, p.99.

³⁸¹ Aberystwyth, NLW, MSS SD/Ch/B27-28, Henry Thomas Payne, *Collectanea Menvensia*, 2 vols, i, p.8.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, i, p.13; NLW, SD/Ch/B13, p.32: see below, Chapter 5, pp.160, 161.

CHAPTER 4

The Reformation

Although the Reformation cannot be categorised as a single historical event it is possible to identify significant events of a reforming nature. Christopher Haigh prefers to interpret the Reformation as being a series of ‘reformations’, and while some events may have been linked, perhaps progressing systematically in a Protestant direction, others occurred independently often to counteract previous developments.¹ It is not the intention here to present another interpretation of events, but rather to provide a brief survey of historical background. The Break with Rome is taken as a convenient starting point, and subsequent liturgical and institutional developments are mapped out as necessary. During the mid-1530s the structures and wealth of the Church were surveyed in readiness for changes from both political and doctrinal standpoints. The religious houses were dissolved and the chantries and colleges abolished their revenues being diverted to the royal treasury. Concurrent with the political and institutional changes of 1534-48 was a sequence of liturgical changes which were later formulated in the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*. There was a brief reversion to the old religion under Mary I, but in 1559 Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity re-established a reformed State Church with Elizabeth I as its governor. But the process of reform did not end there; debate continued within the Church and Parliament, and while the Church of England was now firmly established, during the first half of the seventeenth century it suffered from a widening divide between those of a high church inclination and the Puritans who felt that the reforms of the sixteenth century had not gone far enough.

The Break with Rome, 1534

It is a view widely held that Henry VIII broke with Rome as a result of not having been able to reach a suitable arrangement with the pope to have his marriage to Catherine of Aragon annulled. Henry had become increasingly concerned at the inability of his wife to bear him a male heir and brought to question the legality of his marriage to the widow of his elder

¹ Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993), 12-13.

brother, Arthur. The benefits of achieving a divorce would also pave the way for a union with Anne Boleyn, a young lady at the royal court to whom Henry's interests had been drawn during 1527. The application for the granting of a divorce from the pope was further complicated by political allegiances, since Catherine of Aragon was the aunt of Emperor Charles V. The refusal of the pope to commit himself to the matter and rule in favour of Henry was eventually overcome by Archbishop Thomas Cranmer's annulment of the royal marriage in April 1533, but Henry and Anne Boleyn had already secretly married on 25th January of that year. Meanwhile, the pope's powers had been systematically removed from the English Church. The Act in Restraint of Annates in 1532 limited annate payments to the pope to five per-cent; these had previously been the pope's chief source of income from Britain. The most significant act to be passed reducing the pope's power in this country, however, was the Act in Restraint of Appeals of March 1533 which denied access by any of the king's subjects to appeal to foreign authorities. In 1534 the Act of Supremacy recognised Henry as the Supreme Head of the Church and marked the official break with Rome.²

The hierarchical episcopal and capitular oversight in liturgical matters was, following the Break with Rome, supplemented by a more active interest shown by the Crown. Latin service books continued in use, but were altered to cancel any references to the bishop of Rome, as well as Thomas Becket, the martyred archbishop of Canterbury. The printed Sarum missals once in use at Llanbadarn Fawr and Conwy bear testimony to the alteration of service books. Measures were of course followed through to ensure that the clergy conducted public worship in line with current legal stipulations. Near the border town of Ludlow, for example, John Brome, vicar of Stanton Lacy and curate of the chapelry of Ludford, had an accusation brought against him in September 1535 that he had retained the pope's name in his service books. On further inspection, the manual and processional were both found to be

unerased and uncorrected in every place, one old missal was covered with small pieces of paper set on with barm where the name of the bishop of Rome called Pope was; and when the paper was taken away the said name appeared as fair as ever it was, and as legible.³

² Keith Randell, *Henry VIII and the Reformation in England* (London, 1993), 9-12, 20, 40-46.

³ *LP*, IX, 136, 167. See also P. Klein, 'Ludlow Parish Church and its clergy at the Reformation', *TSAS*, 72 (1998), 27.

A similar instance occurred in 1536 when Robert Collins, vicar of St Mary's, Tenby, was imprisoned in the bishop's gaol at Llawhaden Castle for indulging in criticism of Anne Boleyn. Furthermore, his service books had not been suitably defaced, the pope's name being merely crossed through in ink.⁴

The Valor Ecclesiasticus and the Dissolution of the Monasteries

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, compiled in 1535, was a general survey of the wealth of the church.⁵ For the church historian the compilation of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* is invaluable in that it provides a view of the church facing the brink of change. Much information may be gleaned from the results of this immense survey, and although its main purpose was financial, it is useful for assessing staffing levels at the various institutions. There are slight inconsistencies between the amount of detail provided from diocese to diocese, however, and it is not entirely free from error, the manipulation of figures, or slight underestimates for one reason or another.

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* enabled the King to plan his assault on the Church for part of its wealth and power, and the monasteries were among the first casualties. The financial value of the religious houses was assessed, and those found to be valued below a certain figure were to face dissolution. Commissions were set up to oversee the suppression, the commissioners receiving step by step instructions for the procedure with lists of those houses set for dissolution. Inventories were to be made of land, property, goods, and anything of value was to be confiscated and set aside for His Majesty.⁶ The sale of such property was carefully organised, and although the profits went to the Crown, many lay people benefited handsomely from their purchases and investments. Pensions were allotted to deprived clerics. Inventories of the goods of the religious houses at suppression often itemise organs and music books, an indication of musical activity within the monastic churches, although it should be pointed out that such information is scarce.⁷ Details of the

⁴ Glanmor Williams, *Wales and the Reformation* (Cardiff, 1997), 111, citing *LP*, X, 1182.

⁵ *Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henry VIII...*, ed. by J. Caley, 6 vols (London, 1810-13).

⁶ London, PRO, E36/116, instructions and memoranda touching the houses to be altered and dissolved. See *LP*, XIV, i, 1189, 1190.

⁷ London, PRO, E36/115, dissolution documents, original surrenders of religious houses (with signatures) and inventories of their goods; PRO, E36/153, inventories, surrenders, valuations and correspondence of Thomas Cromwell concerning friaries.

sale of goods also sometimes provide clues to musical provision, for instance, at Dore abbey 'the organs in the quyer' were sold to John Scudamore, who bought the majority of the goods from the dissolved house.⁸ Greed and over enthusiasm in acquiring the goods of the dissolved religious houses resulted in embezzlement, which then led to investigations and occasional legal proceedings. An inquiry was held, for example, to consider the dealings of Nicholas Purcell who had sold the organ from Strata Florida to St Mary's, Shrewsbury, and its bells to the parish of Chirk.⁹

New Foundations

For several years before the Dissolution of the Monasteries proposals had been considered for diocesan and cathedral reform nation wide. Twelve suffragan bishops were consecrated between 1537 and 1539, but only following the dissolution of the greater houses did the opportunity arise to create new diocesan bishoprics. Eight English bishops had seats in cathedral priories where the bishop was also the titular abbot, and two bishops had seats in monastic as well as secular churches: Lichfield and Coventry, and Bath and Wells.¹⁰ In addition to the cathedral priories additional religious houses were to be selected for re-foundation as cathedrals of the New Foundation.

Before the re-foundation of each monastery as a cathedral could take effect, surrender was first necessary and so commissioners were despatched to ensure that this was carried out systematically.¹¹ They were to summon members of the house and the townspeople to announce 'the godly deterynation of the Kinges Maiestie to alter and change that house with many others from an unchristian lief to a trade of vertuous and honest lyving to the

⁸ London, PRO, C115/34/no.1937, accounts of the sales of goods of the dissolved monasteries of Monmouth, Dore, Clifford and Aconbury, 1536-37. See above, Chapter 3, p.47.

⁹ David H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, 2 vols (Caldey Island, Tenby, 1984), i, 125; London, PRO, E315/516/26-27, a composite volume made up of bills, answers, replications, rejoinders, writs and other papers on proceedings of the Court of Augmentations, 37 Hen VIII – 6 Edw VI.

¹⁰ C. S. Knighton, 'Collegiate Foundations, 1540 to 1570, with special reference to St Peter in Westminster' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1975), 2. Norwich had already been re-founded as a secular cathedral in 1538 and this had set a precedent for others to follow.

¹¹ Knighton (1975), 13; PRO, E36/116; *LP*, XIV, i. 1189, 1190.

[ho]no[u]r of God and the profit of the com[m]en we[a]lth of the Realme.’¹² The commissioners were then to take possession of the convent seal, make inventories of the house and church, and appoint the staff of the intended cathedral, drawing its members from the former monastic community as appropriate. Until full cathedral status was achieved, the quasi-collegiate church was placed under the supervision of a warden, who was required to provide Sarum books and surplices to replace albs ‘for all the company to use in the qu[i]ere’. St George’s, Windsor, was to serve as a model for the conduct of daily services with a ‘reasonable nombre’ of singing men and boys. Following surrender, there was usually then an interval of a year before actual foundation as a secular cathedral.¹³

Several schemes were proposed suggesting suitable solutions to the staffing to alleviate the staffing difficulties faced by the new cathedrals. The necessary financial implications were examined and schemes included both ordained and lay adult singers with a proportionate number of boys. Subsequent to the eventual approval of its final scheme, each nascent cathedral was issued with a book of proportion or ‘erection book’ from the Court of Augmentations naming all the newly appointed officers with their intended stipends. These books were similar in form to the fullest of the earlier draft schemes. In total thirteen new cathedral chapters were erected by letters patent, the first at Westminster on 17th December 1540 and the last at Oxford on 1st September 1542.¹⁴ Within the scope of this thesis, the Benedictine abbey at Chester was surrendered 20th January 1540. It was officially founded as a cathedral on 4th August 1541, and its bishopric and chapter were endowed the next day.

Contained within the book of draft schemes for intended new cathedrals (PRO, E315/24) are two draft schemes for the staffing of Chester cathedral. The following table provides a comparison of the two schemes for Chester against the scheme realised in the statutes granted in 1544:¹⁵

	1 st scheme, f.25r	2 nd scheme, ff.66-68	Statutes of 1544
Dean	1	1	1
Canons	4	6	6
Reader of divinity	1	1	-
Minor canons	4	6	6
Deacon/gospeller	1	1	1

¹² PRO, E36/116.

¹³ Knighton (1975), 10, 13-15.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 21-22; London, PRO, E315/24, volume containing the scheme of bishoprics that Henry VIII wished to erect, some erected, some not, ff.1-80; *LP*, XIV, ii. 429.

¹⁵ PRO, E315/24, ff.25r, 66-68; Chester, CRO, MS EDD2/55/2, nineteenth-century transcript of the 1544 statutes. See below, Chapter 5, pp.168-71.

Subdeacon/epistoller	1	1	1
Conducts/lay singing men	4	6	6
Choristers	6	8	8
Master of the choristers	1	1	1
School master	1	1	1
Usher	1	1	1
Scholars	24	24	24

Also present in E315/24 are two proposed schemes for the Benedictine abbey at Shrewsbury but, unlike Chester, it never achieved cathedral status and instead continued its post-Dissolution life as a parish church. Its first draft scheme included eight petty canons ‘to sing in the quyre’, eight laymen ‘to sing and serve in the quyre’, eight choristers and a master of the choristers, while its second draft scheme proposed six petty canons, six laymen, six choristers and their master.¹⁶ Schemes proposed for Rochester and Gloucester consisted of similar numbers to that of Chester, while the largest, Westminster, was to have twelve prebendaries, twelve petty canons, twelve laymen, ten choristers, and a master of the choristers.¹⁷ Whereas mention is made of a master of the choristers for each proposed cathedral, no mention is made of a separate organist. It may be seen from a reading of the Henrician statutes of the various New Foundation cathedrals that in each case the organist is assumed in the post of the master of the choristers. New statutes were not issued at this point in time for cathedrals of the Old Foundation, but a gradual reduction in their forces by the late 1540s had placed their staffing levels on a par with those newly founded.¹⁸

The Dissolution of the Chantries, Guilds and Colleges

Chantries, colleges and fraternities were to be the next casualties of the Reformation. Founded and functioning on endowments, after the dissolution of the religious houses, they became obvious targets as potential sources of revenue to be redirected to the Crown. To those reformers with genuine religious zeal, chantry foundations and religious guilds came under criticism as symbols of an outmoded medieval Catholic religion. The doctrine of purgatory was denounced and Protestant teachings emphasised that salvation was through faith alone – no amount of good works could possibly compensate for sins committed. The 1545 Chantries’ Act placed whole categories of institutions at the king’s disposal but

¹⁶ London, PRO, E315/24, ff.27-28, 73-74.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, ff. 54, 81. See also Knighton (1975), 40.

¹⁸ Ian Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals, c.1547-c.1646* (London, 1993), 10-11.

differentiated between guilds and fraternities associated with trades or crafts and those of a purely a religious nature. Works of charity, maintenance of highways, bridges, seawalls and piers, and educational provisions supported by chantry endowments were also recognised and granted special consideration.

Commissioners were appointed to survey all lay corporations and craft guilds to identify revenues devoted to superstitious purposes. All grammar schools and preachers formerly supported by institutions set for dissolution were to be re-endowed in order that these functions might continue. Parishes that had previously been staffed by chantry priests were to be provided with vicars and assistant curates where necessary, and where clergy were to be made redundant, pensions were to be arranged.¹⁹

When Edward VI was made king in 1547 he inherited an impecunious treasury whose resources had been depleted chiefly on account of the wars with Scotland (1542) and France (1543) and an outdated taxation system. Edward's Chantries' Act of 1547 sought the immediate dissolution of the chantries and, although it met a considerable degree of parliamentary opposition, it was soon passed after necessary amendment. The chief incentive behind abolition of the chantries was the Government's need for money, even though the religious argument emphasised the abolishment of superstition. From Easter 1548, all colleges and chantries, free chapels and stipendiary priests, obits and lights, guilds and fraternities, were to disappear. As Kreider remarks, they had become 'victims of the revolutionary process which was transforming England into a secular, modern society'.²⁰

Chantry certificates have proven useful in identifying churches whose music benefited from chantry endowments and demonstrate that the duties of a chantry priest, in addition to his responsibilities at various altars, may also have included playing the organ, singing in the choir for the offices, teaching, and assisting the incumbent. Even though the Latin rite continued until 1549, where elaborate liturgies once existed, the reduction in clerical staff resulting from the dissolution of the chantries exerted pressure on the remaining clergy. If music was to continue to serve the Latin liturgy during this brief period (1547-49), a greater

¹⁹ A. Kreider, *English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), 192-93.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 200-01.

reliance was to be placed on lay singers and the organ.²¹ Whereas the Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Montgomery supported a small choral foundation and would have fallen victim to the Chantries' Act, that at St Laurence's, Ludlow, managed to escape suppression until 1551 when, following lengthy arbitration, many of its interests, including the financing of the choir, passed into the hands of the town corporation.²²

Many collegiate churches on the dissolution of their choirs became ordinary parish churches. Certain colleges, however, were allowed to survive but were adapted to meet contemporary demands. In England, Southwell and Manchester were re-founded as collegiate churches in 1585 and 1578 respectively, with Ripon waiting as late as 1604. Wolverhampton college was dissolved in 1547, re-founded in 1553 under Mary, but dissolved once more early in Elizabeth's reign, though a choir comprising four singing men, four boys and an organist continued to receive payment. In like manner, St Mary's, Warwick, was not re-founded under Elizabeth, but had an organist paid for by the corporation.²³ In Wales no churches maintained their collegiate status. St Mary's college at St David's, Pembrokeshire, had some sixty years previously, been amalgamated with the cathedral, and Abergwili had already been translated to become Christ College, Brecon. It appears that Llanddewibrefi by the sixteenth century had long existed as an ordinary parish church, though its incumbent continued to hold the title precentor and its endowments continued to fund sinecure prebendaries. Ruthin continued to maintain a staff of clergy for its parish but was no longer structured as a college of priests. St John the Baptist's, Chester, became a parish church for the neighbouring congregation of St James's whose own church had proved inadequate in meeting the needs of that parish. At Shrewsbury, St Chad's and St Mary's continued as parish churches.

Meanwhile, parish churches and cathedrals, having recently lost of the benefits of their chantries, were also to suffer the loss of many of their treasures, ornaments and other items used in the liturgy. On 3rd March 1552/3, in yet further need of finance, the King's Council decreed that commissioners should be sent into every shire to take into the King's use such

²¹ John Harper, 'Philip ap Rhys and his Liturgical Organ Music Revisited', *WMH*, 2 (1997), 126-48, 32-33. See below, Chapter 8, pp.296-97.

²² *A History of Shropshire*, vol. ii, ed. by Alexander Thomas Gaydon, The Victoria County History of the Counties of England (Oxford, 1973), 138. See below, Chapter 6, p.195.

²³ Alan Smith, 'The practice of music in English churches and cathedrals, and at the Court, during the reign of Elizabeth I' (unpublished PhD thesis, Birmingham, 1967), 270.

church plate as remained.²⁴ Commissioners were directed to ‘v[i]ewe and survey all and singuler goods plate Juells bells and Ornaments belonging or in any wise app[er]teyninge to eny Church, Chappell, Guilde, Brotherho[od], ffraternitie or company’ and compile inventories of church goods with their monetary value. They were to leave at their discretion what they thought proper, namely one or two chalices of silver, a ‘comely furnyto[e] of Coveringe for the Communion Table and Surplis & Svepleses [sic] for the ministre or m[in]istres in the said churche or Chapell’. Jewels were to be delivered to the jewel house for the time being and they were entrusted with ‘full power and authority to sell to o[u]’ use all and singular the copes, Vestments Alterclothes and other ornaments what so ev[er], except the copes vestments, aulterclothes and Ornaments of Cloth of gold, Cloth of Cyssre and Cloth of Sylver’.²⁵ The commissioners stripped the churches of anything that possessed even the slightest of value. However, their authority was often abused and embezzlement was rife among themselves and the clergy; Llandaff cathedral suffering badly at this time.²⁶ In common with the chantry certificates, certificates of church goods (which occasionally list organs) indicate the various levels of liturgical provision at individual churches.

Early ‘reformed’ liturgies

At the onset of the Reformation ideas emanating mostly from Germany challenged doctrines central to the Catholic faith. Andreas Carlstadt, Kaspar Kantz, Thomas Müntzer and Johann Oecolampadius pioneered liturgical reform in Europe with the more prominent figures of Martin Luther, Martin Bucer and Huldreich Zwingli closely following. All emphasised in their writings the abuses of the Catholic Church. The sacraments and good works, in which the Catholic Church placed great merit, came directly into the firing line of the reformers. The mass was reduced from being an offering and a sacrifice to a memorial meal; the language of worship was gradually de-mystified, though the Latin mass persisted alongside vernacular in Lutheran Germany. The Catholic Church also sought revision of some of their liturgies, with Cardinal Francesco de Quiñones, general of the Franciscans, publishing an amended version of the breviary in 1535.²⁷

²⁴ Lawrence Thomas, *The Reformation in the Old Diocese of Llandaff* (Cardiff, 1930), 102.

²⁵ London, PRO, E117/13/20-23, directions to the commissioners touching the collection and disposal of church goods.

²⁶ See above, Chapter 3, p.89.

²⁷ G. J. Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy* (London, 1969), 32-48.

The 1520s onwards saw continental influences filtering across the Channel through trade links merchants bringing with them reformed ideas that then began to circulate. An official listing of heretical books was to outlaw their possession, even though Henry VIII liked to keep abreast of current trends and viewed Lutheranism more sympathetically through the 1530s, especially after the break with Rome in 1534. *A Goodly Primer in English* was published in 1534, edited by William Marshall. Here the outline plan of morning and evening prayer as later found in the *Book of Common Prayer* was already evident. In 1536 the Act for the Abrogation of Holy Days was passed which limited the number of saints' days observed in the liturgy. Injunctions issued the same year decreed that an English Bible be placed in every church and that the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments should be recited in English. A new primer, *The Manual of Prayers*, was completed in 1539 by John Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, and had the blessing of both Archbishop Cranmer and Thomas Cromwell. Popularly known as *Hilsey's Primer*, it contains sections of the Sarum primer translated into English, Marshall's translation of the canticles, and a different choice of psalms and readings with biblical passages derived from Coverdale's Bible. Cranmer's English Litany received authorisation in 1544 and the *King's Primer* was issued in 1545 in both Latin and English, to replace all previously published primers. An *Order of the Communion*, published in 1548 and consisting of an English translation of the mass, is known to have been used in St Paul's cathedral and some London parish churches.²⁸ The various primers and other English liturgical translations of the 1530s and 1540s paved the way for the *Book of Common Prayer* which replaced all other service books in either Latin or English and became the official instrument of public worship and a statement of the faith of the Anglican Church.

The Book of Common Prayer

In the publication of the *Book of Common Prayer* Thomas Cranmer and its other compilers, while recognising that regional liturgical diversity existed, sought to achieve uniformity in public worship. This was needed not only to reconcile the various pre-Reformation liturgies into a legally approved form of worship in the vernacular but also to counter any Protestant liturgies that may have found their way into circulation. The 1549 Act of Uniformity was intended to bring into alignment any diversity in worship that had hitherto existed and made

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 50-51, 54-55, 58-59, 60.

official the first *Book of Common Prayer*. The 1549 prayer book incorporated aspects of the breviary, missal, processional and manual within a single cover. The only pontifical office included was confirmation, which had already assumed a position within the manual.

The ordinal was soon to be published separately in March 1550 as *The fourme and maner of makyng and consecratyng of Archbisshoppes, Bisshoppes, Priestes and Deacons*. No provision was made for the subdiaconate or other minor orders of clergy (namely acolytes, exorcists, readers, and doorkeepers) which had been quietly suppressed in the issuing of this book yet had been included in the 1549 Act of Parliament grouped together as 'other ministers of the church'.²⁹ Whereas in the Sarum high mass the subdeacon is instructed to read the Epistle, the 1549 communion service calls for 'the one appointed' to do so. However, the similar tradition of the deacon is maintained for the reading of the gospel. Subdeacons and acolytes were once more regularly ordained during the Marian period, as for example, between 1555 and 1557 by William Glyn, bishop of Bangor.³⁰ The titles 'subdeacon' and 'deacon' continued in use throughout the sixteenth century at St David's and Chester cathedrals as positions ranking in status between the singing men and minor canons.³¹

The 1549 prayer book specified in its rubrics singing by clerks. During the communion service, for instance, the clerks were to sing the introit (psalm), one or more offertory sentences and the post-communion sentences. These musical provisions would have been for practical purposes in so far as they were intended to cover liturgical actions or movement by priest or people. Cranmer drew these from part of the Sarum mass proper, but omitted the gradual and the alleluia or tract. The ordinary of the mass was also to be sung.

In 1552 a second Act of Uniformity was passed and a second prayer book issued. Its use, however, was brief, for on 6th July 1553 Edward VI died and the accession of Mary I brought about a return to the Roman Catholic faith. The first Act of Repeal took effect from 20th December 1553 and in 1554 the full Sarum rite was restored, with only Scotland officially permitted to maintain services according to the 1552 *Book of Common Prayer*.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 92-93.

³⁰ Arthur Ivor Pryce, *The Diocese of Bangor in the Sixteenth Century* (Bangor, 1923), 50-51.

³¹ W. B. Jones and E. A. Freeman, *The History and Antiquities of St David's* (London, 1856), 354; and below, Chapter 5, p.171.

The English rite amended accordingly to accommodate contemporary reformed teaching continued in use by Marian exiles on the continent.³²

In 1559 a third Act of Uniformity and a third *Book of Common Prayer* were instituted. Its rubrics remained consistent with the 1552 prayer book concerning the use of music. Royal injunctions of 1559 directed that choral foundations should remain, while in the parish churches there should be

a modest and distinct song so used in all parts of the Common Prayers in the Church that the same may be as plainly understood as if it were read without singing; and yet nevertheless, for the comforting of such that delight in music, it may be permitted that in the beginning or in the end of the Common Prayers, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn or other suchlike song to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of him may be understood and perceived.³³

The minor revisions of the 1604 prayer book remained in place until 1645 when Parliament enforced *A Directory for the Public Worship of God throughout the Three Kingdoms*.³⁴ It is significant that although changes of the 1549 rubrics did occur in 1552 and 1662, there were no changes to the rubrics of 1559 and 1604 prayer books. This does not mean that during this period there was no change or development in liturgical practice, but rather that the rubrics do not reflect any differences in practice.³⁵

Although the introduction of an English prayer book was seen as an advance in allowing the congregation to understand, and therefore feel more involved in the liturgy, in more remote parts of Wales and Cornwall the English language was less familiar than the Latin had been. The supposed vernacular introduced by Parliament was not the language spoken by everyone in the British Isles. The *Kynniver Llith a Ban* issued by William Salesbury in 1551 sought partly to alleviate this problem by providing a Welsh translation of the epistles and gospels required in the communion service. In 1563 an Act of Parliament gave authorisation

³² Cuming (1969), 117-20.

³³ *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, ed. by Walter Howard Frere and William McClure Kennedy, 3 vols, Alcuin Club Collections, 14-16 (London, 1910), iii, 23.

³⁴ Cuming (1969), 146.

³⁵ G. L. Brockhouse, 'Parish Church Liturgy and Music at the Reformation in England' (unpublished MA dissertation, Exeter University, 1981), 1.

for the prayer book and Bible to be translated into Welsh. This was completed by 1st March 1567 with the issuing of the Welsh prayer book, *Llyfr Gweddi Gyffredin* and the New Testament in Welsh, *Testament Newydd*. It was some years before the complete Bible became available in Welsh, but William Morgan and his team of translators accomplished this in 1588. Wales remains indebted to the commitment and scholarship of Richard Davies, bishop of St Asaph (1560-61) and bishop of St David's (1561-81), William Salesbury, a literary lawyer of Llansannan, Thomas Huett, precentor of St David's (1560-91), and William Morgan, vicar of Llanrhaeadr ym Mochnant (1578-95) and later bishop of Llandaff (1595-1601) and St Asaph (1601-03).³⁶

Acts of Parliament and episcopal visitations frequently specified the ornaments appropriate and necessary for the performance of the liturgy. Official dictates are reflected in the parish records themselves where churchwardens' accounts itemise expenditure on alterations to the furniture and fittings and any income from the sale of ornaments. The accounts for Holy Trinity, Chester, indicate that a Bible was provided in 1542, and the altars removed and replaced with a wooden table in 1549, when the first prayer book was brought into use. There was a sale of church ornaments in 1551. On Mary I's accession in 1553 the catholic liturgy was resumed and the rood statues were gilded and painted. In 1559 the rood was repaired and the statues mended or painted, only for the images and altars to be taken down again in 1560 and church goods sold to parishioners. Further ornaments from the church were sold to Spain in 1568 and in 1570 the last sale of church goods took place: two chalices and covers, a censor and holy water pot and two little bells, the 'vawte' over the quire door, an old banner and certain pieces of gilded wood; and finally, vestments were sold to make players' garments for the Chester miracle plays.³⁷ The removal of the altars and other furnishings and fittings is similarly recorded in the churchwardens' accounts of St Mary's, Swansea, St Lawrence's, Ludlow, and St Mary's, Shrewsbury.³⁸

³⁶ G. Williams (1997), 338-60.

³⁷ J. R. Beresford, 'The Churchwardens' Accounts of Holy Trinity, Chester, 1532 to 1633', *JCAS*, n.s., 38 (1951), 95-172. 113-15, 119, 122-23, 125. See below, Appendix F, for a list of the pre-Reformation goods belonging to Holy Trinity, Chester.

³⁸ Margaret Walker, 'Church life in sixteenth-century Swansea', in *Links with the Past: Swansea & Brecon Historical Essays*, ed. by Owain W. Jones, and David Walker (Llandybie, 1974), 89-115, 102; Michael Faraday, *Ludlow, 1085-1660: A Social, Economic and Political History* (Chichester, 1991), 70; for St Mary's, Shrewsbury, see below, Chapter 6, p.206.

At Hereford cathedral, although little is recorded in the chapter acts concerning the changes imposed at the Reformation, a general continuity of tradition was maintained in accordance with acts of Parliament, injunctions and other official decrees. The chantry observances, Lady masses and other devotions were discontinued, the Use of Hereford was laid aside and the daily office condensed to form the morning and evening prayer of the *Book of Common Prayer*. These changes were eventually codified in the Elizabethan statutes granted to the cathedral in 1583.³⁹

In 1562 an *Admonition* was addressed to Parliament condemning cathedrals for being

dens [...] of all loitering lubber, where master dean, master vicedean, master treasurer, otherwise called Judas the purse bearer, the chief chanter, singing men, special favourers of religion, squeaking choristers, organ players, gospellers, epistollers live in great idleness.⁴⁰

The role of organs also came under scrutiny by the establishment. It was proposed in the Lower House of Convocation in 1562 that ‘all curious singing and playing of organs’ should be abolished. On February 13th 1562 a single vote overcame a set of suggested reforms which included ‘that the use of organs be removed.’⁴¹ The influence of the Puritans did cause the removal of organs from many churches, however, and an essay assessing the state of church music around the end of the sixteenth century comments that nationally ‘not so few as an hundred pair of organs were pulled [down] and many more [were] sold’.⁴²

Recusancy

Many were reluctant to give up their old beliefs even though they may have erred on the side of superstition. Initiatives shown by reforming bishops were resisted. Bishop William Barlow had proposed c.1539 the removal of the see of St David’s to Carmarthen emphasising how the cathedral had always been

³⁹ See John Harper, ‘Music and Liturgy, 1300-1600’, in *Hereford Cathedral: A History*, ed. by Gerald Aylmer and John Tiller (London, 2000), 375-97, 377, 394.

⁴⁰ Smith (1967), 257 citing *Puritan Manifestos: A Study of the Origin of the Puritan Revolt*, ed. by C. E. Douglas and W. H. Frere (London, 1954), 32.

⁴¹ Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549-1660* (London, 1967; 2nd edn., Cambridge, 1978), 35-36, citing John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation* (London, 1709), 298-99.

⁴² London, BL, Royal MS 18 B xix, an anonymous late-sixteenth-century essay entitled *The praise of musicke*, as quoted in Smith (1967), 434.

[...] este[e]med a delicate Do[u]ghter of Rome, naturally resembling her Mother in shamelesse confusion, & lyke qyalified with other perverse properties & execrable malignitie, as ungodly ymage service, abominable ydolaterye, & licencious libertie of dishonest livinge, Popish pilgremages, disceatefull pardons, & feigned indulgences, in whose lawde yt ys written.

*Roma semel quantum, Bis dat Menevia tantum.*⁴³

The imposition of an alien English faith, ‘ffydd Sayson’ as it was branded by the mid-sixteenth-century Catholic poet, Tomas ap Ieuan ap Rhys, was not viewed favourably by many in conservative Wales.⁴⁴ In an attempt to stamp out any disobedience to the 1549 Act of Uniformity, the 26th article of Bishop Bulkeley’s visitation of the Bangor diocese during May 1551 inquired ‘Whether your curates do practise to sing any trentals’, thus suggesting that certain priests were continuing to sing the old rite or including parts of it in the English service.⁴⁵ The English service did not allow for such commemorations.

Important shrines destroyed in Wales and the borders include those of St David at St David’s cathedral, of Teilo, Dyfrig and Euddogwy at Llandaff cathedral, of St Werburgh, Chester, and St Winifred, Shrewsbury. Images were also removed and destroyed. That of Derfel Gadarn, an early Celtic warrior-saint, was removed from Llandderfel church in Merioneth and was said to have drawn five or six hundred pilgrims the day before it was confiscated and taken to be burnt at Smithfield, London. Other important foci of devotion included miraculous tapers placed before the statues of Our Lady at Cardigan and Haverfordwest, and the shrine of Our Lady of Penrhys in the Rhondda. Wells often retained local significance for their healing qualities, and St Winifrid’s Well, Holywell, continued to draw large numbers of pilgrims from far and wide.⁴⁶

On the accession of Mary I many married clergy were deprived of their benefices, as were extreme Catholics on the accession of Elizabeth I. Many of the deprived fled to the continent including Thomas Goldwell, bishop of St Asaph (1554-59), and Morys Clynnog, bishop elect of Bangor (1558). The activities of exiled English and Welsh Catholics were centred in Milan, Rome and Douai. In 1568 William Allen, Morgan Phillips and Owen

⁴³ Edward Yardley, *Menevia Sacra*, ed. by Francis Green, *AC* supplement (London, 1927), 388. [Poetic translation of Latin couplet (kindly provided by Bernard Adams): Pilgrims but once to Rome salvation gain, those to St David’s twice the same attain.]

⁴⁴ G. Williams (1997), 178-79.

⁴⁵ *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, ii, 265.

⁴⁶ G. Williams (1997), 125-28.

Lewis established a seminary at Douai with the express purpose of training priests for the re-conversion of England and Wales. A decade later the English College, Rome, was founded in 1578 by Owen Lewis, archdeacon of Hainault, with Morys Clynnog as its rector. Another city of importance to Welsh exiles was Milan, where Gruffydd Robert (formerly archdeacon of Anglesey) was a canon of the cathedral and confessor to Cardinal Borromea, and where Owen Lewis was appointed one of the archbishop's vicars-general in 1580. Catholic writings by these exiles, which were intended for circulation in Wales to counter the publication of Protestant literature in Welsh, include Gruffydd Robert's *Y Drych Cristianogawl* [The Christian Mirror] (Rouen, 1585) and Morys Clynnog's *Athravaeth Gristnogawl* [Christian Doctrine] (1568).⁴⁷

Recusancy was concentrated in the Lleyn Peninsular, south-east and north-east Wales and often benefited from a sympathetic gentry. Prominent families included the Owens of Plas Du, the Pughs of Penrhyn Creuddyn, the Turbevilles of Pen-llin, and the Edwardses of Plas Newydd, Chirk.⁴⁸ Evidence of recusant Catholicism on the Monmouthshire/Herefordshire border is demonstrated through the survival of a complete set of vestments now deposited in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London which were found in an oak chest in a farmhouse in Abbey Dore parish. The dating of this collection of twenty-one items of vestments and altar furniture suggests that some of them may well have once belonged to the abbey. These include a burse of English manufacture dated 1370-1430, a fifteenth-century crucifix, a chasuble dated 1450-1500, an Italian stole and maniple dated 1470-1530, and an altar frontal. The other items in this collection, although later additions, also testify to the survival of Catholicism in this area.⁴⁹ There are, however, no signs of any significant musical activity, and absolutely nothing to compare with the patronage extended to William Byrd by Sir John Petre of Ingatestone and Thorndon Halls.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 278; David Williams, *A History of Modern Wales* (London, 1969), 68, 70, 71.

⁴⁸ D. Aneurin Thomas, *The Welsh Elizabethan Catholic Martyrs* (Cardiff, 1971), 34-36; G. Williams (1997), 366-376; F. H. Pugh, 'Glamorgan recusants in the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I', *SWMRS*, 3 (1954), 49-68; F. H. Pugh, 'Monmouthshire recusants in the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I', *SWMRS*, 4 (1957), 57-110.

⁴⁹ David H. Williams, 'The Dissolution', in *A Definitive History of Dore Abbey*, ed. by Ron Shoesmith and Ruth Richardson (Little Longeston, 1997), 149-58, 156-57.

⁵⁰ William Byrd, *Mass for Five Voices*, trans. and ed. by Philip Brett, The Byrd Edition (London, 1981), introductory note.

CHAPTER 5

A Survey of the Post-Reformation Cathedrals

This chapter spans the period 1549-1645, during which time the tradition and style of choral service familiar in cathedrals today established itself according to the *Book of Common Prayer*. In addition to surveying the Old Foundation cathedrals (Bangor, Llandaff, St Asaph, St David's and Hereford), Chester cathedral (a former Benedictine priory church) is included as a product of the Reformation.

The establishment of a state religion and the transition from the Latin Uses to a single English liturgy has already been outlined in Chapter 4, the present chapter concerns itself rather with the continuity of a choral tradition and the provision of organs, music and singers at each cathedral in turn.

The quantity and quality of documentary evidence varies for each of these six institutions; the surviving records for St David's, Hereford and Chester are more comprehensive than those for Llandaff, St Asaph and Bangor. Chester cathedral was granted a set of statutes in 1544, while Hereford's were revised in 1583 and 1637. St Asaph cathedral had its medieval statutes confirmed by its bishop in 1558, and Llandaff cathedral was issued with a set of injunctions in 1559 and a set of ordinances in 1575/6. Chapter act books provide information on staff changes and discipline. Visitation returns record the effectiveness of cathedral staff in maintaining the daily worship; they were also a means of checking any deviance from royal injunctions, or statutes and customs of that cathedral. Cathedral treasurers' accounts often itemise the purchasing or copying of music, repairs to organs, and payment of staff. Analysis of these reveals the level of priority placed on music. The accounts belonging to Chester and Hereford reflect the greater prominence given to music at these institutions than at the other cathedrals in this study.

Notwithstanding the major liturgical changes imposed during the Reformation, a degree of continuity was maintained at the cathedrals through the retention by the clergy of their positions across the years of change. At St David's and Hereford the vicars choral upheld their strength as corporate bodies, while at Chester many former monks of St Werburgh's remained at their church providing the main body of clergy for the new

cathedral. The roles of the lower clergy varied between cathedrals, vicars choral having slightly differing areas of responsibilities at each cathedral with certain cathedrals placing greater musical reliance on lay singers.

The movement of musicians and clergy between institutions (often in pursuance of their careers) contributed to the sharing of ideas and the spread of repertoires. Links are evident between the cathedrals of Chester and Dublin, and Hereford, Gloucester and Worcester. This is touched upon in the present chapter, though their repertoires and related music manuscripts are examined in greater depth in Chapter 7.

Limited information has been forthcoming regarding the organs of these cathedrals. References are presented here as necessary, with a more general contextual overview of organs being given in Chapter 8.

Bangor Cathedral

The choral foundation

Information concerning the post-Reformation choristers of Bangor is limited to that contained in the visitation returns. The earliest set of returns dates from 1560 with Maurice Powell, prebendary of Llanfair, stating that ‘he bel[i]eveth that the 2 chorist[er]s do their duetie’. From the other returns of 1560 it is clear that it was the responsibility of the three archdeacons and the prebendary of Llanfair to pay the choristers, a system that had been operation for the previous six or seven years:¹

thes[e] vi or vii ye[a]res past the [choristers] receyved ye[a]rely of th[e] Archdeacon of Anglesey xls, of the Prebend of Llanfair xls for his wages, and that called Thomas Moythe receyved for his wages xls viz xxs of the Archdeaconry of Bangor, and xxs of th[e] Archdeaconry [of Merioneth].

The visitation of 1560 also reveals ‘that the Vicars Choral ought to ke[e]pe a singing scho[o]le’. The next visitation for which replies survive indicates that by 1567 the

¹ Bangor, UWB, MS 22808, the papers of Professor Glyn Roberts, visitation copybook in a mid or late-eighteenth-century hand: visitation return of David Moythe, 1560.

teaching of the choristers had deteriorated. In fact, the vicars choral claim ignorance about whose duty it was to teach the choristers:²

the fourth Article is of the Scho[o]le, Scho[o]lemaster, Usher, Scholers, and Queristours. To the which we answere that we hope wel[l] of their godlye and painful instruction wherein we knowe no wante of not observing all and avarye the ordinances thereof, sure that the Master is not in deyne of Scho[o]les or the statutes require, and as for the Querestours, who should be of their Master we are ignorant, but we know wel[l] they be not taught.

In 1557 a grammar school had been founded at Bangor by Geoffrey Glyn of Anglesey, brother to William Glyn, the Marian bishop of Bangor. Geoffrey Glyn, who in 1553 had acquired the lands and buildings of the suppressed Bangor Friary, died in 1557 leaving this property and an additional endowment for the foundation of a grammar school. Letters patent were issued in 1561 making the dean and chapter its governing body, its statutes were approved in 1568.³ Geoffrey Glyn made provision for £2 p.a. to support ten poor scholars who were expected to attend the cathedral wearing surplices on Sundays, holy days and the eves of holy-days, though there is nothing in the statutes directly relating to them also singing as choristers.⁴ Friars School, as it became known, was not a choir or cathedral school even though the dean and chapter acted as its governing body, but some of its scholars may have served as choristers.⁵ It is evident that the number of boys actually singing in the cathedral choir did not equate with the number of scholarship boys at the grammar school, in spite the optimistic enthusiasm shown in the writings of Leslie Paul.⁶ From the available information, namely the visitation answers supplemented by other documentation including the Gwydir Papers, it would appear that Bangor cathedral would have had a similar number of choristers as other moderate sized choral institutions.⁷

In addition to the ten poor boys of the school, or ‘Glyn boys’ as they became known, there was also a scholarship founded by Maurice Wynn of Gwydir, who died in 1580. His bequest involved the rent from land to endow a scholarship totalling four marks

² Bangor, UWB, MS 22808, visitation returns of Hugh Burches and George Mason, vicars choral, 1567.

³ M. L. Clarke, *Bangor Cathedral* (Cardiff, 1969), 95.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁶ Leslie D. Paul, ‘Music at Bangor Cathedral Church: Some Historical Notes’, *WM*, 3.9 (1971), 11-33, 16.

⁷ Probably no more than six choristers.

annually (53s 4d) to enable a poor boy born in the parish of Beddgelert to be educated at Bangor Grammar School. This boy became known as the 'Beddgelert boy'. Seventeenth-century documentation includes the Beddgelert boy among the choristers, but by the eighteenth century he was no longer required to sing in the choir.⁸ Correspondence dated 1607-25 between the bishop of Bangor and Sir John Wynn of Gwydir (son of Maurice Wynn) shows a continued interest by the Wynn family in the awarding of the scholarship.⁹ One such communication between Bishop Henry Rowlands and Sir John Wynn in 1607 shows concern that the scholarship had been vacant for some time. The bishop then proposes a suitable candidate for the scholarship who had been recommended to him by the vicar and churchwardens of Beddgelert as 'a pretty youth... a pert lad and like to turn out well, and has a tun[e]able voice, apt for the choir (as the Vicar tells the Bishop)'.¹⁰

During the early seventeenth century Edward Hutchinson of Gloucestershire (brother of Bishop Henry Rowland's wife) entrusted money to Bishop Rowlands to endow scholarships for two boys to attend Bangor Grammar School. This money was specified in the Bishop's will of 1616, but a clause in the will made it unavailable until after his widow's death, making it several years before the scholarships were actually granted.¹¹ These two boys became known as 'Hutchings boys', though evidence is too slender to assume their inclusion as singing boys during the first half of the seventeenth century. The constitution of the choir at Bangor and the involvement of boys from Friars School does not become clear until the 1690s.¹² A list of the officers of the early-eighteenth-century cathedral compiled during the nineteenth century notes: 'Ten Poor Scholars of Dr Glyn's Free School, who are therein directed to wear surplices, but not directed to sing, but now employed', and the 'Two Hutchings Scholars by Bishop Rowlands will, not therein required to wear surplices, nor sing but now employed'.¹³

⁸ M. L. Clarke (1969), 54-55.

⁹ Aberystwyth, NLW, Gwydir Papers.

¹⁰ Aberystwyth, NLW, Gwydir Papers, MS 459.

¹¹ W. Ogwen Williams, 'Friars school from its foundation to the year 1789', *The Dominican*, no.66 (July 1957: Magazine of Friars School – 4th Centenary Number), 41-42.

¹² M. L. Clarke (1969), 59.

¹³ Aberystwyth, NLW, MS B/misc.vols/23, transcription of documents relating to the history of the cathedral, 1561-1835, early-nineteenth-century hand, p.69.

The visitations of the seventeenth century ask more searching questions involving the staffing of the cathedral, the maintenance of the choir and the grammar school. The eleventh article of Bishop Lewis Bayly's visitation of 1617 asks:¹⁴

Is [the] Church supplied with the full and with sufficient number of fitt and able singinge men, of Choristers and Scholers, and whether are your Choristers, Schol[*l*]ers, or singinge children sufficiently skil[*l*]full in musique and brought up in the skill and knowledge of musique as they ought accordinge to the Statutes and foundation of the Church and if the be not well ordered and taught in musique for the service of the Quire, in whose default it is?

Rowland Mason, one of the vicars choral, replied to this article stating that there were not sufficient and able singing men and that the vicars choral taught the choristers for an hour daily. The schoolmaster, John Griffin, admitted ignorance of the required number of choristers or singing men and surprisingly claimed no knowledge of the education or musicality of the choristers, as this was the duty of the vicars choral. Thomas Martin, clerk and usher of the grammar school, was able to provide the fullest and most informed response to this article:¹⁵

To the xi that our Quire is supplied with the complete and full number of Children, onely conducts' place which is voide. All the Children are not sufficiently skillfull in musicke by reason that they are not chosen by the[*i*]re voyces therefore the fault lieth in the election. The respondent hath taken paines this twelvemoneth and more to teach the singinge boyes, not that he was anie way bound to teach them, but onelie in dutie to his father, and for his owne pleasure and practice to further his skill ther[*e*]in. He hath taught one boy perfectly, since he began with him four or five services and about a dozen anthems or sixteen, and hath brought up foure or five more boyes prettilye in the skill of music, hoping they will do well in time.

Thomas Martin was the son of John Martin, vicar choral, had been educated at Winchester College and held an Oxford BA. In 1622, Bishop Bayley proposed him as Usher of Beaumaris School, testifying that 'besides Latin, Oratoire, poetrie, hath a very good skill in music vocal, whereby he may also much benefit such gentleman's Children as desire to be grounded in that Facultie'.¹⁶

¹⁴ Bangor, UWB, MS 22808, inserted between pp.18-19.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.46.

¹⁶ *Biographical Epitomes of Bangor Clergy*, 9 vols., comp. by R. R. Hughes (1932, typescript at University of Wales, Bangor), v, 726.

According to the visitation returns of 1620, one of the canons, William Hill claimed that ‘for teaching the Art of singing or Pricksong, all the Children are not docible and apte to be taught as the Vicars themselves have and will testify the same’. Edmund Griffith, the dean in 1620 replied that ‘as far as I doe understand the Choristers and Schollers are to be taught the art of singing by the Vicars, and since the last visitation non is admitted by me without the approbation of one of the Vicars for his aptnes[s] to sing’. The vicars choral responsible for the choristers at this point in time were John Martin and Rowland Mason. The visitation of 1623 warranted similar answers to those of 1620. In 1632, the exact staffing numbers of the cathedral are clearly presented. In all there were ‘the Dean, three Archdeacons, eight Prebends & Canons, two Vicars Choral, two Conducts, an Organist and a Clerk, tenn Colledgians, three Choristers and two more called Hudgsons Sc[h]ollers’.¹⁷ Further information regarding the choir may be gleaned from answers given in 1632 by one of the vicars choral and former conduct at the cathedral, Robert Rowland:¹⁸

according to the composition the Vicars must sing *cum nota*, but there were some afterward instituted and inducted that had a little skill or not at all in Musicke, and that the Vicars doe attend duely and dilligently unlesse by some extraordinary occasions they be absent. And further that in Bishop Bulletts time one of the Conducts of the Church did use to read the first Chapter dayle both at Morning and Evening praier in Englishe, and did sing the Leateny uppon We[d]n[e]sdaies & Frydaies, and all other tymes when occasions served, at the Quire doore. Item Vicar Martin while he lived taught the Boys to sing, how he did it and wherefore I know not but this I know that their Parents did consider him for his paynes taking with them. Item further I answer for the Conduct’s wadges there was an Act made in Bishop Rowland’s tyme how they should be paid and by whom thes[e] wadges: to which Act I refer myself.

The organist

Only one organist at Bangor is identifiable for the period covered by this thesis. The returns for the bishop’s visitation of 1632 name Thomas Boulton as the organist of the cathedral. Information concerning the appointment or payment of an organist is vague; all that is known is that Boulton appears by this date to have already served as organist for several years:¹⁹

¹⁷ Bangor, UWB, MS 22808, p.77, visitation return of Robert Rowland, vicar choral, 1632.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.80-81.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.71, the visitation return of Canon J. Griffith, 1632.

I have also seen Tho[mas] Boulton of Bangor for many ye[a]res playe upon the Organs, and as I think had a stipend for so doing, but of whom and what it was the Bishop best knowes, but after your last Predecessor took the government of all things into his own hands, there hath been no Conduct that I remember nor Constant Organist, but a contynuwall complaint by M^r Bo[u]lten, the Schoolmaster, Sc[h]ollers and Clerk that their pensions were not duly and seldom fully paid.

Browne Willis records the inscription above Boulton's grave in the north transept of the cathedral: 'Here lyeth the Body of Thomas Bo[u]lton, Organist of Bangor, who dyed the 21st of Jan[uary] 1644'.²⁰ While Boulton probably remained organist until his death in 1645 [new style], it would appear that his musical duties did not extend to the training of the choristers, which lay within the responsibilities of the two vicars choral of the cathedral.²¹

The organ

Except for references in pre-Reformation poetry and the employment of Thomas Bolton during the 1630s and 1640s, there is nothing further to be said concerning the organ of the cathedral prior to the second half of the seventeenth century. Immediately following the Restoration of the monarchy, money was set aside for the organ which was probably in the same location as earlier instruments. We also know that this time it was played by one of the vicars choral.²² Browne Willis informs us:²³

The Organ-Loft is in a Gallery over the Entrance into the Choir. The Case of the Organ is very plain, and both that and the Organ-Loft are painted of a Marble Colour: Upon it are painted these Verses, alluding to B[isho]p William Roberts, giving 100*l* for erecting it after the Restauration, Ann[o Domini] 1660 and B[isho]p Robert Morgan's laying it out.

*Materium Templi Rex David praebuit olim,
Sed Solomon Sanctum condidit ipse Domum,
Sic Sumptum ut David Gulielmus praebuit amplum
Robertus struxit Sacrum opus ut Solomon.*

²⁰ Browne Willis, *A Survey of the Cathedral Church of Bangor* (London, 1721), 37.

²¹ The description of Thomas Bolton's tenure as organist in L. D. Paul (1971), 16 contains several inaccuracies.

²² M. L. Clarke (1969), 56.

²³ Browne Willis (1721), 15-16. [Translation of Latin: In ancient times King David supplied the material of the Temple / But Solomon himself built the Holy House / Thus did David Williams supply ample funds / Robert built the sacred work as did Solomon.]

Llandaff Cathedral

During the early years of the Reformation the cathedral at Llandaff had suffered as much from the hands of its own canons as from the imposition of any external puritanical or reforming measures. The desecration of the shrine of St Teilo, c.1540, serves as a typical example of the mismanagement, greed and embezzlement on the part of the Llandaff canons.²⁴ Some years later, Archbishop Robert Holgate (bishop of Llandaff, 1537-44) presented the cathedral with 'a payre of orgaynes & dyv[er]s suyts of vestments as he sayd in recompence of the sayd shrine'.²⁵ With chapter acts far from complete for this period, this is the only actual mention of an organ at Llandaff until after the Restoration, though the appointments of three organists may be traced.

An inquiry into the despoliation at Llandaff held during the Marian period shows that worship had deteriorated to such an extent that, whereas formerly there had been 'xii Canons, viii Priests, iv Vicars, vi Queresters, with a Sexton by whom God was solempny served withe two masses by note everie daie', there were now 'oonly two preestes now w[i]thout either vicars or conduct and no messe by note nor any song this thre[e] or fower yeres, skars[e]ly oon[e] low messe a daye and that not verye s[e]rtayne'.²⁶ Another document from the 1550s states:²⁷

And now they saye that wher[e]as her[e]tofore was accustomyd to be hadde in the sayd churche thre[e] masses that is to say morrowe masse or lady masse & highe and ev[er]y Sunday and festival day five or sixe masses and that there is nowe scarce[ly] on[e] masse a day and that there lackethe in the seyde churche missalls antiphoner bo[o]kes processionall bo[o]kes to Re[a]dd the legens & a grayle so that god cannot be servyd for lacke of bo[o]kes and that there lacketh on[e] to ke[e]pe the organs and that there is in the sayd cathedrall churche but ii preists to serve the parishe & that while there never a[ny]one to execute in the qu[i]ere mor[e]over.

²⁴ See above, Chapter 3, p.89.

²⁵ London, PRO, E117/14/131, deposition of J. Broxolme touching a shrine in Llandaff cathedral.

²⁶ London, PRO, E117/12/17, m.3, certificate of church goods, Glamorgan, 1 Mary – 2/3 Philip & Mary. See above, Chapter 3, p.89.

²⁷ E117/12/17, m.7.

In 1559 a set of royal injunctions was issued for the cathedral with the intention of re-establishing the choral foundation after years of neglect. The injunctions first list the senior clergy with their salaries, then the lesser clergy as follows:²⁸

Item, to two Curates yearly to serve at L[an]daffe and Whit Church which shall also ke[e]pe dayly Service in the Cathedrall Church of Llandaff. VIII*li* [...]

Item, to a school master to teach a Freescho[o]le for Gram[m]er in Cardiff or Llandaff as shall be thought most convenient from time to time by the Discretion of the Archdeacon and Chapter of Llandaph by yeare, XIII*li*.

Item to two Lay Vicars Choralls each of the VII*li* a peece, by yeare XIII*li*.

Item to foure Choristers which shall keepe daily service in the said Church XXVI*s* VIII*d* each of them by the year CVI*s* VIII*d*.

Item, to a Schoolmaster for the Choristers which shall be an Organ player & keepe daily service in the said Church by the yeare, VIII*li*.

From the above it is clear that the two curates (in common with the vicars choral at Bangor) were to combine parochial with cathedral duties. They were to be assisted at the cathedral by two lay vicars choral (later termed singing men) and four choristers. The choristers' schoolmaster (which was a separate post to that of schoolmaster of the grammar school) was also to play the organ. This is the earliest reference to the post of an organist at Llandaff and, although styled schoolmaster, he would probably have taught the choristers singing in addition to their general curriculum. The names of those appointed to the posts of master of the grammar school, lay vicar, and organist appear towards the end of the injunctions.²⁹

And that the said Commissioners and Visitors have assigned John Faber alias Dominus Jacobus Faber to teach the said Grammar Schoole, and Thomas ap Morgan, and John Gough to be the two Lay Vicars in the said Church and Lewis Dawkins to be the Teacher of the Choristers and Organ player there, soe long as they shall honestly doe and Discharge their Duties in their said offices, and otherwise they to be removed and others to be putt in their places by the Discretion of the Archdeacon & Chapter of Llandaffe.

It appears that standards at the cathedral had once more declined by the mid-1570s, prompting Bishop William Blethin (1575-90) to issue a speech with customs and

²⁸ Glanmor Williams, 'Injunctions of the Royal Visitation of 1559 for the Diocese of Llandaff', *NLWJ*, 4 (1946), 189-97, 196. (The present study addresses these injunctions for the first time from a musicological perspective.)

²⁹ *Ibid.*, addendum to p.197. This is the only reference to Lewis Dawkins, organist at Llandaff, and is omitted from Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1558* (Oxford, 1991), 165, where this source was overlooked.

ordinances to his canons in January 1575/6.³⁰ In order to place the cathedral once more on a firm financial footing he suggested that the number of vicars choral, *annuellarii*, and choristers be reduced to save money.³¹ Drawing on ordinances and statutes from the (now lost), *Ecclesiae Textus*, which contained the ordinances, the speech also states clearly the constitution of the cathedral chapter. It was to be presided over by the bishop (who was not to be titled dean but head of chapter) and, in his absence, the archdeacon of Llandaff (who also had a voice in chapter).³² The precentor ‘by himself or by his sub-precentor shall have charge of the vicars choral, *annuellarii*, and choristers that they properly perform their duties, and he shall always direct the choir as belongs to his office’.³³ The vicars, *annuellarii*, and choristers were each permitted one free day a week and one week’s leave every quarter. They were to be penalised for absences if the bishop’s vicar had not granted permission. The election of vicars, *annuellarii*, and choristers was conditional on their serving the bishop and no one else.³⁴

Although the 1559 royal injunctions for Llandaff specified two vicars choral, two lay vicars and four choristers, and Bishop Blethin suggested further reduction in numbers, the visitations of 1604 and 1610 record two vicars choral and six *cantores*. Henry Jones and John Price are present as vicars choral at both visitations, as are three of the *cantores*, Matthew Morgan, John Thomas, and William Lewis.³⁵ Comparison with other documentation reveals that the six *cantores* were the singing men of the cathedral.³⁶

A chapter act recorded 30th June 1608 makes reference to the appointment of an organist named Kete:³⁷

³⁰ Joseph Alfred Bradney, ‘The speech of William Blethin, bishop of Llandaff, and the Customs and Ordinances of the Church of Llandaff’, *Y Cymmrodor*, 31 (1921), 240-64, 243.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 244.

³² *Ibid.*, 260, 261.

³³ *Ibid.*, 262.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Aberystwyth, NLW, MS LL/Ch/1, chapter act book, 1573-1664, f.5v.

³⁶ In 1601, William Johns, singingman is granted a lease of rooms in Vicars Court, Llandaff (‘Llandaff Act Books’ in *Cardiff Records*, v, 11); in 1630 the chapter acts acknowledge payment of six singing men.

³⁷ LL/Ch/1, p.54; Shaw (1991), 165-66, records this organist’s name in this chapter act as ‘Rese’, however, other historians agree on ‘Kete’, see Aberystwyth, NLW, MS LL/Ch/1a, transcript of chapter act book, f.114, and *Cardiff Records*, v, 11.

Also then graunted that x/i a yeare for this next ye[a]re shal[l]be allowed and payd to Kete the organist of the saide Cathedrall Church as his wages to bee paied unto him quarterly by even portions.

Adjacent to this is a marginal inscription reading, 'Organist. The Chapter did disagree & not Consent to this acte', thus leaving a degree of uncertainty over this appointment. Significantly perhaps, his name is not recorded in the visitations of 1604 and 1610.

The next reference to an organist in the chapter acts is the appointment of George Carr, 3rd September 1629:³⁸

Eodem die et loco Dictus Ep[iscop]us et Capli [On the same day and in the same place the said Bishop and Chapter] Did admitt of George Carr to bee their organist in the said Cathedrall Church as probationer for one yeare, and afterwards for soe longe time as the said bishopp and Chappter thinke fitt, And hee is to have eight pounds per Annum And to begin at Michaellmas next to come

The choir during Carr's tenure as organist consisted of six singing men and four choristers. A chapter act dated 30th June 1630 records their payment:³⁹

Eodem die et loco [On the same day and in the same place] it was concluded by the said Bi[sho]^p and Chapp[te]^r that there should be xx nobles a peece allowed and payd vnto sixe singingmen and fiue markes a peece to foure boyes as queresters yearly by the p^r[o]ctor generall out of the reuenues of the church.

An entry in the chapter act book dated 31st July 1632 lists Carr as the organist together with six others termed choristers, though these may well have been the six singing men:⁴⁰

Queristers allowed in the Cathedral church of L[l]andaffe, George Carr, organist, William Hatton, Rice David, John Woluin, Austin Seldon, Moore and Smith.

The next references to the choir at Llandaff in the chapter acts occur during the 1640s. On 30th June 1640, 'William Rothwell was admitted into the Quire of this Church to bee

³⁸ LL/Ch/1, f.261; Aberystwyth, NLW, MS LL/Ch/4, chapter act book, 1573-1722 (which includes a transcript of the earlier volume of chapter acts L/Ch/1), p.111. Although Shaw (1991), 166 cites Carr's appointment details (as quoted here), he was unable to find further references to an organist at Llandaff until 1672.

³⁹ LL/Ch/1, f.267; *Cardiff Records*, v, 17.

⁴⁰ LL/Ch/1, f.278; LL/Ch /4, p.118; *Cardiff Records*, v, 18.

one of the singingmen by the Bi[sho]^p, Archde[a]con and Chappter'.⁴¹ Rothwell probably replaced the 'singinge man that came from L[l]andaffe to peticion for a place' at Hereford cathedral in 1640/1.⁴² During the 1640s, greater emphasis was placed on preaching at the cathedral to the detriment of the choir. In June 1643 deductions were made from the salaries of the organist and choristers to supplement the stipend of William King, vicar choral, who had earned respect by the chapter over the decades for his preaching.⁴³ An order of chapter placed the discipline of the choir under the supervision of King, who was 'for his paines and industry' to benefit financially from the stipends of the two vacant singing men's places.⁴⁴ George Carr in 1645 was to suffer a further decrease in salary when

it was agreed uppon by and betweene the said Archdeacon and Chappter that whereas sixteene pounds hath be[e]n formerly allowed to George Carr Organist, sixe pounds thereof shal[l]bee deducted and the same allowed and paid to Mr Kinge, Viccar C[h]arell for this yeare or untill it shal[l]bee further ordered the said Chappter.⁴⁵

Nothing is known of the repertoire sung at Llandaff until the middle of the seventeenth century but it is likely that it included music by the pre-Civil War organist George Carr.⁴⁶

Llandaff cathedral was to suffer drastically the effects of the Civil War, its services continuing under the protection of a strong Royalist presence until the Parliamentary troops stormed the cathedral during communion on Easter Day, 1646. The cathedral was then utilised for a number of degrading purposes, the choir becoming a calf pen, the font a pig trough, and the remainder of the building serving as a stable, ale-house and post office.⁴⁷

⁴¹ LL/Ch/1, f.329; LL/Ch /4, p.139.

⁴² Ian Payne, *The provision and practice of sacred music at Cambridge colleges and selected cathedrals, c.1547-c.1646: a comparative study of the archival evidence* (London, 1993), 167n citing Hereford, HCA, MS R608, fabric accounts.

⁴³ LL/Ch/1a, ff.179-80, 182.

⁴⁴ LL/Ch/1, f.348.

⁴⁵ LL/Ch/1, f.355; LL/Ch/4, p.151.

⁴⁶ See below, Chapter 7, p.246.

⁴⁷ Dennis Morgan, *The Cardiff Story: A History of the City from its Earliest Times to the Present* (Cowbridge, 1991), 85.

St Asaph Cathedral

The choral foundation

In 1558 Bishop Thomas Goldwell (1555-59) confirmed of a statute of Bishop Llewelyn ap Ynyr, dating from 1297, which made provision for

one dean, fourteen canons, amongst whom the archdeacon, the subdean (vicedecanus), the precentor and the treasurer were to be included, four minor canons or vicars choral, three chaplains or vicars *deservituri curis decani*, *prebendarii de Vaynoll et prebendarii de llanyvithe* [serving the cure of the dean, the prebendary of Faenol and the prebendary of Llanefydd], one organist, four choristers and one subsacrist or *aquabaiulus* [holy water clerk].⁴⁸

This would have served the Latin rite of the Marian period but would have soon been adapted to accommodate Elizabethan liturgical demands. Bishop William Hughes (1573-1600) issued a set of injunctions relating to services in the choir.⁴⁹ The four vicars choral were instructed to

begin Service at 9 of ye clock in ye morning & end it by 11 of ye clock, & at 3 of ye clock in ye afternoon for evening pray[e]r & to sing or say ye same in manner & forme as is appointed by ye book of com[m]on prayer & as heretofore they were accustomed omitting no part or porcion of ye s[ai]d service; & for every time y[a]t ye s[ai]d vicars or any of y[e]m shall be absent f[ro]m any of ye s[ai]d service unless they or he be sick or otherwise lawfullie absent to forfeit 4*d* for every default.

Instead of the three chaplains and an organist listed by Goldwell, four singingmen are substituted: 'one for ye Archdeacon one for ye Dean one for ye Præb[endary] of Vaynol & one of ye Præb[endary] of Llanyvith', who were required 'to sing & say ye service with ye s[ai]d vicars & in case any of ye s[ai]d singing men be absent to forfeit two pence for every such default or absence'. The duties of organist may well have been fulfilled by one of the four singingmen, since the injunctions fail to mention the post. The four choristers were 'to sing or say ye service at ye time & place afores[ai]d & for every y[a]t default to be corrected by ye master'. The reference here to a master may

⁴⁸ Aberystwyth, NLW, MS SA/MB/21, f.17a as quoted in G. Milwyn Griffiths, 'St Asaph Episcopal Acts, 1536-58', *JHSCW*, 9 (1959), 32-69, 68. See Appendix C for a full transcription of the Latin text.

⁴⁹ Aberystwyth, NLW, MS SA/CR/6, a summary of extracts from chapter acts, 1674-1733, and also containing a list of the bishops of the diocese, 1175-1708, a list of the deans, 1279-1706, and extracts from early registers and records relating to the dean and chapter, f.20. Transcribed in Appendix E.

refer to a master of the choristers who was probably a singing man or vicar choral, and who may or may not have been the same officer as the *rector chori* referred to in the next paragraph of the injunctions. The *rector chori* was to keep a record of the absences (permitted or otherwise) and faults of the vicars, singing men and choristers. If faults were committed up to four times the bishop was to be informed and would at his discretion exercise a suspension or dismissal of the offender.⁵⁰

Absence or neglect of duty was not a problem confined to the lower clergy at St Asaph. In 1624 attention is drawn by Bishop John Hanmer in his first visitation that an order had been made in 1601 concerning the allocation of preaching duties at the cathedral. Should the dean, prebendaries or canons fail to preach at their appointed time, the choir would benefit from a forfeiture of

13s 4d of Current English Money to be received by the M[aste]r of Quire for the time being & by him to be divided among those of the Quire for the better help and maintenance provided that any sufficient minister not appointed by the offender shall notwithstanding supply the place he shall for his pains in that behalf receive & have vis viiid of the s[ai]d mark, & the other vis viiid to be divided among the Quire as aforesaid. And if either the foresaid Dean Præbends & Canons or any of them so offending shall refuse & denie to pay the foresaid xiiis iiiid He shall by the said Reverend Father in God be suspended *ab officio & beneficio durante ejus beneplacito* [from office and benefice during his pleasure].⁵¹

The organ, organist and masters of the choristers

Although the medieval statute concerning the post of organist was confirmed by Bishop Goldwell in 1558 the names of the organists of St Asaph remain unknown until the seventeenth century. Peter Roberts in his chronicle, *Y Cwitta Cyfarwydd*, records the burial of John Day in April 1630, describing him as ‘M[aste]r of the Quire, and one of the singing men’.⁵² Day’s widow, Anne Griffith, then married her husband’s successor, Abednego Perkins, on 24th October 1630.⁵³ Married less than a year, death sadly

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Aberystwyth, NLW, MS SA/misc/1779, extracts relating to St Asaph cathedral chapter, sixteenth to eighteenth century.

⁵² *Y Cwitta Cyfarwydd: The Chronicle written by the famous Clarke, Peter Roberts*, ed. by D. R. Thomas (London, 1883), 186.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 136; *St Asaph Parish Registers: Baptisms 1593-1669; Marriages, 1606-1689; Burials, 1594-1669*, Clwyd Family History Society (Wrexham, 1993), 41.

overtook Perkins in October 1631, his widow giving birth to a daughter, Jane, two months later.⁵⁴ It is possible that Abednego Perkins is the Mr Perkings, who, in the first quarter of 1623, served as organist of St Laurence's, Ludlow, probably in a temporary capacity following Benjamin Cosyn's departure and before the appointment of Marmaduke Pardo.⁵⁵

Roberts names John Wilson as organist when noting the arrival of a new organ at St Asaph in 1635:⁵⁶

the greate and newe Organ in the Cathedrall church of St Assaph was sett up, and plaied upon, ye same beinge ffirst brought and caried thither from London upon Saturday the vth day of Sept[embe]r last 1635, the reverend ffather in God, John Owen being then Lo[rd] Bushop there, *vide versus*: '*Magna silet campana, sonant tamen Organa magna Sancti Assaphensis: Honor, gloria, lausque Deo*' [see reverse: 'The great bell is silent, nevertheless the great organs of Saint Asaph ring out: Honour, glory and praise to God'.] John Wilson ye organ player.

Wilson's death is recorded by Roberts in 1541, 'upon Tuesday being the last daie of November 1641, happening upon St Andrewe's day John Wilson, the organist etc. was buried'.⁵⁷

The organ of 1635 was situated in the late fifteenth-century pulpitum of the east crossing arch which bore the arms of Bishop Redman (1471-95).⁵⁸ Early twentieth-century writers have suggested Robert Dallam as the builder of this organ though it has not been possible to confirm this due to a lack of primary source material.⁵⁹ The organ probably suffered damage during the rebellion on 24th - 26th April 1645 when the parish

⁵⁴ *St Asaph Parish Registers*, 61. The register gives Perkins's occupation as 'Chorister'.

⁵⁵ Richard Francis and Peter Klein, *The Organs and Organists of Ludlow Parish Church* (Ludlow, 1982), 28.

⁵⁶ *Y Cwitta Cyfarwydd*, 161.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 200.

⁵⁸ *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army during the Great Civil War; kept by Richard Symonds*, ed. by C. E. Long, printed for the Camden Society (London, 1859), 260; T. W. Pritchard, *St Asaph Cathedral* (Much Wenlock, 1997), 7.

⁵⁹ D. R. Thomas, *The History of the Diocese of St Asaph*, 3 vols. (Oswestry, 1908-13), i, 297; Mackenzie Walcot (15th July 1905), in *Organist and Choirmaster*, 13 (1904-05), 41-42, who acknowledges receipt of this information from W. E. Belcher, organist of St Asaph; Andrew Freeman's annotations to his own copy (now at British Organ Archive, Birmingham Public Library) of Andrew Freeman, 'Records of British Organ Builders 940-1660', in *Dictionary of Organs and Organists* (2nd edn., London, 1921), 7-72, p.54A.

of St Asaph was plundered.⁶⁰ The chapter acts of 1675 levied a charge on every member of the chapter to contribute towards the repair of this instrument: ‘The Organ to be repayred and tow[ar]^{ds} y^e charge thereof every Præb[endary] & y^e Dean to give 7/6 & every Canon 5/- to be deducted out of y^e Mich[aelmas] Dividend’, and repair work was subsequently undertaken during the 1680s.⁶¹ The 1635 organ was to survive until 2nd February 1714/15 when

A violent storm or hurricane blew down the battlements and sheets of lead of the tower upon the roof of the quire, broke throw the same, beat down the tabernacle work, and shattered the stalls and organ, to the damage of three or four hundred pounds...⁶²

St David’s Cathedral

The choral foundation

A chantry certificate of 1549 lists the staff at St David’s at what was one of the most significant turning points for liturgy in the Anglican Church.⁶³ The certificate states that there were 27 vicars choral and eight choristers with other servants attached to the cathedral, though in actuality only 22 are named below the master of St Mary’s, Stephen Green. Many of these would have continued their employment at the cathedral, perhaps in a slightly different capacity. A staff list contained in the chapter act books for 1571 (transcribed below) records only thirteen vicars choral and four choristers. Three of these vicars, John Williams, Francis Roberts and William Watkins were also on the cathedral staff in 1549. The first four vicars in the 1571 list are titled ‘Sir’ identifying them as priests, though others may also have been ordained priests, deacons and, during Catholic times, subdeacons. It is possible that the first four listed had greater seniority, equivalent to the minor canons of New Foundation cathedrals such as

⁶⁰ *Y Cwitta Cyfarwydd*, 216.

⁶¹ Thomas (1908), i, 297.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 299. A replacement organ was set up following these storms: see Browne Willis, *A Survey of the Cathedral Church of St Asaph* (1720), 7.

⁶³ Edward Yardley, *Menevia Sacra*, ed. by Francis Green, *AC* supplement (London, 1927), 375-77; see above, Chapter 3, pp.96-97.

Chester, while the remainder corresponded to singing men not necessarily in priestly orders. The list of clergy at St David's cathedral in 1571 reads as follows:⁶⁴

Canons Residentiary & Prebendaries

Praebenda D[omi]ne Regina [ie Queen's Cursal]

Praebenda Domini Episcopi

M^r Thomas Huet, Precentor

M^r Richard Edwards, Chancellor

D^r Hugh ap Rhys, Treasurer

M^r J[ohn] Pratt, Archdeacon St Davids & Can[on] Res[identiary] John Robert Goch

M^r W[illia]^m Bleddyn Archd[eaco]ⁿ Brecon

M^r W[illia]^m Luson Archd[eaco]ⁿ Caernarthen

M^r Lewis Gwyn Archd[eaco]ⁿ Cardigan

M^r Tho[mas] Barlow Preb[endary] de Marthrey

M^r Hen[ry] Holland P[rebendary of] St Mich Penffoes

M^r Rich[ard] Meredith P[rebendary of] Clydey

M^r Thomas Powell LLD P[rebendary of] Llanddew Aberarth

M^r Owen Williams LLB P[rebendary of] Caervarthell

M^r Griffith Toye P[rebendary of] Llangan

M^r Tho[mas] Williams P[rebendary of] Trefloden

M^r Hen[ry] Mansell P[rebendary of] Caervay

M^r Tho[mas] Young P[rebend] Cursalis

W[illia]^m Constantine LLD P[rebend] Cursalis

M^r W[illia]^m David P[rebend] Cursalis

M^r David Yale P[rebend] Cursalis

M^r W[illia]^m Griffith P Cursalis

Lower Chapter, Choristers

Sir John Williams Vicars Choral

Sir John David

Sir Evan Ellis

Sir Edward Powell

Thomas Tomkins

John Robert Goch

John Harrison

Francis Roberts

William Watkins⁶⁵

William Bowen

John Jones

Richard Hargest

Richard Adam

choristers

Richard Philip

Francis Meredith

Thomas Tomkyns

Harry Meredith

verger

Griffith ap Howel

sexton

Ellis ab Howell / deprived⁶⁶

Later staff lists of 1573, 1584 and 1586 are consistent in giving thirteen as the total number of vicars choral.

The vicars choral during the 1560s were evidently a motley crew. In 1561 Thomas Jones was dismissed from his office for repeated drunkenness, and John Williams was threatened with expulsion for 'improper conduct at the Lord's Table & setting a bad example to others'.⁶⁷ The chapter had cause in 1562 to remind the vicars choral of their attendance, especially when it was their turn to read the 'Epistles, Gospel or Chapters of the Old & New Testament'; they were to be penalised 12*d* should they neglect this duty.⁶⁸ Less than a month later William Owen, nominated to a post of vicar choral which had recently become vacant, was proved to be

⁶⁴ Aberystwyth, NLW, MSS SD/Ch/B27-28: *Collectanea Menevensia*, ed. by H. T. Payne, 2 vols, i, p.27; Aberystwyth NLW, MS SD/Ch/B1, St David's chapter act book, 1561-77, p.237.

⁶⁵ Payne in his *Collectanea*, i, p.27 transcribes here the surname Walters as Williams – other similar lists suggest that Walters is the correct surname.

⁶⁶ See above, Chapter 2, p.19.

⁶⁷ *Collectanea*, i, pp.3-4; SD/Ch/B1, p.9.

⁶⁸ *Collectanea*, i, p.7; SD/Ch/B1, p.51.

insufficient, speciallye in redyng the Old Testament: whereupon he is enjoined daiely to read distinctlye XX psalmes of Davyd the Prophete, & also ii Chapters of the Olde Testamente, whereby he maye be perfect to execute the Office of Vicare Chorall: and thus to contynue untill suche tyme as he be approved by the worshipfull M^r Thomas Huett Chauntor of the saied Cathedrale Church of S^t Davyds – The premises observed by the saied William Owen, his admission to take effect otherwise not observed, *fiat in misericordia Precentoris &c* [may he be at the mercy of the precentor, etc].⁶⁹

Other disciplinary matters arising at this time included vicars choral conducting themselves in an ‘unseemly and improper manner, in going to a watch & swearing, quarrelling and committing other irregularities’, and two vicars were reprimanded for ‘entering unlawfully, & in a suspicious manner into the Precentor’s Orchard’.⁷⁰ The younger vicars choral and choristers in 1564 had been neglecting their schooling, and so it was ordered that they

shall be daily at school-days appointed to learn at six o clock in the morning, & obediently to learn & continue with the school in all their accustomed times, obeying the said Schoolmaster.⁷¹

In 1565 certain vicars choral were found guilty and expelled from the choir for ‘playing cards for candles in the archdeacon of Cardigan’s house’.⁷² On another occasion, others were warned ‘not to sleep out of their own beds – nor keep company with women’.⁷³

While there is little information available in the chapter acts concerning the musical aspect of the vicars choral role at the cathedral – the chapter preferring to note lapses in their personal behaviour – there is telling entry for 1578, ‘that from thenceforward none should be installed vicars saving such as could sing their prick-song’.⁷⁴

There was a gradual decrease in the number of choristers at the cathedral during the second half of the sixteenth century. In 1549 there were eight choristers, of which four had been instituted at the cathedral in 1363, two from the 1372 foundation of St Mary’s college which had amalgamated with the cathedral towards the end of the fifteenth century, and another two added to the cathedral foundation in 1501 by Bishop

⁶⁹ *Collectanea*, i, p.8; SD/Ch/B1, p.52.

⁷⁰ *Collectanea*, i, p.10; SD/Ch/B1, p.57.

⁷¹ *Collectanea*, i, p.13; SD/Ch/B1, p.87.

⁷² *Collectanea*, i, p.15; SD/Ch/B1, p.113.

⁷³ *Collectanea*, i, p.22; SD/Ch/B1, p.177.

⁷⁴ *Collectanea*, i, p.45.

Morgan.⁷⁵ The *Liber Communis* shows there to have been six choristers during the Marian period, six again in 1560 and five in 1565.⁷⁶ Two of the eight places for choristers may have been suppressed under the Chantries' Act. Four choristers were present in 1576 but numbers had fallen to two by 1577.⁷⁷ The chapter instructed that another two were to be appointed, 'children of years, voice and aptitudes, likely to do God's service, as appertaineth to a Chorister [...] so that at least there may be three of them continually kept and maintained'.⁷⁸ The accounts for the early seventeenth century suggest that four choristers had by then become the norm.⁷⁹

The organists and masters of the choir

The accounts for 1557-58 record: 'I[em] to y^e m[aste]r of y^e children for ke[e]ping of y^e organs & teaching of y^e queristers 10[£]' – the recipient unnamed.⁸⁰ He was assisted in his work by the bishop's vicar, who 'teacheth y^e children their lessons and versicles in y^e quyer 6^s 8^d'.⁸¹ It is most likely that the organist at this time was the pre-Reformation master of the choristers, Lewis Morris, listed in the 1549 chantry certificate for St Mary's college as being aged 34 and receiving a stipend of £10.⁸² In a list of pensions dated 1553 he receives £6 13s 4d.⁸³ Morris probably remained in his post until the appointment of his successor, Thomas Elliot, in 1563. The claim for this lengthy tenure as organist lies in evidence recorded in the Noyadd Trefawr Deeds and Documents at the National Library of Wales relating to 'Lewis Morris of St David's Pembs, organplayer' and a gift of land in 1561, a document whose significance is realised here

⁷⁵ See above, Chapter 3, p.95.

⁷⁶ Aberystwyth, NLW, MS SD/Ch/B13, chapter account book (*Liber Communis*), 1384-1661 (partly a transcript), pp.31, 35, 39.

⁷⁷ *Collectanea*, i, pp.42, 43.

⁷⁸ *Collectanea*, i, p.43; see below, p.163.

⁷⁹ Aberystwyth, NLW, MS SD/Ch/Misc.B/1, ff.2v, 5v, 12v, 16, etc.

⁸⁰ SD/Ch/B13, p.32.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² Yardley (1927), 376; see above, Chapter 3, p.97.

⁸³ Yardley (1927), 377.

for the first time.⁸⁴ In 1562 the ‘Master of ye queristers for his wages’ received only £6 13s 4d, a basic salary that persisted at that amount into the seventeenth century.⁸⁵

On 8th September 1563 a chapter act was passed

that one Thomas Elliot be at the same time appointed to the vicarage of the Canonry & Prebend of Clydey. Which said Thomas, besides his duty in the choir, shall teach the Choristers their plainsong, prick-song, & discant, & shall play the Organ when time requireth, upon such direction, order & wages as the worshipful M^r Thomas Huet the Chantor, at his next coming shall take direction & order with the rest of his said Brothers, for his wages in doing yearly the same.⁸⁶

According to the chapter accounts for 1565-66, the wage of the master of the choristers was £6 13s 4d.⁸⁷ The accounts at this time also record payments for repairs to the organ, and also the purchase of metrical psalm books.⁸⁸

In 1565 Thomas Tomkins receives his first mention at St David’s as a vicar choral. Born in Lostwithiel, Cornwall, c.1545, he was, to quote Watkins Shaw, ‘the sire of a worthy progeny’.⁸⁹ Twice married, his first wife, Margaret Pore, gave birth to two sons, both called Thomas, and a daughter, Bridget. From his second wife, Anne Hergest, were born five sons; John, Robert, Nicholas, Giles and Peregrine, and two daughters; Margaret and Elizabeth. Three of his sons were to hold prominent appointments as organists, the younger Thomas at Worcester cathedral, John at King’s College, Cambridge, and later St Paul’s, London, and Giles, King’s College, Cambridge, and later Salisbury cathedral.⁹⁰

⁸⁴ Aberystwyth, NLW, Noyadd Trefawr, MS 144; see *Schedule of Noyadd Trefawr Deeds and Documents*, Vol 1 (1962), 82, no.144. Shaw (1991), 248 mentions that according to John E. West, *Cathedral Organists, Past and Present* (London, 1899; 2nd edn., 1921), Morris’s tenure as organist extended to 1551, but that he himself was unable to find documentation verifying this.

⁸⁵ SD/Ch/B13, p.35.

⁸⁶ *Collectanea*, i, p.10; SD/Ch/B1, p.60.

⁸⁷ SD/Ch/B13, p.39.

⁸⁸ See below, Chapter 7, p.246.

⁸⁹ Shaw (1991), 249.

⁹⁰ Ivor Atkins, *The Early Occupants of the Office of Organist and Master of the Choristers of the Cathedral Church of Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary, Worcester* (London, 1918), 37-69; David R. A. Evans, ‘A Cornish Musician in Wales’, *Cornish Studies*, 15 (1987), 19-28.

A staff list among the chapter acts for 1573 records Thomas Tomkins as ‘Vicar Choral and Master of the Children’ who, in common with his predecessor, Elliot, probably also served as organist. A corresponding list of 1571 names Tomkins as a vicar choral in exactly the same position as he appears in 1573. It is not known when Elliot completed his tenure as organist, but he is absent from the 1571 list and with no one else designated master of the choristers, Tomkins may already have been serving in this capacity from 1571.⁹¹

An entry in the chapter act book shows that a vicars choral stipend was allocated 29th April 1577 to Tomkins’s eldest son Thomas (a chorister) in order to ease financial strain to the family. The same entry provides proof that Tomkins, senior, was both organist and master of the chorister and indicates that there were problems maintaining the statutory number of choristers.⁹²

Whereas Thomas Tomkins Master of the Choristers, & Organ Player in this Church, as well by his own report, as by testimony of others, declareth that he hath not so great wages as others have had who occupied his place heretofore; and also credibly affirmeth that he is not able to live and continue a member of this Church upon such wages and commodity as he now enjoyeth, but must of necessity be obliged to leave this Church, and to accept such a place, as with greater commodity, wages and living, is elsewhere offered unto him. It is therefore ordered, constituted and appointed [...] that Thomas Tomkins the younger, Son unto the foresaid Thomas Tomkins the elder, now being one of the Choristers of this Church, shall from henceforth, to the end that his poor Father at whose finding he is, may thereby the rather be relieved, have a Vicar’s Stall in the said Cathedral Church of St David’s which one Richard Johnson lately held, and is now void, and from the Feast of St John the Baptist next coming, shall and may enjoy all profits and commodities belonging to the same stall and place of Vicar Choral, without defalcation, according to the custom of the Church. And it is further appointed, constituted and decreed that there is now but one chorister in this Church besides the said Tomkins the younger (the Statute requiring six in all) two other children of years, voice and aptitudes, likely to do God’s service, as appertaineth to a Chorister of the foresaid Church, shall be appointed by the Chanter and Chapter, so that at least there may be three of them continually kept and maintained.

The condition of the cathedral organ had deteriorated by 1584 prompting the bishop on 10th June to direct that ‘a New Organ be erected in the Cathedral Church’.⁹³ It would appear that little action on this front was taken, for on July 27th 1585 it was decreed in

⁹¹ *Collectanea*, i, p.27; Evans (1987), 20-21; Shaw (1991), 249.

⁹² *Collectanea*, i, p.43; printed in Atkins (1918), 39-40.

⁹³ *Collectanea*, i, p.56; Aberystwyth, NLW, MS SD/Ch/B2, chapter act book, 1578-99, p.104.

chapter that ‘the Organ having been stated to be out of repair, the Organist’s salary is suspended’.⁹⁴ Subsequently, on 22nd January 1586 ‘Thomas Tomkins Junior, a vicar choral having grossly misbehaved, is expelled – and his stall, having been declared vacant, is given to David Thomas’ (he was later to die at sea in 1591 aboard Sir Richard Grenville’s ship, *Revenge*).⁹⁵ This chain of events must have caused the elder Tomkins to reassess his own employment at the cathedral, for Tomkins’s name is absent from the 1586 list of the cathedral clergy.⁹⁶ Though it has been assumed that his younger son, Thomas, was a chorister at St David’s, there are no records available witnessing that fact. Born in 1572, he would have been aged fourteen when the family left St David’s.⁹⁷

In 1594 Thomas Tomkins senior is found among the staff of Gloucester cathedral as minor canon and vicar of the nearby church of St Mary-de-Lode. He was later to hold the precentorship of the cathedral.⁹⁸ While at Gloucester, Tomkins compiled an ‘Account of the Bishops of Gloucester’ included by Browne Willis in his *Survey of the Cathedral Church of Gloucester*.⁹⁹ It has been argued that Tomkins had previously occupied his antiquarian interests at St David’s, writing a ‘Description of St David’s’ similarly utilised by Willis in his *Survey of the Cathedral Church of St David’s*.¹⁰⁰ In March 1626/7, ‘sick and weake in bodie’, he made his will which was proved at Gloucester on 19th April 1627.¹⁰¹

William Huett served as master of the choristers and schoolmaster from 28th July 1586, having also been bishop’s vicar from 1st April 1586.¹⁰² Little is known of his musical activities, but during the 1560s as a young vicar choral his ill discipline had warranted mention in the chapter acts.¹⁰³

⁹⁴ *Collectanea*, i, p.63; SD/Ch/B2, p.137.

⁹⁵ *Collectanea*, i, p.63; SD/Ch/B2.

⁹⁶ *Collectanea*, i, p.66, SD/Ch/B2, p.156.

⁹⁷ D. R. A. Evans (1987), 21-22.

⁹⁸ Shaw (1991), 250.

⁹⁹ Browne Willis, *Survey of the Cathedral Church of Gloucester* (London, 1727), ii, 723.

¹⁰⁰ Browne Willis, *Survey of the Cathedral Church of St David’s* (London, 1717); Ivor Atkins, ‘The authorship of the XVIth century description of St David’s printed in Browne Willis’s “Survey” (1717)’, *NLWJ*, 4 (1946), 115-21.

¹⁰¹ The will of Thomas Tomkins senior is transcribed in Atkins (1918), 44.

¹⁰² W. B. Jones and E. A. Freeman, *The History and Antiquities of St David’s* (London, 1856), 342-43.

¹⁰³ *Collectanea*, i, p.14; SD/Ch/B1, p.89.

There is a considerable lack of information in the chapter act books and account books concerning music at the cathedral during the early seventeenth century. The accounts record annual payments of £6 'to y^e M[aste]^r of y^e Children for his wages' in 1600-04 and £6 13s 4d to the organist in 1605-17, without naming the holder of either post.¹⁰⁴ Annual payments of £6 13s 4d are also made in these latter years to the four choristers. A clue to the identification of the organist at this time may lie in a payment of 15s made in the accounting year 1602-03 'to Pardo about the Organs',¹⁰⁵ probably signifying repair work to the organ. Since maintenance was often performed 'in house' and supervised by the organist, for which he would have been suitably remunerated, this payment may imply that Marmaduke Pardo had been organist at St David's from at least as early as 1602-03 until his appearance as organist of St Laurence's, Ludlow, in 1623.¹⁰⁶ Other payments relating to music at St David's during the first decade of the seventeenth century include a vague entry during 1602-03 of 2s 6d 'for organs', and 3s 'to a man w[hi]^{ch} came to view ye organs'.¹⁰⁷ Payments are also made during 1604-05 for music copying.¹⁰⁸

It is not until 1617 that the book of chapter acts explicitly names Marmaduke Pardo as cathedral organist. Evidently he had by this time amassed considerable responsibility at the cathedral as organist, master of the choristers, vicar choral and curate of the parish. Disciplinary problems, however, resulted in the chapter suspending him from office on 24th June 1617:¹⁰⁹

At which time divers articles were exhibited against Sir Marmaduke Pardo Vicar Choral, for sundry misdemeanours, which being read, & judiciously heard, he was censured by the said canons, to stand suspended from executing his office in the said church: viz^t from his place of vicar-choral, his room of Organist, & Master of the Children Choristers, & the Curateship & from the benefit thereof, until such time as he shall obtain the favo[u]r of the Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of S^t Davids, & of the canons for his restitution.

[signed] Hen[ry] Angell, W[illia]^m Slatier, Rob[ert] Rudd,
W[illia]^m Beely, Morgan Walters

¹⁰⁴ SD/Ch/13, pp. 49, 51, 56; Aberystwyth, NLW, MS SD/Ch/Misc.B/1, account book of the revenues of the chapter, 1605-17, ff.2v, 5v, 12v, 16, 21v, 24, 35.

¹⁰⁵ SD/Ch/B13, p.55.

¹⁰⁶ Shaw (1991), 250, gives Pardo's documented dates of tenure at St David's as 1617-19, but observes that his office was likely to have extended either side of these parameters. Neither Shaw (1991), 250, or Francis and Klein (1982), 28-29, were aware that Pardo's career spanned both St David's cathedral and St Laurence's, Ludlow.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.50, 55

¹⁰⁸ See below, Chapter 7, p.246.

¹⁰⁹ *Collectanea*, i, p.78.

A second hearing of Pardo's case was held on 28th June 1617 when his suspension from all his offices was modified to allow him to continue as organist by virtue of his 'poor estate', and it is revealed that Pardo was charged with having conducted a clandestine marriage. Richard Marrock was consequently appointed instructor of the choristers and Thomas Walters, curate of the parish.¹¹⁰

Acta habita &c. On which day appeared Sir Marmaduke Pardo, one of the Vicars Choral, Master of the Choristers, & Curate of the Parish of S^t Davids, unto whom were objected the articles formerly exhibited against him, on the 24 July instant, And being again convicted of so many as were urged, the said Reverend Father censured him worthy of the loss of offices in the church: but in consideration of his poor estate, it was ordered that only the place of Instructor of the Choristers should be taken from him, & conferred upon Richard Marrock, & to stand suspended according to the canon against clandestine marriages from the Office of curate of the Parish of S^t Davids for three years, *ab officio & beneficio* [from office and benefice] and in that room is appointed Sir Thomas Walters.

Two years later Pardo was suspended for misdemeanours 'to the scandal of the whole society'. In 1623 he appears as organist of St Laurence's, Ludlow, a post he was to hold until his dismissal in 1626.¹¹¹

The account book for 1620-21 records payment 'to one M^r John Silvester – Organist of Old Radnor', though the actual amount paid is no longer legible.¹¹² Nothing else is known of Silvester, he may have been a relief organist providing cover until a more permanent appointment could be made following the departure of Marmaduke Pardo. Alternatively he may have been Pardo's successor, having previously been organist at St Stephen's, Old Radnor, or he may have been visiting St David's to undertake maintenance on the organ there. Whatever is concluded from this previously unnoticed reference, Silvester is nonetheless significant to the history of music at both St David's and Old Radnor.¹¹³

Subsequently there are regular payments in the accounts to both an organist and a separate 'instructor of the children' until 1642, but no names are given. After this date

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.79.

¹¹¹ Richard Francis and Peter Klein, *The Organs and Organists of Ludlow Parish Church* (Ludlow, 1982), 28; see below, Chapter 6, p.198.

¹¹² SD/Ch/B13, accounts for 1620-21.

¹¹³ See below, Chapter 6, p.202.

the next reference to an organist is the dismissal of William Pardo, organist and vicar choral, from his additional duties as master of the choristers in 1672.¹¹⁴

The organ

References in the accounts and chapter act books to the organ at St David's are both scant and vague.¹¹⁵ The accounts for 1565 record payments of 6*d* 'for a rope to mak[e] tresses for y^e organs', 6*d* 'for making two Stops for y^e great Organs', and 8*d* 'for making of a forme to y^e organes'.¹¹⁶ By 1584 concern had been shown for the condition of the organ and a new instrument was proposed by the bishop but no action appears to have been taken and the organist's salary was suspended in 1585 for want of a functioning organ. During the early years of seventeenth century, 2*s* 6*d* was paid in 1600-01 'for Organs', and in 1602-03, 3*s* was paid 'to a man w[hi]ch came to view y^e organs' and 15*s* 'to Pardo about the Organs'.¹¹⁷ There is also a single entry from the 1625-26 accounts concerning organ repairs: 'It[em] to Mr Dallam in p[ar]t payment by Mr Rudd at Abergwili'.¹¹⁸ The amount paid is not known, but the 'Mr Rudd' referred to was Robert Rudd, archdeacon of St David's. This may have been a reference to an organ not at the cathedral, but one perhaps intended for the newly restored chapel in the bishop's palace at Abergwili which was consecrated on 30th August 1625 by Bishop William Laud.¹¹⁹

Chester Cathedral

A cathedral of the New Foundation

The foundation of a new cathedral at Chester was part of a national process of change.¹²⁰ The Benedictine priory of St Werburgh's ceased as a monastery on 20th January 1540, but continued in the meanwhile as a quasi-collegiate church under the supervision of a warden. No details are known for this interim period, but R. V. H. Burne assumes that there was continuity, as there was at Peterborough, with a skeleton

¹¹⁴ Shaw (1991), 250.

¹¹⁵ See above, Chapter 3, p.99.

¹¹⁶ SD/Ch/B13, pp.40, 47.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.50, 55; see above, p.165.

¹¹⁸ SD/Ch/B13, accounts for 1625-26.

¹¹⁹ Terence James, 'The Bishop's Palace and Collegiate Church, Abergwili', *The Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, 16 (1980), 19-35, 24-26.

¹²⁰ See above, Chapter 4, pp.130-32.

staff maintaining services.¹²¹ Letters patent were issued on 4th August 1541, marking the official founding of the Cathedral Church of Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary.¹²²

Members of the former monastic house where appropriate formed the staff of the new cathedral supplemented by others brought in from outside. The first dean was Thomas Clarke, the last abbot of St Werburgh's, but he only held office for a little over a month, and died on 14th September 1541. Dr Henry Mann, formerly prior of Sheen monastery succeeded him; the sub-dean at this time was Dr William Wall, former warden of Greyfriars, Chester. Nicholas Bucksay, ex-prior of St Werburgh's, was appointed senior prebendary and was later to become treasurer of the cathedral, a proctor in Convocation, and archdeacon of Chester. Three of the four remaining prebendaries were former monks of St Werburgh's, as were five of the six minor canons.¹²³ The first organist and master of the choristers of the new cathedral was John Byrcheley, schoolmaster of the pre-Dissolution abbey school.¹²⁴

The choral foundation

Although the accounts show that the cathedral functioned more or less fully from its foundation, statutes were not issued until 1544.¹²⁵ The statutes made provision for a dean, six canons, six minor canons, a deacon and a subdeacon, six conducts, a master of the choristers, eight choristers, two teachers of grammar (one of whom was to be headmaster, the other usher), twenty-four scholars to be instructed in grammar, six poor men to be maintained at the charge of the cathedral, two undersextons, two porters (of whom one was to be a barber), a cook and an undercook. The importance of music at

¹²¹ R. V. H. Burne, *Chester Cathedral: From its Founding by Henry VIII to the Accession of Victoria* (London, 1958), 1; R. V. H. Burne, *The Monks of Chester* (London, 1962), 185.

¹²² Chester, CRO, MS EDD3913/10/5, Royal Letters Patent of Henry VIII (1541) erecting the bishopric of Chester, making St Werburgh's Abbey a cathedral and creating Chester a city, translated by H. T. Dutton (1928) from Rymer, *Foedera*, 14 (1712), 171. See above, Chapter 4, pp.131-32.

¹²³ Burne (1958), 3-4.

¹²⁴ See above, Chapter 3, pp.122-23, and below, Chapter 7, p.220.

¹²⁵ Only later copies of the statutes now survive: Chester, CRO, MSS EDD2/55/2, nineteenth-century transcript of the 1544 statutes; EDD3913/10/1, eighteenth-century transcript and translation of the 1544 statutes ('the dean of Chester's copy'); EDD3913/10/2, volume containing transcript of statutes, letters patent of the formation of the see and cathedral, valuation of the bishopric of Chester, etc., c.1663; EDD3913/10/3, Thomas Eaton's transcript of the statutes.

the cathedral was given consideration in the statutes through the careful election of minor canons and conducts:¹²⁶

Because we have Decreed that in this our Church God should be worshipped with Hymns & Psalms & dayly prayers we will appoint that as well as the six priests (whom we call minor canons) as so many lay clerks (whom we style conducts) & also a Deacon & under Deacon who are to read the Gospel & Epistle (all which we appoint dayly to sing to the praise of God in our Church) be men of learning (if possible) of good character Honest behaviour & lastly skilled in singing which we would have appear before those who in our Church are expert in the art of musick they are to be elected upon the vacancy of a Place by the Dean or (in his absence) the Vice Dean & Chapter.

They were to be admitted under oath and, in common with other cathedral foundations, were subject to the imposition of a fine for any lapses in attendance or punctuality. The senior minor canon was to be elected chanter or precentor, who in New Foundation cathedrals was considered a senior member of the lower chapter and not a dignitary, as in cathedrals of the Old Foundation. He was, nonetheless, expected to take a lead in the singing, to monitor the attendance and discipline of his juniors, and care for the books of the choir:¹²⁷

We will & appoint that one from amongst the minor canons an Elderly man & of good morals & learning be elected Chanter by the Dean or (in his absence) the Vicedean & Chapter whose office it shall be with democracy to order the singers in our church and as a leader to sing before others least there should arise any discord in singing. This all the minor canons & conducts & all others that come to sing in the choir must obey (in choir affairs) whatever he appointeth to be read or sing he must cheerfully execute. But besides he must without the least partiality mark the absence from divine services as well as the Dean & canons as of others who officiate in the choir which he is faithfully to deliver into the Chapter House before the Canons present every fifteen days. But if any of the minor canons or conducts shew cause of absence it ought to be admitted, if it be approved of by the Dean or (in his absence) the Vice Dean. Besides he shall see that the Books appointed for the choir be well kept and preserved. Lastly, whenever it shall so happen that he must be absent from our church He shall delegate another who shall faithfully execute his office and to the performance of all this he shall faithfully promise upon oath.

There were to be eight choristers ‘of clear voices and fit for singing who are to attend the choir, officiate and sing there’. Their master, appointed in addition to the six conducts, was to instruct them ‘in good manners and in the art of singing’. He was to be ‘of good Character and regular life, that well understands singing & playing the

¹²⁶ EDD2/55/2, *Cap.20.*

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, *Cap.23.*

organ, who shall closely apply himself to instruct the Boys, to play the organ at proper times & sing divine service'.¹²⁸ The choristers were to be among the twenty-four King's scholars educated at the cathedral grammar school.¹²⁹

The communal aspect of cathedral life received emphasis in the statutes, and would have already been familiar to those who had once been members of St Werburgh's Abbey. The statutes required the minor canons, conducts, schoolmasters and all other inferior officers of the cathedral, including the King's scholars and choristers, to eat and be entertained together in the common hall. The precentor, or in his absence the next minor canon in seniority, was to preside over the first table.¹³⁰ The minor canons, conducts, choristers, scholars, bedesmen and other officers of the church were expected to dress accordingly and 'wear cloths of the same colour or as near as possible'.¹³¹ The annual salaries of the lower clergy and other inferior ministers was specified in 1544 as follows:¹³²

Minor canons	£5 2s
Headmaster of the school	£11 15s 4d
Undermaster	£4 5s 10d
Master of the Choristers	£5 7s
Deacon	£4 5s 10d
Subdeacon	£4 5s 10d.
To everyone of the conducts	59s 10d
To each of the undersextons	58s
To the Butler	58s
To one of the Porters, who shall be the Barber	£3 8s
To the other porter	58s
To the cook	58s
To every one of the Choristers	15s
To each of the King's Scholars	15s
To each of the six Bedesmen	£6 3s 4d
To the under cook	26s 10d
Vice dean	40s
Receiver	£5 3s 4d for paper
Treasurer	40s
Chanter	40s
Sexton	40s
Steward or Clerk of the lands	£3 6s 8d

The 1544 statutes specified that 'divine service in the Choir of our church according to the Rites & ceremonies of other Cathedral Churches. But we do not oblige them to the

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, Cap.25.

¹²⁹ See above, Chapter 3, p.123.

¹³⁰ EDD2/55/2, Cap.29.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, Cap.30.

¹³² *Ibid.*, Cap.31.

performances of nightly service'.¹³³ In other words, services at Chester were to follow the Use of Sarum. The issuing of the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1549 meant, however, that the liturgical arrangements detailed in the statutes were short lived.

The adult singers of the choir comprised minor canons in holy orders and laymen known as conducts. During the 1540s these consisted primarily of ex-monks of St Werburgh's while later in the century many of the minor canons and conducts would formerly have been choristers at the cathedral. In addition to these were the gospeller and epistoller, titles which originally referred to the ceremonial duties of each office holder during the Latin mass, namely the reading of the gospel and the epistle. The latter post, however, soon came to be merely nominal as the minor order of subdeacon was phased out following an Act of Parliament of 1549 and the publication of the English Ordinal in 1550.¹³⁴ Though the reading of the gospel and the epistle naturally continued the 1582 Leicester Award refers to the 'Petty Canons dayly reeding the Gospell by course' and 'the six Conducts dayly reading the Epistle by course'.¹³⁵ Those holding the office of deacon or subdeacon at Chester were ranked in seniority below the minor canons but above the conducts. The treasurers' accounts from 1596 onwards list only one name below the heading '*Diacono et subdiacono*'.¹³⁶

The continuity of the Chester choral tradition

Continuity in tradition was maintained throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries at Chester, choristers often passing through the ranks with several becoming organist and master of the choristers. Two sixteenth-century organists, Thomas Barnes and Richard Saywell had previously been conducts at the cathedral. Later, John Allen, Michael Done, Thomas Jones and Randolf Jewett had all begun their musical careers as choristers at Chester, serving as conducts before taking office as organists and masters of the choir. Alan Smith notes that in 1601 five of the eight boys had fathers in the service of the cathedral: Leonard Beedle, son of the organ repairer; Michael Done, son of a porter-verger; Thomas Fisher, son of a minor canon; Robert Rogers, son of the

¹³³ *Ibid.*, Cap.32.

¹³⁴ G. J. Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy* (London, 1969), 92-93.

¹³⁵ Chester, CRO, Cowper MSS, details of the Leicester Award dated 13th February 1582, Earl of Leicester to the Dean & Chapter of Chester in recompense for lands seized by Sir Richard Cotton in 1553: see R. V. H. Burne, 'The History of Chester Cathedral in the Reigns of James I and Charles I', *JCAS*, n.s., 39 (1952), 59-92, 60.

¹³⁶ Chester, CRO, MS EDD3913/1/3, treasurers' accounts, 1584-1610, p.169.

subsacrist; and Robert Moran, son of a singing man.¹³⁷ This observation is borne out through an examination of the cathedral staff lists contained in the treasurers' accounts, where the same surnames for choristers, conducts and minor canons regularly recur throughout this period.

It is even possible to trace successive generations of a family associated with the cathedral, the Jewett family being one case in point. In 1541, 38s 4d was paid to 'William Juet, Clarke Conducte for his quarters wages to be due at Christmas next following', his younger brothers, Thomas and John, were both choristers in 1547.¹³⁸ William Jewett was sworn a gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1568: 'W[illia]m Ivett of West Chester was sworne the 18th of June in Mr Norrice[*'s*] place',¹³⁹ though he continued his association with Chester cathedral, where he is listed in 1573 as a minor canon. His eldest son, Randle, a king's scholar at Chester (1558-63), was later a gentleman of the Chapel Royal until 1591.¹⁴⁰ Randle Jewett's son, also named Randle (Randolf), was a chorister at Chester (1612-15), and the latter's cousin, John Jewett, was senior boy at the time. The younger Randolf Jewett, after studying as a pupil of Orlando Gibbons, returned to Chester in 1628 but moved to Dublin in 1631 on his appointment as organist at Christ Church cathedral.¹⁴¹ Jewett returned to Chester in the capacity of organist in 1643, and subsequently proceeded to hold posts at St Paul's cathedral and Winchester cathedral.¹⁴²

Chester cathedral may be considered an important musical training-ground many of its musicians moving to occupy posts at other cathedrals, some returning in due course able to share their experiences of the wider musical scene. A close link existed during the early seventeenth century between Dublin and Chester – Dublin being the centre of English political control in Ireland, Chester a town with strong trading links on the western coast of England. Maritime communications thus allowed musicians a

¹³⁷ Alan Smith, 'The practice of music in English churches and cathedrals, and at the Court, during the reign of Elizabeth I' (unpublished PhD thesis, Birmingham, 1967), 214.

¹³⁸ J. C. Bridge, 'The Organists of Chester Cathedral', *JCAS*, 19 (1913), 63-124, 82-83.

¹³⁹ *The Old Cheque-Book or Book of Remembrance of the Chapel Royal from 1561 to 1744*, ed. by Edward F. Rimbault (London, 1872; repr., New York, 1966), 2, 55. See also, *Records of English Court Music, (1485-1714)*, calendared and ed. by Andrew Ashbee, 9 vols (Aldershot, 1986-95), viii, 317.

¹⁴⁰ Bridge (1913), 83-84; *Records of English Court Music*, viii, 320.

¹⁴¹ Bridge (1913), 84-85.

¹⁴² See below, Chapter 7, p.236.

relatively easy passage between the cathedrals of Chester and Dublin with personal connections, musical reputation and financial incentive encouraging preferment of staff in both directions. Dublin was in the unusual situation of having two cathedrals in close proximity – Christ Church and St Patrick’s. Christ Church was formerly an Augustinian cathedral priory and, following dissolution (in common with Chester), became a cathedral of the New Foundation but with the dual role of being both the cathedral church of the city and the church of the governor and state.¹⁴³ St Patrick’s, on the other hand, had had its cathedral status removed in 1547 by Henry VIII, but was re-founded as a cathedral during the reign of Philip and Mary in 1555.¹⁴⁴ There was a significant overlap of musicians serving the two Dublin cathedrals, financially profitable to those musicians fortunate enough to draw stipends from both institutions.¹⁴⁵

Chester musicians known to have worked in Dublin include John Albright, minor canon of Chester (during the 1580s), and vicar choral at Christ Church (installed 1595);¹⁴⁶ John Allen, chorister (1601-02) and organist at Chester (1609-12), and vicar choral at Christ Church (during the 1630s);¹⁴⁷ Thomas Bateson, organist at Chester (1601-08), and organist of Christ Church (1609-30);¹⁴⁸ John Jewett, chorister at Chester (1611), and vicar choral at Christ Church (during the 1630s);¹⁴⁹ Randolph Jewett, chorister (1611-15) and organist at Chester (1643), organist at Christ Church (1630-38 and 1646-47), and St Patrick’s (1631-43 and 1644);¹⁵⁰ and Peter Stringer, chorister and conduct (1627-37) and organist at Chester (1660-73) and vicar choral at St Patrick’s and Christ Church, (1639-42).¹⁵¹ In 1611, the Chester treasurers’ accounts record 5s ‘geven to a poore Singinge man w[hi]^{ch} came from Ireland’.¹⁵² It is possible that the cathedrals of Chester and Dublin shared part of their repertoires. The composers Thomas Bateson and

¹⁴³ Barra Boydell, ed., *Music at Christ Church before 1800: Documents and Selected Anthems*, A History of Christ Church, Dublin, 5 (Dublin, 1999), 13-14.

¹⁴⁴ Shaw (1991), 416-17.

¹⁴⁵ Boydell (1999), 94.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 258.

¹⁴⁷ Shaw (1991), 63; Boydell (1999), 65, 71, 78.

¹⁴⁸ Shaw (1991), 62-63; Boydell (1999), 60-63, 86, 250, 252

¹⁴⁹ Bridge (1913), 84n; Boydell (1999), 66, 71, 83.

¹⁵⁰ Bridge (1913), 84-85; Shaw (1991), 417-18; Boydell (1999), 66, 69, 75, 78, 89, 174, 250, 252.

¹⁵¹ Shaw (1991), 64-65; Boydell (1999), 75, 84.

¹⁵² Chester, CRO, MS EDD3913/1/4, treasurers’ accounts, 1611-44, p.28.

Randolf Jewett, for instance, both served as organists at Chester and Dublin, with Peter Stringer known to have been active in the procurement of music.¹⁵³

The 1544 statutes stipulated that the master of the choristers was responsible both for instructing the choristers and playing the organ.¹⁵⁴ The treasurers' accounts show that for additional payment they oversaw the maintenance of the organ, the tabling and boarding the choristers, and the copying of music – the latter financed from the Leicester Award granted in 1582.¹⁵⁵ Many of the masters of the choristers were also composers, their music known further afield than at Chester.¹⁵⁶ Probably the most distinguished composer employed at Chester was Robert White. Previously organist at Ely cathedral in succession to his father-in-law, Christopher Tye, White arrived at Chester as master of the choristers in 1567.¹⁵⁷ It is not known how long he stayed at Chester, since the treasurers' accounts are missing for the years 1568-71, but from 1570 he was organist at Westminster Abbey.¹⁵⁸ Other organists at Chester known for their compositions were Thomas Bateson, Randolf Jewett, and Robert Stevenson, and one of the seventeenth-century minor canons, Francis Pilkington, was recognised as a composer of madrigals, lute music and sacred songs.¹⁵⁹

The organ

It is probable that during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries there was more than one organ at the cathedral. An entry in the treasurers' accounts for August 1547, 'For ye peyce of le[a]de to ye lyt[t]le organs, viijd' implies the presence of a larger instrument.¹⁶⁰ Two or more organs were both common and liturgically necessary in

¹⁵³ See below, Chapter 7, pp.235-37, 238-39.

¹⁵⁴ Chester, CRO, MS EDD3913/3/1, chapter acts, c.1500-70, f.66r: records the appointment of Richard Saywell thus: '*Rychardus Saywell admissus fuit decimo septimo Decembris in magistro choristar[um] et organu pulsatore a[nn]o [Domini] 1557*'.

¹⁵⁵ Burne (1952), 59-60; see below, Chapter 7, pp.234-35.

¹⁵⁶ See below, Chapter 7, pp.234-41, and Appendix L.

¹⁵⁷ EDD3913/3/1, f.67 lists among the cathedral staff '*Magistro Choristru[m], Robertus White*'. This has previously remained unnoticed by scholars (including J. C. Bridge and Watkins Shaw) who based their identification of Robert White as organist at Chester on a combination of the surname 'White' in the treasurers' accounts, an inscription in Thomas Tomkins's copy of Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction* which states that Robert White was 'First of Westchester & Westminster', and the convenience of the dates of White's known career: cf. Shaw (1991), 62.

¹⁵⁸ See below, Chapter 7, pp.239-41.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.* The masters of the choristers are listed in Appendix I. For additional biographical detail, see Shaw (1991), 60-65.

¹⁶⁰ Chester, CRO, MS EDD3913/1/1, treasurers' accounts, 1542-59, p.182.

large mid-sixteenth century churches and cathedrals such as Ludlow, Durham and Hereford.¹⁶¹ The 12*d* paid in 1622, 'For carrying the organ to the Chapter House', suggests the presence of positive-sized instrument at the cathedral,¹⁶² whereas the sum of £65 paid in 1626 'to Mr Wats organ maker' indicates the purchase of a positive-sized organ, probably a single-manual instrument.¹⁶³

The treasurers' accounts at Chester record numerous repairs to the organs of the cathedral. Many are typical examples of routine maintenance; the provision of 'rope to the organs' costing a penny was the equivalent of 'a pennycord for the organs' at other institutions.¹⁶⁴ There was the usual 'mending the balis [bellows] of the organs' in 1550-51, 1578, 1579, 1610, which amounted to a few pence and was often undertaken by local craftsmen, cathedral singing men, or the master of the choristers. More costly repairs were necessary in 1585 when £3 7*s* 8*d* was paid 'unto Henry Henlocke An Organist for removeing, mendinge, casting & tuninge the Organ pipes & other things theretoe belonginge'.¹⁶⁵ Further repairs were required during 1597, Thomas Beedle receiving 16*d* 'for glewinge of y^e Organes and Bellows & other places about y^e organs' and a further 6*d* paid 'ffor a sheepskin for y^e Bellows of y^e Organs'. Five years later, in 1602, Beedle was again called upon to repair the organ, with 3*s* paid 'To Beedle and his man for two dayes and half about y^e Organs', 6*d* 'for a sheep skynne to mende y^e bellowes of y^e Organs', and 3*d* 'For neiles and small Ribbes of wo[o]dd for y^e said Bellowes'.¹⁶⁶ Larger sums of money were expended in 1612 when £4 was 'Paid ye organ maker',¹⁶⁷ and in 1613-14, £3 3*s* 4*d* 'to y^e organ maker the remainder of his bargayne'.¹⁶⁸

Often minor repairs were undertaken or supervised by the cathedral organist. Thomas Bateson, organist in 1605, was paid 4*s* 10*d* 'for mending the Organes when they were removed as appe[a]reth by this bill';¹⁶⁹ and John Allen, organist in 1610, was paid 3*s* 6*d*

¹⁶¹ See below, Chapter 8, pp.287-88, 290.

¹⁶² EDD3913/1/4, p.165.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.201. The two-manual organ by John Burward for Chirk Castle cost £150 in 1632.

¹⁶⁴ As, for example, at St Mary's, Swansea. See below, Chapter 6, p.211.

¹⁶⁵ EDD3913/1/3, p.21.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.238.

¹⁶⁷ EDD3913/1/4, p.52.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.56.

¹⁶⁹ EDD3913/1/3, p.271.

‘for mendinge the Bellows & winges of the organes’.¹⁷⁰ During 1622 Thomas Jones received 6s 6d ‘for mending the organs’, and 2s 6d in a similar entry dated 1628-29.¹⁷¹ Richard Newbold was paid 6s 8d in 1638 ‘for tuneing y^e organ’.¹⁷² The services of a specialist organ builder, however, were demanded for more substantial work during 1615:¹⁷³

Paid to John Walker Organ-maker for Boards and other Tymber and Workmanship with Iron work and other stuff as appeareth by y^e particulars sett downe at y^e end of y^e booke, *vjli xijs jxd*
To ye said Organ-maker for his Dyett for vij weekes at vs the weeke, *jli xvs*

Another organ builder, Henry Allington, was employed in 1617.¹⁷⁴

In 1626 a new organ was provided for the cathedral, the treasurers’ accounts detailing the following payments:¹⁷⁵

Delivered to Mr Wats organ mak[e]r at Sundry times, *lxvli iijs vd* [£65 3s 5d]
To Catro joyner for the back of the organ, *xxxxs* [£1 10s]
To the same for Seate for the organist, *iijs*
To the Smithe for hinges and curtain rods, *viijs vjd*

The three military travellers who visited Chester cathedral in 1634 had nothing to record concerning this new organ when they ‘marcht to her organist’s pallace, and their heard his domesticke organs, vyalls, with the voyces of this civill merry company sweetly consorted’.¹⁷⁶

The Parliamentary army took command of Chester on 3rd February 1646 from which time cathedral services were then suspended for the next fourteen years. The fate of the cathedral organ is not known – if it was not destroyed, it must certainly have suffered neglect or damage necessitating the provision of a new instrument at the Restoration.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.360.

¹⁷¹ EDD3913/1/4, pp.163, 246.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p.287.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.108.

¹⁷⁴ See below, Chapter 8, p.276.

¹⁷⁵ EDD3913/1/4, p.201.

¹⁷⁶ London, BL, Lansdowne MS 213, ‘Relation of a survey of 26 counties in 1634, by a Captain, a Lieutenant, and an Ancient, all three of the military company in Norwich’, as quoted in Andrew Freeman, ‘The Organs of Chester Cathedral’, *The Organ*, 13 (1933-34), 129-39, 131. For their report on the music at Hereford cathedral, see below, pp.179-80.

Completed in 1665, this was the work of 'Mr Peas and John Frye', Lancelot Pease having previously worked on organs for King's College, Cambridge (1660-61), Norwich cathedral (1661) and Canterbury cathedral (1662). Though the accounts do not clearly state the price or the instrument, the carving of the case cost £10, and over £60 was expended on gold and colours.¹⁷⁷

Peter Stringer, a conduct at Chester until 1637 and a member of the choir at Christ Church, Dublin, from 1638, returned to Chester during the Interregnum and, as one of the few remaining members of the pre-Commonwealth staff, was appointed cathedral organist in 1660. He was instrumental in re-establishing the choral tradition at the cathedral where he also served as a petty canon, precentor and deputy treasurer.¹⁷⁸

Hereford Cathedral

The vicars choral

Prior to the Reformation the vicars choral of Hereford would have also served as chantry priests and although the chantries themselves were dissolved in 1548, the vicars held firm as a corporate body to ensure their continued employment at the cathedral.¹⁷⁹

The vicars choral serving across the years of change would have had their duties amended accordingly: devotions in front of statues and other images ceased, masses at the various altars would have been abolished and a new liturgy introduced by the *Book of Common Prayer*. John George, succentor, 1542-63, and John Hodges, organist, 1538-c.1583, both held their positions throughout these years of change, and between them they would have been responsible for implementing the music of the cathedral in response to the imposition of liturgical change.¹⁸⁰

After a reversion to older liturgical practices under Mary and the subsequent return to the English liturgy under Elizabeth the constitution of the cathedral foundation was

¹⁷⁷ Freeman (1933-34), 131.

¹⁷⁸ Shaw (1991), 64-65. See below, Chapter 7, pp.238-39.

¹⁷⁹ Philip Barrett, 'The College of Vicars Choral', in *Hereford Cathedral: A History*, ed. by Gerald Aylmer and John Tiller (Hereford, 2000), 441-60, 447.

¹⁸⁰ John Harper, 'Music and Liturgy, 1300-1600', in *Hereford Cathedral...*, 375-97, 393-95.

eventually formulated in a set of statutes issued in 1583. These accommodated recent liturgical developments assimilating many of the issues presented in the royal injunctions of the Edwardian and early Elizabethan years.¹⁸¹ The number of vicars choral was reduced from the twenty recorded in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 to

twelve Vicars Choral, four Subcanons (whom they formerly called Deacons and Subdeacons) one who is to instruct the boys in music and play the organ, seven singing boys (whom they call Choristers) chosen for their skill in music of such skill in Music as may suffice for performing that duty.¹⁸²

The vicars choral were in priest's orders, the subcanons in deacon's or subdeacon's orders and the organist alone was permitted to be layman. As a development from the occasional engagement of supernumerary singers during the 1580s, laymen gradually replaced the deacons as subcanons until they came instead to be referred to as *canonicus laicus* during the early seventeenth century.¹⁸³ The revenues of any vacant vicarships were to be divided between the vicars and subcanons in consideration of the low salaries of the subcanons. New vicars choral were to be elected jointly by the succentor and other vicars choral on a year's probation before achieving full membership of the college.¹⁸⁴

because it cannot easily be assigned by Residentiary Canons insensible to music we do not wish anyone to be admitted by them to the College of Vicars Choral, with full possession as vicar choral, unless he will have been accepted by the Succentor and a majority of the Vicars Choral after a year's testing both of his moral integrity as well as his experience in singing and the sweetness of a melodious voice.

Each of the vicars choral were to take their turn in leading morning and evening prayer, with all vicars choral expected to be in attendance.¹⁸⁵

first we wish the sacred prayers to be said reverently and distinctly, as prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, by the Vicars Choral, each within his own week, beginning with the most senior, at five o'clock every morning of any

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 375.

¹⁸² *The Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Hereford. Promulgated on the 26th day of March, 1583*, typescript in Hereford Cathedral Library by R. J. W. Boyer (Malvern, 1994), p.6, a translation of the copy of Thomas Thornton, canon, precentor and librarian, 1573-1629, HCA, MS Cap 41(4).

¹⁸³ Ian Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals, c.1547-c.1646* (London, 1993), 182-83; Harper, in *Hereford Cathedral...*, 396.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.6.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p.18.

non-festival days between the Feast of the annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the first day of September but for the rest of the year about half past six o'clock of the morning in the Cathedral Church. At which we order all Vicars choral to be present unless prevented either by ill health or by another cause sanctioned by the Custos and the majority of the said vicars under penalty of a penny to be deducted from the benefits (which they call *Secta Chori*) for each day and to be paid into the common funds of the said College.

In 1634, at the suggestion of Archbishop William Laud to Charles I, a Commission was appointed under the bishop of Hereford, William Wren, to compile a new set of statutes. Completed in 1637 they maintained a similar pattern to the statutes of 1583 but reflected a greater interest in the ceremonial aspect of liturgy, with a stronger emphasis placed on the attendance of the clergy at the daily choral services. The period of residency for the canons was also modified.¹⁸⁶

All the vicars choral would have sung as part of the choir, and many were sufficiently experienced musicians (some with music degrees) who would on occasion have assisted the organist with the training of the choristers and playing of the organ. The organists John Bull, John Farrant, John Fido, William Inglott and Hugh Davis were composers, their works performed at Hereford and other cathedrals. Some of the vicars choral, Thomas Boyce, William Broad and Matthew White, as minor composers also contributed to the local repertory.¹⁸⁷

An account written by military visitors to Hereford in 1634 speaks favourably of the vicars choral, their college, the choral service, and the organ:¹⁸⁸

Next came wee into a brave and ancient privileg[e]d Place, through the Lady Arbour cloyster, close by the Chapter House, called the Vicar's Chorall, or Colledge Cloyster, where 12 of the singing men, all in orders, most of them Masters in Arts, of a Gentile garbe, have their convenient several dwellings, and a fayre Hall, with richly-painted windows, Colledge like, wherein they constantlye dyet together, and have their Cooke, Butler, and other officers, with

¹⁸⁶ *The Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Hereford, Promulgated AD 1637*, ed. by J. Jebb and H. W. Phillott (Oxford, 1882); Stanford Lehmborg and Gerald Aylmer, 'Reformation to Restoration, 1535-1660', in *Hereford Cathedral...*, 87-108, 99; Paul Iles, 'Music and Liturgy since 1600', in *Hereford Cathedral...*, 398-440, 401.

¹⁸⁷ See below, Chapter 7, pp.228-34. Boyce held an Oxford BMus and White appears listed as a DMus.

¹⁸⁸ London, BL, Lansdowne MS 213, ff.332-34: 'Relation of a survey of 26 counties in 1634, by a Captain, a Lieutenant, and an Ancient, all three of the military company in Norwich', as quoted in A. T. Bannister, *The Cathedral Church of Hereford* (London, 1924), 101.

a fayre Library to themselves, consisting of all English books, wherein (after we had freely tasted of their Chorall cordiall Liquor) we spent our time till the Bell toll[e]d us away to Cathedral prayers. There wee heard a most sweet Organ, and voyces of all parts, Tenor, Counter-Tenor, Treeble, and Bas[s]e; and amongst that orderly shewy crew of Queristers our landlord guide did act his part in deep and sweet Diapason.

The choristers

Two of the seven choristers specified by the Elizabethan statutes were the responsibility of the vicars choral and were paid from college income. The cathedral chapter funded the other five, their expenses for their clothing, tuition and wages appearing in the clavigers' accounts. Apparently this had also been the arrangement before the granting of the Elizabethan statutes the clavigers' accounts of 1570-71 recording the following payments for 'Queristers Apparell':¹⁸⁹

Inprimis for xii yardes of ketyshe clothe at vs vid the yarde some, iii*li* vis
 Item xxviii^{ti} yards of white cotton to lyne their gownes at viii*d* y^e yard, xxiis viii*d*
 Item xv yardes of white fryse for their cotes at xiii*d* ye yards, xv is viii*d*
 Item for canvas for y^e gown collers, x*d*
 It[e]m delyvred to S^r John George to bye the hose and showes against Christmas, xs
 It[e]m payed for v cappes for them at xv*d* the capp / some, vis viii*d*

The education of the choristers was stipulated in the statutes of 1637:¹⁹⁰

We also charge the Dean and Chapter before God, that they take care that at leisure hours, as often as it shall be allowed in consideration of the time or the necessities of the Church or of musical practice, The Choristers be faithfully instructed in Grammar, or if they be altogether incapable of this, in the art of Writing, or in Arithmetic, or in the practice of the harp, or virginals [*aut in lyrae, cytharae pulsatione*], or in some other liberal employment not unworthy of a respectable man and suited to earn his livelihood hereafter; and that they provide them, at the expense of the Church, with necessary books or instruments required in this respect, that they may not afterwards, when they have grown up, be not only a burden, but also a scandal and reproach to the Church.

The organists and masters of the choristers

Old Foundation cathedrals generally combined both offices in one, but as circumstance demanded at Hereford these were often shared between two individuals. John Hodges

¹⁸⁹ Hereford, HCA, MS R587, clavigers' accounts, 1570-71.

¹⁹⁰ Jebb and Phillott, (1882), 43.

had been organist at Hereford since 1538, having previously served as master of the Lady chapel at the Augustinian priory of Llanthony Secunda, Gloucester, until its dissolution.¹⁹¹ In common with many other pre-Reformation organists at Hereford, Hodges was appointed verger in 1551, and there are references to him in the chapter acts of 1562 where he is titled as both organist and verger.¹⁹² In 1581, probably to ease the burden on Hodges who had been cathedral organist for 43 years, Thomas Mason was appointed master of the choristers and, in 1582, a share of Hodges's organ playing duties passed to John Bull.¹⁹³

John Bull was probably born in the vicinity of Old Radnor which, although part of Wales, lay within the boundaries of the diocese of Hereford.¹⁹⁴ He is probably identifiable as the chorister, Johannem Bulle, admitted to Hereford cathedral on 31st August 1573.¹⁹⁵ Initially, Bull was appointed to share the duties of organist with John Hodges, with the intention of assuming full responsibility for the post following Hodges's death.¹⁹⁶ On 21st January 1583, the chapter charged the master of the choristers, Thomas Mason, with negligence and consequently appointed Bull in his stead.¹⁹⁷ Bull's prolonged absence during February 1585 was cause for complaint by the chapter, who deliberated that this signified that the posts of organist and master of the choristers had become vacant and replacements were to be sought. No new appointments were made and Bull returned only to be suspended from duty later in the year charged with disobedience and insolence. Bull's talent as a church musician did not go unnoticed, for in January 1585/6 he was sworn a gentleman of the Chapel Royal. Bull relinquished his post as organist and master of the choristers at Hereford during the summer of 1586 though his association with the cathedral was to continue until 1590/1, during which time he was let rooms in the college of vicars choral.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹¹ See above, Chapter 3, p.108.

¹⁹² Hereford, HCA, MS 7031/1, chapter act book, 1512-66, ff.106r, 167v; also in a three-volume transcript made by P. G. S. Baylis (1969-70) with numbering of acts with typescript digest and index by P. E. Baylis: nos.810, 1120.

¹⁹³ Hereford, HCA, MS 7031/2, chapter act book, 1566-1601, f.96; Hereford, HCA, MS 7031/2, chapter act book, 1601-1712, f.104v.

¹⁹⁴ See below, Chapter 6, p.202.

¹⁹⁵ Shaw (1991), 132.

¹⁹⁶ MS 7031/2, f.104v.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ Shaw (1991), 132-33.

After leaving Hereford, John Bull achieved high regard as a keyboard player and composer, continuing to serve the Chapel Royal until his departure overseas in 1613. He worked during 1613-14 as organist at the Archduke's chapel, Brussels, and in 1617 was appointed as organist of Antwerp cathedral, a post he held until his death in 1628.¹⁹⁹ It is not known whether any of his compositions, organ or choral, were ever performed at Hereford during his lifetime but it is certainly possible, since his anthems were widely circulated.²⁰⁰

Thomas Mason served as temporary organist during the period of Bull's absence and his subsequent departure. On 8th April 1586 Thomas Warrock was appointed to work alongside Mason as organist until Warrock was formally appointed organist and master of the choristers on 30th September 1586. Warrock, like Bull, was prone to absenteeism, causing the vicars choral to threaten to withhold his wages if this persisted. A chapter act of 10th November 1586 records the appointment of Thomas Madokes, vicar choral, as organist. The vicars choral act book, however, appoints 'Sir Thomas Mason, the subchanter' to be their organist 'for this said one whole year'.²⁰¹

During the course of the 1590s there were a total of six separate appointments made to the post of organist and master of the choristers, John Fido holding this office on three occasions. On 22nd March 1591, Fido took over as organist and master of the choristers from Warrock and Mason, who had probably shared their duties. Exactly one year later John Farrant was appointed organist and master of the choristers. Evidently this was the same John Farrant who had been organist at Salisbury cathedral and probably Bristol, and whose unruly nature was a cause of conflict at both these cathedrals. His resignation as organist and vicar choral at Hereford is recorded on 24th December 1593.²⁰² John Fido returned to Hereford in 1593 but became a cause of contention among the vicars choral, who on 22nd February 1595 ruled

not to allow John Fido not to be our organist neither to pay him any wages therefore neither to admit him to come to our house or commons. This act was made against him for that he gave out most slanderous words against the said custos and company.²⁰³

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 133.

²⁰⁰ See below, Chapter 7, p.229, and Appendix L.

²⁰¹ Shaw (1991), 133-34.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 134-35.

²⁰³ Hereford, HCA, MS 7003/1, vicars choral act book, 1576-1661, entry dated 22nd February 1595 as quoted in Shaw (1991), 135.

Fido then served as organist and master of the choristers at Worcester cathedral from March 1595 until his return to Hereford towards the end of 1596. Fido's second and third tenures at Hereford were punctuated by the incumbency of John Gibbs. Appointed organist on a year's probation, he may have been the John Gibbs who became almoner and master of the choristers at St Paul's cathedral in 1613. Fido soon returned to Hereford and was admitted as organist 7th January 1597 on a year's probation, but was granted permanent status on 14th May 1597.²⁰⁴ He is then recorded as master of the choristers at Christ Church, Dublin, in 1600, a vicar choral of Wells cathedral in 1605, and minor canon at Worcester in 1610.²⁰⁵ Contacts between Hereford cathedral and Fido were maintained, for the clavigers' accounts of 1612-13 record 40s paid 'to M^r Fidoe of Worcester for Songe bookes'.²⁰⁶ John Fido, as a colleague of Thomas Tomkins at Worcester and with recent experience of the repertoires of other cathedrals, would have been ideally positioned to serve as a conduit for the dissemination of music. Fido may even have included some of his own compositions in the 'Songe bookes' sold to Hereford.²⁰⁷

William Inglott, organist at Hereford between 1597 and 1610, is probably identifiable as the organist bearing that name at Norwich cathedral, 1587-91 and c.1611-21.²⁰⁸ The presence of Inglott's *Out of the deep* in the repertory of St Laurence's, Ludlow, and *I am well pleased* at Gloucester cathedral suggests also that his music would also have been performed at Hereford.²⁰⁹

Hugh Davis was the last organist at Hereford before the Civil War. It is not certain when he took up the position of organist, he had been a vicar choral since 25th June 1605, and Shaw tentatively suggests he may have become organist soon after Inglott's return to Norwich but was unable to find evidence to support this.²¹⁰ The clavigers' accounts of 1608-09 record payments of £2 13s and £1 to Inglott and Davis respectively for teaching the choristers. The same set of accounts also record a payment of 1s 'to S^r

²⁰⁴ Shaw (1991), 135.

²⁰⁵ See below, Chapter 7, pp.231-32.

²⁰⁶ Hereford, HCA, MS R600, clavigers' accounts, 1612-13.

²⁰⁷ See below, Chapter 7, p.228.

²⁰⁸ Shaw (1991), 135-36 has the dates 1597 to at least 1609. The clavigers' accounts R596 records a payment to Inglott at Michaelmas 1610. He had apparently left Hereford in March 1610; Shaw (1991), 199-201.

²⁰⁹ See below, Chapter 7, p.233.

²¹⁰ Shaw (1991), 136.

Davis for repaying the organs'.²¹¹ This may well indicate that Hugh Davis had taken a share in Inglott's duties, the two working together until Inglott's departure. Subsequent clavigers' accounts do not identify the recipients of payments for the instruction of the choristers probably because there was now a period of greater musical stability at the cathedral.

Attendance at morning and evening prayer was obligatory for all vicars choral. An entry in the vicars choral act book indicates that Davis (as one of the vicars choral) was not to be marked absent from the start of services as it was necessary for him to be in the organ loft in readiness to play before the reading of the first lesson:²¹²

Mr Hugh Davis shall be spared out of the choir and not be pricked [marked absent] but accounted as present at the psalmody and *Gloria Patri* so that he be ready in the organ loft before the reading of the first lesson every morning and evening prayer and attend his duty there.

Hugh Davis remained organist until his death in 1644. He combined the post of organist with that of master of the choristers, received an Oxford BMus in 1623, and from 1637 also served as *custos* to the college of vicars choral. His compositions appear in seventeenth-century music manuscripts at both Hereford and Gloucester cathedrals suggesting that they were an established part of the repertoire before and after the Commonwealth.²¹³

The organ

Documentation concerning the post-Reformation organ at Hereford is limited solely to the maintenance work witnessed by the clavigers' accounts. Routine repairs were undertaken in 1588 when William Hill received 2s 9½d 'for cords for the organes & other things for the use of the Church as by his bill', and during 1589 when 6s 6d was paid 'To M^r Sub Chanter for mending the organs layd out in le[a]tther, glew, etc as by bill, xviiijd & for his paynes, vs'.²¹⁴ Unspecified repairs during 1608-09 amounted to £3, with a further 1s for repairs paid to Hugh Davis.²¹⁵ Details of repairs to the organ, were often listed in an invoice, the claviger only making note of the total amount in his

²¹¹ Hereford, HCA, MS R595, clavigers' accounts, 1608-09.

²¹² Hereford, HCA, MS 7003/1/1, vicars choral act book, 7th July 1630, as cited in Shaw (1991), 136.

²¹³ See below, Chapter 7, pp.230-31.

²¹⁴ Hereford, HCA, MS R588, clavigers' accounts, 1587-91, ff.14, 18.

²¹⁵ Hereford, HCA, MS R595, clavigers' accounts, 1608-09.

accounts. This is evident from an entry in the clavigers' accounts for 1611 'for amendinge the Organs *ut patet per Billam* [as appears by the bill] xliiis vid'.²¹⁶ Also during 1611 cord costing 6*d* was provided for the organ, some minor repairs were carried out by a local artisan, ('Ite[m] for amending the Organs to Stokes the Sadler. iiid') and Thomas Boyce was paid 12*s* 'for pulling downe the old Organs'.²¹⁷ In the following accounting year it was necessary to engage the skills of a specialist organ builder and £5 was paid to 'M^r Dallam for amendinge the Organs'.²¹⁸ Finally, the accounts for 1639-41 record payment of 8*d* 'for hinges & putting them on a door in y^e Organ loft'.²¹⁹

A cessation in the choral tradition at Hereford became increasingly imminent as the 1640s progressed. Nehemiah Wharten, a young soldier in the parliamentary New Model Army, wrote after visiting the cathedral in 1642:²²⁰

Sabbath day, about the time of morning prayer, we went to the Minster, when the pipes played and the puppets sang so sweetly that some of our soldiers could not forbear dauncinge in the holie quire; whereat the Baalists were sore displeased. The anthem ended, they fell to prayer.

Services continued to be sung at Hereford in spite of the execution of Archbishop Laud and the abolition of the prayer book in 1645. The cathedral remained in Royalist hands until December of that year, when Colonel Birch took control of the city for the Parliamentarians. The cathedral, through the intervention of its dean, was not to suffer to the extent of other cathedrals but was nonetheless sequestered of its endowments, its clergy ejected and their property confiscated. Worship at the cathedral was now led by ministers who used the forms of services prescribed in the *Directory for the Public Worship of God* (1645).²²¹

²¹⁶ Hereford, HCA, MS R598, clavigers' accounts, 1611-12.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*

²¹⁸ Hereford, HCA, MS R600, clavigers' accounts, 1612-13.

²¹⁹ Hereford, HCA, MS R607, clavigers' accounts, 1639-41.

²²⁰ As quoted by Iles, in *Hereford Cathedral...*, 401-02.

²²¹ Lehmerg and Aylmer, *ibid.*, 100-02; Iles, *ibid.*, 402.

CHAPTER 6

A Survey of the Post-Reformation Parish Churches and Private Chapels

The main sources of information regarding musical provision and activity at parish churches for this period are churchwardens' accounts. The quality of these records varies considerably from church to church – the most comprehensive being for Ludlow and Swansea, but even these are not without occasional lacunae. The fragmentary churchwardens' accounts for other churches leave many questions unanswered. Some churches may possess accounts in a fairly complete form but containing little or no reference to music;¹ these churches should not be automatically discounted or hastily assumed to be musically barren.

The majority of churches have no surviving churchwardens' accounts from the period, but in certain instances it has been possible to gather information from other sources, for example from extracts transcribed by nineteenth-century local historians from the now lost churchwardens' accounts of Leominster. No churchwardens' accounts survive for St Giles's, Wrexham, yet other contemporary evidence indicates that this church was famed for its organ and had a choral foundation in place at least during the first part of the seventeenth century. It is even possible to suggest part of its choral repertory.

Another valuable resource has been the parish register, which details all baptisms, marriages and deaths within a parish. Included in the registers of St Oswald's and Holy Trinity, Chester, are the names of several cathedral choir men and their families. This does not imply a musical involvement of these men at either church, but rather that they lived within the parish boundary, the church consequently fulfilling its legal and spiritual duty to its parishioners.

There will undoubtedly be churches omitted from this chapter for which it has not been possible to trace historical evidence indicating a musical tradition. It is nonetheless

¹ All Saints', Hereford possesses churchwardens' accounts for 1619-65 in which there is absolutely no mention of music: Hereford, Herefordshire County Record Office, MS BC63/1.

feasible that a tradition of congregational metrical psalm singing may well have flourished at such churches, perhaps to an organ accompaniment, or otherwise led by the parish clerk, vicar or other member of the church.

Although much valuable research has also been carried out by Alan Smith, David Evans, Richard Francis and Peter Klein concerning St Laurence's, Ludlow, from the vast collection of corporation records at SRO, Shrewsbury, it has still been possible, using the corporation minute books and renters' accounts, to extend this already well documented history further. At other borderland churches it been possible to draw attention to the various musical traditions in much greater depth and across a wider time span than had previously been attained.² Similar musical provision existed in Welsh churches but, with the exception of the private chapel at Chirk Castle,³ these have, until now, received even less musicological attention.

Abergavenny

During the pre-Reformation period there were two churches in Abergavenny; one was the Benedictine priory church dedicated to the Virgin Mary (a cell of St Vincent, Mans), the other was the parish church dedicated to St John. Following the dissolution of the priory St Mary's replaced St John's as the parish church; the latter was appropriated by Henry VIII to house his newly established free school.⁴ The priory church, which benefiting from the patronage of the Herbert family, was moderately wealthy by Welsh standards, with a valuation of £129 5s 8d, but housing only a prior and four monks during its final days.⁵ During the later sixteenth century the priory church was visited by Thomas Churchyard, who commented that

² The work of Alan Smith has but touched the surface for this geographical area. See Alan Smith, 'The practice of music in English churches and cathedrals, and at the Court, during the reign of Elizabeth I' (unpublished PhD thesis, Birmingham, 1967).

³ Thomas William Reynolds, 'Christ Church Manuscript 6, the Chirk Castle Organbook: a study' (unpublished MA dissertation, University of Wales, Bangor, 1996) and William Reynolds, 'Middleton's Household Chapel: Church Music on the Welsh Border in the Seventeenth Century', *WMH*, 4 (2000), 111-24.

⁴ William Coxe, *An Historical Tour in Monmouthshire* (1801; 2nd edn., Brecon, 1904), 169.

⁵ Glanmor Williams *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation* (2nd edn., Cardiff, 1976), 561.

In this church was a most famous work in manner of a genealogie of kings, called the root of Jesse, which worke is defaced and pulled down in peeces.⁶

Here was proof that there were features worthy of note which had survived the iconoclasm of the Reformation. This famous statue was again remarked upon when visited by Richard Symonds in 1645, who noted also the presence of organs which may possibly have dated back a hundred years:⁷

A very faire guilt roode left, and old organs. At the east end of the north y[s]le church lyes a large statue for Jesse, and a branch did spring from him, and on his boughs divers statues but spoyl[e]d.

Beaumaris: the household of Thomas Cheadle

A history written in 1674 by William Williams of Beaumaris records that during the first half of the seventeenth century, Thomas Cheadle, a former pirate who had married Lady Anne, widow of the late Sir Richard Bulkley the younger,⁸

Built good houses as the Red house in Bewmares, The House adjoining to the Church of Penmon, The House att Lleniog, And the Castle att Lleniog &c., Kept good Hospitable, a handsome attendance, a great Hous[e]hold, An Organist & Musicke, & had prayer & anthymes every ten o clocke in the Morning in his house.

Chester: Holy Trinity

The post-Reformation churchwardens' accounts show that Holy Trinity followed official liturgical policy including the reversion to catholic practices during the reign of Mary I. In spite of the impressive list of service books and trappings in inventories from the 1530s and 1540s, there is little evidence of liturgical or musical activity during the second half of the century.⁹ The only possible reference to music is the purchase of

⁶ Thomas Churchyard, *Worthiness of Wales* (London, 1587; repr. 1776).

⁷ Richard Symonds, *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army During the Civil War*, ed. by C. E. Long, Camden Society (Westminster, 1859), 238.

⁸ E. Gwynn Jones, ed., 'History of the Bulkely Family (N.L.W. MS. 9080 E)', with introduction by B. Dew Roberts, *TAAS* (1948), 1-99, 57-58. I am grateful to Dr Sally Harper for drawing my attention to this reference.

⁹ See above, Chapter 4, p.139, and also, Appendix F.

a psalter in 1549 and again in 1560, and the presence of ‘a gre[a]te Au[n]tyfiners of p[ar]chment’ in 1557.¹⁰

Included among the entries of the parish register of Holy Trinity are references to some of the seventeenth-century choir men of Chester cathedral. These include the baptisms of the children of Henry Bedell (1618, 1619, 1525) and Thomas Percivall (1625), and the death in 1619 of Randle Jewett [senior], merchant.¹¹

Chester: St Mary-on-the-Hill

Following the records in the churchwardens’ accounts of repairs to the organ during the 1530s and 1540s,¹² the next mention of an instrument is the ‘payre of organs’ listed in an inventory of church goods ‘delivered to the churchwardens on the 28th May 1553, to be kept in the church till the king’s pleasure was further known’.¹³ The only post-Reformation references to the organ in the churchwardens’ accounts are for the storage of pipes in the coffer in 1565. The sale of unwanted pipes as scrap followed in 1566 and the complete dismantling of what remained of the organ case eventually took place in 1574.¹⁴

Chester: St Oswald’s Parish

The parish of St Oswald’s worshipped at an altar dedicated to St Oswald originally situated in the nave of the abbey church. Before its re-foundation as a Benedictine priory, St Werburgh’s had formerly been the collegiate church of St Oswald’s and it is from the Anglo-Saxon collegiate foundation that the parish draws its name. The position of this altar moved several times during successive alterations to the abbey church before it was finally situated in the south transept.¹⁵

¹⁰ J. R. Beresford ‘The Churchwardens’ Accounts of Holy Trinity, Chester, 1532 to 1633’, *JCAS*, n.s., 38 (1951), 95-172, 113, 120, 123.

¹¹ *Parish Register of the Holy and Undivided Trinity in the City of Chester, 1532-1837*, ed. by L. M. Farrall (Chester, 1914), 20, 21, 24, 25, 85: transcribed from London, BL, Harl MS 2177. See above, Chapter 5, p.172, for Randle Jewett [senior].

¹² See above, Chapter 3, pp.112-13.

¹³ J. P. Earwaker, *The History of the Church and Parish of St Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester*, ed. by R. H. Morris (London, 1898), 5.

¹⁴ Chester, CRO, MS P20/13/1, churchwardens’ accounts, St Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester, 1536-1689. See below, Chapter 8, pp.284-85.

¹⁵ Ronald W. Morant, *Monastic and Collegiate Cheshire* (Braunton, 1996), 34-36.

The vicar of St Oswald's would have been drawn from the cathedral staff and there are occasional references to the singing men of the cathedral who may have considered themselves as members of St Oswald's parish. During the early seventeenth century there are references to the tradition of beating the bounds and the involvement of the cathedral choir. For example, in 1608, 3s 4d was 'Spente uppon the Synginge men of the Qu[i]are, goinge with the vicar and parishioners uppo[n] processio[n] in Cyttie and County'.¹⁶

Chester: St Peter's

According to the 1553 inventory of church goods, St Peter's possessed 'A payre of organs'.¹⁷ There is no mention of an organ in the earliest available churchwardens' accounts and nothing further concerning music has come to light from other sources.¹⁸

Chirk Castle: the private chapel of the Myddleton family

Chirk Castle is situated within the old county boundary of Denbighshire near the English border. Built in 1282, it was one of a series of castles constructed along the border in order to enforce the conquests of Edward I. The castle then passed through the hands of several influential medieval families including the Mortimers, the Fitzalans, and the Beauforts, coming under the administration of the Tudors from 1495 until 1563 when Elizabeth I granted its possession to the earl of Leicester. From 1595 Chirk Castle has been the ancestral home of the Myddleton family, after having been bought for £5000 by Sir Thomas Myddleton (1550-1631), one of the sixteen children of Richard Myddleton (1508-75), governor of Denbigh Castle. Sir Thomas had established himself in London as a well-respected and prosperous merchant adventurer who was to become, in 1613, its lord mayor. In 1612 ownership of Chirk Castle passed to his son, also named Thomas (1586-1666), who was married that same year.¹⁹

In 1625 the younger Sir Thomas was elected Member of Parliament for Denbighshire, and although originally a supporter of the Parliamentarian cause and a general in the

¹⁶ 'St Oswald's Church, 1575-1625, VIII: Walking the bounds', in *Cheshire Sheaf*, no.723, pp.100-01.

¹⁷ R. H. Morris, *Chester in the Plantagenet and Tudor Reigns* (Chester, [1893]), 152-53.

¹⁸ Chester, CRO, MS P63/7/1, churchwarden accounts, St Peter's, Chester, 1626-87.

¹⁹ Reynolds (1996), 17.

Civil War, he changed his allegiances and sided with the Royalists from 1651. Despite his portrayal in the *Dictionary of National Biography* as an ardent Puritan,²⁰ an assumption made simply on the grounds of his Parliamentary affiliation, there are obvious inconsistencies with the evidence available in the Chirk Castle accounts and records deposited at the National Library of Wales.²¹ It is known, for instance, that between February 1630 and 7th December 1632 Sir Thomas spent £120 upon repairs to the private chapel at Chirk Castle, as well as £150 on the installation of a two-manual organ by John Burward of London.²² The presence of a crucifix there testifies to his level of churchmanship but most significant was the establishment and patronage by Myddleton of a modest choral foundation at the castle.²³ Sir Thomas was always keen to uphold his high political and social status in and around Chirk.²⁴ Perhaps the institution of choral services at Chirk Castle was used as a sign to others of his social standing, since it was not unusual for many large and prominent households to maintain a staff of musicians.²⁵

Of particular significance to musicologists is the survival of a set of four partbooks which had been commissioned for the chapel and had remained virtually unnoticed in the castle library until offered up for sale at auction in 1970.²⁶ In conjunction with a supporting organbook²⁷ they not only illustrate the repertory of a seventeenth-century provincial choral establishment but have also brought to light several items unique to Chirk. They have made available alternative readings of standard pieces and have also

²⁰ *DNB*, xxxix, 441-43.

²¹ Aberystwyth, NLW, Department of Manuscripts and Records, indexed in E. D. Jones & G. Milwyn Griffiths, *A Schedule of Chirk Castle Manuscripts and Documents deposited by Colonel R. E. Middleton* (Aberystwyth, 1939), with a description in G. Milwyn Griffiths, 'The Chirk Castle Manuscripts and Documents', *NLWJ*, 8 (1954), 335-48.

²² Organ Contract: Aberystwyth, NLW, Chirk Collection, group F, MS 5526. Transcribed below in Appendix H: see below, Chapter 8, pp.268-72.

²³ *Chirk Castle Accounts, AD 1605-1666* comp. by W. M. Myddleton (St Albans, 1908), p.x.

²⁴ See Reynolds (2000), 111-24, 112-13.

²⁵ As for example at Ware Park, Hertfordshire, the home of Sir Henry Fanshawe (1569-1616), Remembrancer of the Exchequer, where the composer John Ward was in service. See John Aplin, 'Sir Henry Fanshawe and two sets of early seventeenth-century part-books at Christ Church Oxford', *ML*, 62 (1976), 11-24.

²⁶ New York, NYPL, MS Mus.Res.*MNZ (Chirk), the Chirk Castle partbooks. See Reynolds (1996), 5.

²⁷ Oxford, Christ Church Library, MS Mus 6, the Chirk Castle organbook. See Reynolds (1996).

helped fill in gaps where previously only incomplete manuscript readings had been available.²⁸ Furthermore, the relationship between the set of partbooks, the organbook and the organ contract raises important issues of seventeenth-century performance practice including pitch and the phenomenon of the transposing organ.²⁹

The Chirk set of music manuscripts is the only source for anthems and services attributed to William Deane. Inscriptions further identify Deane as organist during the 1630s at both the private chapel of Chirk Castle and the parish church of St Giles's, Wrexham, thus indicating a close link between these two institutions.³⁰

*Conwy: St Mary and All Saints*³¹

The only post-Reformation document of significance to this study is the will of Robert Wynne of Conwy, dated 1588/9. It records Wynne's bequest that the rents and issues of the messuages, tenements and lands called Hafod y Llan were to be used to erect and maintain a free school in Conwy. The will further specifies that the schoolmaster was to be 'learned [...] in the Arte of musycke', and that eight of the pupils from the school 'whose voices are moste apte for musicke' were to serve as choristers in the parish church of Conwy:³²

That they the said bailives and burgesses and their successours shalle theirw[i]th and in respecte thei of erecte and mainteine a ffree schoole in the said bourough of Conweye and shalle yeerelye paye or Cause to be payde to a schoolmaster sufficientlye learned for the education of scholers in the Arte of grammer and Other instructions requisyte for a grammer schoole the annuell Rente of annuyte of fyteene pounds of good and lawfulle moneye of England quarterlye by evene porcions. And my wille is that yf a man sufficientlye learned in the premisses and in the Arte of musycke maye be had to be schoolmaster for the said Annuyte in the said place that such a man from tyme to tyme be preferred before enye other for the erection of a Queere in the Churche yf it maye be of the said boroughe. And the said Schoolemaster chardged w[i]th the education of eighte of his scholars whose voices are moste apte for musicke in the said science upon payne of forfeiture of the said annuyte.

²⁸ Discussed in greater depth below, Chapter 7, pp.252-58.

²⁹ See William Reynolds, 'The Chirk Castle organ and organbook: an insight into performance practice involving a seventeenth-century "transposing" organ', *JBIOS*, 21 (1997), 28-55.

³⁰ See below, p.215, and, Chapter 7, pp.256-57.

³¹ Also known as St Mary and All Saints', Aberconwy.

³² Bangor, UWB, Mostyn MS 302.

Unfortunately there is no record of this bequest as ever having been carried out.

Haverfordwest: St Mary's

Haverfordwest was a medieval borough of Anglo-Norman foundation. In 1479 the lord of the lordship of Haverfordwest granted a charter to the town for a corporation consisting of a mayor, sheriff, two bailiffs and burgesses. The town flourished and, by the reign of Elizabeth, rivalled Carmarthen as one of the most prosperous towns of south west Wales.³³ St Mary's was under the patronage of the Augustinian priory of Haverfordwest until its dissolution, when it passed to the Crown. In 1560 Queen Elizabeth granted the advowson of the rectory to the town corporation, which was henceforth responsible for all payments. The corporation had already gained a certain amount of control over the finances of the church, for an order had been passed in 1540 allowing them control over bequests for the provision of a priest to sing masses for the souls of the deceased.³⁴

Payments towards repairs to the bells and fabric of the church, or other provisions and expenses, are not confined to the churchwardens' account book – they were shared between several officers.³⁵ Initially there were the collectors of the priest's wages, who subsequently combined responsibilities with the church proctors and the collectors for the poor of the parish, later assuming the title of churchwardens.³⁶ St Mary's was staffed by a curate and a clerk.³⁷ Nowhere in any of the accounts for the period is there mention of payments to organists and choristers, or for repairs to organs. There is but a solitary payment to a man for singing in church at Christmas in 1587: 'Paid to Nynard Ranckall for he did sing in the church at Christmas, 1s'.³⁸

³³ *Calendar of the Records of the Borough of Haverfordwest, 1539-1660*, ed. by B. G. Charles (Cardiff, 1967), 1-2.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, the Appendix of which includes transcriptions of all the extant accounts of the officers of the borough, 1563-1600. The originals are deposited at Aberystwyth, NLW.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 174 ff.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 178-79, 202.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 201.

Leominster: St Peter's

Following the suppression of the Benedictine priory at Leominster the nave of the priory church remained in use as a parish church. Unfortunately the churchwardens' accounts for Leominster have been mislaid since extracts were published from them by F. Gainsford Blacklock in 1898.³⁹ The earliest reference to an organist in these extracts is dated 1613 when 1s 4d was 'paid to the organ player of Ludlow [Richard Crumpe] for his paines to come to see the organes'.⁴⁰ The churchwardens' inventory of 1619 refers to an organ at the church and to the case of a second older instrument, and suggests additional musical activity at St Peter's by the inclusion among the books of the church of seven singing books:⁴¹

It[e]^m on[e] Communion Booke, two old books, and an old Psalter, w[i]th the
book the clerk use[s]
It[e]^m 4 Prayer bookes
It[e]^m vii^{en} singinge bookes
[...]
It[e]^m twoe poyces [pieces] of lead for the organes
It[e]^m on[e] payer of organs, and on[e] old organ case

Blacklock's extracts from the churchwardens' accounts include references to organ repairs. In 1621, £2 was 'paid towards the repaireinge of the orgons by the consente of the p[ar]ishe'; in 1630 4d was paid 'for making a new key of the organ do[o]re', and finally in 1637, major repairs led to £5 being paid to 'Mr. Edward Smith for mending the organs'.⁴² Edward Smith was probably also the recipient of the £3 15s 'P[ai]d Mr. Smyth, organist, in p[aymen]^t of his wage' in 1624, and 'for his yeares wage' of £5 in 1627 and £2 in 1628.⁴³ He is probably identifiable as the Edward Smith who worked as organist of St Laurence's, Ludlow, from the spring of 1628 until 1630. He left for Hereford in that year, but maintained links with both Ludlow and Leominster as an organ repairer.⁴⁴ The only other payment to the organist recorded by Blacklock is in 1638, when £10 was 'p[ai]d the organist for his yeares wages', but unfortunately he is

³⁹ Richard Francis and Peter Klein, *The Organs and Organists of Ludlow Parish Church* (Ludlow, 1982), 27n; F. Gainsford Blacklock, *The Suppressed Benedictine Minster and other Ancient and Modern Institutions of the Borough of Leominster* (Leominster, 1898).

⁴⁰ Blacklock (1898), 493.

⁴¹ G. F. Townsend, *The Town and Borough of Leominster* (Leominster, [1867]), 243n-244n.

⁴² Blacklock (1898), 493.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Francis and Klein (1982), 29-30.

not named.⁴⁵ The organ was to survive the Civil War and was in use once more following the Restoration, only to perish in a fire at the church in March 1699.⁴⁶

One other reference deserving mention is a payment in the churchwardens' accounts of 1630: 'Item – for the singers on the Rogation Days, 1s 0d'.⁴⁷ This suggests that a choir would have processed around the parish, beating the bounds, a tradition that was also observed at St Oswald's, Chester.⁴⁸

Ludlow: St Laurence's

In 1551 the Palmers' Guild of Ludlow was dissolved, its interests passing to the town corporation. St Laurence's at this point in time possessed a choral foundation akin to a small cathedral, and whereas formerly its maintenance had been the responsibility of the Palmers' Guild, it now fell on the corporation to admit and pay the choristers, singingmen and organist. Documentation concerning the administration of the choir of St Laurence's is found among the extensive collection of Ludlow borough records deposited at Shropshire Record Office. Of particular relevance to the choir are the churchwardens' accounts, corporation renters' accounts, bailiffs' accounts, and five partbooks, each from separate sets once used by the choir.

The churchwardens' accounts show that it was often the organist's responsibility (sometimes assisted by the singing men) to copy music for the choir. The accounts record this duty being carried out by John Broke in 1557 and 1559, Walter Gibbs in 1629-30, and Thomas Heardson in 1638-39.⁴⁹ Printed music was also purchased for the choir in 1569: 'Item, payd unto John Dalton for iiij^{or} pricke song bo[o]kes in printe, ffor the churche, viijs'.⁵⁰ These may well have been copies of John Day's, *Certaine notes*, a collection of service settings and anthems.⁵¹ An inventory of church goods dated 22nd

⁴⁵ Blacklock (1898), 493.

⁴⁶ Townsend, ([1867]), 237, 244n.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁴⁸ See above, p.190.

⁴⁹ T. Wright, ed., 'Churchwardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow', *Camden Society*, 1st series, 102 (1869), 77, 93; Llewellyn Jones, ed., 'Churchwardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow [1629/30-1690/91]', *TSAS*, 2nd series, 4 (1892), 119-74, 119,138.

⁵⁰ Wright (1869), 136.

⁵¹ John Day, *Certaine notes set forth in foure and three parts* (London, 1565).

April 1658 includes 'sev[er]all setts of singinge bookes in the Cheste'.⁵² The five manuscript partbooks that survive today demonstrate the repertoire sung at St Laurence's and contain a mix of standard, local, and regional anthems and services. The Ludlow partbooks are discussed in greater depth in Chapter 7.⁵³

Little is known of the organists of the second half of the sixteenth century. The churchwardens' accounts make occasional reference to them when they are paid for repairing the organs or copying music; their salaries are recorded in the renters' accounts. Maurice Phillips was identified as the organist when the Palmers' Guild passed to the corporation in 1551. Contemporary with Phillips was John Broke, one of the singing men who probably also served as choirmaster and organist, 1549-59. During the 1560s the renters' accounts record a higher salary for Thomas Tanner than the other singing men. He may have served as organist and choirmaster, and according to the churchwardens' accounts he undertook repairs to the organ in 1565 and 1566. His death is recorded in the parish registers 11th May 1566.⁵⁴ It is possible that Tanner is identifiable as the Thomas Tanner who was organist at Wells cathedral from 1562.⁵⁵ Subsequent organists at Ludlow during the sixteenth century include Thomas Cope, (fl.1569-79), John Coke (fl.1578-83), and John Harrison (fl.1584-97).⁵⁶

The choir at Ludlow prompted Thomas Churchyard to write the following lines when describing Ludlow in his poem *Worthiness of Wales* in 1587:⁵⁷

And for the queere, are boyes brought up to sing,
And to serve God, and doe none other thing.

Three tymes a day, in church good sarvice is,
At sixe o'clock, at nine, and then at three: [...]

The corporation, in their overseeing of the appointment and admission of the choristers, singingmen and organist, recorded details in their minute book. A typical entry for the admission of a singingman would read:⁵⁸

⁵² Ll. Jones (1892), 156-57.

⁵³ See below, Chapter 7, pp.248-52.

⁵⁴ Francis and Klein (1982), 24-25.

⁵⁵ See Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1558* (Oxford, 1991), 285.

⁵⁶ Francis and Klein, (1982), 25-26.

⁵⁷ Churchyard (1776), 84.

⁵⁸ Shrewsbury, SRO, MS LB2/1/1, corporation minute book, 1590-1648, f.1v.

1590 17th October A new Bas[s]e elected
 At this day George Sponsley is ellected by this company to serve in the quire in the place of the Base and to have for his wages *iiij*li to him paid quarterly. And also the said George Sponsley shall in consideration of the same sallarie use daily morninge prayer between six & seven of the clock.

Choristers were regularly admitted, as on 9th November 1594: ‘Three Queristers wages: M[emoran]^d[um] at this assemblie Love, Wellins & Yonge are admitted to be Queristers and eny of them to have for thire wage for everie quarter of a ye[a]re from henceforth *iijs iiijd*’.⁵⁹ The choristers who usually totalled four in number would regularly, in addition to their wages, receive other benefits, as the following entry dated 7th December 1605 illustrates:⁶⁰

It is at this daie ordered that the *iiij*^{or} queristers Job, Roe, Moses and Adams his sonne the singing boye shall have their Coates and breeches against xpmas [Christmas] as hath bin accustomed and M^f Bailiff to have allowance for the same.

When George Pingle was appointed organist on 27th October 1597 we find that it was conditional on his good discipline: ‘It is the said day ordered that Georg Pringle [*sic*] be admitted to supply the organist and singing in the Quire & to have *vli* for his salary & stipend soe long as he behaveth himself’.⁶¹ Pingle’s duties as organist were increased on 9th April 1603 and his wages adjusted accordingly:⁶²

It is at this daie agreed that George Pingle Organist of this towne shall mette and diligentlie instruct the queristers or singing boies of o[u]^f queere in singing w[i]^t[h] in our Church according to the scienc[e] of musik and that the vestrie house w[i]^t[h] in the chauncell of the said church be allowed him for to instruct them in accordinglie. In consideracon wher[e]of the wages of the said Pingle is agreed to be nowe increased and inlarged over and besides the wage he hath alreadie to *xxs p[er] an[n]u[m]*.

On 1st February 1604/5, Richard Crump, a chorister, was appointed organist and was to receive ‘*xxs p[er] an[n]u[m]* for playinge upon the orgaines & *xxs* for singinge in the

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, f.16.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, f.59.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, f.24v.

⁶² *Ibid.*, f.45.

quere from Christmas last past in full recompence of his whole wages p[er] an[n]u[m].⁶³ This appointment receives confirmation on 2nd July 1605 when it was ‘ordered that Richard Crompe shal[l] be Rec[eived] into the s[er]vice of a singingman and Organiste till a better can be p[ro]vided and during the pleasure of this Company And to have for his wages after the rate of iij/li p[er] an[n]u[m]’.⁶⁴ Crump continued as organist until 1620 but was assisted, from 1609 onwards, by Griffith Reynolds who was appointed choirmaster.⁶⁵

It is at this day ordered that Griffith Reynolds singingeman shall have xxs p[er] an[n]um allowed unto him for teaching of the queresters on o[u]r church & keeping them in good order w[hi]ch he is yeerly enioyn[e]d to do so be paid unto him by the rentor of this corporac[i]on by vs a quarter the first paym[ent] to begin at Christmas now next ensuinge.

Benjamin Cosyn was appointed organist and choirmaster in 1621.⁶⁶

It is at this day ordered that Beniamyn Cosyns gent shalbe the organist for this towne in steed of Richard Crompe deceased from Midsom[m]er last for so longe as hee shall continue have and be liked of the said towne receavinge yearely for the same vli to be paid quarterly and also to have xls yearely paid him in like manner for teachinge of Children in o[u]r quier and to be paid in like sort, and y^e said M^r Cosyns to be paied his half years wages due at the feast of the An[n]unciacon next of the Virgin Mary.

Cosyn’s tenure as organist was short lived for on 22nd November 1622 he was dismissed having absented himself for the previous two months.⁶⁷ A Mr Perkins received payment for the first quarter of 1623, probably as a temporary organist until a permanent appointment could be made.⁶⁸ On 5th May 1623 Marmaduke Pardo,⁶⁹ the troublesome former organist of St David’s cathedral, was officially appointed organist at St Laurence’s and maintained his position until 1626 when it was

ordered that Marmaduke Pardoe Clarke for he too often company keeping in divine service & for other misdemeanors shal[l] be forthw[i]th removed from his

⁶³ *Ibid.*, f.54v.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, f.56.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, f.70.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, f.131v.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, f.137. See below, Chapter 7, p.243; and Appendix G for a previously untranscribed letter from Cosyn to the town corporation concerning the payment of his wages.

⁶⁸ LB4/2, renters’ accounts for the first half of 1623 only; Francis and Klein (1982), 28. This was probably the Abednego Perkins, master of the choristers at St Asaph cathedral in 1631, see above, Chapter 5, pp.156-57.

⁶⁹ See above, Chapter 5, pp.165-66.

place & M^r Rentor to pay forthw[i]th his quarterage due at Micha[elma]s & another in his place to be p[ro]vided.⁷⁰

Pardo's successors included Walter Gibbs (1626-28),⁷¹ Edward Smith (1628-30),⁷² Edward Standley (1630-34),⁷³ John Maylard (1634-35),⁷⁴ and Berkeley Wrench (1635-37).⁷⁵ John ap Evan served as a temporary organist during 1637, and is described in the corporation minutes as 'one of the singinge boyes [...] until a newe Organist be placed in the church or other order to the contrary'.⁷⁶ There then followed Thomas Heardson (1637-42),⁷⁷ and lastly Berkeley Wrench (1642-45) for a second tenure.⁷⁸

There are plentiful references in the churchwardens' accounts to the organs at St Laurence's, and it is clear that there was more than one instrument in use to accommodate liturgical and musical activity in different parts of the building. There are references to the sale of older instruments in 1548 and 1578-79 (probably positive or chamber-sized organs) which had become surplus to requirements, and in 1649-50 the great organ itself was sold for scrap.⁷⁹ By far the most frequent organ references are in the form of minor repairs such as the purchase of 'a cord for the organs, jd'.⁸⁰ Other regular repairs involved new leather for the bellows, 'for skynes, glue, and alam, to mend the organs, xijd'.⁸¹ Less frequent references include new curtains around the great organ and whipcord to draw them,⁸² or screen-work to surround the smaller organ in the chancel.⁸³ Occasionally more substantial work on the organs was necessary – in 1619/20 Emanuel Crasswell undertook major repairs to the value of £8, the great organ

⁷⁰ LB2/1/1, f.151v.

⁷¹ LB4/2, accounts fifteen months from Christmas 1626. See below, Chapter 7, p.243.

⁷² LB2/1/1, f.156v. Organist during the 1620s at St Peter's, Leominster.

⁷³ LB4/2, accounts from Christmas 1630 onwards. See below, Chapter 7, pp.244-45.

⁷⁴ LB4/2, accounts from Christmas 1634 to the end of 1635.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, f.194v. Possibly the post-Restoration organist at Llandaff cathedral.

⁷⁶ LB2/1/1, f.200v.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, f.201v. See below, Chapter 7, pp.243-44.

⁷⁸ LB2/1/1, f.223. See Francis and Klein (1982), 26-32, for additional biographical information on the seventeenth-century organists at Ludlow.

⁷⁹ See below, Chapter 8, pp.285-86.

⁸⁰ Wright (1869), 64.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 119.

⁸² Llewellyn Jones, ed., 'Churchwardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow [1607/08-1628/9]', *TSAS*, 2nd series, 2 (1890), 105-40, 115.

⁸³ Ll. Jones, ed., 'Churchwardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow [1576/77-1606/7]', *TSAS*, 2nd series, 1, (1889), 235-84, 259. See below, Chapter 8, p.283.

having 'much decayed'.⁸⁴ Further major work was carried out by Smith of Hereford during the early 1630s.⁸⁵

Since the beginning of the sixteenth century, St Laurence's had been the official place of worship for the Council of Wales and the Marches. The following document of 1581 specifies the performance of services at St Laurence's when attended by the lord president.⁸⁶

Agreement taken the xxxth daye of
June A[nn]^o R[egni] R[egina] Eliz[abetha] &c xxiiij^o

That all the prayers (exceptinge psalmes) shal[l]be sayd in suche places as they have be[e]n used to be since the beinge here of the right hono[u]rable the lorde President w[hi]^{ch} is at the the quire doore, and the psalmes as well before the chapters as after shal[l]be songe in plaine songe in the quire

That the Anthemes be in pricksonge as they hav[e] byn used to be songe. And yf mr person be present suche antheme shal[l]bei song as is in the church

The organs to be used betwene the psalmes and w[i]th the Antheme or hymne

The dailie service all the rest of the wick shal[l]be sayd and songe in plaine songe & used as it hathe byn heretofore. And this order to be keapte inviolable in bothe parts untill the right hono[u]rable the lorde president and the righte reverende father in god the lorde Bushop of hereford shall sett downe A formall order of service and place. To w[hi]^{ch} order all parti[e]s shall stande unto on either side w[i]thoute contradiction

H[enric]us L[ord] Pres[ident]

Of interest here is the singing of psalms to plainchant and the inclusion of anthems in pricksong, i.e. polyphony. The organ was to be played between the psalms, but used to accompany the anthem and the hymn, the latter probably referring to the canticles, though could alternatively be understood as referring to metrical psalms. The weekday services were to be simpler in style than on Sundays and festivals, and were to be set to plainsong.

⁸⁴ LB2/1/1, f.127v; Ll. Jones (1890), 120. See below, Chapter 8, p.281.

⁸⁵ See below, Chapter 8, pp.280-81.

⁸⁶ As transcribed in Alan Smith, 'Elizabethan Church Music at Ludlow', *ML*, 49 (1968), 108-21, 113.

The choir of St Laurence's was involved in the celebrations on the visit of the Prince of Wales to Ludlow in 1616. A contemporary account describes the festivities:⁸⁷

about nine of the clocke in the fore-noone of the said fourth of November. William Gregory, and Thomas Blahfield Esquire, Bailifes of the said Towne of Ludlow accompanied with the Magistrates their Brethren, and all the Chiefe Burgesses of the said Towne, very richly clad and apparelled, attended by their officers with their Maces before them, and all the Quire of the Church there, singing of Hymnes and Psalmes of thankesgiuing and praise for our sayd Prince [...]

And thereupon marshalling themselves in good array, they all went through the Town Streets, to the Church, singing and reioicing all the way they went, where was another volley of shotte discharged.

After Prayers said, and Psalmes sung, one *M. Thomas Pierson*, a graue reuerend diuine and worthy Preacher, made a very learned Sermon of an houre and halfe long, vpon the first verse of the 72 Psalme viz. *Giue the King thy Iudgements, O God, and thy Righteousnesse to the Kings sonne.*

Which Sermon being ended, and Psalmes sung by the Singing-men and Quiristers, to and with the great Organs there, all the whole Company returned. [...]

Dinner being scarce ended in the Castle, the aforesaide Bailiffes in like pompe, beeing againe accompanied with the whole Quire of the Church, and the Penon-bearers with their Banerols of Arms in their hands, and the Musicke playing before them, came vp in great solemnitie into the Castle, where Maiester Iustice ioyfully receiuing them, brought them straight into the Chappell there to offer their Euening Sacrifice, where much reioycing was without doores and excellent Musicke of Voyces in singing many Psalmes and new Anthemes, within the saide Chappell.

In 1634 celebrations were again held at Ludlow Castle, now marking the arrival of the earl of Bridgewater as the new lord president. A masque, *Comus*, was written to mark this event, with a text by John Milton and music by Henry Lawes, which may well have involved singers and other musicians from St Laurence's.⁸⁸

Old Radnor: St Stephen's

The organ case at St Stephen's, Old Radnor, is thought to date from the early sixteenth century, making it the oldest in the British Isles.⁸⁹ There is, however, no extant

⁸⁷ Daniel Powell, *The Love of Wales, to their Soueraigne Prince* (1616), reprinted in R. H. Clive, *Documents connected with the History of Ludlow, and the Lords of the Marches* (London, 1841), 61-80, 69, 71, 79.

⁸⁸ David R. A. Evans, 'Music in the lost capital of Wales', *WM*, 9.4 (1991-92), 64-72, 71-72.

⁸⁹ See above, Chapter 3, p.117.

documentary evidence supporting musical activity at the church during the sixteenth century, though there is a single newly discovered reference to an organist at the church in 1620-21.

The chapter account book of St David's cathedral records a payment made in 1620-21 'to one M^r John Silvester – Organist of Old Radnor'.⁹⁰ It has not been possible to trace any other reference to Silvester at St David's or Old Radnor. He may have been a temporary organist covering an interregnum at the cathedral following the departure of Marmaduke Pardo; then again, he may have moved from Old Radnor to take on a permanent appointment as organist at St David's.⁹¹

It is claimed that John Bull was born in the Old Radnor area in 1562-63, perhaps at nearby Harpton where several families named Bull resided. This assumption is based on a petition to the Queen dated 1589 for a lease in reversion of Radnor forest, and a pedigree submitted with it in which one party claimed to be descended from 'the musician, Dr John Bull of Old Radnor'.⁹² While he may once have started his singing career as a chorister at Old Radnor (he was certainly a chorister and later organist at Hereford cathedral and a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal),⁹³ there is insufficient evidence to substantiate such a claim. Neither is it possible to prove that there was a choral tradition at St Stephen's, though the organ itself is testimony that there was at least some sort of musical tradition at the church.

Oswestry: St Oswald's

The earliest reference to the organs at St Oswald's is 25th December 1579 when 3*d* was paid 'for a lock to sett on the organes'.⁹⁴

Both English and Welsh services were held at this borderland church. In 1584, 10*d* was 'geven for the binding of the to new Psalters in English' and 12*d* 'geven for the

⁹⁰ Aberystwyth, NLW, MS SD/Ch/B/13, St David's chapter account book, 1384-1661 (partly a transcript), accounts for 1620-21.

⁹¹ See above, Chapter 5, p.166.

⁹² Susi Jeans, 'Bull, John', *NG*, iii, 438-45, 438.

⁹³ R. W. D. Fenn and J. B. Sinclair, 'Old Radnor Parish Church', *The Radnorshire Society Transactions*, 58 (1988), 78-90, 84.

⁹⁴ Shrewsbury, SRO, MS P214/B/1/1/1, churchwardens' accounts, St Oswald's, Oswestry, 1579-1612, f.1r; also in typescript SRO (1970), shelf mark, qF97.

bindinge of the Welsh Psalter'.⁹⁵ Four years later, 3s 8d was paid 'for a Welsh com[m]on prayer' and 6d 'for two Welsh catechysyms'.⁹⁶

An unnamed organist received payment in 1584: 'geven the same day [28th January] to the orga[n] player, ijs vjd', and 4d 'geve[n] to Thomas ap Richard for sing[ing]e the same Day (Coronatio[n] day)' who also receives payments elsewhere for cleaning the church.⁹⁷ In 1590, 2d is paid for 'the blowing of the organs' and 2d 'p[ai]d to the organ pla[y]er'.⁹⁸ Payments appear in 1600 to the 'organe ple[y]ar and to the quirister, iijs vid'.⁹⁹

Major repairs were made to the organ, 1597-98, including the removal of the organ from its position in the rood loft:¹⁰⁰

paid to the organ Dresser for repairinge the organ at the agreement of mr bailliff kinaston mr Tho[mas] Evans and others the some of vli vs
 paid for bread and Drinke to them that did helpe the removing of the organ to the Rood Lofte, ijs
 paid to the J[o]iner for on[e] Days worke, vjd
 paid mr Jon Vachen for iij pecs of tymbber, xiiijd
 paid for ili glew & ij skyns p[ar]chment, ix d
 paid for iij skyns of le[a]ther, xviijd

Other payments for carpentry work follow, none specific, and could relate as easily to general repairs around the church as to the organ and its casing. Further references to the organ that accounting year include 6d for 'a Locke and key for for [sic] the Rood Lofte Do[o]re', and 17d for 'vli yrne [iron] & for the working of ij Rods houldinge the organs'.¹⁰¹

On 28th May 1600 reference is made to organ pipes stored in the vestry:¹⁰²

I Richard Johnes Skyner and Richard Marcafte late Churchwardens do le[a]ve in the vestrye as fol[l]ou[e]th:
 Item iij hundr[e]th and xiiij/ w[e]yght of l[ea]des
 Item x score and xvij pipes w[hi]ch did be longe to the organes

⁹⁵ P214/B/1/1/1, f.13v.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, f.52v.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, f.15v.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, ff.19v, 20r.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, f.58v.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, f.46v.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, f.47r.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, f.56v.

This was probably an unused organ (the organist was still receiving payment in 1600), perhaps the predecessor of that repaired in 1597-98. Alan Smith suggests that if this organ had a compass of four octaves, which was normal, then 10 score and 17 pipes will probably have provided seven ranks of pipes, which allows for certain ranks having a shorter compass.¹⁰³

A second book of churchwarden's accounts in very fragile condition covering the years 1613-16, names for the first time the organist at St Oswald's.¹⁰⁴ In 1615 the accounts record payment of 20s 'to M^r gyttins the orga[n] player', and an illegible amount 'paid to m^r gitten the organ player the xvith day of May'. The payments of 1614-15 record 'Edward Gytins the last of January, 40s', and receipt of 5s 'The 5th Day of december by John [Rogers, warden] towards the paym[en]t to Gytins'.¹⁰⁵

Among the receipts for 1614-15 are two entries: 'Received of John Rogers o[u]^r fellowe warden towards the repairing of the organs, 40s', and 'Received of John Powell towards the repairing of the organs, 24s'. A further 40s is noted as having been received 'towards the Repairinge of the organs' in 1615. Expenditure during 1614 included £6 13s 'to Harry Alkinson organ maker', and 24s in 1615 'deliv[e]red to Philip Langford to y^e use of y^e organ maker'.¹⁰⁶ This same builder is recorded at Chester in 1617: 'It[e]m to Harry Allington for the organes xl',¹⁰⁷ and in 1612 at Christ Church, Dublin: 'Paid to Henry Alyngton be consent towards the mending of the organs, 20s'.¹⁰⁸

During the Civil War:¹⁰⁹

the church being without the walls, was pulled down, also the top of the steeple, only leaving where the bell-frame stood (the bells were brought into the town, and the organs embezzled after).

¹⁰³ Alan Smith (1967), 407. See below, Chapter 8, p.273.

¹⁰⁴ Shrewsbury, SRO, MS P214/B/1/1/2 (unfoliated). The relative ease of accessibility to the first set of churchwarden accounts in typescript as opposed to the fragile, incomplete and scrappy nature of the second set has (until this present study) probably deterred musicologists from careful examination of the latter.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ Chester, CRO, MS EDD 3913/1/4, cathedral treasurers' accounts, 1611-44, p.137. See above, Chapter 5, p.176, and below, Chapter 8, p.279.

¹⁰⁸ Barra Boydell, ed., *Music at Christ Church before 1800: Documents and Selected Anthems*, A History of Christ Church, Dublin, 5 (Dublin, 1999), 81. See below, Chapter 8, p.279.

¹⁰⁹ According to the historian, Gough, cited in J. Askew Roberts, *Contributions to Oswestry History* (Oswestry, 1881), 7.

In 1815, the Oswestry organ supposedly ‘graced one of the churches of London, namely St Mary Axe, near the Minories’.¹¹⁰

Ruthin: St Peter’s

St Peter’s, Ruthin, was to regain some of the prestige it had lost on the suppression of its collegiate status when a grammar school and hospital was founded there by Gabriel Goodman, dean of Westminster, in 1574. Its statutes, however, make no reference to any musical activity at St Peter’s.¹¹¹

However, previously unnoticed by musicologists, the parish registers of St Peter’s identify Caesar Williams as organist during the second quarter of the seventeenth century. His son, Julius, was baptised at St Peter’s on 11th February 1629, but survived less than a week. Another son, Rees, was baptised on 18th November 1633, and two daughters, Martha and Catherine, were baptised 20th April 1636 and 25th June 1642 respectively, though Caesar had himself died on 24th December 1641.¹¹²

Shrewsbury: St Chad’s

Once a collegiate church, the parish church of St Chad was probably maintained a musical tradition along similar lines to that of St Mary’s, Shrewsbury. Unfortunately, no churchwardens’ accounts survive for St Chad’s, though there is reference to the lord president of the Council in Wales and the Marches attending St Chad’s for worship when he visited the town. On the visit of Sir Henry Sidney, lord president in 1581, ‘he had there [at St Chad’s] divine service sung by note’.¹¹³

Reference is made by Edward F. Rimbault to an agreement reached at a parish meeting at St Chad’s on 18th August 1589 to sell the organ for £4 to fund ‘the reparation of the bells, fencing the church-yard, and purchasing one decent and semely cuppe of silver

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹¹¹ Aberystwyth, NLW, MS B/misc.vols/26, statutes and rules of the hospital and grammar school at Ruthin.

¹¹² *Ruthin Parish Registers*: vol. i, *Baptisms, 1592-1744*; vol. ii, *Marriages 1593-1744, Burials 1592-1744*, Clwyd Family History Society (Wrexham, 1994-95), i, 26, 29, 31, 37; ii, 52.

¹¹³ Smith (1967), 305.

for the use of the Communion'.¹¹⁴ It appears more likely that this refers to the organ at St Mary's, Shrewsbury.

Shrewsbury: St Mary's

St Mary's, Shrewsbury, in common with nearby St Chad's, lost its collegiate status as a result of the Chantries' Act, 1545/48. The churchwardens' accounts for St Mary's witness the various adaptations made to accommodate changing liturgical requirements. In 1550, 3s 4d was expended 'for the making of the table' to replace the high altar removed that same year.¹¹⁵ The high altar was restored in 1554 for 3s 8d with a further 3s 8d paid to provide an altar frontal.¹¹⁶ That same year the rood was replaced. The other altars of the church were restored, with 2s 6d 'for makinge an alter in o[u]r ladie chappell' and 3s 5d 'p[ai]d for makinge the trenetie alter'.¹¹⁷

In 1549 the organ of the dissolved abbey of Strata Marcella was delivered to St Mary's, Shrewsbury, and an entry in the churchwardens' accounts reads: 'Item payd to hewghe of cotn & harry bawnold for car[r]i[a]g[e] of the organs'. The edge of the page has been worn away leaving the remainder indecipherable.¹¹⁸ Repairs, possibly a thorough tuning of this instrument, were undertaken in 1558: 'payd for dressi[n]ge of the orgaynes, iiijs'. The identity of the organist of the church is revealed in the accounts for 1554: 'It[e]m p[ai]d to wyll[ia]m ben[e]t for pleinge on th[e] orgones, vjs viiij^d'.¹¹⁹ However, during 1561, 12d is 'payd to the clarke for mendyng of organs' who also receives payment for mending the bells and the clock. A further 12d is spent on repairs to the organ in 1569.¹²⁰

From 1573 onwards the accounts begin to reveal the diversity of William Benet's duties at St Mary's. In addition to receiving payments for playing the organ, he is paid for 'the new makyn[g] of the frame of the Com[m]unyon table, xiid' and 'hys dewty for John

¹¹⁴ Edward F. Rimbault, *The Early English Organ Builders and their works* (1865, reprinted Oxford, 1996), 59-60.

¹¹⁵ Shrewsbury, SRO, MS P257/B/3/1, churchwardens' accounts, St Mary's, Shrewsbury, 1544-1633, p.21.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 35, 38.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 42.

¹¹⁸ MS P257/B/3/1, p.15; see above, Chapter 3, pp.47-48.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 87.

[Baptist] [a]gaynst hys wyves [wife's] grave, *xiii*^d.¹²¹ The accounts for 1576 at last reveal that Benet also served St Mary's as parish clerk: 'paid by the said Gylbert wood and Wyllm benett the p[ar]ishe clerke for ke[e]ping [the] clock vis viiid & for the bel[l]ropes vs: xis, viiid'; Benet is also paid for grave digging.¹²² In 1579, in addition to his annual wage of *6s 8d*, he receives *6d* 'for ii peece[s] of Tyn' and *5d* 'the xxxth day of May for the rep[ar]ac[i]ons of the bells and to funde ropes for this ware' and *5s* 'for the belles'.¹²³ Further cleaning and maintenance is undertaken by Benet in that year, when he is paid *10s* 'for the trinitie ylle [aisle] and over the churche do[o]re and for swe[e]ping the gutters and spowtes', and *4s* for digging four graves. *2s* is then paid to the 'workmen for helping benett to pull up the le[a]des', *6s 8d* 'to William benett for ke[e]pinge the clo[c]ke', and *20d* 'for mendinge the organs'.¹²⁴

William Benet died in 1587 and a meeting was subsequently arranged to find his replacement as parish clerk:¹²⁵

Att w[hi]^{ch} tyme after y^e sayd John Tomkys had used an earnest p[er]suasion unto y^e parishioners, y[a]^t ther[e] might be chosen into the clerkes roome a man in behaviour discreete, conv[er]sac[i]on honest, in religion sounde, and in musicke so skillfull y[a]^t he might w[i]th iudgement beginne, & guide y^e singinge of Davids Psalmes in meeter & of y^e skylle y[a]^t he might well use the bells, and keepe y^e clocke for the serviceable and com[m]endable supplying of y^e office in y^e sayd clarkeshippe.

Of the three men were proposed – Adam Powel, Thomas Merton and James Richards – the latter was duly elected and received his payment of *5s 8d* in 1588.¹²⁶

It would appear that leading the singing of metrical psalms was considered important and that payments were made 'to James hominar for singing when the clerkshype was sequest[e]red, *6s*', and 'to John tidder for two days service in singinge, *1s*'.¹²⁷ The

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 94, 99, 102.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 116, 117.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 107, 111.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 113. Although Benet is mentioned as organist in J. E. Hunt, 'The Collegiate Church of St Mary, Shrewsbury, and its organs', *The Organ*, 25 (1945), 49-53, 50, his very many other duties at St Mary's, especially those connected to the office of parish clerk, have previously escaped acknowledgement.

¹²⁵ MS P257/B/3/1, 198. A payment is made to Benet's widow, *ibid.*, 215.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 123

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 239.

provision of an organist, however, was no longer considered a necessity. A parish meeting was held 31st August 1589 when

it was then agreed by the sayd parishioners, y[a]^t yf any would give above *iiii li* for the Organs, any tyme w[i]th in 14 days he should have them, except Mr Deane of Worcester will give *iiis iiid* more, then wee shall so byd bona fide.

Ite[m] it was then agreed by y^e sayd parishioners: That for the better p[ro]viding and accomplishing of the things aforesayed the Organs should be sould too any of the parishe for the sume of *iiii li*, yf any such delyvres the same so y[a]^t they give notice ther[e] of unto the Church wardens beefour Thursday at night next ensuing; And of the sayd sume of *iiii li* doo make payment before Saturday night then next following. Otherwise y[a]^t the sayd Organs should presently be sould too him whosoever would give *iiii li*, or more for the same.¹²⁸

The organ was soon sold, the accounts of the following year recording receipt of £4 from the dean of Worcester:¹²⁹

Ite[m] Recevid for Organes sould accordinge of an order agreed uppon by the paryshe as apperet before in this booke anno domi[ni] 1589 augustii 31, *4 li*
Note that the Deane of Worcester, who bought the said organes, gave, at the motione of mr John Tomkis [Minister] and us the churchwardens, to the church of Sainte maries a Com[m]unuin book worthe *1s 4d*.

Minor alterations to the fabric of the church ensued to remove signs of where the organ once stood.¹³⁰ From this point onwards there is no further evidence in the churchwardens' accounts of musical activity at St Mary's, and no organ until 1729.¹³¹

Swansea: St Mary's

The survival of records relating to St Mary's, Swansea, is due mainly to the interest in church affairs shown by the town corporation. Two thirds of the total expenditure on the maintenance and running of St Mary's was provided by the corporation, the other third by the parish.¹³² The churchwardens' accounts provide a careful record of church

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 220-21.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 229.

¹³⁰ See below, Chapter 8, p.283.

¹³¹ Shrewsbury, SRO, MSS P257/B/3/1; P257/B/3/2, churchwardens' accounts, St Mary's, Shrewsbury, 1627-1703; J. E. Hunt, 'The Collegiate Church of St Mary, Shrewsbury and its Organs', *The Organ*, 25 (1945), 49-53, 50.

¹³² Margaret S. Walker, 'Church life in sixteenth-century Swansea', in *Links with the Past: Swansea & Brecon Historical Essays*, ed. by Owain W. Jones and David Walker (Llandybie, 1974), 89-115, 89.

finance from 1558 onwards, including the changes in the church brought about by the Reformation, payments to the organists and repairs to the organ.¹³³

The earliest organist named in the churchwardens' accounts is in an inventory of 1549 which lists a 'counterpayne of John organ player'.¹³⁴ Payments to the organists at St Mary's are almost as regular as the accounts themselves.¹³⁵ In 1558, 2*d* is 'payd to Wyll[i]am organpley[e]r',¹³⁶ and he receives further payments of his wage in 1562 and 1563.¹³⁷ He is also provided with paper in 1558: 'Item yn papyre for Wyllly[a]m organ player, viij*d*'.¹³⁸ Reference is made also in 1558 to a psalter written probably by the previous organist, 'It[e]m asawter [a psalter] Bo[o]ke [in the] hand of John organpley[e]re'.¹³⁹ An organist received 6*s* 8*d* in 1583, but is not named.¹⁴⁰

In 1603 it appears that a new organist, Edward Dowl, was appointed and a formal agreement made between the organist and the corporation: 'paid David Hopkin for writting y^e obider [*obiter dictum*] betwyn ye town and Edward Dowell, iij*s*'.¹⁴¹ Edward Dowl receives quarterly payments of 10*s* in the incomplete churchwardens' accounts until 1613,¹⁴² though payments are also noted in the accounts of the common attorney during 1617 and 1618, when he receives quarterly payments of 13*s* 4*d*.¹⁴³

In 1618 a new organist was appointed whom the corporation felt obliged to clothe:¹⁴⁴

payd for stoofe to make the organiste a sute [suit], xviijs iiiij*d*
 payd to Thomas Phillip for making his clothes, iij*d*
 payd to the organiste, js vj*d*

¹³³ Swansea, University Library, MS D2, churchwardens' accounts, 1558-1694. The earliest section of this book has been incorrectly bound as the middle portion instead at its commencement. This middle section has been numbered independently of the outer portions in pencil according to pagination, whereas the outer portions are numbered according to foliation.

¹³⁴ See above, Chapter 3, p.119.

¹³⁵ The accounts cover the years 1558-65, 1568-69, 1579-90 and 1598-1627, though legibility is occasionally a problem.

¹³⁶ Swansea, MS D2, p.8 (middle section of the volume).

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 31, 37.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.10.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.77.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, f.28v

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, ff.43, 48, 53, 55, 56, 60.

¹⁴³ Swansea, University Library, MS C1, accounts of the common attorney, pp. 5-6.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.13.

payd for a payer of shoos to the organ[ist], ijs vjd
 payd to the organist his bedde, js viijd
 payd for stockin[g]s to the organist, ijs

The organist from 1618 was William Curtis for whom regular quarterly payments are recorded by the common attorney, 1618-19,¹⁴⁵ the churchwardens, 1619-26,¹⁴⁶ and the common attorney, 1626-27.¹⁴⁷ Although no payments are recorded to an organist after these dates, the office of organist would certainly have continued, for a new organ was purchased in 1631. It is probable that Curtis remained as organist during the 1630s since his name occurs elsewhere in the corporation records as a new burgess in 1626, as one of the two sergeants at mace in 1627 and 1628, and as one of the six constables of the town in 1638.¹⁴⁸

The names of three of the organ blowers are known for the early seventeenth century at St Mary's. Between 1603 and 1612 this responsibility fell on William Harris who in 1610 is recorded as having received 4s for 'his halfe yeares rent for to keepe cleane the church & blowe the organes'.¹⁴⁹ The other two identifiable organ blowers are David ap Bevan, 1622-23, and John Griffith, 1626-27.¹⁵⁰

The siting of the organ in the rood loft is acknowledged in the pew list which opens the book of churchwardens' accounts.¹⁵¹ One section of this list is headed 'The pews under the organ' and a later list dated 1587 refers to the pews under the organ 'where the men were', indicating clearly the segregation of men and women in the church. Entries in the accounts themselves show that security of the organ was considered important. In 1580, 6d was 'payd to John Hary Smyth for Iron pyk[e]s for the organs to kyp away the bowys [keep away the boys]',¹⁵² and in 1590 it was necessary to provide 'twystes & viij spikes and a locke to the doore of the organs lofte'.¹⁵³ Similar repairs were next carried

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.13, 14, 26, 27.

¹⁴⁶ MS D2, ff.92, 95.

¹⁴⁷ MS C1, pp.86-88, 95.

¹⁴⁸ Swansea, University Library, MS B1, common hall and book of orders, 1549-1665, pp.161, 177, 185, 279.

¹⁴⁹ MS D2, f.50.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, ff.92, 95v; MS C1, pp.86-88.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, f.2.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p.70.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.117.

out in 1611, and a padlock provided on that occasion was in turn replaced in 1615 and 1627.¹⁵⁴

Numerous repairs made to the organ are recorded in the churchwardens' accounts. They range from the purchase of 'a pen[n]ycord for the organs' in 1562,¹⁵⁵ and numerous repairs to the bellows usually by the organist or local artisans, through to more major repairs carried out in 1580 and 1631 by specialist organ builders from the west country. It appears from the accounts that the bellows needed regular attention. In 1564 this was entrusted to John Keru, a local carpenter who received 1s 'for the mendyng of the belys [bellows] of the organs & for foote stools for the comunyon table'. A further 5*d* provided glue and 3*d* 'le[a]thyr to mend the belys [bellows]'.¹⁵⁶ In 1580 more extensive repairs, calling for the expertise of the Dorset organ builder, Ralph Chappington, were deemed necessary.¹⁵⁷ Chappington was assisted there by local workmen including John Dowl, who is periodically recorded in the accounts attending to odd jobs around the church in addition to minor repairs to the organ in 1598.¹⁵⁸ He may have been related to the Richard Dowl who repairs the organ bellows in 1603 and 1607,¹⁵⁹ and to Edward Dowl, organist at St Mary's between 1603-18. Further repairs became necessary in 1611, when David Fry, an organ builder, was assisted by the organist Edward Dowl:¹⁶⁰

p[ai]d to David ffrie for mendyng of the orgaines and ys beside the parishes
p[ar]t, ijs
p[ai]d to Edward Dowle for 5 Days at[t]endinge upon Davyd Frie when as he
repayred the orgaines at xjd a day and so ijs vjd
p[ai]d to Jhon [sic] Griffith for a peace of timbar to set under the orgaynes. For
workmanship and setting of the same, xijd

The following year, however, it was the organist's task to make the repairs: 'P[ai]d to Edward Dowl for le[a]ther glewe and for his paynes for mending of the bellowes of the orgayn, iiijd'.¹⁶¹ Minor repairs continued until 1631, when John Hayward organ builder of Bath was paid £17 to undertake major work described as 'the fynishing, fyttinge, &

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, ff.55, 67, and unfoliated pages bound at the end of the manuscript.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.31.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.41.

¹⁵⁷ See below, Chapter 8, p.278-79.

¹⁵⁸ MS D2, ff.7, 7v, 20.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, ff.28, 40v.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, f.55.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, f.55.

tuneable makinge of the Organs' for which he provided a guarantee against defect for two years.¹⁶²

There was a sizeable Welsh-speaking congregation at St Mary's during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. On 18th January 1592/3 articles were presented to the Consistory Court at Carmarthen against the vicar of St Mary's complaining that he had not celebrated divine service in Welsh (in *Wallica*). A decree was then issued on 6th February, 1592/3 stating that the vicar, John After, was to celebrate the service the following Sunday in Welsh, and then on every third Sunday. He was also to be provided with a curate conversant with the Welsh language.¹⁶³ A Welsh litany book had been bought in 1563, and the *Book of Common Prayer* in Welsh was purchased in 1569. In 1602 more Welsh books were bought, a Welsh homily book in 1606, and two Welsh psalters and a Bible in 1620 and 1621.¹⁶⁴ An inventory of 1621 shows that among the books of the church were

2 Bybeles i English & i Welsh
4 [P]Salters 2 English & 2 Welsh
i whellsh homely.¹⁶⁵

Whereas provision was made for an organ and organist at St Mary's throughout this period there is absolutely no record of a choir. Most probably a tradition of congregational metrical psalm singing would have been fostered, the organ providing their accompaniment with voluntaries elsewhere in the services. The purchase of two Welsh psalters in 1621 may well be copies of Edmund Prys's *Lyfr y Psalmiau wedi eu cyfiethu, au cyfansoddi ar fedwr cerdd, yn Gymraeg* appended in 1621 to a new issue of the *Book of Common Prayer* in Welsh (*Llyfr Gweddi Gyffredin*).¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² Swansea, University Library, MS I1, miscellaneous collection of borough and parish records, 1545-1844, p.87, reproduced below as Plate 3. For transcription and further comment, see below, Chapter 8, pp.277-78.

¹⁶³ W. S. K. Thomas, *The History of Swansea from Rover Settlement to the Restoration* (Llandysul, 1990), 181.

¹⁶⁴ Margaret S. Walker, in *Links with the Past...* (1974), 104, 109.

¹⁶⁵ Swansea, University Library, MS D2, f.85.

¹⁶⁶ Edmund Prys, *Lyfr y Psalmiau wedi eu cyfiethu, au cyfansoddi ar fedwr cerdd, yn Gymraeg* (London, 1621); Leslie D. Paul, 'Music at Bangor Cathedral Church: some historical notes', *WM*, 3.9 (1971), 11-33, 12.

Wrexham: St Giles's

In 1617 the *Itinerary* of the Englishman, Fynes Morrison, was published. It recorded that the town of Wrexham was

bewtified with a most fayre Tower called the Holy Tower, and commended for the musicall organes in the Church.¹⁶⁷

This was echoed by William Camden in 1637, who wrote that Wrexham was ‘much spoken of for a passing faire towre Steeple that the church hath, and the musicall Organs that bee therein’.¹⁶⁸ Its fame had also warranted mention in Beaumont and Fletcher’s play, *The Pilgrim*, which received its first performance on New Year’s Day, 1622. One of the characters, Jenkin, a Welshman and inmate of a lunatic asylum in Segovia, is given the following lines:¹⁶⁹

Give me some C[h]eeze, and Onions: give me some wash-brew,
I have – in my bellies; give me abundance.
Pendragon was a shentleman, marg you, sir,
And the Organs at Rixum were made by revelations,
There is a spirit blows and blows the bellows,
And then they sing.

During 1590 the organ suffered minor damage from one James Myrick, a native of Wrexham who had recognised the material rather than musical value of the pipes and stole as many as twenty seven of them, which he sold to a pewterer at Chester before he was detected.¹⁷⁰

Total destruction eventually met the organ:¹⁷¹

About 9 Nov 1643 Sir W[illiam] Brereton and his forces came to Farrington and Holt, and entered through the same and went to Wrexham, Flint and Holywell and did pull down the organs, defaced the windows in the churches, and the monuments of divers and pulled down the arms and the hatchments.

¹⁶⁷ G. Dyfnallt Owen, *Elizabethan Wales: the Social Scene* (Cardiff, 1962), 228 quoting from Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary* (London, 1617), part 3, p.143.

¹⁶⁸ William Camden, *Britain, or a Chorographical Description of the most Flourishing Kingdoms, England, Scotland and Ireland* (London, 1637), 677.

¹⁶⁹ *The Pilgrim*, IV.3, in *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, ed. by F. Bowers (Cambridge, 1985), vi, 185.

¹⁷⁰ G. Dyfnallt Owen (1962), 228 citing London, PRO, WALE4, Gaol Files, Denbigh 8/3.

¹⁷¹ D. R. Thomas, *History of the Diocese of St Asaph*, 3 vols (Oswestry, 1908-13), iii, 298.

A letter, dated 1643, reads to the same effect: 'At Wrexham they say, they broke in pieces one of the best pair of organs in the King's dominions, which Sir Thomas Myddleton took for his proper pillage, to make bullets of'.¹⁷² Likewise, a manuscript in the Bodleian Library records: 'Here was, about ye time of ye Civil warres, a verie extraordinarie Organ, which the Clerk compared to that of St. Peter in Rome, onely own[e]d that to be ye superior'.¹⁷³

Subsequent writers of the seventeenth century recall the organ of St Giles's, Wrexham, with nostalgia tinged with regret. Thomas Fuller, in 1662 remarks on its impressiveness:¹⁷⁴

The Church of Wrexham is commended for a fair and spacious Building; and it is questionable, whether it claimeth more praise for the artificial Tower thereof, or of the ORGANS. These were formerly most famous (the more famous because placed in a Parochial, not Cathedral Church) for beauty, bigness, and tunableness: though far short of those in worth which Michael, Emperour of Constantinople, caused to be made of pure Gold, and beneath those in bigness which George the Salamation Abbot made to be set up in the Church of his Convent, whose biggest pipe was *eight and twenty* foot long, and four spans in compass. What is become of Wrexham Organs I know not: and could heartily wish they had been removed into some gentleman's house, seeing as such as accuse them for superstitions in Churches must allow them lawful in private places. Otherwise such Moroso's deserve not to be owner of an articulate voice sounding through the Organ of a Throat.

Similarly:¹⁷⁵

At Wrexham is y^e rarest steeple in ye 3 nations; and hath y^e fayrest organes in Europe, till y^e late wars in Charles y^e 1st his raigne, whose Parliament forces pulled him and them downe with other ceremoniall ornaments.

¹⁷² Letter of Captain Harry Byrch, 12th December 1643, quoted in John Roland Phillips, *Memoirs of the Civil War in Wales and the Marches, 1642-1649*, 2 vols (London, 1874), ii, 114. Sir Thomas, despite his patronage of choral music at his private chapel, sided with Cromwell during the Civil War, later transferring his allegiance to that of the Royalist cause.

¹⁷³ Bernard Edmonds, 'Notes and Queries', *British Institute of Organ Studies Reporter*, 23.3 (1999), 19-22, 20, from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B464, a seventeenth-century volume of preparatory notes by Edward Lhuyd for his *Topographical History of Wales*, f.159.

¹⁷⁴ Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England*, 2 vols (1662; new edn., London, 1811), ii, 587.

¹⁷⁵ Attributed to a 'Gazetteer of England and Wales, temp. Charles II', quoted by Edward F. Rimbault, *The Early English Organ Builders and their works* (London, 1865; reprinted, Oxford, 1996), 55.

The will of Valentine Broughton in 1603 indicates that there was a choral foundation at St Giles's, Wrexham, from at least the beginning of the sixteenth century. Broughton, an Alderman of Chester bequeathed

[...] Three pounds six shillings eight pence more yereley for ever for the better maynten[an]ce of the singinge men and Quiristers in the parish Church of Wrixham...and if there should be no singing men or quiristers allowed in the said parish Church, that the said Three pounds six shillings eight pence should come to the use and benefit of the...school master.¹⁷⁶

A set of music manuscripts once belonging to Chirk Castle reveals a close link between the choral foundation at St Giles's, Wrexham with that at Chirk.¹⁷⁷ A crucial inscription, 'ffinis: q[ui]d: mr: Deanes Anthem: of wrexham: and Organist there: And Organist of the Chapple in Chirke Castle. Anno domini: 1632' appears in the medius partbook following the verse anthem, *Blessed are those that are undefiled*.¹⁷⁸ Further inscriptions suggest that during the 1630s Deane was organist at both institutions, yet those dated in the 1620s refer to him simply as 'Organist of Wrexham', as in the heading to his *Evening Service* dated 1620.¹⁷⁹ Much of the repertory in the Chirk manuscripts may well have also been performed at St Giles's, particularly the services and anthems by Deane himself.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ London, PRO, PROB 11/101, ff.414v-421v, f.418 (52 Bolein).

¹⁷⁷ Oxford, Christ Church Library, MS Mus.6; New York, NYPL, MS Mus. Res. *MNZ (Chirk). See below, Chapter 7, pp.252-58.

¹⁷⁸ New York, NYPL, MS Mus. Res. *MNZ (Chirk): medius partbook, f.82. See below, Chapter 7, p.256, and Plate 1. For an edition of *Blessed are those*, see Reynolds (1996), 89-98.

¹⁷⁹ Medius partbook, f.9.

¹⁸⁰ See below, Chapter 7, pp.256-58. For an edition of Deane's *The Grace of Our Lord*, see Appendix M

CHAPTER 7

**The ‘prickyng of dyvers strange songs to the quyere’:
Towards the identification of a provincial
choral repertoire with its composers**

It is difficult to identify exactly what music would have been sung during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in Wales or the borderlands, surviving music manuscripts are rare and often fragmentary. However, Chirk Castle, St Laurence’s, Ludlow, and Hereford cathedral are three locations with extant, readily identifiable manuscripts. A set of four partbooks and an organbook dating from the 1630s survive from Chirk Castle,¹ whilst five individual partbooks from separate sets compiled between c.1570 and c.1660 survive from Ludlow.² The Chirk and Ludlow manuscripts contain repertory both by local composers and composers of wider fame. The Hereford manuscripts are characterised by having been bound within the same covers as a set of John Barnard’s *First Book of Selected Church Music*.³ This widely known printed repertory has obviously been supplemented for local usage by a collection of works mainly by composers of regional significance and from both sides of the Interregnum. These three manuscript collections will be discussed below and associations will be made through concordances and identification of names in other available manuscript and printed collections of music.

Little is known concerning Welsh or borderland church composers of the early sixteenth century. Thomas Morley in *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* lists the following group of Welsh sounding composers as Englishmen: Robert Iones (probably the Robert Jones of the early sixteenth century), Io[hn] Guinneth, Robert Daus and Morgan Grig (Grug).⁴ With no music manuscript sources of proven Welsh

¹ Partbooks at New York, NYPL, MS Mus. Res. *MNZ (Chirk); organbook at Oxford, Christ Church Library, MS Mus 6.

² Shrewsbury, SRO, LB15/1/225-229 (formerly SRO 356/ box 519, MSS 1-5).

³ John Barnard, *First Book of Selected Church Music* (London, 1641): the former Hereford cathedral set of which is now deposited at Oxford, Christ Church Library, MS Mus 544-553.

⁴ Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practical Musicke* (London, 1597): in a modern edn. by R. A. Harman (London, 1952), 321-22. Listed also are two Hereford musicians, S[ir] Io. Mason (John Mason) and [John] Hodges.

origin dating from the sixteenth century, we must look for clues further afield but, with limited biographical knowledge, one must be cautious of assuming a Welsh sounding name as a proof of Welsh birth. The Welsh system of patronymics may lend a clue to ancestry, yet it is unlikely that a Welshman permanently settled with his family in London would have continued this beyond a second generation. Surnames were then assumed, often derived from such adaptations as from ap Rhys to Price, ap Hywel to Powell, and ap Ifan to Bevan. Meanwhile the surnames Jones, Jenkins, Edwards were as common four hundred years ago as they are today, as were the Christian names John, Robert and Richard.⁵ With patchy parish records and no proven genealogies many associations range from being speculative at best to purely fanciful.⁶ At any rate, for many musicians with Welsh sounding names there is nothing to associate their working lives with the geographical brief of this thesis, and so on the whole they do not merit special attention.⁷

Available biographical details show that many musicians travelled around the country in pursuit of their careers. During their perambulations, in addition to extending their musical skill, knowledge and experience, they would without doubt have forged links with other musicians. These contacts were used to great advantage when collecting music for the compilation of new sets of partbooks for their own choirs. Sets may have been borrowed from the choir library of one institution and copied for use in another. Thus we have a dispersal of repertoire which would have then been supplemented by the contributions of local musicians encouraged to compose specifically for their own establishments.

London has always been a lively centre for music. In addition to St Paul's cathedral, many parish churches in the early sixteenth century maintained choirs and organs.

⁵ Thurston Dart and Brian Fagan, 'The Name's the Same, or a Warning to Searchers', *RMARC*, 2 (1962), 16-17 recommends caution with the identification of composers' names.

⁶ See J. Lumley Davies, 'The contribution of Welshmen to Music', *THSC* (1929-30), 38-113, for examples of the latter.

⁷ As, for example, Elway Bevin (1554-1638), member of the Chapel Royal and organist of Bristol cathedral from 1589. Though apparently of Welsh extraction (according to Anthony Wood's MS notes, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Wood D.19(4)), there is no evidence that he ever referred to himself as ap Ifan. He wrote a treatise *A Briefe and Short Introduction to the Art of Musicke* (1631), his compositions include anthems and services. See Peter Philips, *English Sacred Music, 1549-1649* (Oxford, 1991), 268-69; also Graham Hooper, 'Bevin, Elway,' *NG*, ii, 666-67.

Several musicians with Welsh sounding names worked there during the first half of the sixteenth century. First and foremost was Philip ap Rhys 'of Poulls' and St Mary at Hill; others include William Davys a singingman at St Peter, West Cheap, 1557/8; William Edwardes, a clerk at St Vedast's, Foster Lane and master of the Fraternity of St Nicholas, 1504; Richard Griffith, a clerk of Barking chapel, master of the Fraternity of St Nicholas, 1515 and a clerk of St Margaret Pattens, 1516-20; Hugh Jones, a conduct responsible for the 'teaching of singing children' at St Mary's Woolnoth in 1547; and Richard Jones, the 'Scho[o]lle M[aste]r of Polles'.⁸

A musician educated at Oxford or Cambridge would have benefited from interacting with other musicians brought together from across the country. The close proximity of the college chapels with their choirs and organs would have helped maintain high standards through a healthy rivalry and the drawing together of young talent. Welsh born musicians who took degrees at the universities included Robert Perrot from Pembrokeshire, later organist and *informator* at Magdalen College, Oxford; John Bull from Old Radnor and former chorister at Hereford; Siôn Gwynedd, later provost of Clynnog Fawr; and Thomas Tomkins, from St David's. Notable musicians who moved to the Welsh and borderland cathedrals from the rest of Britain include William Chell and John Mason on the staff at Hereford cathedral, and Robert White at Chester.

The Chapel Royal attracted the very finest of the nation's musical talent. Many Welshmen would have been drawn to the court soon after the accession of Henry VII. A position at the Chapel Royal was well respected, secure and financially rewarding to a musician, and, especially towards the end of the sixteenth century, had the added advantage that he was often able to share his time between duties at the Chapel Royal and his local cathedral. Two prominent composers of Welsh birth established their reputations at the Chapel Royal: John Lloyd in the earlier part of the sixteenth century and John Bull towards the end. Although a cathedral might have suffered imposed periods of absenteeism from their more talented employees, they benefited from the experience gained and shared by established and highly respected professionals. Again contacts were made, ideas shared and music distributed.

⁸ Hugh Baillie, 'Some biographical notes on English church musicians, chiefly working in London (1485-1569)' *RMARC*, 2 (1962), 18-57.

The provinces similarly attracted a number of musicians from outside their locality. Hereford cathedral attracted William Inglott of Norwich, and Chester cathedral Robert White from Ely. Ludlow was able to patronise a number of able musicians, benefiting from its relatively central location and prestige as the seat of the lord president of the Council in Wales and the Marches. Among its organists were Berkeley Wrench, Thomas Heardson and Benjamin Cosyn. St David's on the other hand, although more remote, was able to attract Thomas Farrington Tomkins from Cornwall.

Former choristers moved through the ranks at their own institutions, and some were also to secure positions at other cathedrals. These included John Bull from Hereford (Chapel Royal and later Antwerp cathedral), Randolph Jewett from Chester (Dublin, St Paul's and Winchester) and Thomas Tomkins from St David's (Chapel Royal and Worcester cathedral).⁹

Another significant institution, outside the geographical area of this study and perhaps not immediately considered as influential, was that of Christ Church cathedral, Dublin. With its maritime trade routes, Dublin was convenient for Wales and the English west coast, and especially strong links were forged with Chester cathedral from which Christ Church attracted John Albright, Thomas Bateson, Randolph Jewett and Peter Stringer.¹⁰ John Fido, organist of Hereford and Worcester cathedrals in the 1590s, served as a vicar choral and master of the boys at Christ Church, Dublin, from 1600, and subsequently returned to Worcester as a minor canon in 1610.¹¹ It will be shown below that Fido was a key link between borderland institutions in the procurement of music.

From the above it is evident that in spite of being geographically far removed from the musical centres of London, Oxford or Cambridge, many musicians employed in provincial choral establishments were nonetheless in contact with a broader musical scene.

⁹ Thomas Tomkins, although born at St David's, worked all his adult life away from Wales. As a composer his music would have been widely known and circulated. Comprehensive biographical details may be found in the writings of Ivor Atkins, Denis Stevens and David Evans.

¹⁰ See also above, Chapter 5, pp.172-74.

¹¹ John Morehen, 'Fido, John', *NG*, vi, 533-34.

Section 1: Pre-Reformation composers and their music

The mainstay of pre-Reformation liturgical music was plainchant. Records often differentiate between the singing of plainsong and pricksong, the latter usually reserved for particular occasions often calling on more specialised vocal forces. The following provides a survey of polyphony by composers known to have been associated with Wales and the borderlands; specific liturgical observances with their plainsong based musical provisions have already been dealt with in Chapters 2 and 3.

Chester Cathedral

John Byrcheley

Listed in *Latin Music in British Sources, c.1485-c.1610*¹² and attributed to a John Byrchley, *Dicant nunc Judaei* is a verse of *Christus resurgens*, the processional antiphon for Easter, 2vv, London, British Library, Roy Mus Lib MS 24.d.2, (score, c.1590-1610, John Baldwin autograph). There is a possibility that this composer is identifiable as the John Byrcheley who was organist (1541-1550) at the newly founded Chester cathedral.

St David's Cathedral

John Norman (fl. ?1509-45)

Edward Yardley, writing in the eighteenth century, reports that at St David's cathedral, during the episcopate of Edward Vaughan (1509-1522) 'Mr John Norman, a skilfull & learned musician was organist and Master of ye Choristers'.¹³ Unfortunately, however, no other reference to him in the cathedral records has come to light. It is possible that the same John Norman then moved to London, enrolled with the Fraternity of St Nicholas in 1521, became a clerk of St Thomas's chapel, London Bridge, 1528-34, and was later a clerk at Eton College, 1534-45.¹⁴ His compositions, all scored for five voices are as follows:

¹² *Latin Music in British Sources, c.1485-c.1610*, comp. by May Hofman and John Morehen, EECM (London, 1987).

¹³ Edward Yardley, *Menevia Sacra*, ed. by Francis Green (London, 1927), 86.

¹⁴ Baillie (1962), 47; John Bergsagel, 'Norman, John', in *NG*, xiii, 284.

- Missa Resurrexit Dominus* a cantus firmus mass, 5vv, based on the Easter antiphon of that name (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mus Sch.e.376-381, the Forrest-Heyther Partbooks, c.1530-1610).¹⁵
- Euge Dicta sanctis oraculis* Marian antiphon, 5vv, lacks tenor (copied c.1545 into Cambridge, Peterhouse, MSS 471-474).
- Miserere mihi Domine* psalm antiphon at compline, 3vv (London, BL, Add MS 5665, the Ritson Manuscript).¹⁶

Hereford Cathedral

John Mason

John Mason was a clerk at Eton College (1501-06) and was chaplain and instructor of the choristers at Magdalen College, Oxford (1509-10), receiving the degree of BMus in January 1509. Numerous clerical appointments followed: from 1517 until 1528 he held the rectory of Warmswell, Dorset, and that of Pewsey, Wiltshire, from 1521 until his death, and from 1523 he held various prebends at Salisbury cathedral. Following his Oxford days he had also been a member of the Chapel Royal, was a chaplain in Wolsey's household chapel from 1521 and held a Mortimer chantry at Chichester cathedral between 1523 and 1525. Installed a canon of Hereford cathedral in 1525, he gained full residence in 1526. Mason was elected to the annual office of *custos* of the Lady chapel six times between 1530-46, and served as treasurer from 1545. He died in 1548.¹⁷ There are four extant compositions by John Mason, each scored for five voices, preserved in the Henrician set of partbooks at Peterhouse, Cambridge:¹⁸

<i>Ave Maria ave fuit primus salus</i>	Marian antiphon
<i>Quales sumus O miseri properantes</i>	Marian antiphon
<i>Vae nobis miseris</i>	Jesus antiphon
<i>O rex gloriose</i>	antiphon for <i>Nunc dimittis</i> at compline in Lent, though could also serve as a Jesus antiphon. ¹⁹

¹⁵ Modern edition in *Early Tudor Masses: II*, trans. and ed. by John D. Bergsagel, EECM, 16 (London, 1976).

¹⁶ *MMB*, 359, example 143.

¹⁷ Bernard Rose, 'John Mason: a Clarification', *MT*, 113 (1972), 1231; B. Rose, 'Mason, John', in *NG*, xi, 752; John Harper, 'Music and Liturgy, 1300-1600', in *Hereford Cathedral: A History*, ed. by Gerald Aylmer and John Tiller (London, 2000), 373-97, 390.

¹⁸ Cambridge, Peterhouse Library, MSS 31, 32, 40, 41. See Nicholas Sandon, 'The Henrician Partbooks at Peterhouse, Cambridge', *PRMA*, 103 (1976-77), 106-40.

¹⁹ Hugh Benham, *Latin Church Music in England, c.1460-1575* (New York, 1980), 160-61.

The partbooks describe Mason as being of Chichester (*Cicersiriensis*); the works themselves, or the exemplar from which they were copied, may therefore date from those few years when he was at Chichester cathedral. It is likely that this repertory would also have been performed at Hereford, since in 1525, coinciding with Mason's arrival at Hereford, additional daily observances were required of the choristers and their master. These included the singing after compline of a Jesus antiphon *Sancte Deus* at the nave crucifix, followed by a Marian antiphon at the statue of the Blessed Virgin, with an appropriate versicle and collect, the psalm *De profundis* and a collect for the dead.²⁰

The singing of votive antiphons was widespread throughout the latter part of the Middle Ages. Particularly significant with regard to Hereford is the existence of a polyphonic motet in honour of St Thomas Cantilupe by John Benet (*fl.c.*1420-50).²¹ It has been proposed that this may have been composed to a commission from Bishop Edmund Lacy in 1420 to mark the centenary of the canonisation of the saint, perhaps even to encourage devotion to the saint on the continent.²²

William Chell

Contemporary with Mason at Hereford was another cleric with an Oxford BMus, namely William Chell. He is noted in the Hereford chapter act books as a deacon in 1518, priest vicar choral in 1520, succentor in 1527, eventually rising through the ranks to the precentorship in 1554. William Barclay Squire observes that deposited at Lambeth Palace Library there is a manuscript volume, *Guillielmi Chell (Musicae B.) Musicae Compendiu[m]; script A. 1526. Ejusdem Tractatus de Proportionibus*, the greater part of which consists of treatises by John Dunstable and John Otteby.²³ Squire is of the opinion that this manuscript was a transcription made by Chell, especially as a similar collection is to be found transcribed by John Tucke of Oxford in 1500. An inscription by Chell suggests that he had donated the manuscript to his pupil John

²⁰ John Harper, in *Hereford Cathedral*, 393 quoting Hereford, HCA, MS 7031/1, chapter acts, 1512-66, f.37r.

²¹ Modena, Bibliotheca Estense, MS a.X.1.11, ff.135v-136r.

²² John Harper, in *Hereford Cathedral*, 388 citing Brian Trowell and Andrew Wathey, 'John Benet's "Lux fulget ex Anglia – O pater pietis – Salve Thoma"', *St Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford: Essays in his Honour*, ed. M. Jancey (Hereford, 1982), 169-70.

²³ William Barclay Squire, 'Chelle, William', *DNB*, x, 183; London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 466.

Parker, the son of the Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, 1559-75. Chell had probably concentrated his musical activities on teaching, following his deprivation from the precentorship of Hereford on the accession of Elizabeth I.²⁴ Although no compositions by him are known, the presence of well qualified musicians among the greater chapter is a sign that the efforts of the lesser clergy were fully understood and appreciated by those in authority.

John Hodges

John Hodges was organist and instructor of the choristers for over forty years at Hereford cathedral (1538-c.1583), working through the reign of four successive monarchs and sharing his duties with Richard Ledbury, Thomas Mason and John Bull. His appointment at Hereford followed the dissolution of the Augustinian priory at Llanthony Secunda, Gloucester where he had served as master of the Lady chapel.²⁵ He was held in esteem by Morley who writes:²⁶

Mr Redford, Mr Tallis, Preston, Hodges, Thorne and Selbye and divers others, such variety of breaking of plainsongs as one not very well skilled in music should scant discern any plainsong at all, whereby you may learn to break any plainsong whatsoever.

Other significant pre-Reformation Welsh and borderland composers and musicians

John Gwynedd

Born c.1495, John Gwynedd (Siôn Gwynedd / John Guinneth), son of David ap Llewelyn ap Ithel, was a native of the Lleyrn Peninsula in north Wales.²⁷ From evidence presented in Gwynedd's two supplications for the Oxford DMus it is possible to gather limited biographical information. In 1531 he described himself as a secular priest who had practised the art of music for twelve years (in his second supplication, twenty years). Although he did not have a BMus he had established himself as a composer claiming to have composed 'all the Responses for a whole year *in cantus chrispiss aut*

²⁴ W. B. Squire, *op. cit.*

²⁵ Hereford, HCA, MS 7031/1, f.82r.

²⁶ Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke (1597)*, ed. by R. A. Harman (London, 1952), 177.

²⁷ *Biographical Epitomes of Bangor Clergy*, 9 vols., comp. by R. R. Hughes (1932 typescript at University of Wales, Bangor), iii, 324-25.

fractis ut aiunt [menstrual music], and many masses, including three masses of 5 parts and five masses of four parts, hymns, antiphons, etc.’ He was licensed to graduate as Doctor of Music on payment of a fee of 20*d.*²⁸ Burney claims to have seen fragments of two-part counterpoint by Gwynedd in the Pepysian Library (Magdalene College, Cambridge), there is nothing evident today that measures up either to this apparent discovery or any other works attributable to Gwynedd.²⁹

The bass part of a single song *My love mourneth*, published in Wynkyn de Worde’s *XX Songes* (1530), is all that remains of Gwynedd’s music. A setting of a meditation on the Passion, it is a sacred *contrafactum* of the popular song *My love sche morneth*, known from William Cornysh’s arrangement in Henry VIII’s Manuscript from which part of the melody may be reconstructed over Gwynedd’s bass in the refrain.³⁰

John Gwynedd, though recognised as a practising composer, pursued his career as a cleric and theologian. His many church appointments included rector of the Free chapel of Stokesbury (Northampton) in 1530, provost of Clynnog Fawr from 1537, rector of St Peter, West Cheap, 1543 and vicar of Luton in 1554. During Gwynedd’s incumbency of West Cheap it is known that Father Howe was engaged to repair the ‘organs’ and ‘regals’, receiving a fee for ‘keeping the organs’.³¹ Uncertainty remains, however, as to the musical provision at the more remote collegiate church of St Beuno’s, Clynnog Fawr. His theological writings were of a staunchly Catholic leaning, and included *A Declaration of the State wherein All Heretics doe leade their lives*.³²

John Lloyd

John Lloyd (Fludd/Floyd) was born in Caerleon, Monmouthshire, during the mid-1470s.³³ He was granted a corrody from Thetford abbey in 1498, which he held with other corrodies from monasteries in Bristol and Glastonbury, until his death in 1523. A

²⁸ C. W. Bowse, ed., *Register of the University of Oxford* (Oxford, 1895), i, 167.

²⁹ Brian Trowell, ‘Gwynneth, John’, in *NG*, vii, 861-62.

³⁰ *Ibid.* See also J. Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (London, 1961), 394.

³¹ W. H. Grattan Flood, *Early Tudor Composers* (London, 1925), 108-11, citing *Churchwardens’ Accounts*, ed. by W. Sparrow Simpson (London, 1868).

³² John Gwynedd, *A Declaration of the State wherein All Heretics doe leade their lives...* (London, 1554). *Biographical Epitomes of Bangor Clergy*, iii, 325.

³³ Thomas Messenger, ‘John Lloyd and his Missa “O Quam Suavis”’, *WM*, 6.5 (1980), 33-41, 33.

priest in the Chapel Royal in 1505, he was appointed to the parish church of Munslow, diocese of Hereford in 1506,³⁴ and was made a full gentleman of the Chapel Royal from c.1510, visiting the Field of the Cloth of Gold with the choir in 1520. He was a canon at St Augustine's, Bristol, when, in 1512, a letter from Cardinal Wolsey to the bishop of Winchester complaining of the unruly behaviour of the canons, stated that 'one Lloyd of the King's Chapel is the chief author of the mischief.' Nonetheless, Lloyd retained his position and the following year accompanied the King to Tournai.³⁵

Of Lloyd's sacred works, only two survive: an antiphon, *Ave regina*, and a monumental five voice mass *O quam suavis*.³⁶ The latter uses as a *cantus firmus* the magnificent antiphon for Corpus Christi; it has as a feature a head motif at the start of each movement and includes virtually every compositional device practised in the early sixteenth century.³⁷

Further biographical details are recorded by W. H. Grattan Flood who quotes an obituary as chronicled by John Hawkins:³⁸

John Floyd, of Welsh extraction, Bachelor of Music, and a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, *temp[us]* Henry VIII. He made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, returned, and died in the King's Chapel, and was buried in the Savoy Church, with the inscription: '*Johannes Floyd, virtutis et religionis cultor. Obiit* [John Floyd, the promoter (cultivator) of virtue and religion. Died] 3 April, 1523'.

Although there is no evidence that John Lloyd 'of the Kings Chapel' ever worked in Wales or that his music was performed this side of the border, he did have links with Hereford diocese. He never forgot his Welsh roots, for he makes a bequest in his will to 'St Cadock's Church Carlyon [Caerleon]'.³⁹ As a composer, he ranked alongside the likes of Fayrfax and Cornysh.

³⁴ *Calendar of Patent Rolls of Henry VII*, ii, 499.

³⁵ Messenger, (1980), 33-41, 35.

³⁶ Cambridge, University Library, MS Nn.6.46. For an edition of the mass, see John Lloyd, *Missa: O quam suavis*, ed. by H. B. Collins (The Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, Burnham, 1927).

³⁷ For a detailed analysis of its compositional features, see Messenger (1980), and Thomas Messenger, 'Number symbolism in John Lloyd's Mass', *WM*, 6.10 (1982), 51-53.

³⁸ Flood (1925), 66-68 citing John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London, 1776).

³⁹ Wyn K. Ford 'Some wills of English Musicians of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *RMARC*, 5 (1965), 80-84, 83, quoting from London, PRO, PROB 11/21. Made 18th January 1518/19 (in anticipation of a journey), it was proved 19th May 1523.

Philip ap Rhys

The liturgical organ music of Philip ap Rhys ‘Off Saynt Poulls in london’⁴⁰ is given special consideration in Chapter 8 within the context of a study of the organ in liturgy. No choral music is known to be attributable to ap Rhys.

Robert Perrot

Although not known to have been a composer, Robert Perrot is another example of a Welshman establishing himself in music away from his homeland. In *Bwygraffiaeth Cerddorion Cymreig* Robert Perrot is described as being the second son of George Perrot, Esquire of Haroldston, Pembrokeshire.⁴¹ He studied at King’s College, Cambridge, 1506-09 receiving the degree of MusB in 1507. He then proceeded to Magdalen College, Oxford, where he served as *informator choristorum* (1510-32) and organist (1530-48), receiving an Oxford DMus in 1515. He died in 1550. His second son, Clement Perrot, was also at Magdalen (1523-34) serving as organist in 1523. He eventually became a canon at Lincoln cathedral from 1535-61. A Porret (*sic*) was also a clerk at Eton, for three terms in 1521-22.⁴²

⁴⁰ London, BL, Add MS 29996; modern edition in *Early Tudor Organ Music: II, Music for the Mass*, trans. and ed. by Denis Stevens, EECM, 10 (London, 1969).

⁴¹ M. O. Jones, *Bywgraffiaeth Cerddorion Gymreig, o’r Oesoedd Boreuaf hyd Ganol y Ganrif Bresenol*, ed. by D. Emlyn Evans (Cardiff, 1890), 95.

⁴² *MMB*, 461 (in 1530-31 Perrott was paid ‘*pro pulsatione organorum diebus festis per totum annum*’ [for playing the organ on feast days throughout the year], *ibid.*, 166).

Section 2: Post-Reformation repertoire and its composers

On a national level Ralph Daniel and Peter le Huray have diligently catalogued extant music manuscripts and printed sources from this period,⁴³ while John Morehen has undertaken valuable research into the background history of many of these sources.⁴⁴ The provenance of many of these is immediately obvious; some remain in the care of their original custodians, some have a clear history of ownership despite dispersal, whilst for others, internal evidence lends clues to their background. Unfortunately, as stated above, for Wales and the borderlands only Chirk Castle and St Laurence's, Ludlow, have surviving music manuscripts for the period 1560-1640. The Hereford manuscripts, which probably date from the 1680s, include music that we can assume would have been familiar at Hereford earlier that century.

Despite the lack of post-Reformation music manuscripts from any other Welsh or borderland choral establishment much background information can be assembled from chapter records and other documentary evidence to suggest possible repertoires for both Chester and Hereford cathedrals. It is apparent that both these institutions maintained a large staff of musicians, both lay and ordained, many of whom were noted composers in their time. Obviously the staffing and financial management of each individual choral establishment would have differed considerably and the scope of repertoires varied accordingly. Watkins Shaw in his *Succession of Organists* provides succinct biographies of those musicians who held the official title of organist, yet there were many others employed variously as vicars choral, minor canons, or singing men who were also accomplished performing musicians and/or composers. These latter would undoubtedly have influenced their local repertoires and, in certain instances, would have gained recognition through the inclusion of their music in the collections of other institutions. Personal contacts would also have figured in the dispersal of music. The identification of a Welsh and borderland repertoire is to a certain extent reliant on knowledge gained from examining the spread and influence of this repertoire eastwards and northwards.

⁴³ Ralph T. Daniel and Peter le Huray, *The Sources of English Church Music, 1549-1660*, EECM supplement, 2 vols (London, 1972).

⁴⁴ John Morehen, 'The sources of English Cathedral Music, c.1617-c.1644' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1969).

Hereford Cathedral

Although there are many recognisable church composers among the musicians mentioned in the records of Hereford cathedral references to the compilation of music for the choir is limited to the clavigers' accounts for 1610-13. It is possible, however, that music copying may have been funded from a different fund for which records are no longer extant. The clavigers' accounts record payment of 13s 4d in 1610-11 'to John Payne for pricking books for the quire',⁴⁵ 6s 8d the next accounting year 'to John Payne for pricking books for the Choir',⁴⁶ and lastly, during 1612-13, 40s 'to Mr Fidoe of Worcester for Songe bookes'.⁴⁷

Of the musicians employed at Hereford, several deserve recognition for their compositional output, though much of this evidence is derived from repertoire sung at other institutions.

Thomas Boyce

Thomas Boyce is first mentioned as a vicar choral at Hereford in 1593, having previously been at Wells cathedral. His *Short Service* ('the whole service', Te Bs K Cr Ma N) is present in a number of sources including the partbooks of Durham cathedral, Ely cathedral and Peterhouse. It is also present in the New College partbooks now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and a bass partbook from St John's College, Oxford.⁴⁸ Further westwards this service is also to be found in the MS additions to the Barnard partbooks of c.1670, and the organbook of c.1660 in Gloucester cathedral Library. A Latin *Te deum* by Boyce is also known from the Peterhouse Caroline partbooks 'latter' set.⁴⁹ Boyce received a BMus from Oxford in 1603, and during Inglott's tenure as organist assisted him through the teaching of the choristers. In 1605 Boyce was elected succentor. In common with Fido and Farrant, Boyce did not always find it easy living

⁴⁵ Hereford, HCA, MS R597, clavigers' accounts, 1610-11. John Payne's career at Hereford began as a chorister from 1586, he then served as a college porter, 1593-7, and a sub-deacon from 10th February 1610, see Ian Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals, c.1547-c.1646* (London, 1993), 75n.

⁴⁶ Hereford, HCA, MS R598, clavigers' accounts, 1611-12.

⁴⁷ Hereford, HCA, MS R600, clavigers' accounts, 1612-13. John Fido's activities as a copyist are discussed below.

⁴⁸ See Appendix L; also, Daniel and le Huray (1972).

⁴⁹ Cambridge, Peterhouse Caroline partbooks 'latter' set, MSS 44, 42, 37, 45, 36, c.1635.

or working with the other vicars in the college, and was censured ‘for being a com[m]on contentious man, allways quarellinge with his fellowes & deproving them with badde language’.⁵⁰

William Broad

Ian Payne proposes that William Broad, MA, a vicar choral at Hereford, was possibly the composer of the full anthem *Praise the Lord* attributed simply to ‘Broad’ in the Gloucester cathedral organbook of c.1670.⁵¹ Documentation at Hereford records that William Broad was sworn to one of the two Duddlesbury vicarages in 1633, and in 1641 succeeded Matthew White as succentor.⁵² From an examination of the manuscript additions to the set of John Barnard’s *First Book of Selected Church Musick* (London, 1641) formerly belonging to Hereford cathedral,⁵³ there is in the 2nd contratenor decani partbook a *Benedicite* attributed to ‘Mr Broad’.⁵⁴ The existence of *Mr Broads Benedicite* (as this item is titled) could perhaps be used to support Payne’s association of the Broad in the Gloucester manuscript as being identifiable as the Hereford musician William Broad.

John Bull

It is reasonable to assume that the music of John Bull would have received regular performance at Hereford not only because he had been a chorister, vicar choral and organist (1582-86) at the cathedral, but also on account of his membership of the Chapel Royal and reputation as a composer. In view of his large output, it is difficult however to suggest which of his compositions may have been performed at Hereford, as the manuscript sources for these (listed in Appendix L) are of a diverse nature, none having any definite association with the borderlands. His biography has been suitably addressed elsewhere.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Payne (1993), 292-93, citing Hereford, HCA, MS VC 4.C.XV, p.46.

⁵¹ Payne (1993), 293.

⁵² *Ibid.*, citing Hereford, HCA, Dean & Chapter MS 1559; MS VC 4.C.XV, pp.205, 225.

⁵³ Oxford, Christ Church Library, MSS Mus 544-53.

⁵⁴ Oxford, Christ Church Library, MS Mus 548, manuscript addition, *verso*. This is the only surviving voice part of Broad’s *Benedicite*.

⁵⁵ Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1558* (Oxford, 1991), 132-33; S. Jeans, ‘Bull, John’, *NG*, ii, 438.

Hugh Davis

Hugh Davis was a vicar choral at Hereford from 1604 and organist from 1609 until 1644. Four items by Davis; *Defend us Lord, Have mercy upon me O God, Rejoice in the Lord O ye righteous*, and a *Te deum* survive in the manuscript additions to the Hereford set of Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Music*; two of these (*Te deum* and *Defend us Lord*) are unique to this source. Although this is a post-Restoration source there are sufficiently strong reasons to assume that these works by Davis would have firmly established themselves in the Hereford repertory during the first half of the seventeenth century.⁵⁶ Another important source for Davis's music is the Gloucester cathedral bassus partbook. Of the six works by Hugh Davis in this manuscript, three are unique.⁵⁷

The partbooks, NYPL, Drexel MSS 4180-85 and BL, Add MSS 17792-96, also contain works by Hugh Davis. The scribe of these two sets of manuscripts (which include a mix of both sacred and secular music) was John Merro, a layclerk of Gloucester cathedral between 1609 and the 1630s. It is clear that Merro, in the compilation of these two substantial anthologies, was able to access manuscripts in the library at Gloucester cathedral.⁵⁸

The inclusion in the Batten Organbook of *Lord, from thy throne* and *The peace of God* suggests that Davis's music had wider appeal, as does the presence of *Have mercy upon me, O God* in the RCM Barnard MS sources.⁵⁹ Interestingly, *Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous*, present in the two Merro sources, the Hereford additions and the New College bass decani partbook,⁶⁰ is not to be found in the Gloucester bassus partbook.

Extant works by Hugh Davis

Awake up my glory

Defend us, Lord

Have mercy upon me, O God

Lord, from thy throne

Lord, in thy wrath

O sing unto the Lord a new song

⁵⁶ The Hereford cathedral Barnard manuscript additions are discussed below.

⁵⁷ The Gloucester bassus partbook, MS 93 is discussed below.

⁵⁸ Craig Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650: The Sources and the Music* (Michigan, 1982), 137-58.

⁵⁹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tenbury MS 791, the Batten organbook; London, RCM, MSS 1045-1051, Barnard MS sources.

⁶⁰ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mus d.162, bass decani partbook.

Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous
The peace of God
Te Deum
Preces and Psalms (Ps 136: *O give thanks unto the Lord*
 & Ps 24: *The earth is the Lord's*)

John Farrant

Much intrigue has shrouded the identity of John Farrant who appears to have had a lengthy yet very turbulent career. His colourful biography has been suitably addressed elsewhere.⁶¹ Since he was organist at Hereford cathedral for only a year, 1592-93 (between John Fido's first and second tenures of this post), and seems not to have gained much favour in the eyes of the other vicars choral,⁶² we can assume his contribution to the repertoire at Hereford during this short time was limited. From the source details exhibited in Appendix L, it would seem his music was in general circulation.

John Fido

John Fido held the post of organist at Hereford cathedral for three separate periods, each of short duration during 1591-92, 1593-95 and 1596-97, and at Worcester 1595-96. On 30th May 1600, Fido was elected vicar choral and master of the choristers at Christ Church cathedral, Dublin, 'to teach and bring up the Queristors, instructing in song so manie as shal[l]be requisite and necessarie for furnishing of the Quire'.⁶³ In 1605 a John Fido was appointed vicar choral at Wells.⁶⁴ He returned to Worcester as minor canon in 1610 and served as rector of St Nicholas's, Worcester (1615-36), his name reappearing as a minor canon until 1639.⁶⁵ Additional to these official appointments, there are various occasional payments from other institutions. At Lincoln cathedral on 27th December 1599 'Magister Fido' received from the chapter 40s 'pro diversis libris cantatoriis' (for various song books).⁶⁶ He was at King's College, Cambridge, in 1605/6, apparently resident for nine weeks, but was never a formal member of that

⁶¹ Shaw (1991), 34-37, 134-35, 259-60.

⁶² Shaw (1991), 135.

⁶³ Barra Boydell, ed., *Music at Christ Church Before 1800: Documents and Selected Anthems*, A History of Christ Church, Dublin, 5 (Dublin, 1999), 58 citing Dublin, RCB, MS C6/1/7/1, chapter act book, 1574-1634, f.58.

⁶⁴ Shaw (1991), 135.

⁶⁵ Ivor Atkins, *The Early Occupants of the Office of Organist and Master of the Choristers of the Cathedral Church of Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary, Worcester* (London, 1918), 35-37.

⁶⁶ Payne (1993), 76.

institution: '*Item: solut[um] Fido pro libris in eundem libris usum, et pro playing upon the organs pro 9 sept[imanae], 30s*' (Item: paid to Fido for books in the same use and for [playing upon organs] for 9 weeks, 30s). Payne suggests that Fido had been employed temporarily as John Tomkins's assistant. He also received 20s for repairs or maintenance of the organ '*in regardis pro operibus circa le organs*' (in reward for the works concerning the organs).⁶⁷ His name appears again at Hereford in the 1612-13 clavigers' accounts.⁶⁸ One other reference (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tenbury MS 1442, f.95v) refers to him as 'Mr Fido of Exeter', though there is no further evidence at Exeter cathedral relating to any of Fido's activities.⁶⁹ Fido's career suggests that he would have had ample opportunity to forge links with other musicians and composers, connections which would have proved suitably advantageous to his activities in the provision of music.

A manuscript particularly significant with regards to John Fido is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tenbury MS 1382, the 'Southwell Minster tenor book'. All six of Fido's known anthems are included in this manuscript, three of which are unique to this source. Fido's involvement in the production of this manuscript and its relevance to a provincial borderland repertoire is discussed later in the chapter. Also discussed below is the Gloucester cathedral bassus partbook which contains three of Fido's anthems and reflects this provincial repertoire. Fido's anthem *Hear me, O Lord, and that soon* is present in a variety of manuscript sources associated with Durham, Peterhouse, Winchester and Gloucester; it is also present in the Batten Organbook and Barnard's manuscript partbooks. It is the only one of Fido's anthems which appears to have received wide geographical distribution.

John Gibbs

John Gibbs, organist at Hereford between John Fido's second and third tenures 1595-96, may be identified with the John Gibbs, almoner and master of the choristers at St

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, citing the King's *Mundum* Book, under the heading *Custus Ecclesie*. The preceding entry, '*Item: solut[um] Tudnam [clerico laico] pro libris in usum Chori et Organi, 40s*' (Item: paid to Tudnam [lay clerk] for books for the use of the choir and organs, 40s), places the Fido entry in context (Erasmus Tud[de]n[h]am was a minor canon at Norwich cathedral).

⁶⁸ Hereford, HCA, MS R600, 'Ite[m] to Mr Fidoe of Worcester for Songe bookes, xls', already cited.

⁶⁹ Payne (1993), 359n.

Paul's in 1613.⁷⁰ A composer of this name is known to have written a *Service to the organs* (Te, J, Ma, N) present in the Batten Organbook and a bass partbook at Durham cathedral.⁷¹ Of consequence is the positioning of John Gibbs's anthem, *If the Lord himself*, in Barnard's bass cantoris partbook, RCM, MS 1051, where it is adjacent to John Fido's verse anthem *Hear me, O Lord, and that soon*. Both these anthems are also contained in the Batten Organbook.

William Inglott

The unique presence of *I am well pleased* in the Gloucester cathedral bassus partbook presupposes that this anthem formed part of a local repertory, especially since Inglott was organist at Hereford (1597-1610). Similar reasoning may be applied to another of his anthems, *Out of the deep*, for which the tenor part alone is extant in its unique source, a tenor partbook from St Laurence's, Ludlow.⁷² The manuscript sources for Inglott's *Service* and *If ye love me* suggest that these works were associated with his later career as organist at Norwich cathedral, and would not necessarily have received performance at Hereford.⁷³

Matthew White

Matthew White, vicar choral of Hereford is first mentioned there in the visitation of 22nd September 1635, when he is described as having a DMus. He is subsequently listed as a vicar on 20th March 1639 and as a 'singingman vicar' in 1640. He died in 1641, when William Broad was admitted in his place as succentor.⁷⁴ The anthem *The Lord bless us* attributed to Matthew White in London, BL, Harl MS 7339, is ascribed to Robert White in all other sources except BL, Harl MS 6346, which has J. White. Another, *O praise God in his holiness*, bears an attribution to Matthew White in Wimborne Minster, MS P14 (tenor, c.1670), but is attributed to William White in all other sources. The RCM Barnard MSS include three voice parts for Matthew White's full anthem, *Zache stood forth*, and his setting of the responses to the commandments is present in the Ludlow

⁷⁰ Shaw (1991), 135.

⁷¹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ten MS 791; Durham, DCL, MS C18, bass decani, c.1640.

⁷² Shrewsbury, SRO, LB15/1/227, tenor partbook, c.1597.

⁷³ *If ye love me* (incomplete), medius part only survives in an eighteenth-century partbook at Norwich cathedral; the service in eighteenth-century partbooks at Norwich, the *Te deum* of which is also in the organbook, Oxford, Christ Church Library, MS Mus 1001.

⁷⁴ Payne (1993), 293-94.

bass partbook, SRO, MS LB15/1/229. Before arriving at Hereford, Matthew White held appointments at Wells cathedral and the Chapel Royal.⁷⁵

Chester Cathedral

Following the publication by John Day of various editions of the English metrical psalter⁷⁶ we find entries at Chester during 1563 for the purchase of such books: ‘for a psalt[e]’ to the qu[i]ere, xiiii*d*’, to Robert Corvall for a psalter, xviii*d*’, and ‘for a spalter [sic] bought of John Caucke, xiiii*d*’.⁷⁷ Elizabeth’s reign saw the development of two parallel musical traditions; the more formal cathedral style tradition of service settings and anthems sung by the choir and then the tradition of metrical psalm singing normally associated with parish churches.⁷⁸ At Chester cathedral, as at St David’s cathedral and St Lawrence’s, Ludlow, there is evidence of both traditions. In the same year there are payments relating to music copying: ‘for two Qu[i]er[es] of paper to the Querare, viii*d*’ and ‘for prickyng of dyvers strange songs to the quyere, iis’.⁷⁹

During the 1570s further payments are itemised for books for the choir. In 1573 there is a payment of 10s ‘For viiith singinge bookes for y^e quire, xs’,⁸⁰ and entries during 1574 and 1575 remunerate the organist, Robert Stevenson, for such provision:⁸¹

Item to Rob[er]t Stevenson for prick[in]^g of the songes allowed unto him by the Subdean & Prebendaries, xiijs

Item Paper to Stevenson to pricke songes on, vs

Paid for 2 singing books, vijd

Item vi queares of paper for Stevenson to pricke songes upon for the quier, ijs

The official responsibility of the organist for overseeing the copying of music was confirmed in 1582 when money was specifically budgeted for this purpose. This money was a portion of the Leicester Award, whereby the dean and chapter of Chester received £150 per annum in recompense for lands seized by Sir Richard Cotton in 1553. Certain stipulations attached to the award, however, allocated set amounts for particular uses, and the fourth clause granted ‘To the Master of the Choristers and organist pricking

⁷⁵ Peter le Huray, ‘White, Matthew’, *NG*, xx, 383.

⁷⁶ Robin A. Leaver, ‘Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes’: *English and Dutch Metrical Psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove, 1535-1566* (Oxford, 1991), 241-55.

⁷⁷ Chester, CRO, MS EDD3913/1/2, treasurers’ accounts, 1561-84, pp.44, 45.

⁷⁸ Leaver (1991), 240.

⁷⁹ Chester, CRO, MS EDD3913/1/2, pp.39, 45.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 98.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 122, 130.

from time to time all necessary song bookes for the use of the said cathedrall church. £2 6s 8d'.⁸² From this date it appears from the treasurers' disbursements that the organist, in addition to his quarterly wage, receives an augmentation which probably takes into consideration the copying of music. In 1584, in addition to his salary and augmentation, 4d was paid 'for one qu[i]ere of paper unto M^r Stevenson delyvered for prickinge songs for the Queere'.⁸³

Delegation of duties is evident during 1585 when a payment of 12s 8d is made to one of the minor canons: 'It[e]m payd to S^r James Miller for twenty quires of ruled pap[er] for the use of the quire as by his bill appeareth'. In 1589, 6d is 'Given the xvth of march to James Miller a pynte of ynke to pricke songs for the qu[i]ere'.⁸⁴

Despite the apparent proliferation of payments in the treasurers' accounts with regard to the provision of choral music there is nothing here to indicate directly the repertoire sung at Chester. Many of the musicians employed at Chester were composers, and it is the extant works of these that must first be given consideration when attempting to reconstruct a possible Chester repertory. Robert White was recognised nationally as a composer of considerable stature; both Thomas Bateson and Francis Pilkington published madrigal collections, whilst the anthems and services of Randolph Jewett and Robert Stevenson found their way into the repertories of choral foundations away from Chester. The high level of musical activity at Chester implied by its chapter acts, staff lists and treasurers' accounts is confirmed by information gleaned about the activities of Chester musicians at other institutions. The particularly strong link in this respect between Chester cathedral and Christ Church cathedral, Dublin, would have easily encouraged interchange of ideas and repertoire.⁸⁵

Thomas Bateson

Following his tenure as organist at Chester, c.1601-08, Thomas Bateson succeeded John Fido as organist at Christ Church, Dublin in 1609. Although Bateson had established

⁸² R. V. H. Burne, 'The History of Chester Cathedral in the Reigns of James I and Charles I', *JCAS*, n.s., 39 (1952), 59-92, 59-60, from Chester, CRO, Cowper Manuscripts, dated 13th February 1582.

⁸³ Chester, CRO, MS EDD3913/1/3, treasurers' accounts, 1584-1610, p.15.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 37.

⁸⁵ See above, Chapter 5, pp.172-74.

himself with two published collections of madrigals,⁸⁶ the first during his time at Chester, only one sacred work of his has survived. His sole verse anthem, *Holy, Lord God Almighty*, is considered to date from his time in Dublin. It has been proposed that because of its unusual seven-part scoring of two trebles, two altos, two tenors and a bass, the anthem had been written for the occasion of Bateson's Trinity College, Dublin, BMus degree in 1612.⁸⁷ The two surviving sources for this anthem were both copied by John Merro of Gloucester, suggesting therefore that this anthem was known in mainland Britain.⁸⁸ It is possible that it was also sung at Chester where the choir would have been sufficient in number to cover the seven-part scoring. A service by Bateson, now lost, was sung regularly at Chester until the beginning of the eighteenth century.⁸⁹

Randolf Jewett

Randolf Jewett was born c.1603 into a family of Chester musicians some of whom had also served the Chapel Royal.⁹⁰ He was a chorister and a layclerk at Chester until succeeding Bateson at Dublin in 1631. His strong family ties with Chester probably favoured performance of his compositions, and in 1643 he returned home when appointed organist of Chester cathedral. His subsequent career is testimony to his talent; in 1649 he is listed as a member of the then-suppressed St Paul's cathedral, rising to the position of almoner in 1660 and junior cardinal a year later. In 1666 Jewett was appointed organist, master of the choristers and lay vicar of Winchester cathedral.⁹¹ Jewett composed at least six verse anthems and an evening service for verses: Appendix L demonstrates that the bass partbook, Ten MS 1442, is the unique source for four of these anthems.

Extant works by Randolf Jewett

Bow down thine ear O Lord (text only)

I heard a voice from heaven (the only one possible to satisfactorily reconstruct)

O God, the king of glory

⁸⁶ Thomas, Bateson, *The First Set of English Madrigals: to 3. 4. 5. and 6. Voices* (London, 1604), ed. by Edmund H. Fellowes, rev. Thurston Dart, EM, 21 (2nd edn., London, 1958); *The Second Set of Madrigals to 3. 4. 5. and 6. Parts: Apt for Viols and Voyces* (London, 1618), ed. by E. H. Fellowes, rev. T. Dart, EM, 22 (2nd edn., London, 1960).

⁸⁷ Boydell (1999), 19, 173-74, 187-93 (edition), 234 (commentary).

⁸⁸ London, BL, Add MSS 17792-17796, catqb partbooks (sx lacking), early seventeenth century; New York, NYPL, Drexel MSS 4180-4185, catbqsx partbooks, c.1620.

⁸⁹ Joseph C. Bridge, 'The Organists of Chester Cathedral', *JCAS*, 19 (1913), 63-124: 75-76.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 81-84.

⁹¹ Peter le Huray, 'Jewett, Randolph', *NG*, ix, 613.

*O God, who through the teaching
 O that he once the heavens
 The king shall rejoice
 Short Evening Service 'for verses' (Ma, N)*

Francis Pilkington

Francis Pilkington, in common with his contemporary Thomas Bateson, was better known as a madrigalist than a church composer. Other than his two pieces contained in William Leighton's *Tears or Lamentations*,⁹² Pilkington's sacred works survive only in printed collections amidst secular items. Pilkington graduated with a BMus from Lincoln College, Oxford in 1595, and in 1602 was appointed a layclerk at Chester cathedral. Though still a layman, he became a minor canon in 1603 and was eventually ordained in December 1614. From this point in time he held a succession of curacies in Chester, at Holy Trinity (1614), St Bridget's (1616), St Martin's (1622), becoming precentor at the cathedral from 1632 while holding the rectory of Aldford near Chester (1623-38).⁹³ This career path was not dissimilar from other church musicians of the period who had taken orders and had held posts involving parish duties, namely Thomas Farrington Tomkins, Christopher Tye and John Fido. These added responsibilities did not prevent Pilkington from singing in the cathedral choir, where his sons were choristers and later conducts, and from publishing two sets of madrigals and a book of songs.⁹⁴

Works by Francis Pilkington to sacred texts⁹⁵

*Care for thy soul
 Hidden, O Lord are my most horrid sins
 High, mighty God of righteousness
 O gracious God, pardon
 O praise the Lord, all ye heathen*

⁹² *Sir William Leighton: The Tears or Lamentations of a Sorrowful Soul*, trans. and ed. by Cecil Hill, EECM, 11 (London, 1970).

⁹³ David Brown, 'Pilkington, Francis', *NG*, xiv, 749-50.

⁹⁴ Francis Pilkington, *The First Booke of Songs or Ayres of 4. Parts: with Tablature for the Lute or Orpherian, with the Viol de Gamba* (London, 1605): the versions for 4vv with lute published in *The Old English Edition*, 18-20 (London, 1897-98); the versions for voice and lute ed. by Edmund H. Fellowes, rev. Thurston Dart, *The English Lute-Songs*, 1st Series, 7, 15 (2nd edn., 1971); Francis Pilkington, *The First Set of Madrigals and Pastorals of 3. 4. and 5. Parts* (London, 1613-14), ed. by E. H. Fellowes, rev. T. Dart, *EM*, 21 (2nd edn., London, 1959); Francis Pilkington, *The Second Set of Madrigals and Pastorals of 3. 4. and 5. Parts: Apt for Violls and Voyces* (London, 1624), ed. by E. H. Fellowes, rev. T. Dart, *EM*, 26 (2nd edn., London, 1958).

⁹⁵ See Appendix L for sources.

Robert Stevenson

Robert Stevenson, organist at Chester from 1570-99, was, in addition to his activities as a music copyist, also noted for his compositions. Only two anthems and a service by Stevenson survive, and are found only in manuscript sources connected with Durham cathedral.⁹⁶ His anthem, *Behold, how good and joyful*, would have received performance as far afield as Durham and Cambridge, the link between Durham cathedral and Peterhouse being through Bishop John Cosin. Even though no manuscripts are known to survive from Chester cathedral, there is no cause to doubt that Stevenson's compositions were also part of the Chester repertory.

Extant Works by Robert Stevenson

Behold, how good and joyful

When the Lord turned again

Whole Service (V, Te, Bs, K, Cr, Ma, N)

Reference to music books in the Chester treasurers' accounts becomes less frequent during the seventeenth century. Interestingly, an organbook (probably containing accompaniments for use with the choir) receives mention in 1601: 'payd to M^r Bateson for y^e new Organ Booke belonging to o[u]^r Quier, xls', and it is referred to again in 1602 when 6s was paid 'For a little Deske for M^r Bateson his Organ booke'.⁹⁷ Only two further payments relating to music copying occur before the Commonwealth: one in 1615 when 16d was expended 'For ii quires of ruled paper for ye Quire Bookes (at 8d ye quire)'; the other during 1642 to Peter Stringer one of the lay clerks, 'in part of payment for pricking of some bookes delvered [to] him by M^r Subdeane, xls'.⁹⁸

Peter Stringer

Peter Stringer, born in 1617, was a chorister and a conduct at Chester from 1627-37. Following the Civil War he progressed through the ranks of minor canon, master of the choristers, organist, precentor and deputy treasurer.⁹⁹ He was one of the few members of staff to serve the cathedral on both sides of the Interregnum, thus demonstrating a continuity of tradition. In the context of the present discussion, it is of relevance to note that Peter Stringer served the choir of Christ Church cathedral, Dublin, during the late

⁹⁶ See Appendix L.

⁹⁷ Chester, CRO, MS EDD3913/1/4, treasurers' accounts, 1611-44, pp. 232, 239.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.104, 326.

⁹⁹ Shaw (1991), 64-65.

1630s.¹⁰⁰ The chapter acts of that institution provide evidence of his music copying activity:¹⁰¹

The same day upon the petition of Peter Stringer for allowance for certaine Anthems and services p[ro]cured by him, it was ordered as followeth 2 December 1639. The proctor is prayed to lend the petitioner out of the meanes of the Church three pounds upon his note to accompt for the Same, And for the petic[i]on wee shall hereafter take the same into further considerac[i]on.

This is supported in the proctors' accounts of that cathedral, 1638-39, where £1 is granted 'to Mr Stringer for Anthemes'.¹⁰²

Peter Stringer subsequently returned to Chester and was appointed master of the choristers in 1660.¹⁰³ Five anthems attributed to Stringer are listed in the 1664 edition of James Clifford's *Divine Services*. Unfortunately, no actual music by him now survives.¹⁰⁴

Robert White

One of the most talented and respected musicians of the third quarter of the sixteenth century was Robert White. His compositional skill is noted by Morley in his *Introduction*, and John Baldwin, in a poem of 1591, lists him alongside his peers:¹⁰⁵

I will begin with White, Shepherd, Tye, and Tallis,
Parsons, Giles, Mundie, th'oulde one of the Queens Pallis.

¹⁰⁰ Boydell (1999), 260. Boydell reports that when in December 1643 a vicars place became vacant, the chapter repeatedly tried to encourage Stringer, described as 'formerly a member of this choir', to 'come over', thus indicating that he had returned to England. He was even elected vicar in his absence in 1644 when there was 'great want of a base in the Quire' but there is no evidence that he returned to Dublin. Stringer was also a vicar choral at St Patrick's between 1639(?) and 1642, see H. J. Lawlor, *The Fasti of St Patrick's, Dublin* (Dundalk, 1930), 220, 236.

¹⁰¹ Dublin, RCB, MS C6/1/7/1, f.39v, as quoted by Boydell (1999), 75.

¹⁰² Dublin, RCB, MS C6/1/26/3/1-29, proctors' accounts, 1564-1641, as quoted by Boydell (1999), 84.

¹⁰³ Shaw (1991), 64-65.

¹⁰⁴ James Clifford, *The Divine Services and Anthems usually Sung in His Majesties Chappell, and in all Cathedrals and Collegiate Choires in England and Ireland* (London, 1663; 2nd edn., 1664); Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music, 1660-1714* (Oxford, 1995), 218.

¹⁰⁵ As cited in Bridge (1913), 68.

Born c.1540, White was fortunate to have been a chorister and singingman at Trinity College, Cambridge under a Mr Preston (probably the Thomas Preston in the organ manuscript London, BL, Add MS 29996) and received a BMus in 1560.¹⁰⁶ From Cambridge, White moved to Ely cathedral as organist (1562-66) and in 1567 became organist at Chester. Although White's sojourn at Chester was relatively short, it is not unreasonable to suggest that in addition to performing his own compositions he may well have been an exponent of the music of his father-in-law and predecessor at Ely, Christopher Tye.

White's involvement in the miracle plays at Chester is outlined by Bridge, the cathedral musicians taking an active part in the musical aspects of these productions.¹⁰⁷ The experience gained from the miracle plays at Chester must have stood White in good stead for his next appointment in 1570 as *magister choristarum* at Westminster Abbey, where there was also a tradition of boy actor-musicians.

White's compositional energies concentrated mainly on the setting to music of Latin texts. It seems doubtful whether many of these works were performed at Chester. On stylistic grounds David Mateer considers that his Latin hymn settings were probably *juvenilia* and conceived during the Marian period for liturgical use, though he does not dismiss the fact that they could have existed as devotional chamber music.¹⁰⁸ The two settings by White of the *Lamentations* were part of an Elizabethan phenomenon. Other composers to have set these texts include William Byrd, Thomas Tallis, Osbert Parsley, John Mundy, and Ferrabosco the Elder who looked for their models towards masses, votive antiphons and continental settings.¹⁰⁹ White's Latin *Magnificat* may have been written during his time at Cambridge.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ *Robert White: I, Five-Part Latin Psalms*, trans. and ed. by David Mateer, EECM, 28 (London, 1983) and, *Robert White: II, Six-Part Latin Psalms; Votive Antiphons*, trans. and ed. by David Mateer, EECM, 29 (London, 1983), ix-x.

¹⁰⁷ Bridge (1913), 69; also Mateer (1983), x.

¹⁰⁸ *Robert White: III, Ritual Music & Lamentations*, trans. and ed. by David Mateer, EECM, 32 (London, 1986), p.xiv. For a consideration of the domestic performance of music with sacred Latin texts, see John Milsom, 'Sacred Songs in the Chamber' in *English Choral Practice, 1400-1650*, ed. by John Morehen (Cambridge, 1995), 161-79.

¹⁰⁹ EECM, 32, pp.xiv-xv.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.xviii.

White's anthems with English texts are as follows:¹¹¹

<i>Let thy merciful ears</i>	(adaptation of <i>O how glorious art thou</i>)
<i>Lord who shall dwell</i>	
<i>O how glorious art thou</i>	(also attributed to E. Hooper)
<i>O Lord, deliver me</i>	(adaptation of <i>Cognovi Domine</i> section of the motet <i>Manus tuae</i>)
<i>O Lord, rebuke me not</i>	(adaptation of <i>The Lord bless us</i>)
<i>O praise God in his holiness</i>	(also attributed to William White)
<i>Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all</i>	(adaptation of <i>Speret Israel</i> section of the motet <i>Domine non est exaltatum</i>)
<i>The Lord bless us</i>	

His contribution to Anglican church music, however, has been summarised by Irwin Spector and David Mateer, who state that

In general White's anthems lack the technical mastery of his motets, and indeed, apart from the adaptations, only one can unequivocally be attributed to him.¹¹²

St Laurence's, Ludlow

Excepting Chester cathedral, more documentation concerning expenditure for the provision of service books and music at St Laurence's, Ludlow, is available than for any other institution within the compass of this thesis. The disbursements of the Ludlow churchwardens' account books from this period, however, only itemise expenditure in a form necessary for official purposes. Descriptions are sometimes immediately obvious, at other times, extremely vague. Nonetheless, due to the comprehensiveness of these accounts, it is possible to chart out with some detail how St Laurence's kept pace with the liturgical changes imposed following the Reformation. It is fortunate also that five of the music books procured for Ludlow are deposited at Shropshire Records Office; these are discussed below.¹¹³

In 1549 the new liturgical requirements are fulfilled when 36s was 'payde for the parishe bookes, viz iiij Mas[s]e bookes, one Paraffrases, and viij [P]Salters'.¹¹⁴ The needs of the choir were also met at this time with 2d 'payd for paper to pry[c]k songes in for the church'.¹¹⁵ The following year (1550) 'the olde bookes in the churche of the

¹¹¹ See Appendix L for sources; for an edition, see *Robert White*, ed. by Percy C. Buck, and others, TCM, 5 (London, 1926).

¹¹² Irwin Spector and David Mateer, 'White, Robert', *NG*, xx, 384-85.

¹¹³ Shrewsbury, SRO, MSS LB15/1/225-229.

¹¹⁴ T. Wright, ed., 'Churchwardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow [1540-1573/74]', *Camden Society*, 1st series, 102 (1869), 38.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 39.

old service' were sold for 2s 8d.¹¹⁶ The old liturgies returned with Mary I and information concerning music and service books from this period at Ludlow includes in 1556, 4s 'Paid to John Dowghton for the mendynge of a prycke songe booke' and 3s 8d 'for the mendynge of iiij Processionals and for mendynge of one Antyphonar'.¹¹⁷ In 1557 the organist John Broke receives 2d 'for paper to pricke songes for the churche'.¹¹⁸ Repairs were again necessary in 1559 when John Daulton (Dowghton) is paid 6d 'for mendynge of the antyfener booke'.¹¹⁹

Following the reversion to the State religion, John Dawton, was paid 10s 'for a bo[o]cke of the comunyon and iij Sawters [psalters]', and George Heywode received 17s 6d 'for a bo[o]cke of the Communyon and vi [P]Saw[l]ters, and the car[r]riage of them from London'. These six psalters were probably first editions of Sternhold and Hopkins metrical versions of the psalms.¹²⁰ The organist John Broke received payments at this time 'for whit paper for mr Cowpes and to John Brocke to prycke, ijd', 'for paper to pricke with, ijd', and 'a quyer of paper, iiijd'.¹²¹ Subsequent entries relating to the provision of music books include in 1563, 'Delivered Triuman i quyre of paper, iiijd', and in 1567 'to John Trueman and Richard Johnson, for the pryckeinge oute of synginge bo[o]kes, xiiij s' and 'John Dalton, for a Psalter bo[o]ke, ijs'.¹²² In 1569 a printed collection was purchased, 'Item, payd unto John Dalton for iiij^{or} pricke song bo[o]kes in printe, ffor the churche, viijs'.¹²³ This entry could refer either to John Day's 'Morning and Evening Prayer' published four years previously, or an edition of Day's metrical psalter of 1563 in four part harmony.¹²⁴ The accounts for 1579-80 record the payment of 2s 'for v^e bookes of prycksonge', and during 1583-84 'a quiere of paper and glewe for m^r Harrison' and 'iiii^{or} Psalmes bookes' cost 6d and 3s 4d respectively.¹²⁵ The continual use of partbooks rendered it necessary in 1575 for 3d to be spent 'for

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 45.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* 68, 71.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 77.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 86.

¹²⁰ Alan Smith, 'Elizabethan Church Music at Ludlow', *ML*, 49 (1968), 108-21, 112.

¹²¹ Wright (1869), 93.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 114, 126.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 136.

¹²⁴ John Day, *Certain Notes set forth in Four and Three Parts* (London, 1565); John Day, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes in Four Parts* (London, 1562; reissued in partbook form, 1563): Smith (1968), 112.

¹²⁵ Wright (1869), 165.

mending the singinge bookes'.¹²⁶ Further expenditure on music followed, though not so frequently:¹²⁷

1578-79	It[e]m for v ^e bookes of prycksonge, ijs
1629-30	Payd M ^r Gibbs the Organest for pricking and penninge fower singing book, xs
1638-39	Item paid Mr Herdson for books, 4 <i>li</i> .

The various sets of partbooks collected by the church over the preceding century, and probably no longer in use, are noted in an inventory of church goods dated 22nd April 1658: 'It[e]m sev[er]all setts of singinge bookes in the Cheste'.¹²⁸

Benjamin Cosyn

Cosyn was organist at Ludlow from March 1621 until November 1622, when he took up organist appointments first at Dulwich College and later at Charterhouse.¹²⁹ Daniel and le Huray record two of his works – a full anthem, *O praise God in his holiness* and a *Venite* to the *Short Service* of Orlando Gibbons. Cosyn is probably best remembered for the so-called 'Benjamin Cosyn's Virginal Book', dating from c.1620, which, in addition to keyboard music, also contains services in vocal score (ff.111v-146).¹³⁰

Thomas Heardson

Thomas Heardson served as organist at Ludlow, 1637-42. His signature follows a verse anthem *Godliness is greate riches* in the Ludlow bass partbook, LB15/1/229, signifying that he was at least the copyist if not also the composer. The outlay in 1638-39 of £4 to Heardson 'for books' is a relatively large sum when compared with other expenses at Ludlow for music though this entry does not specify either quantity or type of book. Elsewhere other church compositions with attributions to Thomas Heardson include

¹²⁶ Llewellyn Jones, ed., 'Churchwardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow [1470-71, 1472/73 and another fragment, and 1576/77-1606/7]', *TSAS*, 2nd series, 1 (1889), 235-84: 248.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 255; Ll. Jones, ed., 'Churchwardens' Accounts... [1629/30-1690/91]', *TSAS*, 2nd series, 4 (1892), 119-74: 119, 138.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 156-57.

¹²⁹ 'Dulwich College', *MT*, 48 (1907), 437-46; Dotted Crotchet, 'The Charterhouse', *MT*, 44 (1903), 777-85.

¹³⁰ London, BL, Roy. Mus. Lib. MS 23.1.4, the Benjamin Cosyn Virginal Book; *British Keyboard Music to c.1660, Sources and Thematic Index*, comp. by V. Brookes, (Oxford, 1996); see also Pamela Willetts, 'Benjamin Cosyn: Sources and circumstance', in *Sundry Sorts of Music Books: Essays on The British Library Collections*, ed. by Chris Banks, Arthur Searle and Malcolm Turner (London, 1993), 129-45.

Almighty God, we beseech thee, give ear present in the York Minster 'Bing-Gostling Partbooks',¹³¹ and *Keep, we beseech thee*, also in the Bing-Gostling Partbooks in addition to partbooks at Durham cathedral. It has not so far been possible to prove that the Thomas Heardson who composed these anthems was the Ludlow organist of that name.

Furthermore, a Thomas Heardson was responsible for an anthology of keyboard music by English composers c.1650, NYPL, Drexel MS 5611.¹³² This manuscript, mainly in the hand of Thomas Heardson,¹³³ contains almaens, galliards, corantos and voluntaries by John Roberts, Thomas Heardson, John Facy, Benjamin Rogers, Orlando Gibbons, Christopher Gibbons, Cobb, Thomas Tomkins, Tresor, John Bull, Benjamin Cosyn, Albertus Bryan (Bryne), Matthew Lock, Lawes and Peter Phillips.¹³⁴ Ian Payne draws attention to the fact that this was the same Thomas Heardson who served as a vicar choral at Lincoln cathedral in the 1660s and who had been assisted in the compilation of the manuscript by John Roberts, another vicar choral of Lincoln cathedral.¹³⁵

If indeed Heardson of Ludlow is identifiable as the Heardson of Lincoln and Drexel MS 5611, then he may be viewed in a similar light to another of Ludlow's organists, Benjamin Cosyn. If this is true, then firstly both these organists of Ludlow had a broader musical appreciation beyond that of the choir stalls and organ loft, and secondly neither man confined himself to employment at a single institution.

Edward Standley

The signature of Edward Standley, organist at Ludlow (1630-34), is to be found at the end of two anthems in SRO, LB15/1/229. The first signature appears at the end of Mr

¹³¹ As listed in Watkins Shaw, *A Study of the Bing-Gosling Part-Books in the Library of York Minster together with a Systematic Catalogue* ([n.p.] 1986). In *The Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of St Michael's College Tenbury*, comp. by Edmund H. Fellows (Paris, 1934), listed for Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tenbury MS 1021 (late-eighteenth-century) is an anthem *Almighty God, we beseech thee* attributed to 'Hearson'.

¹³² John Caldwell, *English Keyboard Music before the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1973; repr., 1985), 152.

¹³³ See, *Orlando Gibbons: Keyboard Music*, trans. and ed. by Gerald Herndrie, MB, 20 (2nd rev. edn., London, 1967), 92.

¹³⁴ Brookes (1996).

¹³⁵ Payne (1993), 136. Hendrie, MB, 20, p.92, however, mentions that Heardson had been a chorister at Lincoln in 1640, a junior vicar choral and a poor clerk in 1679.

Smith's *O praise the Lord all ye heathen* in the same hand as the text. Standley may have been the copyist. The second appearance of his signature is on f.29, at the end of the verse anthem *How sweet are thy words*.¹³⁶ It is probable that Standley was the copyist of this anthem and possibly also the composer. No other works are known to be attributable to him.

St Lawrence's, Ludlow, saw many organists come and go. The choice of repertoire sung would have been influenced by organists who arrived from other institutions, and they in turn may have taken the Ludlow repertoire with them to their next appointment. Others deserving mention in this respect include Mr Perkins, probably the Abednego Perkins, the master of the choristers at St Asaph (1630-31); Marmaduke Pardo, previously the organist at St David's cathedral; and Berkeley Wrench from Gloucester cathedral who was probably also the post-Civil War organist at Llandaff cathedral.¹³⁷ One other organist, Walter Gibbs, had briefly been Cosyn's successor at Dulwich before taking up his post at Ludlow in 1626 and, though holding office only until the end of March 1628, he received payment in 1629/30 (probably in retrospect) 'for pricking and penning fower singing books, xs.'¹³⁸ The repertoire of the surviving partbooks from Ludlow is discussed below.

The Welsh Cathedrals

Little is known of post-Reformation repertoire at the Welsh cathedrals, though it is certain that choirs and organs were maintained along similar lines to their English counterparts, but with tighter financial constraints. At Bangor, where the choral resources were limited, Thomas Martin, clerk and usher of the grammar school, replied to the 1617 visitation that he had taught one boy over the duration of a year 'four or five services and about a dozen anthems or sixteen, and hath brought up foure or five more boyes prettilye in the skill of music, hoping they will do well in time'.¹³⁹ At St David's

¹³⁶ Smith (1968), 121 has interpreted in his inventory a latter section of *How sweet are thy words* as a separate item: *Arise O god unto thy resting place* (f.29) is really a continuation of *How sweet*.

¹³⁷ See above, Chapter 5, pp.156-57, 165-66, and Chapter 6, p.198.

¹³⁸ Willetts, *op. cit.*, 130; Richard Francis and Peter Klein, *The Organ and Organists of Ludlow Parish Church* (Ludlow, 1982), 29. Willetts notes the possibility that Walter Gibbs may have been related to John Gibbs, almoner of St Paul's cathedral. Could this have been the same John Gibbs organist at Hereford cathedral, 1595-96?

¹³⁹ Bangor, UWB, MS 22808: the papers of Professor Glyn Roberts, eighteenth-century MS transcript of visitation returns for Bangor cathedral 1560, 1567, 1617, 1620, 1623 and 1632, p.46.

cathedral, where records concerning the discipline of the vicars choral abound, only meagre information has been preserved regarding actual music and its performance. On the appointment of Thomas Elliot as organist and master of the choristers in 1563 it was decreed that he was to teach the choristers their ‘playne songe pricksong and discant’.¹⁴⁰ The importance of pricksong was enforced in 1578 when the chapter ‘decreed that from thenceforward none should be installed vicars saving such as could sing their prick-song &c.’.¹⁴¹ The *Liber Communis* for 1565 records payment ‘For 3 [p]saw[l]ter bocks for ye church, 4s 8d’, and ‘For 3 bo[o]cks of Jenevia [p]salmes, 5s’.¹⁴² The only other entries in the accounts concerning music date from 1604-05 when 13s 4d was ‘p[ai]^d for pricking of Singing books’ and ‘more p[ai]^d by compo[siti]on for pricking of song books’.¹⁴³ Llandaff during this period had struggled with the maintenance of the choral service, and in 1554 it was reported that there was ‘no messe by note nor any song this thre[e] or fower years’.¹⁴⁴ By the beginning of the seventeenth century the choir had returned, and in 1629 George Carr was appointed organist.

George Carr

The texts of two verse anthems by George Carr, *I have lifted up mine eyes* and *Let thy loving mercy*, were printed in the 1664 edition of Clifford’s *Divine Services and Anthems*, which acknowledges that Carr was organist at Llandaff. This publication contains the texts to 400 anthems ‘usually sung in His Majesties Chapell and in all the Cathedrals and Collegiate Choirs of England and Ireland’ – much of the music for which survives in other sources, but a proportion, including the two anthems by Carr, is now no longer extant.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰ Aberystwyth, NLW, MS SD/Ch/B27-28, *Collectanea Menevensia* of Henry Thomas Payne, 2 vols, i, 10 (transcribed from MS SD/Ch/B1, chapter acts 1561-77).

¹⁴¹ Payne, *Collectanea*, i, p.45 (transcribed from MS SD/Ch/B2, chapter acts, 1578-99).

¹⁴² Aberystwyth, NLW, MS SD/Ch/B13, chapter accounts’ book (*Liber Communis*) p.25 (1565).

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.60 (1604-05).

¹⁴⁴ See above, Chapter 5, p.150.

¹⁴⁵ James Clifford, *The Divine Services and Anthems usually Sung in His Majesties Chappell, and in all Cathedrals and Collegiate Choirs in England and Ireland* (London, 1663; 2nd edn., 1664); Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music, 1600-1714* (Oxford, 1995), 350; Peter le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549-1660* (London, 1967; 2nd edn., Cambridge, 1978), 367-68; Ian Cheverton, ‘Cathedral music in Wales during the latter part of the seventeenth century’, *WM*, 8.1 (1986), 6-17, 14.

Parish Churches

As for the parish churches it is unlikely that during the post-Reformation period, with the possible exception of St Giles's, Wrexham,¹⁴⁶ a choral tradition was nurtured to match any of the cathedrals or St Laurence's, Ludlow, though it is known that organists were employed and their instruments maintained. Where records do suggest music in worship, a metrical psalm singing tradition appears to have been the norm.¹⁴⁷ In the Welsh-speaking churches the desire to sing metrical psalms was catered for by Edmund Prys, rector of Ffestiniog cum Maentwrog and archdeacon of Merioneth, whose compilation of Welsh metrical psalms, *Lyfr y Psalmiau wedi eu cyfieithu, au cyfansoddi ar fedwr cerdd, yn Gymraeg*, was appended in 1621 to a new issue of the *Book of Common Prayer in Welsh (Llyfr Gweddi Gyffredin)*.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ See below, p.256, for the possible overlap of repertoire between Chirk Castle and St Giles's, Wrexham, and the organist/composer of these institutions, William Deane.

¹⁴⁷ See above, Chapter 6.

¹⁴⁸ Edmund Prys, *Lyfr y Psalmiau wedi eu cyfieithu, au cyfansoddi ar fedwr cerdd, yn Gymraeg* (London, 1621); Leslie D. Paul, 'Music at Bangor Cathedral Church: some historical notes', *WM*, 3.9 (1971), 11-33, 12; G. A. Williams, 'Edmwnd Prys (1543/4-1623)', *TMHS*, 8 (1977-84), 349-68.

Section 3: Surviving manuscripts associated with the repertory of Wales and the Borders

The Ludlow Partbooks

The five partbooks, Shrewsbury, SRO, LB15/1/225-229 are the oldest surviving post-Reformation music manuscripts to be linked with the geographical area of this thesis. As explained above each partbook comes from a separate set, each with a different date of compilation. Their survival is fortunate in that they illustrate the repertory of a provincial choral institution from the reign of Elizabeth I until the Civil War. Alan Smith provides full inventories with concordances for each of these partbooks, together with a brief description of each book's physical properties and layout.¹⁴⁹ The circumstances of performance at St Laurence's have been detailed above, in particular the letter of 1581 with its instructions concerning the choral services at St Laurence's when attended by the lord president of the Council in Wales and the Marches. This specifies that the 'psalmes [...] shal[l] be songe in plaine songe in the quier' and that the 'Anthemes be in pricksonge'.¹⁵⁰ The representation in these manuscripts of Chapel Royal composers may have been to appeal to the taste of the lord president.

Manuscript 1

The bass partbook, LB15/1/225, is the earliest of the Ludlow music manuscripts and was compiled *c.*1570. Six anthems, all settings of either psalm or prayer book texts, are included, one each by Tye and Sheppard, and three by William Parsons. There is also a *Te deum* by Tallis unique to this source, a *Benedictus* attributable to Tallis, and an incomplete service.

Manuscript 2

LB15/1/226, a treble partbook, contains six items and is dated by Alan Smith as between *c.*1570-*c.*1610. There are two five-part Latin motets by Thomas Tallis: *Dum transisset sabbatum* and *O sacrum convivium*, both printed in *Cantiones Sacrae* (1575); a third five-part motet by Tallis titled *Beati immaculati in via*, but copied to an English

¹⁴⁹ Smith (1968), 116-21.

¹⁵⁰ This referred to Sundays and festivals, whereas during the rest of the week the service was specified to be 'sayd and songe in plainsonge'. See above, Chapter 6, p.200.

text, ‘Blessed are they that keep his testimonies’; Shepherd’s six-part anthem, *Of all strange news that ever was*, for Christmas Day follows; and lastly, two anonymous *Benedicite* settings. Smith draws attention to the significance in the concordances between this manuscript and Cambridge, King’s College, Rowe Music Library, MS 316 (treble partbook, c.1565, provenance unknown).¹⁵¹

The inclusion of Latin motets in this manuscript is possibly a sign of the status attached to Ludlow as the seat of the lord president.¹⁵² Although the singing of motets was more common in domestic settings than in churches or cathedrals,¹⁵³ it is known that the choir from St Laurence’s would on occasion have sung at the lord president’s chapel in the castle itself.¹⁵⁴

The two anonymous *Benedicite* settings are written in a style not dissimilar to that of a festal psalm. The music repeats itself for each stanza and is rhythmically altered each time to accommodate the text. A particular feature of both these settings is the inclusion of an instruction ‘Organs’ before the verse ‘O ye winds’ and before ‘O ye beasts and cattle’ of the first setting, and before ‘O ye lightnings and clouds’ and ‘O ye beasts and cattle’ of the second setting. This probably appertains to the provision of an organ interlude to give the voices a rest.

Manuscript 3

Smith has dated the tenor partbook, LB15/1/227, at c.1597. The inclusion of *Out of the deep* by William Inglott, organist at Hereford, 1597-1609, points to a post-1597 date. Apart from its eleven anthems by established composers – Tye, Sheppard, Tallis, and Selby – the only other local composer represented is ‘Mr Smyt’. Further information on the identity of this composer is provided in the John Merro partbooks at NYPL, Drexel MSS 4180-83, which attribute *My God, my God look upon me* to ‘Mr Smith of Salop’ to distinguish this composer from ‘Smith of Gloucester’.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹ Smith (1968), 115, 118.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 114-15.

¹⁵³ John Milsom, ‘Sacred songs in the chamber’, in *English Choral Practice, 1400-1650*, ed. by John Morehen (Cambridge, 1995), 161-79, 177.

¹⁵⁴ Smith (1968), 115.

¹⁵⁵ Monson (1982), 149.

The juxtaposition in both LB15/1/226 and the Chirk partbooks of the two settings of the *Deus misereatur* (O God be merciful unto us) by Tye and Sheppard may suggest a common source for the copying of these anthems which perhaps signifies the presence of a provincial repertoire.¹⁵⁶

Manuscript 4

LB15/1/228, a tenor partbook of c.1616, differs from the other Ludlow manuscripts in that it contains items additional to those intended for church performance. Among the church items is a setting of the Lord's Prayer by George Pingle, organist at Ludlow, 1597-1604, and Byrd's five-part full anthem *How long shall mine enemies*. The manuscript also features a secular song, *Brave lads come forth and flaunt it* – evidence that the singers from St Laurence's participated in secular events at the castle.¹⁵⁷ Suitable for domestic performance, there are sacred songs and untexted items (perhaps parts for tenor viol).

Manuscript 5

The bass partbook, LB15/1/229, is the most recent of the five partbooks to have been compiled. William Parson's anthem *Almighty God whose kingdom is everlasting*, printed in Day's *The Whole Booke of Psalmes as A prayer for the Queen*,¹⁵⁸ carries in its text the regent's name 'Charles', clearly dating this manuscript post-1625. The presence of different scribal hands for various sections of the manuscript suggests that additions were made over several years, the signatures of Heardson and Standley probably dating from their respective terms of office as organist.

There are slight revisions to be made to Smith's inventory (pp.120-21); minor discrepancies occur in the pagination and the itemisation and, as a result of recent conservation work, f.34 has been incorrectly bound before f.33. The *Burial Sentences* begin on f.16 with *I am the resurrection and the life; I know that my redeemer liveth*, follows on 16v; and *We brought nothing into this world*, on f.17. Smith omits offering an attribution for *Hide not thou thy face O Lord*: well known to modern church

¹⁵⁶ Observed by Le Huray (1982), 23, who also notes that Tallis's *Short Service* and William Parson's *Almighty God whose kingdom is everlasting* occur in both LB15/1/229 and Chirk.

¹⁵⁷ See above, Chapter 6, pp.200-01.

¹⁵⁸ Day (1562/1563).

musicians, it may be identified from other sources as being by Richard Farrant.¹⁵⁹ Item no.15 (f.29) in Smith's inventory, *Arise O god unto thy resting place*, is a continuation of the previous item, the verse anthem *How sweet are thy words*.¹⁶⁰ Edward Standley's signature on f.29 may suggest that he was the scribe of the preceding item and possibly also its composer. The same may apply to f.33, which bears the signature of Thomas Heardson, f.33.¹⁶¹

In addition to the possible inclusion of works by Standley and Heardson, local repertoire presented includes *Responses to the Commandments* by Matthew White of Hereford and *O praise the Lord all ye heathen* by a Mr Smith. This composer could be identified with either 'Smith of Salop' (composer of *My God look upon me* in Drexel 4180-83 and LB215/1/227), 'Smith of Gloucester' (composer of *Set up thyself* in Drexel 4180-84), or Edward Smith, organist of Leominster, c.1624-28 and Ludlow, 1628-30. As Ludlow is in Shropshire, it is reasonable to reconcile 'Smith of Salop' with Edward Smith the organist, who was probably also the composer of *O praise the Lord all ye heathen*.

Standard works by older composers include Tallis's *Litany* and *Dorian Service*,¹⁶² Stone's *Lord's Prayer*, John Parson's *Burial Sentences*, Richard Farrant's *Hide not thou thy face*, Byrd's verse anthem *Have mercy upon me, O God*, and the full anthem *Lord for thy tender mercy's sake* attributable to Hilton in some sources, and Farrant in others.¹⁶³

The metrical psalm *Confound thy foes* (ff.15-16) has had its text laid out between the staves to await the addition of musical notation. The same is true for *Lord let me know mine end*, its text laid out (its opening incomplete) and music absent. One other feature of this manuscript is a short untexted score in three parts on f.26.

¹⁵⁹ *The Oxford Book of Tudor Anthems*, comp. by Christopher Morris (Oxford, 1978), 94-98.

¹⁶⁰ See above, pp.244-45.

¹⁶¹ See above, pp.243-44.

¹⁶² Edition in *Thomas Tallis: English Sacred Music: II Service Music*, trans. and ed. by Leonard Ellinwood, 2nd impression with revision by Paul Doe, EECM, 13 (London, 1974).

¹⁶³ *The Oxford Book of Tudor Anthems*, 152-56.

The repertory of Ludlow partbooks is representative of that performed by a medium-sized provincial choral establishment of moderate standard capable of singing cathedral-style music. Works by older established composers, many Chapel Royal-based, form the bulk of this collection, yet a local interest is upheld through the inclusion of music by Ludlow and Hereford-based composers. Undoubtedly the prestige attached to St Laurence's as the parish church attended by the lord president was not without significance, nor the above average interest and financial support shown by the guilds and town corporation.

The Chirk Castle Partbooks and Organbook

Oxford, Christ Church Library, MS Mus 6, an upright folio organbook, comprises organ accompaniments to five complete services and thirty-one anthems (in both full and verse styles) neatly copied in the hand of a single scribe on twelve six-lined staves to a page. The manuscript, obviously incomplete, has 40 leaves foliated [i], 1-24, 43-54, 56-58 and measures 16in x 11in.¹⁶⁴ When examined closely the gathering of leaves leads us to believe that originally there would most probably have been sixty leaves, organised into ten groupings each of six folios.¹⁶⁵ The organbook was bequeathed to the library of Christ Church, Oxford, by Dean Aldrich, and was catalogued in 1778 by Charles Burney.¹⁶⁶

Modern academic interest in this manuscript collection dates back a mere thirty years when John Morehen undertook a major survey of church music sources from the first half of the seventeenth century.¹⁶⁷ Although unable to state categorically the exact provenance of this manuscript and unaware at that point in time of the matching four

¹⁶⁴ Morehen (PhD thesis, 1969), 457 incorrectly records the dimensions as 17in x 11in.

¹⁶⁵ The first four groupings are complete but the fifth, sixth and seventh are now lost; the next two groupings are both present and intact, whilst the final grouping has its first and final two leaves missing.

¹⁶⁶ Charles Burney, *Catalogue of music books in the collection bequeathed to the College of Christ Church, Oxford, examined November, 1778*. See Watkins Shaw, 'Aldrich, Henry', in *NG*, i, 234-36; also, T. W. Reynolds, 'Christ Church Manuscript 6, the Chirk Castle Organbook: a study' (unpublished MA thesis, University of Wales, Bangor, 1996), 6. Aldrich died 14th December 1710; the will proved 5th January 1711/2. It is not certain how or when the Chirk Castle organbook found its way into the possession of Aldrich (whose varied interests included the collection of music and composition) but one possibly connection could be his sinecure incumbency of nearby Wem, Shropshire.

¹⁶⁷ Morehen (1969), 457-63.

partbooks, Morehen nonetheless concluded that the key to this lay in the identity of a certain William Deane described by the copyist, simply as 'Organist'. He also drew attention to the relatively larger proportion of provincial composers with an emphasis on the west country as opposed to those composers who held posts at the Chapel Royal. West country composers include Elway Bevin of Bristol, Hugh Davis of Hereford, William Parsons of Wells, Thomas Tomkins of Worcester in addition to five musicians associated with Exeter cathedral; Hugh Facy, John Lugg, Robert Parsons,¹⁶⁸ William Randall and Sollomon Tozer. It is perhaps relevant to note the death of a Roger Deane, Gentleman, recorded in 1616 in the register of Exeter cathedral which could help to explain the Exeter link.¹⁶⁹ Also a Thomas Deane was organist at Bristol cathedral from 1640-68.¹⁷⁰

During the early 1970s evidence gradually emerged linking MS Mus 6 with Chirk Castle. Until this time, a set of partbooks had lain unnoticed in the library of Chirk Castle for nearly three hundred years: a small choral foundation once existed at the private chapel of Chirk Castle in north-east Wales, the home of Sir Thomas Myddleton (1586-1666), member of parliament for Denbighshire. Choral services would most certainly have been discontinued at the outbreak of the Civil War and, following Sir Thomas's death in 1666, the partbooks though still in the possession of his heirs, were put to one side and forgotten about. An entry in the *Catalogue of Books in the Library of John Myddleton Esquire of Chirk Castle 1736*,¹⁷¹ lists under 'Miscellaneous', 'Four books of anthems in musik' and, unlike the entries given to surrounding books, has no date or place of publishing. We next have a rather vague mention of the books in 1886, when an erroneous reference to a partbook in the library of Chirk Castle was made by A. N. Palmer,¹⁷² who records some information passed to him by Mr W. M. Myddleton that

at the end of one of the anthems in an old music book formally used in the private chapel at Chirk Castle occurs the following:- 'Richard Deane, organist of Wrexham, 1629'.

¹⁶⁸ Born at Colyton, Devon, 1596, died Exeter, 1676; admitted lay vicar of Exeter cathedral, 1621 and priest vicar in 1640. Not to be confused with his namesake born c.1530, a gentleman of the Chapel Royal who drowned at Newark-upon-Trent in 1572.

¹⁶⁹ Quoted in Peter le Huray, 'The Chirk Castle partbooks' in *Early Music History 2: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music*, ed. by Ian Fenlon (1982), 19.

¹⁷⁰ Shaw (1991), 37.

¹⁷¹ Aberystwyth, NLW, Chirk Castle Collection, group A, MS 31, p.114.

¹⁷² A. N. Palmer, *A History of the Parish of Wrexham* (Wrexham, 1886; republished, 1984), 222.

Having first of all received the incorrect name of the organist, Palmer then tried to identify him with a Richard Deane from the Wirral, a captain in the King's service during the Civil War!

The set of partbooks set once more came to prominence in 1970 when they were made available for sale, and subsequently purchased by New York Public Library.¹⁷³ Consisting of medius, countertenor, tenor and bassus books, the collection was described in the *Music Catalogue, 101*, of Richard Macnutt Ltd., dealers in rare and second-hand books, as 'the most complete set in existence of pre-Restoration English liturgical manuscripts of Elizabethan and Jacobean music'. Prominent on the original panelled full-calf binding of each book is a lozenge-shaped ornament bearing the initials *Sr T M Kt*, immediately identifiable with Sir Thomas Myddleton, Knight, suggesting that they had once been his property with a strong probability that their preparation had been commissioned under his patronage.

The contents and ordering of these partbooks correlates remarkably closely with the organbook, Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus 6.¹⁷⁴ Whereas the organbook now contains only thirty-nine items, all the items from the organbook are also present in the partbooks, albeit in a slightly different order. It seems most probable that any items found in the partbooks and not present in the organbook could originally have been included in those folios now missing (i.e. ff.25-42, f.55, and after f.58). The consistency of the hand used throughout the organbook and the partbooks lends further support to the argument that the organbook was a companion volume to the partbooks. A significant feature of the organbook is the inclusion of variant and alternative organ accompaniments for the verse anthems *Out of the deep* by Thomas Morley and *Thou art my king, O God* by Thomas Tomkins, which raise questions of performance practice. The latter is aptly described in the organbook as an 'Anthem for a Basse: alone to the Organs. Pricke 2 severall wayes to ye Organs: 45 leafe backward'.¹⁷⁵

Considering evidence available from the Chirk Collection at the National Library of Wales it is of significance that a letter dated 11th July 1638 from the bishop of St Asaph

¹⁷³ New York, NYPL, MS Mus.Res.*MNZ(Chirk).

¹⁷⁴ For a complete inventory, see Le Huray (1982), 28-39; Reynolds (1996), or, William Reynolds, 'The Chirk Castle organ and organbook: an insight into performance practice involving a seventeenth-century "transposing" organ', *JBIOS*, 21 (1997), 28-55, 51-53.

¹⁷⁵ Oxford, Christ Church Library, MS Mus 6, ff.53v-54.

to Sir Thomas Myddleton requests the settlement of a payment of £30 to be made to William Deane for the composing of services and anthems for the chapel at Chirk Castle. It reads as follows:¹⁷⁶

There hath bin a Petic[i]on preferred by William Deane, organist, unto my Lord of Canterbury his Grace alleading that you are indebted unto him in thirty pounds for composing of services and Anthems for yo[u]r Chappell. Now his Grace hath in Answere of the said Petic[i]on desired me by h[a]nd or otherwise to move you for satisfacion unto the petic[i]oner in all his just demaunds. In p[er]formanc[e] of such his Graces desire I have sent the peticoner to you desireinge you to give him contentment for his books and paines that neither his grace nor my selfe may be further importuned in this matter, or (yf you please) to returne such an answere as you shall thinck fitting. And so Com[m]itting you to the grace and Blessing of the Almighty, I rest
Yo[u]r loving friend.
John Asaph.

The thirty pounds owed to William Deane realistically reflects the amount of time and effort necessary to compile a repertoire for an entirely new choral institution. Sixty-five items are contained in the Chirk partbooks, including five anthems and two services attributed to Deane himself.¹⁷⁷

The emergence of the Chirk partbooks has contributed significantly to the academic study of church music of the early seventeenth century. Of the sixty-five items in the partbooks,¹⁷⁸ twelve works were previously unknown (including a *Litany 'for trebles'* by William Byrd) with a service and six anthems (including three by John Amner of Ely) hitherto known only through Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus 6.¹⁷⁹ There are four

¹⁷⁶ Aberystwyth, NLW, Chirk, group F, MS 6368, letter from the bishop of St Asaph to Sir Thomas Myddleton, 11th July 1638.

¹⁷⁷ The Chirk set is the unique source for music attributed with certainty to William Deane. However, his *Blessed are those*, appears in other manuscript sources, including the organbook, Durham, DCL, MS A.6, p.252, but with an attribution to Adrian Batten, see Reynolds (1996), 26. A document appertaining to the sale of the rectory at Carcolston, Nottinghamshire (Aberystwyth NLW, Chirk, group F, MS 727) is dated 17th November 1626 and bears the signature of a William Deane 'of London, Gentleman', to whom the rectory was sold by Sir Thomas Myddleton (senior). Despite the hand of the signature of this document not appearing to match that of the scribe of the Chirk organbook or partbooks, it is feasible that the scribe of the music manuscripts was then, if not Deane himself, a copyist known or chosen by him. Deane, at the very least, would most certainly have had the responsibility of the producing this set of books, selecting the contents and contributing several items of his own composition.

¹⁷⁸ The number sixty-four is reached by grouping together service movements to be counted as single units with anthems counted separately.

¹⁷⁹ See below, pp.257-58.

works (including two by Thomas Tallis and one by Christopher Tye) for which no other pre-Restoration liturgical sources are extant, and thirteen works for which no complete pre-Restoration set is known, with two canticles by Mundy not yet fully identified. The Chirk set has also enabled a number of works to be completed, in particular the verse anthem *When as we sat in Babylon* by Richard Farrant. The remaining twenty-nine works were all printed before 1660, though fifteen of these were printed after the estimated compilation date of the Chirk set.¹⁸⁰ Each manuscript has been organised into two main sections: services and anthems for four voices followed by services and anthems for five and six voices. Evidently, however, another miscellaneous partbook is necessary to complete those works requiring more than four voices. When a comparison is drawn with extant sets of partbooks belonging to larger choral institutions, as at the major cathedrals, the set of four Chirk partbooks suggests a choir of more modest proportions. They would have been expected to perform a standard repertoire of works of four to six parts with occasional verses but without antiphonal division of *decani* and *cantoris*.¹⁸¹

Inscriptions in the partbooks indicate that William Deane, in addition to being organist at Chirk Castle, was also during this same period organist at St Giles's, Wrexham:¹⁸²

ffinis: q[ui]d: mr:Deanes Anthem:of wrexham: and Organist there: And Organist of the Chapple in Chirke Castle. Anno domini: 1632

The description of Deane as organist at both institutions is limited to those items bearing dates in the 1630s, whereas during the 1620s he is referred to as simply 'Organist of Wrexham', as in the heading inscribed in the medius partbook to his *Evening Service* and dated 1620.¹⁸³ It is possible that much of the music contained in the Chirk manuscripts was also performed at St Giles's, Wrexham, although we are, as yet, unaware of any related extant manuscripts. The inscription of the date 1620, appended to Deane's *Evening Service* (mcttb) and *Evening Service for men* (ctcttb), suggests not only the compositional dating, but also leaves Wrexham parish church as

¹⁸⁰ See le Huray (1982), 21-22.

¹⁸¹ The occasional inclusion of *decani* and *cantoris* directions implies a direct copying from a source copy.

¹⁸² This inscription follows the verse anthem, *Blessed are those* (medius partbook, f.82), see Plate 1.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, f.9.

the obvious location for their performance.¹⁸⁴ The earliest of Deane's music is his verse anthem, *O Lord thou hast dealt graciously with thy servant*, which has inscribed in the bass partbook, '1618 made'.¹⁸⁵ The latest date to appear in the partbooks is 1633, appended in the countertenor partbook to *Blessed are those*, though the other partbooks date this same item as 1632.¹⁸⁶

These manuscripts are important in that they illustrate the repertory of a provincial choral establishment in the seventeenth century. Moreover, this repertoire is rooted in the west country and is centred at Exeter whose influence has extended northwards through the Marches into north-east Wales. Their discovery has brought to light several items unique to Chirk, has served to provide alternative readings of standard pieces, and has also helped fill in lacunae where previously only incomplete manuscript readings had been available. Furthermore, when related to information available concerning the organ at Chirk Castle, study of these manuscripts has raised important issues of performance practice including pitch and the phenomenon of the transposing organ.¹⁸⁷

Works unique to the Chirk Castle partbooks¹⁸⁸

John Alcocke	<i>Burial song</i> / begins 'I am the Resurrection' (4: mcttb)
William Byrd	<i>Litany for Trebles</i> (5: [tr]mcttb)
Thomas Causton	<i>Yield unto God, the mighty Lord</i> (4: tr, m or ct, tb)
William Deane	<i>Service for men</i> Te, J, K, Ma, N.(4: ctcttb)
William Deane	<i>O Lord God most merciful</i> (4: ctcttb)
William Deane	<i>O Lord thou hast dealt graciously</i> (5: ctcttb)
William Deane	<i>The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ</i> (4: mcttb) ¹⁸⁹
Hugh Facis	<i>Short Service: Te, B, Ma, N</i> (4: mcttb)
_____ Mundy	<i>Te deum</i> and <i>Benedictus</i> 'for Trebles' (5: [tr]mcttb)
William Parsons	<i>Preserve us Lord</i> (4: mcttb)
_____ Parsons	<i>Litany for Trebles</i> (5: mcttb)
Solomon Tozer	<i>Te Deum</i> and <i>Jubilate</i> 'for meanes' (4: mcttb)

¹⁸⁴ For inscription in bass partbook, see Plate 2.

¹⁸⁵ Bass partbook, f.89.

¹⁸⁶ Countertenor partbook, f.81; edition in Reynolds (1996), 89-98.

¹⁸⁷ See Reynolds (1997).

¹⁸⁸ Recent research has shown that the *Evening Service* (verse) by Thomas Weelkes (Ma N (5: [m] ctcttb) at one time thought to be unique to the Chirk partbooks matches with the 6th Service of Weelkes present in the Wimborne Minster partbooks [personal communication from David R. A. Evans].

¹⁸⁹ Edition in Appendix M, below.

Works unique to the Chirk Castle partbooks and organbook
previously known only through MS Mus 6

John Amner	<i>The King shall rejoice</i> (6?: ctcttbb)
John Amner	<i>O magnify the Lord our God</i> (5?: [m]ctcttb)
John Amner	<i>My shepherd is the living Lord</i> (6: mctcttb)
John Boyce	<i>If ye love me</i> (4: mcttb)
William Deane	<i>Short Service</i> Te, B, K, C, Ma, N (4: mcttb)
William Deane	<i>Lord, in thy wrath</i> (4: mcttb) ¹⁹⁰
John Lugg	<i>Short Service</i> Te, B, K, C, Ma, N (4: mcttb)
Thomas Tallis	<i>Not everyone that saith</i> (included as the Offertory to Tallis's <i>Short Service</i>).

The Hereford Cathedral Barnard Manuscript Additions

In 1917 Christ Church Library, Oxford, purchased from Hereford cathedral a set of John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick* for £100.¹⁹¹ This set of Barnard is the most complete known to exist today, though two of these ten books were acquired during the nineteenth century as substitutes for two missing from the original set. The ten books cover the usual cathedral-style voice configuration: for each side of the choir, decani and cantoris, there would be books for medius, 1st contratenor, 2nd contratenor, tenor, and bassus. The medius cantoris partbook (MS 545) is a manuscript copy made by John Bishop of Cheltenham in 1862 from a set held by the Sacred Harmonic Society.¹⁹² The bassus decani book is also an addition to correct a deficiency in the set; formerly belonging to John Peace of Bristol, it had passed through the hands of Thomas Kerlslade, a Bristol bookseller, who sold it to John Bishop acting on behalf of Hereford cathedral.¹⁹³

Inscriptions of choir members' names and occasional dates in the Hereford set of Barnard suggest that most probably the cathedral did not acquire its set until soon before 1686,¹⁹⁴ though there were payments for the production of music immediately

¹⁹⁰ Edition in Reynolds (1996), 79-88.

¹⁹¹ Oxford, Christ Church Library, MSS Mus 544-553.

¹⁹² Now at London, Royal College of Music, Printed Music, I.A.1. See Morehen (1969), 479, and Paul Iles, 'Music and Liturgy since 1600', in *Hereford Cathedral...*, 401n.

¹⁹³ Morehen (1969), 482.

¹⁹⁴ For example, in MS Mus 544, f.97, we have 'Thomas Higges / His hand 1689', and f.120, 'Thomas Gravell: 1687'. Morehen (1969) supports this argument, 492n.

following the Restoration.¹⁹⁵ In view of this a study of the contents or background of the Barnard collection itself is considered unnecessary here – it is sufficient to say that it is evidence of a choral institution at pains to re-establish itself with a standard, widely known, pre-Commonwealth repertoire.¹⁹⁶

It is inconceivable, however, that a choral institution striving to refurbish a once-flourishing tradition would only look backwards to an older repertoire without reference to more contemporary works or music of local significance. Evidently, this need was met through the inclusion within the covers of the original Hereford Barnard set of supplementary manuscript insertions emphasising both provincial and recent compositions absent from the printed collection itself.

The manuscript supplements for each of these books may easily be divided into two. Firstly, reading from the *recto* end (its pagination in continuation from the printed matter) is a section consisting entirely of anthems copied by a single scribe. Reading from the *verso* end are services, some single canticle settings and the odd stray anthem. The *verso* end of each book is unfoliated save for some limited groups of foliated leaves in MSS Mus 551 (tenor cantoris) and 553 (bass cantoris). This suggests that an older partbook set has been utilised for this newer collection, some older items remaining but with many pages of this older portion now missing. Several hands are present in the *verso* portion. The *recto* portion of the manuscripts would have been compiled after 1669, since Benjamin Rogers is styled ‘D^r’, but probably pre-dates 1685 due to the inclusion of William Cranford’s verse anthem, *O Lord make thy servant Charles*.

There is a definite provincial bias in the selection of composers. Hereford is represented by five of its own musicians, Hugh Davis,¹⁹⁷ [William] Broad,¹⁹⁸ James Read,¹⁹⁹ John

¹⁹⁵ Watkins Shaw, *The Organists and Organs of Hereford Cathedral* (Hereford, 1976; repr.1988), 14 cites the cathedral accounts (Hereford, HCA, MS R611) which record that in 1666 John Badham was paid 10s ‘for encouragement for making an anthem’.

¹⁹⁶ Morehen (1969) discusses the production of the Barnard collection on pp.283-305, its surviving copies on pp.479-92, and gives an inventory of contents on pp.284-85.

¹⁹⁷ Hugh Davis was a vicar choral at Hereford from 1604 and organist, probably from as early as 1609 (following William Inglott’s departure), until his death in 1644; see pp.227-28.

¹⁹⁸ A William Broad, MA was a vicar choral from 1633, there was also a Thomas Broad, vicar choral from 1660.

¹⁹⁹ Vicar choral from 1543 and *custos* from 1684, *d.*1686.

Badham,²⁰⁰ and Henry Hall.²⁰¹ Other 'local' composers include Nathaniel Patrick, Thomas Tomkins, Richard Davis and Richard Browne from Worcester cathedral, Edward Tucker and Michael Wise from Salisbury cathedral, and Daniel Henstridge from Gloucester cathedral. Prominent also is the inclusion of a relatively large number of works by William King of New College, Oxford (four anthems and a complete service). Other composers represented include William Lawes, Robert Cooke, Orlando Gibbons, Thomas Tallis, Thomas Mudd, William Child and William Cranford.

Although the majority of the works included in these manuscripts are post-Restoration, the following composers flourished before the Commonwealth:

[William] Broad (*Benedicite*)
 Hugh Davis (*Te deum, Defend us Lord, Have mercy upon me O God and Rejoice in the Lord O ye righteous*)
 Nathaniel Patrick (*Te, Ma, N*)
 Thomas Tomkins (*Hear my prayer, Thou art my King*)
 Orlando Gibbons (*Glorious and powerful God*)
 Edward Tucker (*O give thanks unto ye Lord, Who shall ascend*)
 William Lawes (*The Lord is my light*)
 Thomas Tallis (*Preces and Psalm: The Lord said unto my Lord*)

Three musicians included in this collection whose careers extended either side the Commonwealth are:

Richard Browne (*By the waters of Babylon, O Lord thou hast searched me out*)
 William Child (*Te, J, Com, Cr, Ma, N*)
 Benjamin Rogers (*Behold now praise the Lord, Ma, N*)

The Hereford manuscript supplement to Barnard was possibly assembled by John Badham, organist at Hereford from 1660 until his death in 1688. Three of his anthems, *O Lord thou hast searched me out, How doth the city, Defend us Lord*, and a *Magnificat* are included in the collection. Particularly significant, however, is the inclusion of four items by Hugh Davis, demonstrating that the music of Badham's predecessor was still held in respect. The fact that Davis's music maintained a presence at Hereford following the Restoration (in competition with works by more modern composers) serves to testify that at least some pre-Commonwealth manuscript partbooks, now lost, may have survived into the Restoration and were used as a source for part of this post-

²⁰⁰ Organist, 1660-88.

²⁰¹ Organist from 1688, previously holding appointments at Wells and Exeter cathedrals, he was Badham's assistant from 1679.

Restoration collection. The Hereford Barnard manuscript insertions are now the sole source of Davis's *Te Deum* and *Defend us Lord*, and Broad's *Benedicite*.

An organ part would have been essential for a performance of the verse anthems printed by Barnard or written in the Hereford manuscript additions and it is generally accepted that Barnard never published such a volume. Each choral establishment would have had the accompaniments in manuscript form.²⁰² No such book survives at Hereford, though the cathedral library still possesses organ accompaniment books corresponding to a later repertory, which incidentally did include services by Byrd, Tallis, Gibbons and Farrant.²⁰³

The Gloucester Cathedral Bassus Partbook

MS 93, a bassus partbook in Gloucester cathedral library, has relevance to this study due to its emphasis on provincial rather than Chapel Royal repertoire, especially through the inclusion of composers associated with Hereford cathedral, namely William Inglott, Hugh Davis and John Fido. Indeed, a study of its contents shows the inclusion of composers mainly from the cathedrals of Hereford, Gloucester and Worcester. The provenance of MS 93 can be positively identified as that of Gloucester cathedral immediately prior to the Commonwealth. Inside the back cover a list of names is inscribed showing the 'quiristers of decani side 1641' which may be confirmed by cross-referencing with the treasurer's accounts for that year.²⁰⁴

The manuscript is divided into four clear-cut sections – firstly, preces and festal psalms, then, services and full anthems, and lastly verse anthems. Originally one of a carefully planned set, it has been suggested by Morehen that the absence of full services in the bassus book implies that a second set of books would once have existed to correct this

²⁰² Morehen (1969), 303: see also, John Bunker Clarke, 'Adrian Batten and John Barnard: Colleagues and Collaborators', *MD*, 22 (1968), 207-29, 216-17.

²⁰³ Hereford, HCA, MS 30.A.30 includes services by Byrd, Tallis, Gibbons and Farrant, Aldrich, King and Henry Hall and anthems by Croft, Aldrich, Hall, and Jeremiah Clark. Hereford, HCA, MS 30.B.1 has anthems by Pelham Humfrey, Blow, Pucell and Aldrich, with services by Blow, King, Bryan, Aldrich, Child, Humfrey and Purcell. These manuscripts date from the early eighteenth century and in addition to organ accompaniments they also include many keyboard solos. This latter aspect is discussed in Barry Cooper, 'Keyboard Sources in Hereford', *RMARC*, 16 (1980), 135-39.

²⁰⁴ John Morehen, 'The Gloucester Cathedral Bassus partbook MS 93', *ML*, 62 (1981), 189-97, 189-91.

deficiency, in addition to providing a further selection of anthems. Its date of compilation may be put at between 1622 and 1641, with a limited number of subsequent additions in a different hand. The condition of the book suggests that it would have been written shortly before the latter date, it would then have received limited use until it was stored away during the Commonwealth.²⁰⁵

The scribal hand of MS 93 may be matched with one other music manuscript at Gloucester, the organbook, MS 101. Since the dating of this organbook can be placed in the post-Restoration period, Morehen concludes that the copyist was active on the staff at Gloucester in both the 1640s and 1660s. He proposes John Okeover (Oker) as meeting this requirement, and significantly his name figures in the cathedral accounts as a music copyist.²⁰⁶

Items of relevance to this study include a setting of the preces and psalms (psalms 136 & 24: *O give thanks unto the Lord* and *The earth is the Lord's*) attributed to a Mr Davis who is probably identifiable as Hugh Davis of Hereford. Other works by him in this manuscript include the five anthems *Awake up my glory*, *The peace of God*, *Lord in thy wrath*, *O sing unto the Lord a new song* and *Lord, from thy throne of majesty*. These anthems are here attributed variously with or without a Christian name, but are confirmed as being by Hugh Davis through concordance with other sources. Two works by Davis are unique to this source – *Lord in thy wrath* and *O sing unto the Lord a new song*. Other composers with a Hereford connection include John Fido (*Deliver me from mine enemies*, *Hear me, O Lord, and that soon*, and *I call with my whole heart*) and William Inglott (*I am well pleased*), though the former later established himself at Worcester cathedral.

Three other items unique to this source are attributed to a Mr Hall, a *Magnificat and Nunc dimittis* in verse style and two anthems, *O Lord, in thee is all my trust* and *O how amiable*. Positive identification of Mr Hall has not been possible, though Morehen has tentatively suggested an association with the two Henry Halls (father and son) who were organists of Hereford cathedral.²⁰⁷ This suggestion must be taken lightly, as Henry Hall (senior) did not become organist at Hereford until 1688, having been Badham's

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 191-92.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 192-93.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 193n.

assistant from 1679. According to Anthony Wood he was born at New Windsor, Berkshire, and had been a Chapel Royal chorister under Henry Cook until his voice changed in 1674.²⁰⁸ It may be assumed, therefore, that there is insufficient evidence to associate the 'Mr Hall' of Gloucester MS 93 with Hereford cathedral.

The Southwell Minster Tenor Partbook

The oblong quarto cantoris tenor partbook, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tenbury MS 1382, originally a set of eight with an organbook, unusually includes a preface which gives some important circumstantial evidence concerning its early history:²⁰⁹

Be it remembered that these eight anthem books with an organ book unto them belonging, having pricked into them threescore and eight anthems,²¹⁰ were bestowed on the quire of the Collegiate Church of Southwell of the bountiful and friendly gift of Mr Jarvas Jones of Oxford one of the sons of Walter Jones sometime Prebend Resident[iar]y of the Prebend of Normanton within the said Church.

Anno D[omi]ni 1617

While the intended recipient of this book, Southwell Minster, is geographically far removed from either Wales or the borderlands, it is clear from its contents that there is a close affinity with the repertory that would have circulated round the cathedrals at Hereford, Worcester and Gloucester early in the seventeenth century. But in contrast to the decidedly provincial nature of the Gloucester cathedral bassus partbook, for instance, the so-called Southwell Minster tenor partbook contains a predominance of music by Chapel Royal composers.²¹¹

The following table lists the number of items in Tenbury MS 1382 by each composer:

Thomas Tomkins	15
[Edmund] Hooper	6
[John] Bull	2
[Thomas] Morley	2
Randall	2

²⁰⁸ Shaw (1988), 15, citing Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Wood D.19(4).

²⁰⁹ As quoted by John Morehen, 'The Southwell Minster Tenor Part Book in the Library of St Michael's College, Tenbury (MS 1382)', *ML*, 50 (1969), 352-64, 354.

²¹⁰ There are actually only sixty-seven anthems, with some later additions inserted in ff.28-29 and from f.68v.

²¹¹ Inventory in Morehen, *ML* (1969), 352-54.

[William] Byrd	15
[Nathaniel] Patrick	3
[Nathaniel] Giles	2
John Fido	6
[Christopher] Tye	1
[William] Mundy	1
[Robert] Parsons	2
[Thomas] Tallis	3
[Robert] Parsons	2
[Nicholas] Strogers	1
[John] Mundy	1
[Robert] Whyte	2
Thomas Weelkes	2
[Anonymous] ²¹²	2

The layout of the partbook suggests the availability of all the pieces at one time. There are two sections – verse anthems, ff.1-28, and full anthems, ff.29-67v. The section of full anthems is further arranged for 5vv (nos.32-59), 6vv (nos.60-63), 7vv (nos.64-63) and finally 8vv (nos.64-67). Within these sub-sections the anthems are grouped according to composer.

Whereas the majority of the music in the manuscript was written by Chapel Royal-based composers, there are three composers represented who may be categorised purely as ‘provincial’: John Fido, Nathaniel Patrick²¹³ and Nicholas Strogers. No biographical details are available for Strogers, but both Fido and Patrick held the post of organist at Worcester cathedral during the final decade of the sixteenth century, Fido also having been organist at Hereford. In common with Gloucester MS 93, a strong link is evident with Worcester and Hereford cathedrals. Furthermore, Thomas Tomkins and Nathaniel Giles both have associations with Worcester cathedral and the Chapel Royal in addition to having anthems contained in MS 1382. A grouping of nine verse anthems by Thomas Tomkins enjoys pride of place at the beginning of the manuscript and similarly, the first five of the section of full anthems are also by Tomkins. Nathaniel Giles’s full anthem *O Lord Almighty, thou God of Israel* is unique to this source, while his verse anthem *O Lord, turn not away thy face* had wider appeal. Also, John Bull, a onetime organist at Hereford cathedral, has two anthems in MS 1382 – *Deliver me, O God* and

²¹² *Be merciful unto me, O Lord* and *O Lord, how joyful is the king*

²¹³ Three anthems by Nathaniel Patrick are unique to this source: *O clap your hands, Look down, O Lord* and *I will lift up mine eyes*.

Almighty God, which by the leading of a star – but these were widely known and exist in many sources.²¹⁴

John Fido may be seen as the lynchpin in the compilation of this manuscript. Although there is a preponderance of anthems by Chapel Royal composers, John Fido himself has six verse anthems:

*O Lord, in thee is all my trust
If the Lord himself
Hear me, O Lord and that soon
I call with my whole heart
O king of heaven
Deliver me from mine enemies*

Three of these are unique to this source (*O Lord, in thee is all my trust, If the Lord himself, O King of heaven*), while two others are found only in the Gloucester bassus book (*Deliver me from mine enemies* and *I call with my whole heart*). John Morehen suggests that John Fido (although not the actual scribe²¹⁵) may in some way have been directly involved in the compilation of the manuscript. This hypothesis is given strength by the use of Fido's name without the prefix Mr or Dr, the composer always being referred to simply as 'John Fido'. The only other composer whose Christian name is given in the partbook was Thomas Tomkins (referred to as Mr Thomas Tomkins or Mr Tho: Tomkins). Fido was Tomkins's assistant organist at Worcester.

Morehen continues his argument by seeking to establish a possible link between John Fido and Jarvas Jones 'of Oxford', the donor of the set of partbooks to Southwell Minster. He reveals that a Thomas Fido, a brother of John received an Oxford BA degree from Magdalen College on 27th May 1606, a year prior to Thomas Tomkins receiving a BMus from the same college. This could help to explain the deliberate positioning of the verse anthems by Tomkins at the front of the partbook.²¹⁶ The significance of Oxford is further established in that four brothers, William,²¹⁷ John, Robert and Thomas Fido and a possible fifth, Edmund, all studied at Oxford around this

²¹⁴ See Appendix L.

²¹⁵ Morehen, *ML* (1969), 358, observes that Fido's surviving signatures do not match the scribal hand of MS 1432.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 359.

²¹⁷ The will of William Fido (dated 1613, London, PRO, PROB 11/122, q.68 (PCC 68 Capell)), yeoman of The Phowse, Stockton, Worcestershire, has bequests to his brothers John, Robert and Thomas.

time. Morehen proposes that Jarvas Jones (who himself had graduated with an Oxford BA in 1615) consulted one of the Oxford Fidos, most likely Thomas or Edmund, with a view to secure music from their brother John at Worcester.²¹⁸

An alternative solution is also offered by Morehen who considers the possibility that Walter Jones, father of Jarvas Jones, may have retired to Worcester from Southwell. A man of that name is recorded as having been granted of an almsroom at Worcester, and if this identification is true, then Jarvas may well have procured the set of partbooks for Southwell directly from his father, who could easily have known John Fido personally.²¹⁹

Whatever the possibilities concerning the compilation of Ten MS 1382, what is certain is that this manuscript is the earliest of the dateable sources of English liturgical music of the first half of the seventeenth century. It demonstrates the combination of standard repertoire, some drawn from the Chapel Royal, with items of local interest. This is also true of the other post-Reformation manuscripts in Wales and the borderlands where a standard repertoire lies alongside a local repertoire, some of which may have been written by composers to fulfil the needs of their appointments. Although this seems to be a pattern followed in Wales and the borderlands, it is by no means unusual or confined to this western region of the British Isles; it merely reflected practice elsewhere.

²¹⁸ Morehen, *ML* (1969), 360-61. For details concerning Jarvas Jones, *ibid.*, 357.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 363.

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CHAPTER 8

The Organ

Section 1: Observations concerning organs of the period

Documentation

Stephen Bicknell's *The History of the English Organ* outlines clearly the development of the instrument during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹ From surviving documentary evidence there is nothing to prove that the English tradition of organ design did not also occur in Wales. Indeed, the sixteenth-century organ case at St Stephen's, Old Radnor, and the seventeenth-century contract and organbook of Chirk Castle contribute greatly to the history of the organ in the British Isles at large.² It is, therefore, the objective of this chapter to draw attention only to relevant details within the geographical bounds of this thesis without repeating background information found in the scholarly writings of others. Furthermore, since numerous references are made with regards to organs and organists in the earlier chapters of this thesis, it is the intention here to cast a general and comparative overview of the region's organs.³

The presence of organs before the Reformation is suggested in poetry, though the reader must allow for elaboration and limited technical knowledge on the part of the writer. At Neath abbey, Lewis Morgannwg makes passing reference to an organ, 'Ac organau i'r Gwŷr Gwynion' (With its organs for the White Men),⁴ whereas at Carmarthen priory, Lewis Glyn Cothi, in *Moliant Prior Caerfyrddin*, compares the sound of the organ to the sweetness of the honey of bees:⁵

organ Meistr Morgan o myn – ei datgan,
yr organ a gân fel mêl gwenyn.

¹ Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge, 1996).

² Aberystwyth, NLW, Chirk Collection, group F, MS 5526 (transcribed in Appendix H); Oxford, Christ Church Library, MS Mus 6.

³ See Appendix J for a list of organs of the period.

⁴ Quoted above, Chapter 1, p.3.

⁵ *Gwaith Lewis Glyn Cothi*, ed. by Dafydd Johnston (Cardiff, 1995), 154-55. [Translation: Master Morgan's organ if he chooses to play it – the organ will sing like the honey bees.] See above, Chapter 3, p.49.

The employment of organists, their duties and payment are detailed above for each institution. For Wales and the borders information of this type is somewhat limited, especially for the pre-Reformation period. Significant, therefore, is the mention of the post of organist in the statutes of St Asaph cathedral in 1297 and the recorded presence of an organist at Hereford cathedral a decade later.⁶

It is not until the end of the fifteenth century that the frequency of references to organs in church records increases, though with a poor survival rate for the records themselves, much remains uncertain. Periodic payments towards the upkeep of organs are recorded in the financial accounts of the cathedrals of St David's, Chester and Hereford with further information available in chapter act books. No accounts survive for the other Welsh cathedrals, and although chapter acts survive from Llandaff and only excerpts from the chapter acts of St Asaph, no information is present in these sources concerning organs at these institutions.

The churchwardens' accounts for St Laurence's, Ludlow, and St Mary's, Swansea, are relatively complete from 1540 and 1558 respectively; those for Leominster, which are known to record repairs to the organ in the early seventeenth century, have been lost since F. Gainsford Blacklock published limited extracts in his 1898 history of Leominster church.⁷ The churchwardens' accounts for St Mary's, Shrewsbury, and St Oswald's, Oswestry, indicate that the resident organist was generally responsibly for overseeing repairs, expenses for which were recorded in the accounts. Often such references are extremely vague, owing perhaps to the unfamiliarity of the person compiling the accounts to the technicalities of the instrument concerned or the need only to record the expenditure without the necessity for precise detail. At St Laurence's, Ludlow, for instance, there are numerous entries in the churchwardens' accounts 'for rope to the organs', 'for iiij cordes to the organs at dyvers tymes', and 'for a corde to draw the smal[l]e organs', whereas an entry

⁶ See above, Chapter 3, p.107.

⁷ F. Gainsford Blacklock, *The Suppressed Benedictine Minster and other Ancient and Modern Institutions of the Borough of Leominster* (Leominster, 1898).

of 1540 is more specific 'payd for cordes for the bellys [bellows] off the organ'.⁸ At Hereford cathedral in 1589, 6s 6d was paid to 'Mr Sub Chanter for mending the organs layd out in le[a]ther, glew, etc as by bill', implying that a more detailed list had been submitted in an invoice of expenses incurred.⁹ Similarly in 1611-12, the cathedral clavigers' accounts record 43s 6d 'for amendinge the Organs *ut patet per Billa[m]*' (as appears by the bill).¹⁰

The 1530s and 1540s witnessed the compilation of various surveys – the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, chantry certificates, inventories of church goods and inventories from dissolved religious houses. Inventories of church goods cannot be relied on for recording the existence of organs as the comprehensiveness of such inventories varies considerably from place to place. There are several instances where organs have been omitted where it is reliably known from other sources that an instrument was maintained and an organist employed. Bicknell cites examples from Kent:¹¹ and there are many instances from within Wales. It is known from chantry certificates, for example, that the churches of St John and St Mary in Cardiff had organists, yet the inventories of goods concerning these churches fail to acknowledge the presence of an organ.¹²

Monetary amounts listed for organs in inventories were probably the scrap value of the lead; wooden pipes, if there were any, would not have warranted mention.¹³ At the sale of confiscated goods from the dissolved Grey Friars, Chester, 3s 8d was paid 'For a pore payre of orgeynes'.¹⁴ From Abbey Dore in 1537, John Scudamore was able to purchase for £2 not only 'the organs in the quire', but also the roof, slates and timber of the frater and a

⁸ T. Wright, ed., 'Churchwardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow [1540-1573/74]', *Camden Society*, 1st series, 102 (1869), 4, 21, 36, 39, 40, 53; Llewellyn Jones, ed., 'Churchwardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow [1470-71, 1472/73 and another fragment, and 1576/77-1606/7]', *TSAS*, 2nd series, 1 (1889), 235-84, 247.

⁹ Hereford, HCA, MS R588, clavigers' accounts, 1587-91.

¹⁰ Hereford, HCA, MS R598, clavigers' accounts, 1611-12.

¹¹ Bicknell (1996), 45-46.

¹² Compare the 1548 chantry certificate, London, PRO, E301/74, which includes an organist among the clergy at St Mary's and St John's and itemises the jewels, ornaments and plate, but lists no organs, with the 1558 list of church goods, London, PRO, E117/12/17 m.7, which again makes no mention of any organs.

¹³ Bicknell (1996), 47.

¹⁴ *LP*, XIII, i, 476-77.

nearby house.¹⁵ The removal of instruments from dissolved religious houses did not always infer that these instruments would no longer be of any use except as scrap. St Mary's, Shrewsbury, received an instrument from Strata Marcella for 20 marks (£13 6s 8d),¹⁶ and it was probably this same instrument which was sold in 1591 to the dean of Worcester for £4.¹⁷

Characteristics and details (including the organs at Chirk Castle and Old Radnor)

By the end of the fifteenth century the evolution of the organ in Britain had reached a stage where a skilled player could perform complicated polyphony with ease; further refinement and standardisation of the keyboard followed. Certainly from 1500 it is clear that the individual ranks of the organ could be selected using a stop mechanism, unlike earlier instruments which had consisted of a *blockwerk* or *plenum* of several ranks all sounding together, and indivisible.¹⁸ The organ at Old Radnor, when examined prior to its restoration in the nineteenth century, was said to contain a stop mechanism to the great organ which was operated by iron levers at the treble end of the case, with the choir organ having its stop levers situated below the keyboards.¹⁹ At St Laurence's, Ludlow, 8d was paid in 1541 'for mendynge one of the stopes of the great organs',²⁰ and in 1565, the *Liber Communis* of St David's cathedral records payment of 6d 'for making two Stops for ye great Organs'.²¹

Documentation often refers to a 'payre of organs', but this figure of speech always denotes a single instrument, as in 'a pair of trousers' or a 'pair of scissors'. There was usually a single manual, sometimes two, though in larger churches there was often more than one

¹⁵ See above, Chapter 3, p.47.

¹⁶ London, PRO, E315/516, composite volume of papers from proceedings of the Court of Augmentations, ff.25-27.

¹⁷ See above, Chapter 6, p.208.

¹⁸ Bicknell (1996), 26.

¹⁹ Bicknell (1996), 58; see also sketches in Frederick Heathcote Sutton, *Church Organs their Position and their Construction with an Appendix containing some account of the Mediaeval Organ Case still existing at Old Radnor, South Wales* (3rd edn., London, 1883; repr., Oxford, 1998 with an introduction by Hilary Davidson), appendix: figures 1, 2 and 6.

²⁰ Wright (1869), 8.

²¹ Aberystwyth, NLW, MS SD/Ch/B13, St David's chapter account book, 1384-1661 (*Liber Communis*), p.40; transcribed in W. B. Jones, and E. A. Freeman, *The History and Antiquities of St David's* (London, 1856), 389.

instrument. Unlike developments in northern Europe there were no pedals other than one or two isolated examples during the first half of the seventeenth century when there may have been pedal pull-downs.²²

With limited data to consider it is difficult to reach firm conclusions concerning the organ of the period, as descriptions are often vague. A unique situation occurs at Chirk where an organbook and its matching set of partbooks, compiled especially for the chapel choir there, survives together with a contract for the building of the organ in 1631/2.²³ Consequently, considerable light is shed on the specifications of a moderately sized two-manual organ, especially regarding the phenomenon of the seventeenth-century transposing organ based on an instrument with five-foot or ten-foot pitch length, as opposed to the modern-day eight-foot.²⁴ Comparisons may also be drawn between the available documentary evidence of similar sized organs with the information in the Chirk contract. The Chirk contract and music manuscripts reinforce the reasoning behind the generally accepted opinion by scholars that music originally notated in choir pitch should be transposed up a minor third for modern performance, whereas seventeenth-century organ pitch is notated either a fourth below or a fifth above choir pitch.²⁵

The organ at nearby St Giles's, Wrexham, was certainly a talking point amongst visitors, though its musical and technical details were not recorded.²⁶ Sir Thomas Middleton at Chirk Castle must surely have borne this instrument in mind when he commissioned an organ for his private chapel from John Burward of London. Indeed, it was the organist of St Giles's, Wrexham, William Deane, who was responsible for the choral foundation at Chirk Castle during the 1630s when the organ was installed.

²² Cecil Clutton and Austin Niland, *The British Organ* (London, 1963; repr., 1976), 60-61.

²³ See above, Chapter 7, pp.252-58.

²⁴ See William Reynolds, 'The Chirk Castle organ and organbook: an insight into performance practice involving a seventeenth-century "transposing" organ', *JBIOS*, 21 (1997), 28-55.

²⁵ Reynolds (1997); John Bunker Clark, *Transposition in Seventeenth Century English Organ Accompaniments and the Transposing Organ* (Detroit, 1974).

²⁶ See above, Chapter 6, pp.213-15.

John Burward was a respected and established builder. Little now remains of Burward's work, although the case and front pipes of the choir organ built in 1636 by Burward for Salisbury cathedral may now be viewed at St Paul's, Parkend, Gloucestershire. In addition to Chirk and Salisbury it is known that he worked on the Chappington organ at Westminster Abbey in 1625,²⁷ the organ at Dulwich College between 1618 and 1620,²⁸ Rochester cathedral in 1637,²⁹ Canterbury cathedral in the 1620s and 1630s,³⁰ and Winchester College, 1637-38.³¹

Costing £150, the organ at Chirk Castle had two manuals each with a separate soundboard. The organ at Old Radnor also appears to have had two divisions within the main case; the choir organ situated below the keyboards with the great organ above at impost level.³² In larger buildings where the organ stood in a loft, the choir organ (if present) was often placed in a separate case behind the player as at Gloucester and Exeter cathedrals. The two soundboards at Chirk would have been positioned level with each other within the same case with conveyances feeding the larger pipes and those on display.

The dimensions of the organ at Chirk were 12½ x 9 x 6 feet, with seven stops to 'the upper sett of keyes' and three stops to the 'lower sett of keyes'. The Old Radnor organ measured 18 x 9 x 2½ feet, with five stops to the great and two to the choir.³³ The Chirk Castle organ case was designed with a front of nine towers, symmetrically arranged. A central square tower formed its principal axis and a round tower was placed at each end, a half round tower was then positioned midway across the two halves of the case front, the two of these flanked by what are described in the contract as flat towers. These flat towers are what are now referred to simply as flats; in other words, the Chirk Castle had five towers and four

²⁷ Burward's signature appears alongside that of Orlando Gibbons for repairs to the Abbey organ, reproduced in *MT*, 45 (1904), 502-03.

²⁸ 'Dulwich College', *MT*, 48 (1907), 437-46, 439-40.

²⁹ Andrew Freeman, 'Records of British Organ Builders' (1st series), in *The Dictionary of Organs and Organists, 940-1660* (2nd edn., London, 1921), 7-72, 52.

³⁰ James Collier, 'Dean Bargrave's Organ at Canterbury', *JBIOS*, 21 (1997), 56-74, 61.

³¹ William Leslie Sumner, *The Organ, its Evolution, Principles of Construction and Use* (3rd edn., London, 1962), 113.

³² Sutton (1883), 24-25.

³³ *Ibid.*, 23-25.

flats in common with the 1631 Dallam organ case now at Tewkesbury abbey.³⁴ The display pipes at Chirk would have been based on a five-foot rank described in the contract as ‘principall for the forefront paynted’. The Old Radnor organ would also have easily accommodated a five-foot pipe front.³⁵ The organ at Oswestry was probably a similar size to that at Old Radnor. In the vestry in 1600 there were ‘x score and xvij pipes w[hi]ch did longe to the organes’,³⁶ that is, enough pipes to furnish an organ of up to six stops allowing for some ranks of shorter compass, namely the basses.

The specification of the organ at Chirk Castle may be summarised as follows:

<u>‘on the upper sett of keyes’</u>	<u>‘on the lower sett of keyes’</u>
stopt diapason	diapason
open diapason from gamut upwards	principall
principall for the forefront paynted	small principall
Recorder	
small principall	
fifteenth	
two and twentieth	

The stop list at Chirk is comparable with stop lists for other builders’ organs for which information survives, as for example, the 1613 Thomas Dallam organ at Worcester cathedral,³⁷ the 1631 Robert Dallam Organ at Magdalen College chapel, Oxford,³⁸ and the 1632-34 Robert Dallam organ at York Minster.³⁹ Much speculation prevails, however, as to the precise details of the pitches and registers of the individual ranks constituting the Chirk specification.

The open diapason ‘on the upper sett of keyes’ began at the note often referred to as the ‘gamut’ (i.e. the note *G* lowest line of the bass clef stave); this description of the open diapason suggests that the other ranks of the organ descended below this, most probably

³⁴ Originally the great organ at Magdalen College, Oxford. See John Harper, ‘The Dallam Organ in Magdalen College Chapel, Oxford: a new account of the Milton Organ’, *JBIOS*, 9 (1985), 51-64.

³⁵ Bicknell (1996), 57.

³⁶ Shrewsbury, SRO, P214/B/1/1/1, churchwardens’ accounts, St Oswald’s, Oswestry, 1579-1612.

³⁷ Vernon Butcher, *The Organs and Music of Worcester Cathedral* ([Worcester], 1981), 8.

³⁸ Bicknell (1996), 82.

³⁹ Clutton and Niland (1963), 57.

following the complete keyboard compass commencing at *C*, a fifth below gamut *G*. In spite of the apparently shorter compass of the open diapason rank, all the accompaniments contained in Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus 6 are feasible on the Chirk Castle organ as a result of the arrangement of transpositions and consequent octave relationships. We may assume, therefore, that the Chirk Castle organ had *C* compass chromatic keyboards in keeping with what is known of contemporary organs, as for example, the instrument at Stanford-on-Avon.⁴⁰

The principal ‘on the upper sett of keyes’ would have been pitched an octave above the open diapason, an arrangement common to other contemporary instruments whose specifications in this respect are less ambiguous. Moreover, since this rank was intended to provide the front display pipes, the length of the longest pipe of this rank must be consistent with the organ’s given dimensions, remembering to allow for the inclusion of the console within the ‘height twelve foote and a halfe’. Taken together with the information on pitch, this implies a pipe of five-foot notional length in the front, but an eight-foot diapason inside the case.⁴¹ It was the principal (specified as being ‘for the forefront paynted’) that would originally have been considered, prior to the Commonwealth, as the principal or main rank of pipes at unison pitch, i.e., serving the same function in the tonal scheme of the organ as a modern day eight-foot open diapason.⁴²

Pitched two octaves above the open diapason would have been the fifteenth; the two and twentieth, by likewise reasoning, three octaves. A problem now arises, involving the interpretation of the pitches of the remaining three stops of this division. It is most likely that the stopt diapason was in unison to the open diapason and possibly the recorder in unison to the principall. An explanation of the small principall, however, requires further investigation of details regarding contemporary instruments.

⁴⁰ See John Harper, ‘The origin of the historic organ at Stanford-on-Avon: connections with Magdalen College, Oxford, and the surviving Dallam case at Tewkesbury Abbey’, *The Organ Yearbook*, 22 (1992), 37-69.

⁴¹ i.e. the lowest pipe of open diapason rank which played the note gamut *G* on the keyboard would have been approximately eight feet long and sounded a *D* if notated at choir pitch.

⁴² Peter Williams, ‘Principal’, *MT*, 106 (1965), 544.

The contract for the 1613 Thomas Dallam organ at Worcester cathedral qualifies the use of the adjective ‘small’ in its ‘particulars of the great Organ’ by listing ‘Two smal[l] principals or 15ths of mettall’.⁴³ The inclusion in the great organ of two ranks each of open diapasons, principals and small principals suggests a difference in voicing between ranks of similar pitch length. The Robert Dallam organ built for York Minster, 1632-34 has, listed after its ‘small principall of tynn’ of the great organ, a ‘Recorder unison to the said principall’.⁴⁴ The small principal referred to in the specification of the York instrument is most probably a fifteenth which would otherwise appear to have been omitted from the tonal scheme: hence, the recorder would be at the same pitch as a fifteenth. However, the information regarding the chaire organ includes ‘one recorder of tynn unison to the voice’, perhaps suggesting that this stop was tuned to match what is referred to as ‘choir pitch’.⁴⁵

It may be deduced from the above that the Chirk Castle organ had on its ‘upper sett of keyes’, or great organ, two contrasting choruses of pipework. Further variety and flexibility could be achieved depending on whether the organist regarded the principal or the open diapason as the fundamental pitch. A possible chorus combination using the stopt diapason as the foundation would include the ‘small principall’ (pitched an octave higher), and the recorder (two octaves higher). Alternatively, using the open diapason as the foundation, one would select the ‘principall for the fore front’, and the fifteenth. The two and twentieth would add further brightness to the larger scaled chorus, although it may have broken back to a twelfth at *c'*. If, however, one is persuaded in favour of a small principal being the same as a fifteenth, as was clearly the situation at York, then the small principal and recorder belonging to the great division of the instrument at Chirk are to be reversed as regards their positions within the chorus based upon the stopt diapason. This form of argument could also be applied to interpret the stops of the choir organ or ‘lower sett of keyes’, where the principall is pitched an octave above the diapason and the small principall an octave higher again.

⁴³ See Butcher (1981), 8.

⁴⁴ Clutton and Niland (1963), 57.

⁴⁵ See Dominic Gwynn, ‘Organ Pitch in Seventeenth-Century England’, *JBIOS*, 9 (1985), 65-78, 75 for a discussion of the ‘anthem stop’.

The building of new organs

Documentary evidence concerning new organs at the other institutions covered by this thesis is nowhere as detailed as for Chirk Castle. The earliest datable reference to a new instrument is to be found at Ludlow when the will of Geoffrey Baugh, dated 12th November 1500, made provision for ‘A payre of Organce. For [...] use in the chancell of St John the Evangelist’, the chapel in St Laurence’s church used by the Palmer’s Guild.⁴⁶ Another example of the bequest of an organ occurred in 1524, when Sir Rhys ap Thomas of Dynevor, Carmarthenshire, bequeathed £8 ‘to bye a paire of Organs to honour God within the Abbey’ at Cwmhir.⁴⁷

At Hereford cathedral Bishop Richard Mayhew, in his will dated 24th March 1515/16, bequeathed an organ for use during masses in the Lady chapel.⁴⁸ Ten years later, in 1525, a bequest of £14 financed a new organ for the choir.⁴⁹ Between 1532 and 1533 John Hichons, a vicar choral, was engaged on the building of two organs for Hereford cathedral. He had been a troublesome cleric who had been charged, found guilty of incontinence and suspended from all duties on full pay for a year, but ordered to sign a bond for 100 marks which pledged him to complete by 2nd February an organ he had already begun to build. Before the year was up, he was reinstated on 1st July 1533 on condition that he completed work on two organs – one in the choir, the other over the sacristan’s room (*‘supra cameram sacristarum’*). Once completed his services were no longer required, and in 1534 he was dismissed for contumacy.⁵⁰ With the regular appointment of organists throughout the sixteenth century it is certain that Hereford cathedral made continuous use of an organ, though there is scant evidence in the accounts relating to the upkeep or purchase of instruments. According to Alan Smith, in 1593 the Hereford chapter bargained with

⁴⁶ Shrewsbury, SRO, LB15/3/39. See above, Chapter 3, p.64.

⁴⁷ London, PRO, PROB 11/21, q.35 (PCC, 35 Bodfelde). See above, Chapter 3, p.59.

⁴⁸ *The Register of Richard Mayhew, Bishop of Hereford (1504-1516)* ed. by Arthur Thomas Bannister, Cantilupe Society (Hereford, 1919), p.viii. Probate granted 10th May 1516. See above, Chapter 2, p.38, and Chapter 3, p.108.

⁴⁹ Hereford, HCA, MS 7031/1, chapter acts, 1512-66, f.36r; transcript by P. G. S. Baylis (1969-70), no. 240. See above, Chapter 3, p.108.

⁵⁰ Hereford, HCA, MS 7031/1, ff.70v-73v; Baylis, nos. 444, 446, 459, 488.

Dallam for a 'portative organ', but Smith also mentions Chappington as the builder the same year.⁵¹

As a result of the Laudian revival in church worship many fine organs were built across Britain, many of which have surviving cases, pipes or specifications.⁵² In Wales and the borders it is known that, in addition to the organ at Chirk Castle, new organs were provided at Chester cathedral and St Asaph cathedral. The treasurers' accounts at Chester cathedral record that in 1626 an instrument was built by a Mr Wats for £65 3s 5d.⁵³ A new organ was installed at St Asaph cathedral in 1635; Peter Roberts, in *Y Cwitta Cyfarwydd*, without noting any of its technical details or the name of its builder, states that it was delivered from London. It has been suggested that Robert Dallam may have built this organ.⁵⁴

Repair and maintenance

The regularity of earlier payments for minor repairs and the organists' salaries shared between the churchwardens' accounts and the accounts of the common attorney at Swansea shows an appreciation by both the church and town authorities of the organ's value in worship. In 1631 John Hayward of Bath received £17 in recompense for a rebuild of the organ at St Mary's, Swansea:⁵⁵

Memorad[um] y[a]^t I John Haywarde of the City of Baeth Organemake^r have had & Rece[i]v[e]d of M^r John Daniell & Lewis Johns, Churchwardens for the towne of Swanze[a], the some of seventeene pounds beinge in full paymentt & s[atis]factio[n] for the fynishing, fyttinge, & tuneable makinge of their Organs in the church at Swanze[a], & makinge the gal[l]ery, & painting worke the^r[e] doone of w[hi]^ch sum of xviii^l I doe acknowle[d]ge myself fully satisfye[d] & p[a]yd, & if that ther[e] happen any defecte in any of the pipes of the s[a]yde Organs w[i]thin this twoe years, or billows, or any p[ar]te of the s[a]yde organs, that the same shall not be sufficient & tuneable, I doe hereby assume & p[ro]mise that uppon & after a monethes notice geve[n] me by the s[a]yd wardens or any their successors, to come

⁵¹ Smith (1967), 422, citing Hereford vicars choral act book, 30th January 1593, p.85; Smith (1967), table 13, p.425.

⁵² Worcester cathedral, 1613; Eton College chapel, 1613-14; Magdalen College chapel, Oxford, c.1631; York Minster, 1632-34; St John's College chapel, Cambridge, 1635-36; and Lichfield cathedral, 1639-40; see Bicknell (1996), 69-89.

⁵³ See above, Chapter 5, p.176.

⁵⁴ See above, Chapter 5, p.157.

⁵⁵ Swansea, University Library, MS 11, miscellaneous collection of borough and parish records, 1545-1844, p. 87, dated 15th April 1631. See Plate 3.

& repair & ameande any defectt or fault that shall or m[a]ye come or happen to the Organs. In wyttnes[s] wher[e]of I have hereunto putt my hand the d[a]ye & yeare above wrytte[n].

By me John Hayward

Wittnes[s] of us
John Williams portreff
Walter Thomas
Thomas Quiller

An interesting feature of this document is the provision of a guarantee for two years. Also significant is the inclusion of carpentry and painting work to the organ and loft, aspects that at some institutions, for example, Chester and Ludlow, were taken care of by their own staff or local craftsmen. John Hayward's signature in this document matches with the reproduction of signatures in an article by Betty Matthews.⁵⁶ Other organs in Hayward's care included that of Holy Trinity, Coventry, which he repaired in 1632 and 1633/4, but was taken down and sold in 1641, the organ of Wells cathedral, repaired in 1634 for 28s 6d, and that of St Martin's, Salisbury, repaired in 1637 for 10s. In 1638 he provided an organ for Shepton Mallet which was 'destroyed by soldiers' in 1646, and at Somerton, Somerset, when £1 10s was paid 'to Mr Hayward of Bath for making the organe musicall' in 1641. He is also recorded as having attended to the organ at St Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, in c.1626.⁵⁷

Since Hayward was a west country builder and Swansea a port, it is reasonable to suppose that communications would have been by sea across the Bristol Channel. An earlier well-known west country organ builder, Ralph Chappington, visited Swansea in 1580 when major repairs had become necessary at St Mary's. He was assisted by local craftsmen:⁵⁸

It[e]m payd John Hary Smyth for makyn[g] of nyw dryn for the organs when the wir driff, 8d
It[e]m payd for the na[i]llyys to Thomas for organs, 2d
It[e]m payd to John Hary Smyth for Iron pyk[e]s for the organs to kyp away the bowys [keep away the boys], 6d

⁵⁶ Betty Matthews, 'The Haywards of Bath', *JB IOS*, 19 (1995), 46-52, 46-47. One is a lease for property in Bath, 21st July 1647 and a deed for the sale of an acre of land in the Weston district of Bath, 20th January 1653. He is also listed as a councillor at meetings of Bath City Council, 1643-56.

⁵⁷ Matthews (1995), 47-48; Freeman (1921), 57-58.

⁵⁸ Swansea, University Library, MS D2, churchwardens' accounts, 1558-1694, p.70.

It[e]m payd to raf Chapyn town [Ralph Chappington] for drassyn [dressing] the organs, 23s 5d

It[e]m payd to thomas J[e]ngkyn for the twyst of the led of the organs, 6d

It[e]m payd for nayles, 1d

It[e]m payd to John Doole for mendyn[g] the owlde bylys [bellows], 3d

It[em] payd to thomas Jangkyn for work of the organ, 3d

It[em] payd for a kerd [cord] for the organs, 1d

It[em] payd to howys korvier for the door of the organ, 8d

Major repairs and maintenance beyond the expertise of a church's resident organist demanded the services of a specialist organ builder and many of these, the likes of Burward, Hayward and Dallam, covered large geographical areas. Another such builder was Henry Allington, little is known of his background but it appears that he operated mainly in the Cheshire and Shropshire area. In 1617 Allington carried out repairs at Chester cathedral.⁵⁹

It[e]m to Harry Allington for the organes, xl

For more ffanis for Allingtons use, 4s 3d

It[e]m for curtanes, roddes & pte rings for the organs

For making the curtanes tape, xxviis vd

It[e]m to Done for to help Alington 3 days, xiid.

An entry dated 5th November 1612 in the proctors' accounts of Christ Church, Dublin reads: 'Paid to Henry Alyngton by consent towards the mending of the organs, 20s'.⁶⁰ In view of the close links between the cathedrals of Dublin and Chester, this is obviously the same organ builder operating at both institutions. This same builder also visited Oswestry in 1614-15: 'p[ai]d to Harry Alkinson organ maker, vii xiijs'.⁶¹

Allington was not the only organ builder to have been employed by Chester cathedral during the second decade of the seventeenth century. In 1612 the treasurers' accounts record £4 'Paid ye organ maker',⁶² and during the following financial year 'Paid to y^e organ maker the remainder of his bargayne, iijli iijs iiijd'. Additional expenditure was made 'To

⁵⁹ Chester, CRO, EDD3913/1/4, Chester cathedral treasurers' accounts, 1611-43, p.137.

⁶⁰ Barra Boydell, ed., *Music at Christ Church before 1800: Documents and Selected Anthems*, A History of Christ Church, Dublin, 5 (Dublin, 1999), 8, transcribing Dublin, RCB, C6/1/26/3/1-28, Christ Church, Dublin, proctors' accounts, 1564-1641.

⁶¹ Shrewsbury, SRO, MS P214/B/1/1/2, churchwardens' accounts, St Oswald's, Oswestry, 1613-1616, unfoliated.

⁶² Chester, CRO, EDD3913/1/4, pp.52, 56.

a smith for mending y^e key of y^e organe doore, *ijd'*, 'for ii leather skynnes & glewe for ye organ bellowes, *xvd'*, and. 'ffor yellow wyre to y^e Organes, glew & leather *12d* & to Robert Green [a Conduct] for mending y^e Springes and bellowes, *xviijd'*.⁶³ By 1615, further major work was necessary for the organ when John Walker was paid £6 12s 9d 'for Boards and other Tymber and Workmanship with Iron work and other stuff', and a further £1 15s 'for his Dyett for vii weekes at vs the weeke'.⁶⁴

Around the same time, Hereford cathedral also had some major repairs on its organ. The clavigers' accounts record the outlay of £3 'for repayring of the Organs' in 1608-09, £2 3s 6d 'for amendinge the Organs *ut patet per Billa[m]* [as appears by the bill]' in 1611-12, £5 'to M^r Dallam for amendinge the Organs' in 1612-13, and £1 'to M^r Dalla[m] for his paynes in coming to see the defects in the Organs' in 1629-30.⁶⁵

The Dallam family of organ builders had a national reputation during this period,⁶⁶ but smaller, lesser-known local firms also attracted business, including Smith of Hereford. There is nothing in the Hereford cathedral accounts relating to Smith, but at Ludlow:⁶⁷

1630-31	To M ^r Smyth organist for his Paynes and others to helpe him in setting the organs in Tune, 25s
1632-33	p[ai]d a messenger to goe twice to Hereford about Repayringe of the organs, 3s 6d p[ai]d M ^r Smyth for his workemanship and materials in repayringe of the organs, £3 p[ai]d for the Drawing of artickles of agreement betweene M ^r Smyth and o[ur]selves for the yearely keepinge of the organs, 2s p[ai]d him for keeping the organs att St Peters tyde accordinge to agreement, 5s
1635-36	Item p[ai]d M ^r Smith for his journey to viewe the organs, 10s Item paid a messeng[e] ^r to goe for him, 8d Item paid M ^r Smith for Repayring the organs, 40s Item paid William Hall for drawinge articles between M ^r Smith and the p[ar]ish and a bond to p[er]forme yt, 10s 6d.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 58, 104.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 108, 129.

⁶⁵ Hereford, HCA, MSS R595, clavigers' accounts, 1608-09; R598, 1611-12; R600, 1612-13; R604, 1629-30.

⁶⁶ Bicknell (1996), 72ff.

⁶⁷ Llewellyn Jones, ed., 'Churchwardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow [1629/30-1690/91]', *TSAS*, 2nd series, 4 (1892), 119-74, 122, 127.

The above 'Drawing of artickles of agreement' is evidence of the setting up of a regular tuning contract. Elsewhere, similar arrangements were in operation, as with Ralph Chappington at various churches in Bristol and Salisbury.⁶⁸ An entry to the same effect occurs at Ludlow:⁶⁹

M[emoran]^d[um] that there is a Composition made by and betweene Richard Dewce and Thomas Hitchcocks Churchwardens for the last yeare and Edward Stanley organist that hee shall keepe the organs in Repayre for the somme of five shillings yearely to be paiyd upon St Peeters day for w[hi]ch Edward Stanley hath sealed a bond of xxli, and artickles of agreement bearing date the xxvith day of June in the eighth yeare of Kinge Charles wch bonde and Artickles are delivered in to the Town Clark's Office.

Little, however, is known of the other activities of Mr Smith, who may possibly be identified with the Edward Smith who was paid as organist at Ludlow from 8th December 1627 until Michaelmas 1630.⁷⁰ It is also possible this was the same man who served as organist at Leominster church and maintained the organ there.⁷¹

Some ten years before Smith's repairs at Ludlow, Emanuel Crasswell had carried out a rebuild. The organ by 1619 had fallen into a sorry state:⁷²

It is at this day ordered that where the great paire of organs w[i]th in the p[ar]ish Church of this towne are now much decaied that the Churchwardens & sidemen doe send for an experienced & skilfull man for that purpose and to cause the same organs to be well amended at the Charge of this towne and upon knowledge of the Charge that shall arise for the doing thereof a seessment to be made accordingly.

Payment of £8 was subsequently made in 1620-21 'to Emanuell Craswell for mending the great organs by the appoyntement of M^r Walter Langford and M^r Tho[mas] Edwards then Baylieffs'.⁷³

⁶⁸ Freeman (1921), 36.

⁶⁹ Ll. Jones (1892), 127.

⁷⁰ Shrewsbury, SRO, MS LB2/1/1, Corporation minute book, 1590-1648, f.156v; Richard Francis and Peter Klein, *The Organs and Organists of Ludlow Parish Church* (Ludlow, 1982), 29-30.

⁷¹ See above, Chapter 6, p.194.

⁷² Shrewsbury, SRO, LB2/1/1, f.127v.

⁷³ Llewellyn Jones, ed., 'Churchwardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow [1607/08-1628/9]', *TSAS*, 2nd series, 2 (1890), 105-140, 120.

Aside from unavoidable occasional rebuilds and major repairs, essential general maintenance was undertaken or supervised by the resident organist assisted by the choir men, church handyman or the local smith. The relatively complete accounts at Chester cathedral and the parish churches at Oswestry, Ludlow and Swansea each show the extent to which their organs were maintained. Evidence of minor repairs also survives in the less complete accounts at Hereford cathedral and St Mary's, Shrewsbury. It is safe to assume from the regular payments at these institutions for cord, repairs to bellows, leather, glue, etc., that wherever there was an organ in use, similar care would also have to have been applied. At Ludlow, during the sixteenth century where two organs are known to have been in use, it is common to find in the churchwardens' accounts at least annual entries such as that of 1540, 'payd for cordes for the bellys off the organs, *ijd ob*', or 1575, 'for a corde to drawe the organs *ijd*'.⁷⁴ Among the numerous repairs carried out at Swansea in 1612, we read:⁷⁵

P[ai]d to Edward Dowl for le[a]ther glewe and for his paynes for mending of the bellowes of the orgayn, *4d*
 for glewe to mend the Bellows of the organs, *2d*
 For a coard for the organs, *1d*
 for glossor to mende the Bellows of the organs, *2d*

Similar payments exist at Chester alongside more involved repairs. In 1585, £3 7s 8*d* was paid to 'Henry Henlocke An Organist for removeing, mendinge, casting & tuninge the Organ pipes & other things theretoe belonginge' and in 1597, 'to Tho[mas] Beedle for glewinge of y^e Organes and Bellows & other places about y^e organs *xvj d*', and 'ffor a sheepskin for y^e Bellows of y^e Organs, *vjd*'.⁷⁶

Occasionally the term 'dressing the organ' is encountered: this simply means tuning. During 1558 at St Mary's, Shrewsbury, 4*s* was 'payd for dressige of the orgaynes'.⁷⁷ In 1580 Ralph Chappington was paid 23*s* 5*d* for dressing the organs at St Mary's, Swansea, but here the payment also included other maintenance. Similarly at Oswestry, 1597-98,

⁷⁴ Wright (1869), 4; Ll. Jones (1889), 248.

⁷⁵ Swansea, University Library, MS D2, ff.55, 56, 57.

⁷⁶ Chester, CRO, MS EDD3913/1/3, cathedral treasurers' accounts, 1584-1610, pp.21, 161.

⁷⁷ Shrewsbury, SRO, MS P257/B/3/1, churchwardens' accounts, St Mary's, Shrewsbury, 1544-1633, p.26.

reference is made to 'the organ Dresser for repairinge the organ at the agreement of mr bailliff kinaston mr Tho[mas] Evans and others the some of *vli vs*'.⁷⁸

The reference in church accounts to payments for various repairs provide additional information concerning organs. Such work, often undertaken by the clerk or church handyman, may not have directly affected the organ itself and may include work done to the rood or organ loft, miscellaneous carpentry, painting, provision of a bench, door, cover, curtains, lock, key, etc. We know, for instance, that at Ludlow the organ was situated in a loft because in 1540 *2d* was expended on 'for mendynge of the locke on the organ soler do[o]re',⁷⁹ and in 1581-82, *1d* 'for nayles to amend the Stayers in the organ lofte'.⁸⁰ This would have been the 'great organs' whereas the 'smal[l]e organs' in 1582-83, probably situated in the choir or chancel, was surrounded by a wooden frame:⁸¹

It[e]m payde Cornelyus for turninge & putting up of xiiij^e pillors before the
Organs, *12s*

It[e]m payde Parton for tymber to make iiij^{or} of them and for sawinge of one peece
of tymber, *16d*

It[e]m payd for Nayles to fasten the pillors, *2d*

Item payd to Allen for paynting the said Pillors & the defaced placs in the
chauncell, *3s 4d*

It appears that the organ of St Mary's, Shrewsbury, was situated on the floor against a wall, since entries in the churchwardens' accounts for 1589, following the sale of this instrument, record:⁸²

Ite[m] p[ai]d for the carringe the yerthe [earth] out wher[e] y^e organes stood, *6d*
plastering the walls where the organes stood, *6d*

It p[e]d for w[h]it[e]lymyng the walle where the organs stood, *6d*

⁷⁸ Shrewsbury, SRO, MS P214/B/1/1/1, f.46v.

⁷⁹ Wright (1869), 4.

⁸⁰ Ll. Jones (1889), 258.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 259.

⁸² Shrewsbury, SRO, MS P257/B/3/1, pp.229, 231.

Organs falling into disuse and their removal

In either 1581 or 1584 – the documents are not easy to decipher – the bishop of St David's directed that a new organ be provided for his cathedral.⁸³ It seems as though the bishop's direction was not acted upon for, by 1585, the organ was out of order and the organist's pay suspended.⁸⁴ One of the answers to the bishop's visitation of 1691 reports that 'we have an Organ, but out of order'.⁸⁵ The next reference to the organ at St David's occurs in the accounts for 1602-03 when 3s was paid 'to a man w[hi]^{ch} came to view y^e organs', and 15s 'to [Marmaduke] Pardo about the Organs'.⁸⁶

Elsewhere organs fell into disuse either through lack of interest or due to financial constraints. Sometimes they were repaired, other times replaced; occasionally they were removed as being surplus to requirements and not replaced. At Oswestry in 1600, there were organ pipes in the vestry; with recent repairs to an organ in the church it is reasonable to assume that these were part of an instrument no longer in use. At St Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester, the churchwardens' accounts for 1565 record the presence of organ pipes kept in the coffer, many of which were sold in 1566, though it was not until 1574 that the case was finally removed.⁸⁷

- 1565 Mem[an]^d[um] y[a]^t we have wayd ye organ pyp[e]s w[hi]^h lye in the
cof[f]er befor[e] ... p[er]sons
[...list of names...]
Do way just five score pounds
- 1566 It[e]m R[ecieved] of John p[le]mer [plumber]for iii²⁰/ ii^{li} of orgayns pypes at
v^d y^e li, xxxiiiiis iid
[...]
It[e]m R[ecieved] of John p[le]mer for viii^l of [illegible]
There remayneth of organ pipes in the churche cof[f]er in weight, xxli
- 1574 Payd to the wright for takinge down the organes, viid
Rec[eived] of y^e virginals maker for y^e organ wyndows, xiiid.

⁸³ Aberystwyth, NLW, MS SD/Ch/B27, H. T. Payne's *Collectanea Meneviensis*, vol i, p.56: a chapter act of 10th June 1584, a transcription of *Registro B*, p.104 (MS SD/Ch/B2), from which the date of this act may also be deciphered as 10th June 1581.

⁸⁴ *Collectanea*, i, 63.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 135.

⁸⁶ Aberystwyth, NLW, MS SD/misc.B/1, account book of the revenues of St David's Chapter, 1605[*sic*]-1617, p.55.

⁸⁷ Chester, CRO, MS P20/13/1, churchwardens' accounts, St Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester, 1536-1690.

The five score pounds of organ pipe metal at St Mary-at-the-Hill, Chester, valued at *5d* a pound, may be compared with the ‘greytt orggonll of braus[s]’ of Holy Trinity, Coventry, ‘weyeng eleven score & thirteene pound at *iiijd* halfe farthing the pound’ and sold in 1583.⁸⁸ The Chester organ therefore weighed less than half that of the Coventry organ built in 1526 by John Howe and John Clynmowe, ‘w[i]t[h] vii Stopps on & besides the Towers of Cases [Basses] of the pitche of Do[u]ble Cffaut w[i]t[h] xxvij pleyne Keyes xix Musicks xlvj Cases [Basses] of Tynne & xiiij Cases [Basses] of Wo[o]dd’.⁸⁹

The Hereford cathedral clavigers’ accounts for 1611-12 record *12d* ‘deliuered to M^r Boyse for pulling downe the old Organs’.⁹⁰ Other entries of similar date make reference to organ repairs, obviously another instrument. At Leominster, a church inventory of 1619 lists the case of a second organ lying disused: ‘Item, vij bells, one paire of Organs, one ould case of Organs, and ij booxes’.⁹¹

There are three references at Ludlow to the sale of organs during this period. The first occurs in 1548 when the rood and various images were taken down and sold. This organ was probably surplus to requirements, it was perhaps situated in a chapel or near an altar that had recently become redundant, or it may have been an old instrument removed when other unwanted items were offered for sale: ‘Item, of Thomas Cother for the olde case of the organs, *xijd*’.⁹² At any rate, there were at least two organs in the church in 1551 when *12d* was paid ‘to John Broke for mendynge ij payre of organs’.⁹³ The next reference is from 1578-79 when *10s* was received ‘for an olde instrument sould’.⁹⁴ The final reference at Ludlow comes at the end of our period when choral services and organs were abandoned:⁹⁵

⁸⁸ Bicknell (1996), 50, citing Freeman (1921), 15.

⁸⁹ Letter of indenture transcribed in Bicknell (1996), 29-30; and discussed, *ibid.*, 34-35. The word ‘Cases’ should be read as ‘Basses’ in order to make proper sense, see also John Caldwell, ‘English Liturgical Organ Music: some old and some new issues’, *RCOJ*, 4 (1996), 1-17, 4.

⁹⁰ Hereford, HCA, MS R598, clavigers’ accounts, 1611-12.

⁹¹ F. Gainsford Blacklock (1898), 492-93

⁹² Wright (1869), 36.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁹⁴ Ll. Jones (1889), 254.

⁹⁵ Ll. Jones (1892), 148, 152.

1649-50	Sould to Henry Crofte accordinge to an order the 15 th of Aprill 1650 the organ pipes remaininge useless in the Church (<i>vizt</i>) the best pipes at 11 <i>d</i> p[er] pound amountinge to	3 <i>li</i> 17 <i>s</i> 10 <i>d</i>
	Item the worsser pipes att 1 <i>d ob</i> p[er] pound amounting to	<u>1 5 10</u>
		5 3 8
1652-53	Ite[m] paid for takeing down the Organ Cases and for mending the bench in the Pewe late the Baylieffs	0 3 8

From the above figures, it may be calculated that the pipe metal at St Laurence's, Ludlow, weighed a total of 206 pounds, in other words, double the weight of the organ from St Mary-at-the-Hill, Chester, and only 27 pounds lighter than that removed from Holy Trinity, Coventry, in 1583.⁹⁶

The removal of the organs at Ludlow during the Commonwealth was an act repeated nation-wide in response to legislation dated, 9th May 1644 which ordered 'all organs in all churches and chapels to be not only taken away but also utterly defaced and none hereafter set up in their places'.⁹⁷ The removal of the organ from St Laurence's, however, does appear to have been carried out in a more orderly way than at many institutions. The fate of many instruments was vandalism or total destruction, often perpetuated by soldiers, as at Flint, Farrington, Holt, Holywell and Wrexham.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ There is a possibility, however, that the Ludlow sale of pipe metal may also have included pipe metal from a second, smaller instrument.

⁹⁷ Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music, 1660-1714* (Oxford, 1995), 3.

⁹⁸ See above, Chapter 6, pp.213-14.

Section 2: Liturgical considerations

The siting of instruments

In larger churches more than one organ was often necessary to fulfil liturgical functions in the various parts of the building. Organs, for convenience, may have been located near a particular altar or body of singers and if the instrument was positioned on a screen or pulpitum then the projection of sound down the building was enhanced and the organist granted a greater view of ceremonial.

The churchwardens' accounts of St Oswald's, Oswestry, for 1597-98 detail payment for repairs to the organ, including 2s 'for bread and Drinke to them that did helpe the removing of the organ to the Rood Lofte'.⁹⁹ Thus we know that the organ stood in a loft. In 1645 the organ at St Asaph cathedral stood in a loft, probably the stone pulpitum erected across the eastern arch of the crossing during the episcopacy of Robert Redman (1471-95).¹⁰⁰ Payments for repairs to the pre-Reformation organ at St Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester, in 1539 indicate that the organ here was also situated in a loft.¹⁰¹

It[e]m paide vnto the carver for setting vppe of organse, iis
It[e]m for beyring of the organs with the lofte the[y] stode in.

At Hereford cathedral during 1533 (as already stated) John Hichons built two organs for the cathedral, one in the choir, the other over the sacristan's room.¹⁰² It is also known that in 1516 a new organ was installed in the Lady chapel and another fitted in the choir in 1625. In 1528 John Hichons was paid '2s for skins used in repairing the great organ'.¹⁰³ Ludlow also had more than one organ. Its churchwardens' accounts record repairs made in 1541 to

⁹⁹ Shrewsbury, SRO, MS P214/B/1/1/1, f.46v.

¹⁰⁰ Richard Symonds, *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army During the Civil War*, ed. by C. E. Long, Camden Society (Westminster, 1859), 260; T. W. Pritchard, *St Asaph Cathedral* (Much Wenlock, 1997), 7.

¹⁰¹ J. P. Earwaker, *The History of the Church & Parish of St Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester* (London, 1898), 211: transcribed from Chester, CRO, MS P20/13/1.

¹⁰² John Harper, 'Music and Liturgy, 1300-1600', in *Hereford Cathedral: A History*, ed. by Gerald Aylmer and John Tiller (London, 2000), 375-97, 392n, suggests that the organ above the sacristan's room may have been an instrument used specifically for teaching the choristers.

¹⁰³ Hereford, HCA, MS 7031/1, f.44v; Baylis, no.325.

the ‘great organs’, payment of a penny in 1542 ‘for a cord to blowe our Lady organs’, the repair in 1551 of ‘ij payre of organs’ costing 12*d*, and repairs in 1569 to the ‘gre[a]te’ and ‘smal[l]e’ organs, etc.¹⁰⁴ The reference here to ‘our Lady organs’ suggests that this organ was either positioned at the altar dedicated to Our Lady or that its use was reserved specifically for masses of Our Lady. The 2*d* paid in 1549 ‘for shiftyng of the organs into the hie aulter’, suggests a small instrument, liturgical needs requiring it to be positioned in that part of the building. This was probably the organ for which fourteen pillars were made to create a screen around it in 1582, and into which a door and frame were inserted in 1618. Chester cathedral similarly possessed a number of organs. The cathedral treasurers’ accounts record the expenditure in 1547 of 3*d* ‘For mendyng ye organs & ye deske in the quere’ and 8*d* ‘For ye peyce of le[a]de to ye lyt[t]le organs’, and in 1622, 12*d* ‘For carrying the organ to the Chapter House’.¹⁰⁵

Browne Willis described the positioning of the organ at St David’s in 1717 thus:¹⁰⁶

The Steeple stands upon four Massy Pillars, the Arches to the west, north and the South, have been filled up with Stone-Work within these few years, except the Entrance to the choir, and the Place where the Organ stands in the North Arch; by reason that the Walls of the steeple seem[e]d to decay.

That is, the organ was at the west end of the choir on the north side (under the archway to the north transept). Willis states that before the Civil War the organ was placed under the western lantern arch.¹⁰⁷ Jones and Freeman draw upon the implications of an organ under the western lantern arch positioned on the stone screen or pulpitum.¹⁰⁸ The western arch had become insecure towards the end of the fifteenth century, with £5 subsequently spent in 1492 on essential building work:¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ Wright (1869), 8, 10, 46, 137.

¹⁰⁵ Chester, CRO, MS EDD3913/1/1, pp. 170, 182; MS EDD3913/1/4, p.165.

¹⁰⁶ Browne Willis, *A Survey of the Cathedral Church of St David’s* (London, 1717), 8.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ W. B. Jones and E. A. Freeman, *The History and Antiquities of St David’s* (London, 1856), 83, 93.

¹⁰⁹ Aberystwyth, NLW, SD/Ch/B13, p.24. [Translation: And paid for making the wall in the gallery of the Holy Cross with lime and stone and other necessities pertaining to the same work as it appears in the bill thence examined 100s.]

Et sol[utum] pro factura muri in solarario S[anc]t[ae] Crucis calce & lapid[e] & aliis ne[cessa]riis ad idem opus pertinent ut patet per billam inde examinat[am], 100s.

Later references serve to indicate the existence of a wall supporting the western lantern arch, Jones and Freeman concluding that an organ may well have stood on the screen facing the choir in spite of the wall which appears to have already blocked the arch. A balustrade surmounting the canopies of the stalls projects as if to allow sufficient room for a small organ.¹¹⁰

Directions concerning the use of organs

The duties of William Wode, organist in the chapel of the Virgin Mary at Hereford cathedral in 1517, included the instruction of the choristers and the playing of the organ daily at morning mass in the Lady chapel and on feast days when the choir sings. He was to exercise his duty either in person or through an approved deputy.¹¹¹ In 1527 when Richard Palmer was appointed organist he also was required to play at the daily mass in the Lady chapel and in the main choir at principal feasts.¹¹² At Ludlow (as already stated) reference appears in the accounts of 1542 to 'our Lady organs'.

It seems to have been usual at the larger institutions for the organ to be used at Lady mass and principal feasts. Further afield, at Lincoln cathedral in 1524, John Gilbert was responsible for playing the organ at the Lady mass, on Sundays and principal double feasts and in 1535 Robert Dove played the organ at the Lady mass and Jesus mass.¹¹³ When Daniel Boys was appointed organist at Worcester cathedral in 1522, part of his duty was to keep the daily Lady mass with plainsong, polyphony and the organ (*cum canticis planis fractis et organis*).¹¹⁴ The daily observance of the Lady mass also figures in an agreement

¹¹⁰ Jones and Freeman (1856), 83, 87, 93.

¹¹¹ Hereford, HCA, MS 7031/1, f.10r; Baylis, no.98.

¹¹² Hereford, HCA, MS 7031/1, f.38r; Baylis, no.275.

¹¹³ *MMB*, 177 citing *Lincoln Chapter Acts, 1536-47*, ed. by R. E. G. Cole, *Lincoln Record Society* (1917), 192-95.

¹¹⁴ *MMB*, 186; Ivor Atkins, *The Early Occupants of the Office of Organist and Master of the Choristers of the Cathedral Church of Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary, Worcester* (London, 1918), 17.

of 1514 between the townspeople of Brecon and their chaplain, who was also to ‘ke[e]pe the organs and teach two children ... their pricked songe and plaine songe’.¹¹⁵

The designation of particular organs for specific occasions was evident at Durham cathedral, where their position in the building enabled different organs to be matched with the location of the liturgical activity and the ranking of the day in the calendar. Although a much larger institution than any of those covered by this thesis, Durham nevertheless aptly demonstrates the importance placed liturgically on the use of the organ in a monastic cathedral:¹¹⁶

T[h]ere was 3 paire of organs belonginge to the said quire for maintenance of god’s seru[ice] and the better selebrating thereof one of the fairest paire did stand ouer the quire do[o]re only opened and play[e]d upon at principall feastes, the pipes beinge all of most fine wood, and workmanshipp uerye faire, partly gilted uppon the inside and the outside of the leaues [doors] and couvers up to the topp with branches and flowers finely gilted with the name of Jesus gilted with gold [...] Also there was a lanterne of wood like unto a pulpitte standinge and adioyninge to the wood organs over the quire do[o]re, where they were wont to singe the nine lessons in the old time on pryncipal dayes, standinge with their faces towards the high altar. The second paire stood on the north side of the quire beinge neuer play[e]d uppon but when the 4 doctors of the church was read, viz. Augustine Ambrose Gregorye and Jerome [i.e. on Sundays and festivals which were not principal feasts] beinge a faire paire of large organs called the cryers ...The third paire was dayly used at ordinary seruice.

In addition to these three organs, near the Jesus altar on the north side of the nave, there was ‘a looft for the master and quiristers to singe Jesus mass every fridaie conteyninge a paire of orgaines to play on, and a faire desk to lie there books on in tyme of dyvin[e] service’. Another organ stood at the west-end of the cathedral in the Galilee chapel where ‘our Lady’s mass was song daily by the master of the song scho[o]le, with certain de[a]cons and quiristers, the master playing upon a paire of faire orgaines the tyme of our Lady’s masse’.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ See above, Chapter 3, p.111.

¹¹⁶ Bicknell (1996), 41-43: quoting from Davies, *The Rites of Durham* (Durham, 1672).

¹¹⁷ *MMB*, 188-89, quoting from *The Rites of Durham*.

The Rites of Durham were supposedly compiled during the late sixteenth century by a former monk recalling pre-Reformation practices at the cathedral priory.¹¹⁸ By the beginning of the sixteenth century the organ had long established itself in the liturgy. In his *Ordinal*, dated 1337, John Grandison, bishop of Exeter, states that the organ was to be played during those parts of the office and mass when polyphony was sung.¹¹⁹ Although it was the Use of Sarum that prevailed at the majority of secular cathedrals and parish churches the proportion of the liturgy that was chanted, sung in polyphony, or played upon the organ varied considerably depending on the institution and occasion concerned.¹²⁰

London, British Library, Add MS 29996 and Philip ap Rhys

The majority of surviving pre-Reformation organ music was based on chant and the title of each work often indicates its musical derivation, making it possible to identify its intended place in the liturgy. The lack of organ sources from before the sixteenth century is significant and may be due to two reasons: either music manuscripts did not survive the ravages of time, or they never existed in the first place, the organist having simply improvised around the chant. Of the small number of manuscripts of organ music dating from before the middle of the sixteenth century, London, BL, Add MS 29996 is of prime importance.¹²¹ One of only two substantial collections of organ music, it is considered ‘a key to understanding the place and use of the organ in the sixteenth-century Latin liturgy in Britain, both before 1549 and during the period 1553-59’.¹²² John Caldwell, Denis Stevens¹²³ and subsequent scholars have examined Add 29996 and have drawn attention to

¹¹⁸ Bicknell (1996), 41; Caldwell (1996), 3.

¹¹⁹ *MMB*, 109-11.

¹²⁰ Francis Routh, *Early English Organ Music from the Middle Ages to 1837* (London, 1973), 8.

¹²¹ Other MSS include the *Mulliner Book*, London, BL, Add MS 30513 (see *The Mulliner Book*, trans. and ed. by Denis Stevens, MB, 1 (2nd edn., London, 1966)); a pair of manuscripts with a West Country association, London, BL, Roy App. 56 and 58 contains some anonymous liturgical items and can be dated c.1530; Oxford, Christ Church Library, MS Mus 371, c.1560 contains liturgical pieces by Redford. See John Caldwell, *English Keyboard Music before the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1973), 22-23.

¹²² John Harper, ‘Philip ap Rhys and his Liturgical Organ Music Revisited’, *WMH*, 2 (1997), 126-48, 129. A detailed study and complete transcription of the whole MS is found in John Caldwell, ‘British Museum Additional Manuscript 29996: Transcription and Commentary’ (unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1965).

¹²³ Denis Stevens, ‘A Unique Tudor Organ Mass’, *MD*, 4 (1952), 167-75.

the grouping of five of the seven pieces by Philip ap Rhys which ostensibly form a unique British example of an organ mass, a genre more common at that time on mainland Europe. This form of composition was based on the plainsong of the ordinary of the mass and was intended for *alternatim* performance by organ and voices.¹²⁴ It is of additional significance in the context of this thesis since it contains seven pieces by Philip ap Rhys, the earliest extant keyboard music by a composer of Welsh extraction.

The limited biographical details of Philip ap Rhys and his association with Add 29996 have been researched and presented by other writers:¹²⁵ for present purposes a summary is considered sufficient. According to Add 29996 the *Kyrie* of the organ mass carries the inscription, 'Made by phelyppe apprys Off Saynt poulls in london'. Other references to ap Rhys are to be found in records from two other London churches though one must be cautious in assuming that these refer to the same person. Firstly, there is a 'Phylip Ap Rice' in the churchwardens' accounts of St Martin Outwich, in the City of London, from 1508-09, who owes 16*d* 'of olde de[b]tte ... and more for this ye[a]re' towards the clerk's wages; these are then settled in 1509-10.¹²⁶ Later, according to the 1522-23 accounts, one of the two wardens 'of our lady bretherhed' is named as 'Phillip apryse', a post normally held for two years.¹²⁷ The churchwardens' accounts of St Mary at Hill, London, show that Philip ap Rhys was employed as Organ-player, playing at the daily Lady mass in 1547.¹²⁸ Unfortunately the accounts for 1540-47 are missing. Payment of 1*s* 4*d* was subsequently made to 'mr phillip of poles' in 1559 'for playing at organs on e[ve]nson[g] ye xvij daie of July at ye salutacion'.¹²⁹ This last entry may well refer to the Philip ap Rhys, who is known at that time to have been organist of St Paul's cathedral. There are, however, difficulties in reconciling the parishioner of St Martin Outwich, 1508-23, with the organist at St Mary at

¹²⁴ Recent scholarship has shown that this is not a composed cyclic organ mass at all, but an incomplete compilation. In view of the blank leaves for the *Credo* it seems that the copyist of Add 29996 was himself compiling this cycle from music by Philip ap Rhys.

¹²⁵ Harper (1997); Hugh Baillie, 'Some biographical notes on English church musicians, chiefly working in London (1485-1569)' *RMARC*, 2 (1962), 18-57, 50.

¹²⁶ Harper (1997), 127.

¹²⁷ Harper (1997), 128 draws attention to two other men of possible Welsh extraction mentioned in the records of St Mary at Hill, London, namely a priest William Bryse, 1509-10 and a Ryse William (Possibly Richard William) also there in 1547-48.

¹²⁸ Baillie (1962), 50.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

Hill in 1547. As Harper observes, St Mary at Hill was a church which generally employed men at the beginning of their career. It is safe to conclude, however, that Philipp Ryse, organist at St Mary at Hill, was also organist at St Paul's, and that he is the person whose compositions were attributed to 'P. R.' and 'phelyppe apprys' in Add 29996.¹³⁰

Music attributed to Philip ap Rhys in London, British Library, MS Add 29996¹³¹

Folio Item

6v Psalm antiphon for compline: *Miserere*

[28v-34 'Organ Mass' for Trinity Sunday celebrated as greater double feast in the
Use of Salisbury]

28v	<i>Kyrie</i>	<i>Deus creator omnium</i> : trope suitable for Trinity Sunday
29	<i>Gloria</i>	melody suitable for greater double feast
30	[<i>Credo</i>]	[title only, no music – blank leaves]
31v	Offertory	<i>Benedictus sit Deus Pater</i> : headed <i>In die Sancte Trinitatis</i>
33	<i>Sanctus</i>	melody for lesser double feast
34	<i>Agnus dei</i>	melody for lesser double feast

41 Offertory for Lady mass: *Felix namque* (with *Alleluia*)

Provenance of Add 29996

The inscription referring to St Paul's as being 'in london' suggests that Add 29996 was copied for use away from the capital. The inclusion of Thomas Preston's *Confessio et pulchritudo*, an offertory from the proper of the mass of St Laurence, could indicate the patronal dedication of the institution for which the manuscript was compiled. In London itself, a possibility was St Laurence, Poultney, a church with a college attached consisting of a master, three chaplains, and four conducts, pensioned off in 1547. Away from London, dedications to St Laurence include churches at Reading,¹³² Winchester, and Ludlow.

At St Laurence's, Ludlow, there is no direct evidence of a link with ap Rhys, though it is known that the liturgical use of the organ continued into the 1580s. It is possible that the

¹³⁰ Harper (1997), 129.

¹³¹ From Harper (1997), 127.

¹³² Andrew Freeman, 'A Short History of the Organs of the Church of St Lawrence at Reading', *The Organ*, 2 (1922-23), 108-12, 109: St Lawrence's, Reading possessed at least two organs during the first half of the sixteenth century, 'ower Lady Masse priest', Richard Baynton, repairing the 'gre[a]tt organs' in 1524, another organ bought in the same year, the great organs were then sold to the 'ffreres in Oxford' in 1533 for £12 10s, the 'lyt[t]ell organs in St John's chauncell' remaining until their sale in 1578.

migration of the manuscript to Ludlow could have been through links between ap Rhys and border musicians, the interest in the liturgy shown by the Palmer's Guild, or the prominence of Ludlow at the seat of the Council of the Marches.¹³³ At any rate, a church with the musical resources and prestige of St Laurence's, Ludlow, would have been capable of following a repertoire similar to that laid out in Add 29996.¹³⁴

The prominence of ap Rhys's organ mass for Trinity Sunday, however, together with the manuscript's claim of ownership on f.6: 'George Moults ys the owner of this book / witnes[s] John cook / and Robin Cook is well content that his / wyfe shall pay the rent. Amen so be it' (George Moults and John Cook were choristers at Trinity College, Cambridge), and the inclusion of music by Thomas Preston (master of the choristers at Trinity), form the basis of David Mateer's reasoning that Trinity College, Cambridge, is the most probable provenance of Add 29996.¹³⁵

David Evans, in a yet unpublished article concerning the manuscripts of the Tomkins family, makes a further suggestion in relation to the ownership and provenance of Add 29996.¹³⁶ Evans proposes that since Add 29996 was once owned by Thomas Tomkins, one possibility was that he may well have acquired it from his father, Thomas Farington Tomkins, formerly organist and school master at St David's cathedral. Thomas Farington Tomkins was also an antiquarian and avid collector of books. The list of liturgical books at the end of Add 29996 possibly once belonged to him and were in turn passed on to his son, Thomas. There is a small chance that this manuscript may have once been in use at St David's cathedral.¹³⁷ It must not be overlooked, however, that there was also a circulation

¹³³ An argument proffered by Harper (1997), 139-42.

¹³⁴ John Caldwell, however, favouring Richard Wynslate, organist of Winchester cathedral, as a likely copyist of the first layer of the manuscript, draws upon the significance of the nearby church of St Lawrence, where the bishop traditionally robes before being enthroned. See John Caldwell, *The Oxford History of English Music, Volume 1, From the Beginnings to c.1715* (Oxford, 1991), 250. Richard Wynslate (Wynslade) also had a connection with St Mary at Hill, London, as did another composer John Thorne.

¹³⁵ David Mateer, 'Further light on Preston and Whyte', *MT*, 115 (1974), 1074-77.

¹³⁶ David R. A. Evans, 'The manuscripts of the Tomkins family', unpublished article.

¹³⁷ Evans, *ibid.*, also notes that the inclusion of music by a composer of Welsh extraction, namely Philip ap Rhys, may have drawn the attentions of the Welsh-born Thomas Tomkins who may have acquired it from one of the many contacts he would have had at the Chapel Royal or in London.

of manuscripts and repertoire between the cathedrals of Hereford, Gloucester and Worcester (as observed in Chapter 7), and it could be via this means that Thomas Tomkins acquired the manuscript while serving as organist at Worcester cathedral. If, as is most likely, Trinity College, Cambridge is the provenance of Add 29996, then the manuscript could have remained in Cambridge circles until its possible acquisition by John Tomkins, organist at King's College, Cambridge, who subsequently passed it to his half-brother, Thomas.

Liturgical significance of Add 29996

If we are to believe that Add 29996 was in use in Wales or the borderlands, then this manuscript could well indicate actual liturgical practices involving the organ in this region. Even if such provenance cannot be established with absolute certainty, in view of issues raised earlier in the chapter, it is highly likely that similar liturgical use of the organ would have occurred at the larger, more affluent Welsh or borderland institutions.

The three principal layers of Add 29996, their dates of compilation and possible scribes, are each discussed by Harper and Caldwell.¹³⁸ In summary, Layer 1 may be further divided into two portions: 1a and 1b. Layer 1a contains music for compline: psalm antiphons, office hymns and canticle antiphons, the space between the compline hymns and the canticle antiphons being then filled with office hymns for services other than compline; all the inserts are attributed to John Redford. Layer 1b has two *alternatim Te deum* settings, an *alternatim Magnificat* setting, five items by Philip ap Rhys appropriate for mass on Trinity Sunday, and ten offertories by Redford, Thorne, Preston, Coxsun, and ap Rhys. Layer 2 consists entirely of music by Thomas Preston.¹³⁹ Save for a single office antiphon, the music of this layer is intended for the mass: twelve offertories and the proper for Easter Day.¹⁴⁰ In Layer 3 the scribe began to copy a collection of office hymns for the church year for vespers, compline, matins and lauds. He commenced with Advent but ceased copying in the middle of one of the Lent hymns.

¹³⁸ Harper (1997), 135-37.

¹³⁹ David Mateer, 'Further light on Preston and Whyte', *MT*, 115 (1974), 1074-77; see also John Caldwell, 'Preston, Thomas', *NG*, xv, 221.

¹⁴⁰ Denis Stevens, 'Thomas Preston's Organ Mass', *ML*, 39 (1958), 29-34.

Two main types of compositional processes are involved in the music of Add 29996. Firstly, there are those items which are through composed: in this category are the psalm, canticle and offertory antiphons and one of the *Te deum* settings. Secondly, there are those items requiring *alternatim* performance, namely the office hymns, the other *Te deum* setting, movements for the ordinary of the mass (*Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus* and *Agnus dei*), and Preston's proper of the mass for Easter Day (introduction to sequence). For the office on Sundays and double feasts hymns are included for vespers, compline, matins, and lauds, and psalm and canticle antiphons for compline. In *alternatim* performance the organ alternated with the choir with the first half verse always sung by the ruler of the choir. The organ functioned either as a substitute, or in antiphony to the choir/cantor; there is no evidence from this period of the organ accompanying voices in the liturgy.¹⁴¹

Until the sixteenth century organ music by tradition had been improvised around a chant according to the demands of the liturgy. John Harper proposes five possible reasons for the compilation of Add 29996:¹⁴²

- 1 To be played by a less skilled player unable to improvise
- 2 To be sent to a learner some distance away from the master to learn at first hand
- 3 Compositional processes too sophisticated to be improvised
- 4 Preservation for future use
- 5 The period between 1547 and 1553 witnessed a hiatus in the training of both new choristers and organists in the Latin rite and so in 1553 there was an immediate need to provide for the music of a re-established Latin rite.

With these points in mind, the organ repertory in Add 29996 could be equally appropriate during the pre-Reformation period or the Marian revival of the Latin liturgy. Layer 1, if dated pre-1548, would perhaps have been written for the less skilled player or for teaching purposes. Layer 2 may have been a transcription of improvisations made to meet the needs of the restored Latin rite post-1553. Finally, Layer 3, which was carefully planned, was a cycle intended to serve a more stable and permanent liturgy (it was hoped), and most likely would have been compiled during the later years of Mary's reign. Alternatively, the stimulus behind Layers 1b and 2 may have been the dissolution of the colleges and

¹⁴¹ John Caldwell, 'English Liturgical Organ Music: some old and some new issues', *RCOJ*, 4 (1996), 1-17, 1-2.

¹⁴² Harper (1997), 134-35.

chantries, the subsequent shortage of singers and the desire to fulfil satisfactorily a still valued musical rendering of the Latin rite during the years 1547-48.¹⁴³ Add 29996 (with its lost exemplars) demonstrates the transition from an improvised practice of liturgical organ music to a practice of written down composition. Furthermore it demonstrates the ascendancy of the organ during the 1540s and 1550s, complementing the choral performance of the liturgy during the final years of the Latin rite.

Post-Reformation liturgical requirements

In spite of the lack of any explicit provision for the use of the organ in the 1549, 1552 or 1559 editions of the *Book of Common Prayer* there is ample evidence supporting regular use of organs in churches during the period 1549-1645, though the exact context of any solo performance is vague.¹⁴⁴ After the Reformation, surviving music manuscripts show that the organ was used to accompany choral music in addition to performing free-standing voluntaries. It is possible that voluntaries used during the communion service may have been influenced by the through-composed organ music set for the pre-Reformation offertory, communion or *Benedicamus*. Likewise, organ music played between the reading of the lessons and the canticles at mattins or evensong corresponds to the psalm or canticle antiphon of the Latin rite.¹⁴⁵ Although the reformed liturgy did not require plainsong-based compositions or improvisations, plainsong settings continued to be made for non-liturgical purposes.¹⁴⁶ Examples include settings by William Byrd, Orlando Gibbons, Thomas Tomkins and John Bull who made use of such plainsong melodies as *Clarifica me*, *Pater*, *Miserere*, *In Nomine* and *Felix namque*.¹⁴⁷ In addition to pieces based on a pre-existing melody derived either from plainchant, or its secular counterpart, the folksong, the genres of organ composition to emerge during the second half of the sixteenth century included the

¹⁴³ Harper (1997), 137.

¹⁴⁴ John Morehen, 'The Organ in the Post-Reformation English Liturgy', *RCOJ*, 3 (1995), 40-50, 40

¹⁴⁵ *European Organ Music of the 16th and 17th Centuries, 2: England, 1590-1650*, ed. by Geoffrey Cox, Faber Early Organ Series (London, 1986), p.iv.

¹⁴⁶ Caldwell (1996), 1.

¹⁴⁷ Routh (1973), 53.

fantasia or (slighter) *fancy*, the *verse* or *voluntary*,¹⁴⁸ and various dance styles.¹⁴⁹ There was, however, at that time hardly any distinction in style between music intended for the various keyboard instruments, and secular musicians also showed interest in *In Nomine* settings and the *fantasia*.¹⁵⁰

It is true to say that there was opposition to the use of the organ from many quarters¹⁵¹ and while some organs did disappear,¹⁵² many churches maintained their organs throughout the period, their use adapted to meet changing liturgical demands. At St Mary's, Swansea, where the organ and organist were financed jointly by the town corporation and the parish, a tradition of metrical psalm singing was established. In some places it was customary for an organ voluntary to follow the singing of the metrical psalm. At St Laurence's, Ludlow, where the singing of metrical psalms was also practised, it appears that an older tradition of organ music was also followed. An agreement, dated 1581 and signed by Sir Henry Sidney, required 'The organs to be used betwene the psalmes or w[i]th the psalmes and w[i]th the Antheme or hymne' when the lord president was in attendance.¹⁵³ Further reference to the playing of the organ occurs in a description of the festivities of 1616 celebrating the investiture of Charles Stuart as Prince of Wales:¹⁵⁴

Which Sermon being ended, and Psalmes sung by the Singing-men and Quiristers, to and with the great Organs there, all the whole Company returned.

Geoffrey Cox has stated that it was probably common practice at Exeter cathedral for organ music to precede the anthem at morning and evening prayer, for an organ prelude by the Exeter-based composer Edward Gibbons dated 1611 is inscribed 'A Prelude upon ye

¹⁴⁸ Some of the earliest organ verses and voluntaries are preserved in the *Mulliner Book*, which also contains anthem arrangements, though the latter were probably used for domestic recreation. See *The Mulliner Book*.

¹⁴⁹ Routh (1973), 58.

¹⁵⁰ Morehen (1995), 42-43.

¹⁵¹ See above, Chapter 4, p.140.

¹⁵² See Bicknell (1996), 49-50.

¹⁵³ See above, Chapter 6, p.200.

¹⁵⁴ Daniel Powell, *The Love of Wales, to their Soueraigne Prince* (1616) reprinted in *Documents Connected with the History of Ludlow, and the Lords of the Marchers*, ed. by R. H. Clive (London, 1841), 61-80, 71.

Organ, as was then usuall before ye Anthem'.¹⁵⁵ The organ may have been used between the psalms and the first lesson, as at Chichester,¹⁵⁶ or to provide an 'offertorye' during the communion service, as at the Chapel Royal.¹⁵⁷

When examining the choral repertory of Wales and the borderlands it is evident that choirs sang services and anthems in full and verse style. While it is perfectly possible and acceptable for full anthems and services to be sung unaccompanied, the *Short Service* by Orlando Gibbons carries an inscription in the Chirk Castle partbooks, 'for the Organs: ore with out', similarly John Shepherd's *Haste thee, O God* bears an inscription in the tenor partbook, 'For the Organs ore Vocall voyce'.¹⁵⁸ The organ accompaniments of the Chirk Castle organbook range from a complete duplication of the voice parts, as in John Boyce's *If ye love me*, through to a mere skeletal outline providing the outer parts with occasional inner leads, as in the *Short Service* by Thomas Tallis.¹⁵⁹ Verse anthems by their very nature demand an accompaniment. Variant accompaniments are provided by the Chirk Castle organbook for Thomas Tomkins's *Thou art my King, O God* which carries a description 'Anthem for a Basse: alone to the Organs ... Pricke[d] 2 severall wayes to ye Organs: 45 leafe backward', and whereas the two organ parts differ, the voice parts remain the same. A total of eleven different versions of the organ accompaniment to this anthem are to be found in various manuscripts, including two in the Batten organbook.¹⁶⁰ Thomas Morley's *Out of the deep* is also present in Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus 6 in two versions, the second of which is inscribed 'as in 44 leafe you chewse w[hi]ch you play'.¹⁶¹

Research by John Morehen has drawn attention to possible compositional links between organ works, anthems, and service settings, suggesting that preludes may have been

¹⁵⁵ *European Organ Music*, p.iv; London, BL, MS Harl 7340, f.193v (one of the Tudway MSS).

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ Geoffrey Cox, 'English organ music to c.1700', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Organ*, ed. by Nicholas Thistlethwaite and Geoffrey Webber (Cambridge, 1999), 190-203, 192.

¹⁵⁸ New York, NYPL, MS Mus.Res.*MNZ (Chirk), the Chirk Castle partbooks.

¹⁵⁹ Oxford, Christ Church Library, MS Mus 6, the Chirk Castle organbook.

¹⁶⁰ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tenbury MS 791, the 'Batten' organbook.

¹⁶¹ For issues raised regarding transpositions and accompaniments in Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus 6, see Reynolds (1997).

performed in conjunction with the service itself. He observes cross-references between the *Short Service* and two short organ preludes by Orlando Gibbons, another instance being the relationship between Thomas Weelkes's *Voluntary* and anthem *Give the King thy judgements*.¹⁶² At Ludlow full and verse anthems were performed, though no organbook survives. It is interesting to note that an instruction 'Organs' occurs twice between verses in each of the two festal psalm-style settings of the *Benedicite* in the Ludlow treble partbook, and probably indicates a short organ interlude.¹⁶³ It is inconceivable that John Cosyn, organist at Ludlow briefly during the 1620s, did not lend his virtuosity at the keyboard to the organs at St Laurence's, and similarly, John Bull at Hereford cathedral during the 1580s, who 'was so much admired for his dexterous hand on the organ, that there was more than man in him'.¹⁶⁴

Although no surviving manuscripts of the period with proven Welsh or borderland provenance contain solo organ music, and only one book of organ accompaniment is extant, organs were certainly present and maintained at the larger or wealthier institutions. Evidence from the pre-Reformation period suggests the involvement of the organ in the liturgy, the organ's role adapted to accommodate subsequent liturgical and musical requirements. The organs in this region were certainly comparable with others across Britain, and while the organ at St Giles's, Wrexham, achieved great fame in its day, the organ at nearby Chirk Castle through its surviving documentation provides much valuable information concerning the seventeenth-century transposing organ. Finally, we must not overlook St Stephen's, Old Radnor, whose organ is reputed to possess the oldest surviving organ case in the British Isles.

¹⁶² Morehen (1995), 44-45.

¹⁶³ Shrewsbury, SRO, MS LB15/1/226, treble partbook, c.1570-c.1610. See above, Chapter 7, pp.248-49.

¹⁶⁴ Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists* (Oxford, 1991), 133, quoting from Anthony Wood, *Fasti Oxoniensis...*(Oxford, 1815-20). The keyboard music of John Bull is discussed in Routh (1973), 79-90.

CHAPTER 9

Conclusion

Music was an integral part of the liturgy of the Medieval Church. Pre-Reformation service books from the region show that Sarum was the dominant Use in Wales and the borders, while Hereford cathedral and diocese mostly followed its own Use. Aside from the text of nine lections and a collect for the office of St Deiniol copied in the early seventeenth century nothing has emerged that can with any certainty be attributed to the now lost Use of Bangor. Localised variants in liturgy also existed in order to accommodate local observances, especially at those institutions that had particular saints associated with them. One such example, probably from St David's cathedral where Sarum Use was the norm, is the rhymed office of St David contained in the Penpont Antiphonal, Aberystwyth, NLW, MS 20541 E. Hereford cathedral, in common with St David's, also had shrines belonging to its patron saints, St Ethelbert and St Thomas Cantilupe and their respective liturgical provisions were similarly met through the compilation of rhymed offices.

Chantries and colleges were founded in order to fulfil observances in honour of certain saints and to remember the souls of their benefactors. The foundation statutes of chantries and colleges often specified musical aspects to devotions and so the provision of clergy who were able to sing, choristers and organs, was often necessitated. At Montgomery a corporate chantry or guild maintained an organist, a choirmaster, two choristers, and a holy-water bearer; meanwhile at Ludlow the Palmer's Guild supported the choir and organist at St Laurence's. Among the collegiate churches and colleges were St Chad's and St Mary's, Shrewsbury, and St John the Baptist, Chester, and in the diocese of St David's, Abergwili, Llanddewibrefi, and St Mary's – the clergy of the latter being absorbed into the cathedral staff of St David's towards the end of the fifteenth century. At Hereford cathedral the clergy of the Lady chapel had specific ritual and musical duties to perform before various shrines and images in addition to singing with the cathedral clergy in the choir on feast days. Similarly at St David's the clergy and choristers of St Mary's and cathedral's chantry priests also had additional assisting the cathedral's choristers and vicars choral.

The Battle of Bosworth marked the beginning of the Tudor dynasty and with it a gradual development away from medieval concepts of politics and religion. A more unified system of government emerged throughout England and Wales, manifesting itself in the 1536/43 Acts of Union. Particularly significant also was Henry VIII's break with Rome in 1534 and his adoption of the title Supreme Head of the Church of England. The consequence of the Crown taking control of the Church was the redistribution of its wealth and power. The monasteries were dissolved, chantries, colleges and religious guilds abolished and the doctrines and liturgies of the Church amended in accordance with the politics and official teaching of the State. The State religion was formulated in the *Book of Common Prayer* with English replacing Latin as the language of worship, this duly affected choral worship – music needing to adapt itself to liturgical and linguistic change – and though the musicians at cathedrals were generally retained their musical and liturgical duties altered.

The Act of Union made Wales subject to the same reforms as England though the supposed vernacular language of the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* amounted to no more than the imposition of an alien tongue on many living in more remote areas west of the border. The epistle and gospel readings were translated into Welsh and published in 1551 as *Kynniver Llith a Ban*; a Welsh translation of the prayer book, *Llyfr Gweddi Gyffredin*, was issued in 1567, followed by the first Welsh Bible in 1588. Although there is evidence that services and sermons were regularly delivered through the medium of Welsh at the cathedrals of Wales during the latter-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the pre-dominant language at these institutions was English. There are no records of choral services being sung in Welsh, though Edmwnd Prys's collection of metrical psalms in Welsh, *Lyfr y Psalmiau wedi eu cyfiethu, au cyfansoddi ar fedwr cerdd, yn Gymraeg*, was published in 1621.

The Welsh cathedrals followed a tradition not dissimilar to that of their English counterparts on the border (and indeed elsewhere), but on a more modest scale due to greater financial constraints. Parish churches, similarly, on both sides of the Welsh border underwent similar developments, many had organs, some even had choral foundations. All felt the effect of the Reformation, the Marian reversion to Roman Catholicism, and, following the accession of Elizabeth I, the many changes of official policy and liturgical fashion that ensued. During the first half of the seventeenth century Armenian trends in worship shone favourably on church music, but the conflicting

advance of Puritanism culminated in the Civil War, the overthrowing of the monarchy, the establishment of the Commonwealth and with it the abolition of the choral service and the *Book of Common Prayer*.

The Dissolution of the Monasteries during the late 1530s had put an end to conventual life in Britain, a tradition dominated by the Benedictine, Augustinian and Cistercian Orders. The monks were dispersed – those who were priests may have found parish work and those with musical talent other suitable employment, perhaps at a cathedral. The Benedictine priory church of St Werburgh's, Chester, was re-founded as a cathedral in 1541, its monks remaining to form the main body of cathedral clergy. Many monastic churches survived in part as parish churches, but were stripped of their treasures and musical heritage, while others were allowed to fall into ruin, quarried for their stone, or sold. Collegiate churches were similarly dissolved, though many continued as parish churches bereft of their chapters, vicars choral and choristers. The abolition of the chantries also had a detrimental effect on the manpower necessary to maintain an elaborate liturgy.

Prior to the Reformation there is evidence of the liturgical use of organs, particularly at Lady mass in the Lady chapel and at festivals in the choir. In larger churches more than one organ would have been present, each instrument positioned in a different part of the building as liturgically and musically appropriate. It is possible that on occasion the organ may have been used as a substitute for the voices of the choir. On the dissolution of the chantries, certain parish churches, as at Montgomery, Monmouth and Cardiff, would have been seriously affected where chantry endowments had previously provided an organist or choristers. From the mid-sixteenth century there was often an involvement of town corporations in the maintenance of church music, as at Ludlow and Swansea. At churches where an organist was no longer maintained, organs would either have been removed, or else allowed to remain and suffer neglect or vandalism. There is evidence of such at Chester and Shrewsbury churches, where an organ tradition had been allowed to lapse.

During the second half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century records show that organs were maintained at the parish churches of Swansea, Wrexham, Leominster, Oswestry and Ludlow. At St Stephen's, Old Radnor, the case of an early sixteenth-century organ survives – though the only reference to its organist

dates from the early seventeenth century. Whereas regular repairs were carried out on organs at the parish churches of Ludlow, Swansea and Oswestry, little more may be said relating to organs at the cathedrals. Regular repairs were recorded to the organ at Chester cathedral, but only occasional repairs were recorded at Hereford and St David's. At St David's, where a choral tradition was maintained throughout the period, the organ was allowed to fall into a state of decay during the 1580s.

Many organ repairs were undertaken 'in-house' by the resident organist assisted by local craftsmen and handymen, but records show that specialist organ builders were brought in to attend to larger repairs and to supply new instruments. Two London based builders supplied organs to the region; Thomas Dallam built an instrument for St Asaph cathedral, and John Burward for Sir Thomas Middleton's private chapel at Chirk Castle. Dallam's name is also recorded at St David's and Hereford. Ralph Chappington of Netherbury, Dorset, and John Hayward of Bath both attended the organ at St Mary's, Swansea, while the lesser known Henry Allington was active in Cheshire and north Wales, the organs of St Oswald's, Oswestry, and Chester cathedral among those in his care.

The statutes of a cathedral detailed its constitution and specified numbers of clergy and singers for the choir, their obligations and discipline and it fell on successive generations of cathedral chapters to uphold their statutes. Medieval statutes held force at the cathedrals of Hereford, St David's and St Asaph until well into the sixteenth century but became subject to changes brought about by royal injunctions and Acts of Uniformity issued around the middle of that century. The newly founded cathedral at Chester was granted a set of statutes in 1544. The medieval statutes persisted at Hereford until the Elizabethan statutes of 1583 which in turn were superseded by the Caroline statutes of 1637.

A continuity of tradition was maintained across the years of reform. The minor corporations of vicars choral at St David's and Hereford continued to form the choir of these cathedrals. Prior to the abolition of the chantries in 1548 the vicars choral of Hereford supplemented their income as chantry priests. Subsequent to this their duties continued in the choir, but without the requirement to serve the numerous altars of the church. Hereford had supported a number of distinguished musicians on its staff

immediately prior to the Reformation, and many remained in their positions until well into the second half of the sixteenth-century, bridging the years of reform.

Continuity is also evident in the successive long tenures of singing men at Chester, St David's, and St Laurence's, Ludlow, and in the numerous examples of several members of a single family serving the choir. At Chester, especially, many of its choir men had served as choristers, the majority of its organists and masters of the choristers having previously served as conducts or choristers there. Chester, however, was far from insular in its outlook and received appointees to its choir from other foundations including Robert White, formerly of Ely cathedral. Significant also were the Chester-bred musicians serving at other institutions, many of whom later returned to give the cathedral the benefit of their wider experience.

At Chester the work of Peter Stringer was especially valued following the Restoration. He had served the cathedral as a chorister and lay clerk in pre-Commonwealth days, working also at Christ Church, Dublin, during the 1630s. Stringer in due course returned to Chester and, following the Interregnum, held the offices of precentor, master of the choristers, organist, and treasurer. In 1673 the dean called upon him to clarify some of the former customs of the cathedral.¹

Comparatively little information has come to light concerning the choral music or organs at Bangor or St Asaph cathedrals due mainly to the absence of chapter act books and treasurers' accounts books. It has not been possible to positively identify an organist at either institution until the seventeenth century. On the other hand, the medieval statutes, chapter acts, and cathedral accounts' books from St David's provide much valuable information on cathedral life there, but with limited detail with regard to its choral repertory or organ.

Llandaff cathedral had suffered at the hands of its own clergy during the 1540s with the desecration of the shrine of St Teilo, and subsequent vandalism and neglect brought its choral tradition to a standstill. The significance of the efforts made in 1559 to re-establish the tradition through a set of royal injunctions has been addressed and brought

¹ Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1538* (Oxford, 1991), 64-65.

to the attention of musicologists for the first time in the course of this present study. In 1573 further efforts were made to raise standards of worship at the cathedral through the ordinances of Bishop Blethin. Musical standards eventually improved at Llandaff from the late-1620s under the organist George Carr, but from the late-1630s the funding of music diminished when greater emphasis was placed instead on preaching. The ebb and flow of the choral tradition at Llandaff clearly reflects the changing interests and involvement of the clergy across this period.

The vocal disposition of choirs varied from one institution to another but generally there was a greater proportion of adult singers to boys. As the sixteenth century progressed greater reliance was placed on lay singers and although ordained vicars choral often continued their involvement, their obligations stretched beyond the singing of the choral services at their cathedral. The vicars choral at Bangor combined parochial duties with the training of the choristers, whilst at Llandaff there was a greater emphasis on the parochial and preaching duties of the vicars choral. By the first half of the seventeenth century there were twelve vicars choral, four sub-canons and seven choristers at Hereford cathedral; six minor canons, six conducts, a master of the choristers and eight choristers at Chester; two vicars choral, an organist, six singing men and four choristers at Llandaff; four vicars choral, three singing men, an organist and four choristers at St Asaph; two vicars choral, two conducts and six choristers at Bangor; and thirteen vicars choral and four choristers at St David's.

Aside from the organbook and partbooks commissioned for the private chapel at Chirk Castle and the five individual partbooks from Ludlow, no music books survive from any institution in the region during this period. The manuscripts of Ludlow and Chirk contain compositions by their own musicians alongside standard works by more widely known English composers. There are also items in these manuscripts which may be described as being provincial, their composers known primarily along the borderlands and in the west country. These manuscripts identify St Laurence's, Ludlow, the private chapel at Chirk Castle, and St Giles's, Wrexham, as being able to maintain a cathedral-style choral tradition.

Many of the organists at Hereford cathedral were noted composers. An almost complete set of manuscript partbook additions bound into a set of Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick* once belonging to Hereford cathedral (Oxford, Christ

Church Library, MSS Mus 544-553) contains the music of Hereford-based composers from the first half of the seventeenth century. Barnard's publication sought to perpetuate an established repertoire, but the manuscript additions in the Hereford set are significant in that they reflect the maintaining of local interest in the linking of the choral traditions either side of the Interregnum. As the seventeenth century drew to a close this repertoire was gradually replaced as newer-style compositions came to the fore.

While a borderland / west country emphasis is apparent in the surviving partbooks of Ludlow and Chirk, there is evidence of overlap in the repertoires of Hereford, Gloucester and Worcester cathedrals, and similarly between the cathedrals of Chester, Christ Church and St Patrick's. The Gloucester cathedral bassus partbook, Gloucester Cathedral Library, MS 93, includes music by Hereford-based composers, as does the Ludlow tenor partbook, Shrewsbury, SRO, MS LB15/1/227.² The Southwell Minster tenor partbook, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tenbury MS 1382, also includes music by Hereford composers, including John Fido, an important figure in the distribution of music in the Welsh borderlands.

John Fido, whose career included serving as organist for three separate tenures at Hereford during the 1590s, at Worcester, 1595-6, and as a vicar choral and master of the choristers at Christ Church, Dublin, from 1600, is identifiable as having been actively engaged in the procurement of music and in so doing influencing the repertoires of Hereford, Gloucester, Worcester and, perhaps less directly, Chester. Key figures linking the repertoires of Chester and Dublin include Thomas Bateson, Randolph Jewett and Peter Stringer. There are also instances of the movement of choir men between Welsh and borderland cathedrals, though fewer details survive. Many musicians who worked for a time in Wales (for example, John Norman), or who were Welsh by birth (John Bull, John Lloyd, and Thomas Tomkins), are known to have moved further afield. As a consequence the dissemination of standard, local and regional repertoires was assured.

² Smith of Salop's *My God, my God look upon me* in the Ludlow tenor partbook is also present in the set of partbooks compiled by John Merro of Gloucester, NYPL, Drexel MSS 4180-83.

Although certain composers were known only in Wales and the border counties, it has not been possible to identify a distinct regional style of composition – the region was, on the whole, musically more conservative than elsewhere in Britain.

Complementing the choral repertory was a tradition of metrical psalm singing, evidence for which survives for St David's cathedral, Chester cathedral, St Laurence's, Ludlow, St Mary's, Shrewsbury, and St Mary's, Swansea. Where music was performed at parish churches it probably consisted of congregational metrical psalm singing, either unaccompanied or supported by the organ, if one was available. Following the death of their organist in 1587 the churchwardens and congregation of St Mary's, Shrewsbury, decided in 1589 to sell their organ and from thenceforward maintained only metrical psalm singing led by the parish clerk. The publication in 1621 of Edmwnd Prys's collection of Welsh metrical psalms suggests a call to meet the needs of Welsh speaking congregations, though the singing of metrical psalms would also have taken place at home.³

The first half of the seventeenth century witnessed the increasing popularity of Puritanism. This faction wished to purify the Church beyond what had already been achieved by the establishment of the State religion. Many remained suspicious of Catholicism – in 1588 the Armada had come from Spain, a Catholic country, Queen Mary had been a Roman Catholic, and there was the recent Gunpowder Plot of 1605. Others were not satisfied that the Reformation had gone far enough. Following the accession of Charles I in 1625, those of high church persuasion with their interest in the rich trappings of Roman worship were, by many, considered threatening, the 'tyranny of Rome' was still perceived as a grave danger.

The ascendancy of the Parliamentarians and the Civil War in 1642 signalled an uncertain future for church musicians. A bill was passed by Parliament in January 1643 'for the utter abolishing and taking away all archbishops, bishops ... deans and chapters ... and all vicars choral and choristers, old vicars and new vicars of any cathedral or

³ The music room of Sir John Perrot at Carew Castle, Pembrokeshire, is recorded as having 'abounded with...sackbuts, cornets, a flute, two recorders, a violin, an Irish harp, hautboys and a pair of virginals, together with books of music...and a set of psalm books for singing.' G. Dyfnallt Owen, *Elizabethan Wales: The Social Scene* (London, 1962), 39, citing PRO, E178/355, Pembrokeshire: the county schedules of goods and debts, late of Sir John Perrot, attained. 34-43 Elizabeth.

collegiate church ... out of the Church of England'.⁴ Further measures were taken on 9th May 1644, when Parliament ordered 'all organs in all churches and chapels to be not only taken away but also utterly defaced',⁵ and in 1645 the *Directory for the Public Worship of God* replaced the *Book of Common Prayer*.⁶ Despite puritanical dictates from Parliament, choral services at many institutions persisted, especially where there was a strong Royalist presence. Continuance of the choral tradition was, however, to be short lived. Hereford cathedral submitted to the Parliamentarians in December 1645, Chester in February 1646 and Llandaff on Easter Day 1646. It is not known exactly when choral activity ceased at the other Welsh cathedrals, but the parish of St Asaph was sacked by troops on 24th - 26th April 1645, and entries in the chapter act book of St David's cathedral were brought to a halt during 1645. An early nineteenth-century account of the history of St David's relates in colourful terms the daring actions taken by the unidentified cathedral organist to protect his instrument:⁷

The rebels were consulting in the choir about what other sacrilegious mischiefs they should perform; it was at length agreed to destroy the organ. The organist, who had secreted himself within the organ-loft, heard the same; knowing that, if they perpetrated their intended mischief, he should lose his bread, he threw a large stone into the choir; which falling on the head of one of Cromwell's *aids-de-camp*, killed him: dreading the consequence of his being discovered and taken by the rebels, he fled: they perceived and pursued him: when he had the presence of mind to get into one of the bells, which hung low, and there supported himself by the clapper, until they had given up the search.

Neither were parish churches exempt from the ravages of the Civil War; in 1643 the advancing forces of Sir William Brereton in north-east Wales wrought destruction on the organs at Farrington, Flint, Holt, Holywell and Wrexham.

The Commonwealth brought a period of musical development and achievement to a virtual standstill. Liturgical performance of sacred music was suppressed under the Protectorate, but following the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660 there was a great surge in efforts to regain what had for almost two decades been lost. There was repair to the fabric of the cathedrals, the re-establishment of choral foundations, the building

⁴ Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music, 1660-1714* (Oxford, 1995), 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ G. J. Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy* (London, 1969), 146.

⁷ George W. Manby, *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of St David, South-Wales* (London, 1801) as cited in David R. A. Evans, 'A short history of the music and musicians of St David's Cathedral (1230-1883)', *WM*, 7.8 (1984-85), 50-66, 61.

of new organs, and the repair of surviving organs. Continuity with the past was achieved through the re-employment of musicians who had served the Church before the Civil War. The circulation during the 1660s of John Barnard's *First Book of Select Church Musick* (1641), and James Clifford's *The Divine Services and Anthems* (which included 406 anthem texts in its 1664 edition) reflected the use made of music from the previous hundred years. Performance of pre-Restoration anthems and services was also perpetuated through the use of older manuscripts and the re-copying of their contents. Musical fashions had changed, however, and, influenced by the introduction of continental models, the Restoration marked the start of a new phase of development in Anglican church music.

APPENDIX A

Will of John Bulton of Haverfordwest, 1463¹

In nomine Patris Filie and Spiritus Sancti Amen. Be hyt knowyn to all Cristy[a]n pe[o]pill that the Monday in the fe[a]ste of the Decollacion of Seynt John the Baptiste the ye[a]re of owyr Lord the MCCCCLXIIJ that I John Bulton, burgesse of the town of Haverfordweste do make my testament in this wyse. Furst I beque[a]th my sowle to Almyghte God, Fader of He[a]vyn and to his Blessed Modyr owyr [Lady] Seynt Mary and to all the seynts of he[a]vyn, and my body to be buryede in owre lady church of Haverford beforeseyd ny ... of Seynt Nic[h]olas au[l]ter in my fadyr grave nexte to Margret Goboghe apone which grave hath a tombe stone w[i]t[h]ow[te] the seyde grefe. Forthymore hit is my will that all pe[o]pill knowe that I have infe[o]fyed Sir John Watkyn chapleyn of owre lady church afor[e]seyd and Pers Helyng that tyme loyn[g] procu[ra]towrys of the seyde church yn all the rents and tenements the wyche I have w[i]t[h]yn the lordshippe of Haverford apon trust that they sh[o]uld perform my wyll, the w[h]yche will ys this that xx^s of the seyde rente aftyr my dese[a]se sh[o]uld remayne unto the use of owyr lady church of Haverford the procu[ra]towrys of the seyde church at all tymys aftyr to have there will and the governance of the seyde xx^s of rente at my dysse[a]se and y[ei]^r successowrys yn the vigill of Seynt Thomas the apostell afore midwynter do ryng my knyll with the v bellys of the seyde church iij pe[a]lys, And do lete sette a he[a]rsse with iiij tapy[r]s brenning abowte the seyde he[a]rsse the beste cross apone the he[a]rsse; Also to lete syng my dyryge ix lessonys [ac]cording thereto unto the laste ende with xij pr[i]ests and to clerks of the same church. Also my will is that all procuratowrys of the seyde churche y[a]^t shall before the tyme do pay the pryowyr of Haverford furste and all priowrys that shall be ever aftyr with all his bretheryn to be ye[a]rly att my obytt and both to durge and to masse and after y^t so do to gete as mony pr[i]ests more as woll ful[l]fill ye number of xij and a mor[r]owe nexte apone to lete ryng iij pe[a]lys agen with the seyde v bellys afore masse and that the seyde xij pr[i]ests every one of them to sey a lowe masse excepte one y[a]^t shall syng a masse of requiem be note And the seyde iiij tapy[r]s to bren at that mass tyme of requiem And also y[a]^t all the s[e]yd pr[i]e[s]ts to be gedd[ered] yn the qu[i]ere to helpe synge that masse of requiem And when the seyde masse of requiem ys to do and full endyd the seyde

¹ From Francis Green, 'Early Wills in West Wales', *WWHR*, 7 (1917-18), 143-64, 145-49. Original among the Haverfordwest Borough Records, NLW, Aberystwyth.

procuratowrys to pay to the seyde priowyr for dirige and masse xij^d and to every other pr[i]est v^d, that is to sey iiij^d for syngyng dirige and j^d for massynge a morrowe And to every of the seyde clerkys iiij^d And this sp[ecial] charge that none of them to be payd noo eather. Forthermore to be spend att my dirige iiij^d in bre[a]de, vj [gallonys] of good ale and xij gal[l]onys of wyne. And for ryngyng of my knyll xx^d and for the iiij tap[er]ys brynnung viij^d. And forthyrmore special[l]y I charge that every pr[i]est have wrytyng yn a byll and be remembyryd y[a]^t the[y] goo to masse by the seyde procuratowrys to pray enter[e]ly for the sowlys of John Dowstow, Thomas Dowstow, Ric[hard] Dowstow, Philip Dowstow, Avyse Dowstow, John Bulton and his heyrys and all Cristen sowlys name by name as it is wryt[t]yn here shall have every ye[a]re perpetual[l]y to be payd of the foreseyd xx^s of rent by the handys of the seyde procuratowrys xij^d. Furthermore I woll y[a]^t v^s viij^d of the foreseyd xx^s of rent be to the sustentacion of oure lady taper to bren afore hyr perpetual[l]y upon this condycyon that the s[eyde] procuratowrys by assent of all the parochenyse shall graunte to me the seyde John Bulton with writing se[a]lyd under the se[a]le of procuratorshippe of the seyde church to have the seyde v bellys soe withowte eny more coste at my dissesse, at the dissesse of my wyff and att my heyrys and specyal[l]y at every of my obitys ye[a]rely evermore perpetually during, savyng only to pay the ryngers for y[ei]^r labour as yey and y^e for[e]seyde procuratowrys and my heyrys may accord And that no man be buried in the for[e]seyd grave from this tyme forthward during my lif[e] until tyme ... set y^s myself, butt such as I woll assy[g]n att eny tyme by nea[g]ligenshippe or wil[l]fulnys of the procuratowrys or parochan[ysse] as lonn[g]e as every of the for[e]seyd poynts be [trewly and] duly observyd and kept ac[c]ordyng to my will and yeffe that every of this seyde poynts be nott duly and truly kept after the forme abov[e]seyd I woll and charge yat my heyrys entre and seyde ynto y[ei]^r handys the seyde xx^s of rente and to withdraw y^s for[e]seyde obyde from owre lady church of Haverford and yey to dispose hit after the forme aboveseyde in oure lady church of Pembroke or at the f[r]ierys of Haverford lik[e] as yay by y[ei]^r discrecion se[e]myth beste. And if the seyde procuratowrys trewly and dewly do ke[e]pe and observe my will aforseyd I woll and graunte that they take of the for[e]seyd xx^s of rente every ye[a]re xij^d for y[ei]^r labo[u]rys, and God ys blessynge and myne for evermore. I woll and graunte that the seyde feyforys at my dissesse do enfef Al[i]son my do[ug]hter in all my se[y]de lands rentes and tenements except ye for[e]seyd xx^s to have and to holde ynto hirre and to the heyrys yat commyth of hirre body lawfully bygete and if she dy[e] wythowte heyrys of hir body lawfully bygete I woll and graunte y[a]^t all the ava[i]le of all the se[y]de lands rents and tenements returne

into the use of a pr[i]est syngyng dayly and perpetual[l]y yn owyr seyde lady church of Haverford yn the secunde y[s]le to pray especiall[y] for the sowlys of the foreseyden John Dowstow, Thomas Dowstow, Ric[hard] Dowstow, Phillip Dowstow, Avyse Dowstow, John Bulton and his heyrys and for all Cristen soulys and to have mine obyde made by the disposicion of the for[e]seyd procuratowrys and pr[i]este with ye [seyd] fe[o]ffeys in ye seyde church twyse in a ye[a]re perpetually that is to sey onys[e] at the fe[a]ste of Seynt Thomas ye Appostle as it is aboveseyde, another tyme at the fe[a]ste of Seynt Margaret the holy virgin And att costs of the secunde obide as muche as the firste and yn like forme. And that the seyde pr[i]este shall dayly ke[e]pe oure lady qw[i]ere at matynys masse and evensongs. In wittnys[s] of all this promesis aforeseyd trewly to be observeyd and kept as well the procuratowrys or our seyde lady church by a full accorde and assent of all the holy p[ar]ysshens with the se[a]le of the seyde procuratoryshippe as with John Bulton ye se[a]le ys present wrytyng yay have I seyde.

APPENDIX B

Chantry Certificate for Montgomery, 1548 (London, PRO, E301/76/13)

Montgomery	The ffraternity or late service of our lady in the said town	Rente of lands and Tenements xxvjs ix <i>d</i> And upon the encrease ye[a]rely p[ro]fytte of a stock of cattell pryed to be solde at CCCxxx <i>li</i> xvs iiij <i>d</i> .	Matthew d[avi]d clerke very aged impotent Stipendary pr[i]est by the brotherhead Seale viij <i>li</i> . Will[ia]m Ilke clerke[k] Stipendary pr[i]est viij <i>li</i> . S[i]r Hugh Woodde another stipendary Cvjs viij <i>d</i> . Richard Smythe organplayer Cs. John Elke ke[e]p[er] of the Quayre. iiij <i>li</i> viijs being a po[o]r man John bacher and Matthew ap Richard Quirysters eyther of them xiijs iiij <i>d</i> . Will[ia]m ap John holywater bearer vjs.
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It appearyth by the divositione of the proctor wardens & p[re]senter ther[e] that those same dyd fynde & hire one p[rie]st or le[a]rnedman continually by the space of xxx^{tie} ye[a]res by past to ke[e]pe a ffree scho[o]le in the said Towne. Albeit that Sir Will[ia]m Ilke above named beyng the uselye hyred for that purpose taught but yo[u]nge begynners onelye to write and syng and to reade so farre as th[e]accidens Rules and noo gram[m]er.

APPENDIX C

**Statutes of Bishop Llewelyn ap Ynyr (Leoline de Bromfield)
for St Asaph Cathedral, 1296/7 ²**

Anno Dom[ini] 1296, sexto die *Martis* post Dominicam in *Septuagesima*, in pleno Capitulo, apud *Sanctum Asaph*. Coram venerabili Patre Domino *Leolino*, *Assavensi* Episcopo sic extitit ordinatum. Quod omnes beneficiati in Ecclesia de *Godelwern* intersint omnibus horis Canonicis in Ecclesia *Assaven*. Singulis diebus sub pæna unius Denarii pro singulis defectibus. Ita quod omnes Sacerdotes in eadem Ecclesia Beneficiata celebrent Divina cum Nota secundum ordinationem Præcentoris Ecclesiæ per circuitum, &c.

Et ulterius in dicto Capitulo ordinatum est cum consensu eorum, viz. *Decani & Præbendariorum* ibidem prefentium, ac Capituli ibident facientium. Quod Decanus dictae Ecclesiæ Cathedralis, Præbendarii de *Vaynol*, & *Llanufydd* in eadem Ecclesia Cathedrali pro tempore existentes invenirent inter seipsos tres Presbyteros bene cantantes, & in eadem scientia expert, viz. Singuli eorum unum ad deservendum eorum Curis eis in hac parte spectantibus, & etiam ad interesendum singulis diebus in dicta Ecclesia Cathedrali cum Vic[arii] Coralibus tempore celebrationis Divinorum in eadem sub pæna prædicta.

Et quod *Archidiaconus* Ecclesiæ prædictæ pro seipso inveniet unum Presbyterum, vel Laicum bene cantantem, & ad Organa ludentem; Præbendariusque Præbendæ de *Allmeliden*, ac Præbendarii Præbend de *Llanvair* in prædicta Ecclesia pro tempore existentes Similiter invenirent quatuor pueros bene cantantes in dicta Ecclesia, voc. *Quoristers*, viz. Præbend de *Allmeliden* duos, & Præbendarii de *Llanvair* duos pro conservatione Divinorum ibidem quotidie celebrandorum.

Ac finaliter decretum est quod Præbendarius de *Myvod* pro tempore existens in dicta Ecclesia Cath. ad Augmentationem salarii Aquæ bajuli pro sua parte solvat xs. singulis annis Aquæ bajulo ut intersit quotidie, cum cæteris ministris in Ecclesia Cathed. tempore Divinorum. In cujus re[gn]i testimonium, & notitiam plenioram præsentibus

² From Browne Willis, *A Survey of the Cathedral Church of Bangor* (London, 1721), 352-53.

Literis nostris Sigillum Capituli nostri apponi secimus. Dat[um] & act[um] in pleno Capitulo nostri apud *Sanctum Asaph*. Die & anno supradictis.

[Translation:

In the year of the Lord 1296, the sixth day of March after Septuagesima Sunday in the full Chapter of St Asaph. Thus was the statute made in the presence of the venerable father in God, Llywelyn, bishop of St Asaph. That all beneficed clergy in the church of Godelwern [sic] be present at all the canonical hours in the church of St Asaph under penalty of one penny each fore every day of absence. On condition that all priests in that same beneficed church celebrate divine service with music according to the instruction of the precentor of the church in turn.

It was further decreed in the said chapter with their consent, namely of the dean and prebendaries there present and the chapter there present that the dean of the said cathedral church, the prebendaries of Faenol and Llannefydd in the same cathedral church serving for the time being, find between them three priests who can sing well and are well versed in that art, namely one for each of them to serve their cures acting for them on their side and also to be present each day in the said cathedral church with the vicars choral at the time of celebrating divine service in the same at the aforesaid penalty.

And that the archdeacon of the aforesaid church for himself find one priest or layman who can sing and play the organ, and that the prebendary of the prebend of Alltmeliden and the prebendary of the prebend of Llanfair in the aforesaid church serving for the time being likewise find four boys who can sing well in the said church, called choristers, namely the prebendary of Alltmeliden two and the prebendary of Llanfair two, to preserve there daily the celebration of divine services.

And finally it is decreed that the prebendary of Meifod for the time being in the said cathedral church for the increase of the stipend of the holy water carrier for his share pay 10s each year to the holy water carrier and be there daily with the other ministers in the cathedral church at the time of divine services. In witness and fuller knowledge thereof we have caused the seal of our chapter to be affixed to our present letters. Given and enacted in our full chapter at St Asaph the day and year above said.]

APPENDIX D

**Statutes of Bishop Adam Houghton for
St David's Cathedral, 1363³**

To all, &c. Adam, by divine permission, Bishop of St David's, greeting.

The day of our station, and the dictates of piety, alike require us to promote the solemnity of divine worship in our Church of St David's, by making suitable provision for those who officiate on the Choir, lest the Bridegroom of the Church should be disgraced by the poverty of the Servants and Ministers of the Bride.

Now we observe, in bitterness of heart, that the Choristers, few in number, and without proper vestments, attend the Choral Service irregularly and lukewarmly, because in times past little or no provision had been made for their temporal wants; namely, for their diet and clothing, without which spiritual cannot long subsist.

We, therefore, with our brethren the Canons of the said Church, in Chapter assembled, considering how we could provide a suitable remedy for this deficiency, have at length directed our attention to the Church of Lanwynnen, in our advowson: that the Choristers, who shall be four in number may, according to their duty, attend at the canonical hours in the said Church in proper habits, humbly to minister as Choristers, according to the use of Sarum, under the direction of our Vicar, whom we depute Preceptor and Master of the said Choristers, to elect and perfect them as Choristers; and, as our Commissary, to remove them as occasion may require: and that when by exercise they are advanced at learning, there may be more abundant supply of Ministers for a higher degree in the said Church, we have thought meet that the aforesaid Church should be bestowed on the said Choristers, with all its rights and appurtenances (excepting only the portion of the Vicar, who shall be collate by us and our successors); and with the consent of our Chapter, after full consideration and in due form of Law, we

³ From Maria Hackett, *A Brief Account of Cathedral and Collegiate Choirs* (London, 1827), 18: a translation of MS Harl. 6280, f.133: register and statute of the St David's, attested 8th June, 1588, by the subscription of M[armaduke Middleton] *Menevens*, Thomas Huett, Precentor, Richard Edwardes, *Cancellarius*, Thomas Lloyd, *Thesaurarius*.

do apportion and confirm the same to the said Choristers, to be for ever possessed to their use. And we ordain that the profits and revenues of the said Church be divided by equal portions twice a year among the said Choristers, for their maintenance, who shall, if it be possible, reside within the close of the Church of St David's, by order of our said Vicar, who shall dispose of the said Church as may appear to him most advantageous to the use of the said Choristers.

And we will also that our said Vicar, out of the profits of the said Church, receive half a mark of silver annually for his trouble.

Dated at St David's, 24th March 1363.

APPENDIX E

Injunctions of Bishop William Hughes (1573-1600)

for St Asaph Cathedral ⁴

Decrees & Injunct[io]ns made & set down by ye Revd fa[ther] in god Will[ia]m by ye permis[i]on of God B[isho]p of St Asaph for ye service to be kept & celebrated in ye Cathedral ch[urch] of St Asaph.

Imprimis yt ye Sexton of ye s[ai]d ch[urch] shall tolle ye Bell three Peal times before morn[ing] & evening prayer having a quarter of an hour betwin ye s[ai]d sev[era]l tollings, & for every default ye s[ai]d sexton to pay one penny for every default.

Item y[a]t ye 4 vicars choral of ye s[ai]d ch[urch] shall begin Service at 9 of ye clock in ye morning & end it by 11 of ye clock, & at 3 of ye clock in ye afternoon for evening pray[e]r & to sing or say ye same in manner & forme as is appointed by ye book of com[m]on prayer & as heretofore they were accustomed omitting no part or porcion of ye s[ai]d service; & for every time y[a]t ye s[ai]d vicars or any of y[e]m shall be absent f[ro]m any of ye s[ai]d service unless they or he be sick or otherwise lawfullie absent to forfeit 4*d* for every default.

⁴ Aberystwyth, NLW, MS SA/CR/6, summary of extracts from St Asaph chapter acts, 1674-1733 also containing a list of the bishops of the diocese, 1175-1708, a list of the deans, 1279-1706, and extracts from early registers and records relating to the dean and chapter, f.20.

Item y[a]t ye 4 singing men *viz* one for ye Archdeacon one for ye Dean one for ye Præb[endary] of Vaynol & one of ye Præb[endary] of Llanyvith shall give yt diligent attendance at ye times afores[ai]d to sing & say ye service with ye s[ai]d vicars & in case any of ye s[ai]d singing men be absent to forfeit two pence for every such default or absence.

Item y[a]t ye 4 Choristers shall in like manner give y[a]t attendance to sing or say ye service at ye time & place afores[ai]d & for every y[a]t default to be corrected by ye master.

Item it is decreed y[a]t if it happen any of ye vicars singingmen or choristers be sick or otherwise luttad upon any reasonable cause & ye same manifested to ye B[isho]p or in his absence to ye Dean or in his absence to ye Dean or in his absence to ye Sen[io]r Canon resident & in his absence to ye *Rect[o]r chori* executing for y[a]t week & ye same cause allowed & he or they licensed shall not incurr ye penaltie or forfeiture above mencioned for ye time of his absence.

Item yt shall be a book kept made & yt in ye names of all ye s[ai]d vicars singingmen & choristers of ye s[ai]d ch[urch] written & ye faults & absence noted upon yt sev[era]ll names weekly by ye *Rect[o]r chori* every Saturday to shew ye same Book unto ye L[or]d Bishop Dean or Canon resident in order as afores[ai]d – ye s[ai]d forfeitures to be set down by ye B[isho]p Dean or Canon in order aforesaid & in ye absence of y[e]m by ye *Rector Chori* for y[a]t week.

Item if it happen y[a]t ye s[ai]d vicars shall 4 sev[era]ll times violate these decrees & y[a]t same made known to ye s[ai]d B[isho]p yt yn every such offender be suspended *ad ab officio* at ye discret[i]o[n] of ye s[ai]d B[isho]p And ye s[ai]d singingmen & choristers to be likewise for ye like offences removed f[ro]m y[a]t room by ye s[ai]d Bish[o]p.

APPENDIX F

Of the godis now beyng in Trenyte Church of Chester, 1532⁵

Impr[imis]. On[e] chalis w[i]th paten all gylde cont. 13 ouz.
 On other chalis w[i]th paten all gylde cont. 16 ouz & halph
 A sencer [this and the following items preceded by *Itm*]
 A crosse of cop[er] & gylde.
 A ringe of silver w[i]th a white stone in it
 A cope of cloth of gould, a cope of red velvet
 A vestment of greene damask, an owbe [alb] & stole and amysse & fermer to the same
 A vestment of redde taffata w[i]th an owbe & stole & fermer to it
 A vestment of red sarsanett w[i]th an owbe & stole & amysse & fermer to it
 A vestment of blew saten w[i]th an owbe & stole & amysse & fermer to it
 A rede vestment for Passione weeke and 2 tennacles & one white tennacle
 4 tennacles of changeable silke
 A vestment of greene dorneks w[i]th an owbe, stole, amysse & fermer to it
 An other of the same w[i]th owbe, stole, amysse & fermer to it
 2 course cop[e]s a crymson crane colo[u]r & yellow
 4 vestments 2 of sylke & 2 of dorneks
 One white vestment for Lent tyme
 2 stoles w[i]th a fermer of cloth of silk and gould
 An Alter cloth for the high Alter of greene & tawnye
 3 paps [the copyist has underlined this word & written ‘copes’ over it] one for holye days & other for weeke days
 An alter Cloth of behound sey werke & 2 curtaynes for the same
 5 corporals w[i]th casses
 A ban[n]er for the crosse, of greene sarsenet
 Foure other ban[n]ers for the crosse weekes & 4 speares for the same.
 A coverlye of red for the cre[e]pynge to the crosse
 3 alter clothes
 6 towells of lynnyne cloth for the lavator of the masse
 2 pillow bers[es] sowed w[i]th black silke
 A vale of yel[l]ow & black
 An alter cloth for the hee [high] alter for every day
 A Tee with 4 cofforse belongyng to the church
 2 chandlers of brasse
 A buckett of brasse for holy water
 A chandler of pewter for the pascall
 A serpl[u]s for p[ro]cession days

Bookes belonging to Trenyte Ch. in the ye[a]re above written – then beyng Churchw[ardens]: mr. H. Gee & Jo[hn] Smythe

Impr[rimis] 6 masse bo[o]kys, 2 prynted & 4 wryt[t]yn
 A greyte Antaphoner for the quiere w[i]th 2 other ould Antephonars for the quiere [This and the following items preceded by *It[e]m*]
 A booke for the Sondays & for the qu[i]ere w[i]th a legender of saints

⁵ London, BL, MS Harl 2177, f.19r-19v, Randle Holme’s transcript made in 1650 of the churchwardens’ accounts, Holy Trinity, Chester, 1532-1633. Printed in J. R. Beresford, ‘The Churchwardens’ Accounts of Holy Trinity, Chester, 1532 to 1633’, *JCAS*, n.s., 38 (1951), 95-172, 106-07.

2 greylis with a [p]sowter
 4 p[ro]cessyons, 2 pry[n]tyd & 2 wryttyn
 Annuitatory bo[o]ke
 2 prynted hymners
 2 manuells one pryntyd & the other wryttyn
 A pye wrytyn w[i]th a cole[c]t bo[o]ke
 A old legends wryt[t]yn
 2 boks of parchement wryttyn of fe[a]stes of the names of J[es]hu and the
 vycytatyon of oure Lady

APPENDIX G

Petition of Benjamin Cosyn for payment of wages, 1622 ⁶

To the Right wor[shipful] the Bailiffe th[e]aldermen their Brethren & the rest of the com[m]on Councell of the said Town.

Yo[u]^r petitioner Benjamin Cosyn organist of this towne sheweth unto yo[u]^r wo^r[ship] that wher[e]as yo[u]^r petitioner was by a greate parte of y[ou]^r wo^r[shipful] company promised the full some of *ixli* by the yeare togethe w[i]th all such proffitts as Richard Crompt, late Organist had & receaved, upon which promise made by yo[u]^r w[o]^r[ship] I yo[u]^r petitioner have greate rent to my greate chardges, trustinge to that means, which yo[u]^r wo^r[ship] then did promise me the better parte of which means was taken from me by the churchwardens y[a]^t then weare, & have binne deteyned from me ever since Michaelmasse or ther[e]abouts, I meane the proffitts of the Church w[hi]^{ch} Crump held, the which was delivered unto me by the high Balliff that then was, & held the possession of itt almost a q[uar]ter of a yeare, till such tyme as the churchwardens y^t then weare, tooke itt from me alleadginge unto me that yo[u]^r wo^r[ship] had nothings to doe w[i]th the gift of the place & whereas a greate parte of yo[u]^r wo^r[shipful] company weare by the whole com[m]on Councell of this towne appointed to sett downe what satisfaction yo[ur] petitioner should have, for that place soe taken from hime yo[u]^r wo^r[ship] then did conclude y[a]^t I should eather have y[a]^t place againe or els[e] to be satisfied otherwyse to my content this was granted me by yo[u]^r wo^r[ship] att Sainte Andrewes tyde last but I never received penny proffitt more then after the rate of *ixli* a yeare, & of that moytie, the renter hath detained a q[uar]te^r wages from me the which hath binne due since Michallmasse last & still doth deny to pay itt me, wher[e]fore

⁶ Shrewsbury, SRO, LB7/169, petition of Benjamin Cosyn for the payment of wages. Here transcribed for the first time.

yo[u]^r petitioner humbly prayeth yo[u]^r wo^r[ship] that he may have the said q[uar]ter due Michallmasse as also the whole meanes which was promised att the first all which yo[u]^r petitioner prayeth [may] be considered of & to lett him know what he shall trust to yo[u]^r wo^r[ship] in all dutie to be com[m]anded.

[signed] Benjamin Cosyn.

[on reverse] A humble peticion of Benjamin Cosyn Organist.

APPENDIX H

Contract for the organ by John Burward at Chirk Castle, 1631/2 ⁷

Articles of agreement Indented concluded and agreed upon the last daie of ffebruarie 1631. In the seventh yeare of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord Charles by the grace of God King of England Scotland Fraunce and Ireland defender of the faith etc Betweene John Burward of London Organmaker of the one p[ar]tie And Sir Thomas Middelton of Chirke Castle in the Countie of Denbigh Knight of the other p[ar]tie in manner and forme following.

Inprimis it is concluded and agreed by and betweene the said p[ar]ties and the said John Burward for and in consideracion of the somme of one hundred and fiftie pounds of lawfull money of England to be to him paid as is herein lymited, doth for himself his executors and administrators and for every of them covenant promise and graunt to and w[i]th the said Sir Thomas Middelton his executors and administators and to and with everie of them by these presents. That hee the said John Burward between the date of these presents and the ffeast of the Nativitie of our Lord commonly called Christmas next to come after the date hereof and att his own propper coste and charges aswell for all stufte and materialls necessarie as for workmanshipp and all other things and Implemente whatsoever thereunto belonging shall and will trulie and sufficientlie make furnish and fynish for the said Sir Thomas Middelton one good and p[er]fect Organ of such proporcion tryimming and scantling as is hereafter mencioned That is to say The case of the said Organ to be in height twelve foote and a halfe In breadth nyne foote,

⁷ Aberystwyth, NLW, Chirk, group F, MS 5526, 29th February 1631/2.

and in thicknes[s] sixe foote and a half, having nyne Towers vizt att each end one round Tower One square Tower in the Middle, one halfe round on each side the said square Tower and fower flatt Towers according to a moddell or draught now shewed forth by the said John Burward unto the said Sir Thomas Middelton (which Modell subscribed with the said p[ar]ties hands is hereunto annexed) with decent and fitting carved worke pendants fynishings guildings and payntings and all other things fitting for the same.

Item the said John Burward is to place and for him his executors and administators doth covenant promise and graunt to and with the said Sir Thomas Middelton his executors and administrators to place within the case of the foresaid Organ two setts of keyes and two sound boords and tenne stoppes all of good mettall pipes, namelie to the upper sett of keyes to be fitted, one stopt diapason, one open diapason from gamut upwards one principall for the forefront paynted, and gilded workmanlike, and inwardlie a Recorder, a small principall a fifteenth and a two and twentieth: for the lower sett of keyes, three more of mettall, one diapason, a principall and a small principall, And that the said Organ shall have three bellowes and two sound boords Conveyances, Conduittes Ironworke and all other thinges fitting for such an Organ well and workmanlike wrought and p[er]formed.

Item it is concluded and agreed betweene the said p[ar]ties and the said John Burward doth further covenant, promise and graunt for him his executors and administators to and with the said Sir Thomas Middelton his executors and administrators That hee the said John Burward att his owne costs and charges will carry and convey the said Organ and all the Implements and furniture thereof whatsoever from the Cittie of London unto the said Castle of Chirke And the said Organ well and sufficientlie furnished fynished carved gilded paynted towred and in all poynts compleated as is aforesaid att the only costs and charges of the said John Burward shall and will place and sett upp within the said Chappell in Chirke Castle where the said Sir Thomas Middelton his executors and administrators shall direct and appoynt before the said ffeast of Christmas next after the date of these presentse without any fraud covyn or further delay according to the effect and true meaning of these presents.

Item in concideracion of all the premisses which on the p[ar]te of the said John Burward are to be donne and accomplished the said Sir Thomas Middelton hath paid to the said John Burward at the sealing of these presente the somme of fforty pounds of lawfull

money of England the receipt whereof the said John Burward doth acknowledge and thereof acquire and discharge the said Sir Thomas Middelton his executors and administrators And the said Sir Thomas doth covenant and promise for him his executors and administrators to and with the said John Burward his executors and administrators well and truly to content satisfie and paye to him or them att or before the ffeast of Saint John Baptist next to come the somme of thirtie pounds more of lawfull money of England uppon the request and demand of the said John Burward And also to content satisfie and paie to the said John Burward his executors and administrators ymmediatelie uppon and after the setting upp and fynishing of the said Organ within the said Chappell in the Castle of Chirke aforesaid the somme of fflower score pounds of lawfull money of England in one entire payment without fraud or covyn in full payment of the said somme of one hundred and fiftie pounds before mencioned and agreed to be paid to the said John Burward according to the intent and meaning of these presents.

In witness whereof the p[ar]ties aforesaid to these presents Articles of agreement interchangeably have sett their hands and seales this day and yeare first above written.

APPENDIX I

List of organists and masters of the choristers ⁸

Bangor Cathedral

[Thomas Martin From 1617, usher of the grammar school, Martin taught the choristers anthems and services, otherwise the choristers training lay with the vicars choral.]
 Thomas Boulton 1620s-1645 Organist.

Chester Cathedral

John Byrcheley 1541-50
 Thomas Barnes 1551-56
 Richard Saywell 1557-67
 Robert White 1567-69 Previously at Ely; subsequently organist at Westminster Abbey.
 Robert Stevenson <1571-97>
 Thomas Bateson <1601-08 Organist at Christ Church, Dublin, from 1609.
 John Allen 1609-13
 Michael Done 1613
 Thomas Jones 1614-31>
 Richard Newbold <1637-43
 Randolf Jewett 1643- Vicar choral at Christ Church, Dublin, from 1646;

⁸ The symbols < and > next to dates of organists' tenures indicate that these may have extended beyond the known dates for which records survive.

Peter Stringer	1660-73	organist at St Patrick's, Dublin, from 1650.
Hereford Cathedral		
William Wode	1517-21	Organist / instructor of the choristers of Lady chapel.
William Burley	1524	Master of the choristers in the porch Lady chapel.
Richard Palmer	1527-36(?38)	Delegates teaching duties to Slade in 1534.
John Slade	1534-38	Instructor of the choristers.
John Hodges	1538-c.1583	Organist.
Richard Ledbury	1543-	Master of the choristers.
Thomas Mason	1581-83	Master of the choristers.
John Bull	1582-86	Organist (and master of the choristers, 1583-86); Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, 1585/6-1613; organist to the archduke's chapel, Brussels, 1613-14; organist Antwerp cathedral, 1617-28.
Thomas Mason	1586-	
Thomas Warrock	1586-?1589	
Thomas Madokes	1589	
John Fido	1591-92	First of three tenures as organist at Hereford.
John Farrant	1592-93	Other posts include Bristol, Salisbury, Wells.
John Fido	1593-95	Master of the choristers at Worcester, 1595-96.
John Gibbs	1595-96	
John Fido	1596-97	Organist Christ Church, Dublin, from 1600; later on staff at Wells, Worcester, etc.
William Inglott	1597-1610	Organist at Norwich cathedral, 1587-91 and 1611-21.
Hugh Davis	1608-44	
Llandaff Cathedral		
Lewis Dawkins	1559-	
Kete (or Rese)	1608-	Appointed without the consent of Chapter.
George Carr	1629-45	
St Asaph Cathedral		
John Day	-1630	Master of the choristers.
Abednego Perkins	1630-31	Master of the choristers.
John Wilson	<1635-41	Organist.
St David's Cathedral		
William Warren	<1490-92>	Organist.
Nicholas David	1492	Master of the choristers.
John Norman	c.1509-c.1522	Organist and master of the choristers.
Lewis Morris	<1549-63	Organist and master of the choristers.
Thomas Elliot	1563-	Master of the choristers.
Thomas Tomkins, Snr.	1571-c.1586	Master of the children and organist.
William Huett	1586-	Master of the choristers and schoolmaster.
Marmaduke Pardo	c.1602- c.1619	Organist/master of the choristers and curate of the parish of St David's. Organist at Ludlow 1623-26.
Richard Marrock	1617-	Instructor of the choristers.
John Sylvester	1620/21	Organist from Old Radnor.

St Mary's, Brecon		
Thomas ap Howell	1515-	Chaplain, organist, teacher of the choristers.
St John's, Cardiff		
Hew Lame	<1546	Clerk, organ player.
St Mary's, Cardiff		
Thomas Smythe	<1546	Organist and chantry priest.
Chirk Castle		
William Deane	1632-	Organist also at St Giles's, Wrexham.
St Peter's, Leominster		
Edward Smith	<1624-28	Organist, moves to Ludlow, 1628-32.
St Laurence's, Ludlow		
Thomas Sherman	1492-1508	
John Perche	1493-94	
Maurice Phillips	<i>fl.</i> 1551	
John Broke	1549-59	
Thomas Tanner	1565-66	
Thomas Cope	1569-79	
John Coke	1578-83	
John Harrison	1584-97	
George Pringle	1597-1605	Organist and master of the choristers.
Richard Crumpe	1605-20	
Griffith Reynolds	1609-	Teacher of the choristers.
Benjamin Cosyn	1621-22	Later at Dulwich College and Charterhouse.
[Abednego] Perkins	1623	Later at St Asaph cathedral.
Marmaduke Pardoe	1623-26	Previously at St David's cathedral.
Walter Gibbs	1626-28	
Edward Smith	1628-30	Previously at Leominster.
Edward Standley	1630-34	
John Maylard	1634-35	
Berkeley Wrench	1635	Organist at Gloucester cathedral, 1638-39.
John ap Evan	1637	
Thomas Heardson	1637-42	
Berkeley Wrench	1642-45	Second tenure.
St Nicholas's, Montgomery		
Richard Smythe	<1548	Organist.
John Elke	<1548	Choirmaster.
St Stephen's, Old Radnor		
John Silvester	<1620-21	Paid at St David's cathedral, 1620-21.
St Oswald's, Oswestry		
Edward Gytins	<1614-15>	Organist.
St Peter's, Ruthin		
Caesar Williams	<1629-41	Organist

St Mary's, Shrewsbury

John Benet 1554-87 Parish clerk and organist until his death in 1587.

St Mary's, Swansea

John organpleyer <1549
 Wyllam organplyer 1558-63>
 Edward Dowle 1604-18 Organist
 William Curtis 1619-27> Organist, possibly until as late as 1638 since he is named in records of the 1630s as one of the two sergeants at mace, and in 1638 as one of the six constables.

St Wenna's, Talgarth

John Wyllyams Organ player, mid-sixteenth century

St Giles's, Wrexham

William Deane Organist, 1620s-1630s, possibly spanning at least 1618-38.
 Organist also at Chirk Castle.

APPENDIX J**List of institutions known to have possessed organs, 1485-1645**Cathedrals

Bangor
 Llandaff
 St Asaph
 St David's
 Chester
 Hereford

Abbeys and Friaries

Neath
 Strata Marcella
 Abbey Dore
 Valle Crucis
 Strata Florida
 Cwmhir
 Carmarthen priory
 Carmarthen Grey Friars
 Chester Black Friars
 Chester, White Friars
 Chester, Grey Friars
 Chester priory
 Cardiff, Black Friars
 Cardiff, Grey Friars
 Hereford, Grey Friars
 Leominster priory

Parish churches, private chapels, etc.

Aberdare* * evidence of pre-Reformation organs
 St Mary's, Abergavenny# # evidence of post-Reformation organs
 Christ College, Brecon#

St Mary's, Brecon*
 St John's, Cardiff*
 St Mary's, Cardiff*
 St Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester*
 St Peter's, Chester*
 Chirk Castle (from 1631/2)
 Cowbridge*
 Farrington#
 Flint#
 Gelligaer*
 Holt#
 Holywell#
 St Peter's, Leominster*#
 Llancarfan*
 Llangynwyd*
 St Illtyd's, Llantwit Major*
 St Laurence's, Ludlow*#
 St Mary's, Monmouth*
 St Nicholas's, Montgomery*
 St Stephen's, Old Radnor*#
 St Peter's, Ruthin#
 St Oswald's, Oswestry#
 St Athans*
 St Fagans*
 St Alkemade's, Shrewsbury*
 St Julian's, Shrewsbury*
 St Mary's, Shrewsbury#
 St Mary's, Swansea*#
 St Wenna's, Talgarth*
 St Giles's, Wrexham#

APPENDIX K

List of organ builders known to have been active in the region

<u>names</u>	<u>organs worked on (with dates)</u>
Henry Allington	Chester cathedral (repairs 1617), St Oswald's, Oswestry (repairs 1614-15), Christ Church, Dublin (repairs 1612)
John Burward	Chirk Castle (organ built 1631/2)
Ralph Chappington	St Mary's, Swansea (repairs 1580)
Edward Crasswell	Ludlow (rebuild 1620-21)
Dallam	Hereford cathedral (1612-13, 1629-30), St David's (?) (1625-26)
David Fry	St Mary's, Swansea (repairs 1611)
John Hayward	St Mary's, Swansea (major rebuild 1631)
Henry Henlocke	Chester cathedral (repairs 1585)
John Hichons	Hereford cathedral (repairs and new organs built 1528-33)
John Sherof	Ludlow (repairs, 1614-15)
Edward Smith	Ludlow (repairs 1630-31, 1632-33, 1635-36), Leominster (repairs 1637)
John Walker	Chester cathedral (rebuild 1615)
Mr Wats	Chester cathedral (new organ, 1626)

Database of church music by composers employed in Wales and the borderlands, 1549-1645
(i) arranged alphabetically by Institution / Composer / Title of work

	Institution	Composer	Title	MS Source	MS Provenance
1	Chester	Bateson, Thomas	Holy Lord God almighty	BL, Add MSS 17792-17796: set of partbooks	Gloucester (Merro)
2	Chester	Bateson, Thomas	Holy Lord God almighty	NYPL, Drexel MSS 4180-4185: set of partbooks	Gloucester (Merro)
3	Chester	Bateson, Thomas	Service	(sung at Chester until C19th: now lost)	Chester
4	Chester	Jewett, Randolph	Bow down thine ear O Lord	Clifford's Divine Services and Anthems (1664): text only	Chester
5	Chester	Jewett, Randolph	I heard a voice from heaven	BL, Harl MS 7339: Tudway MSS, score, c. 1715-20	Cambridge (Tudway)
6	Chester	Jewett, Randolph	I heard a voice from heaven	Cambridge, King's Coll., Rowe Music Lib., MS 23: score, early C18th	
7	Chester	Jewett, Randolph	I heard a voice from heaven	NYPL, Drexel MS 5469: The Henry Loosemore organbook, 1627-c.1640	King's Cambridge
8	Chester	Jewett, Randolph	O God the king of glory	Manchester, The Henry Watson Library, MS 340 Cr71: ac, c. 1675	
9	Chester	Jewett, Randolph	O God the king of glory	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1442: bass partbook, c. 1665-70	
10	Chester	Jewett, Randolph	O God, who through the teaching	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1442: bass partbook, c. 1665-70	
11	Chester	Jewett, Randolph	O that he once the heavens	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1442: bass partbook, c. 1665-70	
12	Chester	Jewett, Randolph	Short Evening Service 'for verses'	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1442: bass partbook, c. 1665-70	
13	Chester	Jewett, Randolph	The king shall rejoice	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1442: bass partbook, c. 1665-70	
14	Chester	Pilkington, Francis	Care for my soul	Pilkington: The Second Set of Madrigals, 1624	printed
15	Chester	Pilkington, Francis	Hidden, O Lord are my most horrid sins	Sir Thomas Leighton: The Tears or Lamentations...	printed
16	Chester	Pilkington, Francis	High, mighty God of righteousness	Sir Thomas Leighton: The Tears or Lamentations...	printed
17	Chester	Pilkington, Francis	O gracious God, pardon	Pilkington: The Second Set of Madrigals, 1624	printed
18	Chester	Pilkington, Francis	O praise the Lord, all ye heathen	Pilkington: The Second Set of Madrigals, 1624	printed
19	Chester	Stevenson, Robert	Behold, how good and joyful	York Minster, MS M.29(S): bass (The Dunnington Jefferson MS)	Durham Cathedral
20	Chester	Stevenson, Robert	When the Lord turned again	BL, Add MS 30479: tenor, c. 1670	Durham Cathedral
21	Chester	Stevenson, Robert	When the Lord turned again	Cambridge, Peterhouse College Library (Former set)	Peterhouse
22	Chester	Stevenson, Robert	When the Lord turned again	Durham Cathedral Library, MSS A3 (organ) & various partbooks	Durham Cathedral
23	Chester	Stevenson, Robert	When the Lord turned again	York Minster, MS M.29(S): bass (The Dunnington Jefferson MS)	Durham Cathedral
24	Chester	Stevenson, Robert	Whole Service (V Te Bs K Cr Ma N)	Durham Cathedral Library, MSS A3 (organ) & various partbooks	Durham Cathedral
25	Chester	White, Robert	Let thy merciful ears	adaptation of O how glorious art thou	
26	Chester	White, Robert	Lord, who shall dwell	NYPL, Drexel MSS 4180-4184: set of partbooks	Gloucester (Merro)
27	Chester	White, Robert	Lord, who shall dwell	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1303: score, 1863	
28	Chester	White, Robert	Lord, who shall dwell	Oxford, Christ Church, MSS Mus 984-988: partbooks, late C16th	
29	Chester	White, Robert	O how glorious art thou	BL, Add MS 30479: tenor, c. 1670	Durham Cathedral
30	Chester	White, Robert	O how glorious art thou	BL, Add MS 30480: contratenor, late C16th	
31	Chester	White, Robert	O how glorious art thou	BL, Harl MS 4142: texts, c. 1643-64	
32	Chester	White, Robert	O how glorious art thou	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 117: score, c. 1693 (hand of J. Blow)	
33	Chester	White, Robert	O how glorious art thou	Cambridge, Peterhouse College Library (Latter set)	Peterhouse
34	Chester	White, Robert	O how glorious art thou	Durham Cathedral Library, MSS A1 (organ) & various partbooks	Durham Cathedral
35	Chester	White, Robert	O how glorious art thou	Oxford, Bodleian, MSS Mus f. 11-15: partbooks, c. 1630 (Thomas Hammond)	Suffolk
36	Chester	White, Robert	O how glorious art thou	Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus 1001: organbook, c. 1640	New College
37	Chester	White, Robert	O how glorious art thou	Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus 88: organ, c. 1660	New College (?)
38	Chester	White, Robert	O how glorious art thou	Oxford, Christ Church, MSS Mus 1220-1224: partbooks, c. 1640-70	Oxford Cathedral
39	Chester	White, Robert	O how glorious art thou	Wimborne Minster (attr. to W. White)	Wimborne Minster
40	Chester	White, Robert	O how glorious art thou	Windsor, St George's Chapel Library, MSS 48-50: ctc td tc, 1640	St George's, Windsor

	Institution	Composer	Title	MS Source	MS Provenance
41	Chester	White, Robert	O how glorious art thou	York Minster, MS M.29(S): bass (The Dunnington Jefferson MS)	Durham Cathedral
42	Chester	White, Robert	O Lord, deliver me	adaptation of Cognovi Domine	
43	Chester	White, Robert	O Lord, rebuke me not	adaptation of The Lord bless us: BL, Harl MS 7338: score (Tudway MSS)	
44	Chester	White, Robert	O praise God in his holiness	attributed to W. White	
45	Chester	White, Robert	Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all	adaptation of Speret Israel from motet Domine non est exultatum	
46	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	BL, Add MS 22597: tenor, late C17th	Durham Cathedral
47	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	BL, Add MS 30479: tenor, c.1670	
48	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	BL, Add MS 30480: contratenor, late C16th	
49	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	BL, Harl MS 6346: texts, c.1660 (attr. J.White)	Chapel Royal
50	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	BL, Harl MS 7339: Tudway MSS, score, c.1715-20 (attr M. White)	Cambridge (Tudway)
51	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 117: score, c.1693 (hand of J. Blow)	
52	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	Durham Cathedral Library, MSS A1 (organ) & various partbooks	Durham Cathedral
53	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	Ely Cathedral Library, MS 28: tenor, mid C17th	Ely Cathedral
54	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	Lambeth Palace, MS 764: bass, c.1630	Lambeth Palace
55	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	NYPL, Drexel MS 5469: The Henry Loosemore organbook, 1627-c.1640	King's Cambridge
56	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl.Poet.23: texts, c.1625-35	Chapel Royal
57	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1303: score, 1863	Southwell Minster
58	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1382: The Southwell Minster Tenor book, 1617	
59	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	Oxford, Christ Church, MSS Mus 984-988: partbooks, late C16th	
60	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	Oxford, St John's College Library, MS Mus 181: bass, c.1630	
61	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	RCM, MS 1051: Barnard MSS bass cantoris	Chapel Royal
62	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	St Paul's Cathedral: td bd bc, c.1670-90	Barnard's own MSS
63	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	York Minster, MS M.29(S): bass (The Dunnington Jefferson MS)	St Paul's Cathedral
64	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	York Minster, MSS M.1/1(S), M.1/5(S)-M.1/8(S):partbooks	Durham Cathedral
65	Chirk/Wrexham	Deane, William	Blessed are those (they)	York Minster, MSS M.1/1(S), M.1/5(S)-M.1/8(S):partbooks	York Minster
66	Chirk/Wrexham	Deane, William	Evening Service for men Ma, N	NYPL, MS Mus.Res.*MNZ(Chirk): The Chirk Castle partbooks	Chirk Castle
67	Chirk/Wrexham	Deane, William	Lord, in thy wrath	NYPL, MS Mus.Res.*MNZ(Chirk): The Chirk Castle partbooks	Chirk Castle
68	Chirk/Wrexham	Deane, William	Lord, in thy wrath	NYPL, MS Mus.Res.*MNZ(Chirk): The Chirk Castle partbooks	Chirk Castle
69	Chirk/Wrexham	Deane, William	O Lord God most merciful saviour	Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus 6: The Chirk Castle organbook	Chirk Castle
70	Chirk/Wrexham	Deane, William	O Lord, thou hast dealt graciously	NYPL, MS Mus.Res.*MNZ(Chirk): The Chirk Castle partbooks	Chirk Castle
71	Chirk/Wrexham	Deane, William	Short Service for meanes Te Bs K Cr Ma N	NYPL, MS Mus.Res.*MNZ(Chirk): The Chirk Castle partbooks	Chirk Castle
72	Chirk/Wrexham	Deane, William	Short Service for meanes Te Bs K Cr Ma N	Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus 6: The Chirk Castle organbook	Chirk Castle
73	Chirk/Wrexham	Deane, William	The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ	NYPL, MS Mus.Res.*MNZ(Chirk): The Chirk Castle partbooks	Chirk Castle
74	Gloucester	Smith	Set up thyself	NYPL, Drexel MSS 4180-4184: set of partbooks	Gloucester (Merro)
75	Hereford	Broad [William]	Benedicite	Oxford, Christ Church, MSS Mus 546, 547(Barnard additions)	Hereford Cathedral
76	Hereford	Broad [William]	Praise the Lord	Gloucester Cathedral Library, MS 101: organbook, c.1662-63	Gloucester Cathedral
77	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	BL, Add MS 17784: bass, c.1675	
78	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	BL, Add MS 29427: altus, c.1616	London (Myriell)
79	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	BL, Add MS 30478: tenor, c.1664	Durham Cathedral
80	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	BL, Add MS 30479: tenor, c.1670	Durham Cathedral

	Institution	Composer	Title	MS Source	MS Provenance
81	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	BL, Add MSS 29372-29377: T. Myriell's 'Tristitiae Remedium', 1616	London (Myriell)
82	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	BL, Harl MS 4142: texts, c. 1643-64	
83	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	BL, Harl MS 6346: texts, c. 1660	Chapel Royal
84	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	BL, Harl MS 7339: Tudway MSS, score, c. 1715-20	Cambridge (Tudway)
85	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	BL, Royal Mus Lib MS 24.d.2: score (J. Baldwin autograph), c. 1590-1610	
86	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 117: score, c. 1693 (hand of J. Blow)	
87	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Cambridge, King's Coll., Rowe Mus Lib MSS 10-17: partbooks, c. 1660	
88	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Cambridge, Pembroke Coll. Lib., MSS Mus.6.1 - 6.6: c. 1640	Pembroke College
89	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Cambridge, Peterhouse College Library (Former set)	Peterhouse
90	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Clifford's Divine Services and Anthems (1664): text only	printed text
91	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Durham Cathedral Library, MSS A2 (organ) & various partbooks	Durham Cathedral
92	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Ely Cathedral Library, MS 28: tenor, mid C17th	Ely Cathedral
93	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Lambeth Palace, MS 764: bass, c. 1630	Lambeth Palace
94	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Lichfield Cathedral Library: tenor dec, MS additions to Barnard, c. 1665	Lichfield Cathedral
95	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	NYPL, Drexel MS 5469: The Henry Loosemore organbook, 1627-c. 1640	King's Cambridge
96	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl.Poet.23: texts, c. 1625-35	Chapel Royal
97	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Oxford, Bodleian, MSS Mus.Sch.d.212-216, e.381: partbooks, early C17th	
98	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1382: The Southwell Minster Tenor book, 1617	Southwell Minster
99	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1442: bass partbook, c. 1665-70	
100	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 791: The Batten Organbook	
101	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus 47: organ, c. 1680	
102	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Oxford, Christ Church, MSS Mus 1220-1224: partbooks, c. 1640-1700	Oxford Cathedral
103	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Oxford, Christ Church, MSS Mus 56-57, 59-60: partbooks, c. 1620	Fanshaw household
104	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Windsor, St George's Chapel Library, MSS 1-4: partbooks, c. 1660	St George's, Windsor
105	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	York Minster, MS M.29(S): bass (The Dunnington Jefferson MS)	Durham Cathedral
106	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	York Minster, MSS M.1/1(S)-M.1/3(S), M.1/5(S)-M.1/8(S)	York Minster
107	Hereford	Bull, John	Attend unto my tears (I)	BL, Add MSS 29372-29375: T. Myriell's 'Tristitiae Remedium', 1616	London (Myriell)
108	Hereford	Bull, John	Attend unto my tears (I)	Sir Thomas Leighton: The Tears or Lamentations...	printed
109	Hereford	Bull, John	Attend unto my tears (II)	Sir Thomas Leighton: The Tears or Lamentations...	printed
110	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	Barnard, John, The First Book of Selected Church Musick, 1641	printed
111	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	BL, Add MS 30087: J. Bishop's score of Barnard, 1844-63	
112	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	BL, Add MS 30478: tenor, c. 1664	Durham Cathedral
113	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	BL, Harl MS 4142: texts, c. 1643-64	
114	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	BL, Harl MS 6346: texts, c. 1660	
115	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	Clifford's Divine Services and Anthems (1664): text only	Chapel Royal
116	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	Durham Cathedral Library, MSS C1, 4-7, 9-10, 19: partbooks	printed text
117	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Mus.d.162: bass decani	Durham Cathedral
118	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl.Poet.23: texts, c. 1625-35	New College
119	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1382: The Southwell Minster Tenor book, 1617	Chapel Royal
120	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 791: The Batten Organbook	Southwell Minster

	Institution	Composer	Title	MS Source	MS Provenance
121	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus. 88: organ, c. 1660	New College(?)
122	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	Oxford, St John's College Library, MS Mus 181: bass, c. 1630	Chapel Royal
123	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	RCM, MS 1048: Barnard MSS medius cantoris	Barnard's own MSS
124	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	RCM, MS 1051: Barnard MSS bass cantoris	Barnard's own MSS
125	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	York Minster, MS M.29(S): bass (The Dunnington Jefferson MS)	Durham Cathedral
126	Hereford	Bull, John	Frail man despise the treasures	BL, Add MS 29427: altus, c. 1616	London (Myriell)
127	Hereford	Bull, John	Frail man despise the treasures	BL, Add MSS 29372-29375: T. Myriell's 'Tristitia Remedium', 1616	London (Myriell)
128	Hereford	Bull, John	God the Father, God the Son (text only)	BL, Harl MS 6346: texts, c. 1660	Chapel Royal
129	Hereford	Bull, John	God the Father, God the Son (text only)	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl.Poet.23: texts, c. 1625-35	Chapel Royal
130	Hereford	Bull, John	How joyful and how glad	BL, Harl MS 6346: texts, c. 1660	Chapel Royal
131	Hereford	Bull, John	How joyful and how glad	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl.Poet.23: texts, c. 1625-35	Chapel Royal
132	Hereford	Bull, John	How joyful and how glad	Oxford, Christ Church, MSS Mus 56-57, 59-60: partbooks, c. 1620	Chapel Royal
133	Hereford	Bull, John	I am feeble	BL, Royal Mus Lib MS 24.d.2: score (J. Baldwin autograph), c. 1590-1610	Fanshaw household
134	Hereford	Bull, John	In the departure of the Lord	Sir Thomas Leighton: The Tears or Lamentations...	printed
135	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	BL, Add MS 30478: tenor, c. 1664	Durham Cathedral
136	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	BL, Add MS 30479: tenor, c. 1670	Durham Cathedral
137	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	BL, Harl MS 6346: texts, c. 1660	Chapel Royal
138	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	Cambridge, King's Coll., Rowe Mus Lib MSS 10-17: partbooks, c. 1660	
139	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	Clifford's Divine Services and Anthems (1664): text only	printed text
140	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	Durham Cathedral Library, MSS A3 (organ) & various partbooks	Durham Cathedral
141	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Mus.d.162: bass decani	New College
142	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl.Poet.23: texts, c. 1625-35	Chapel Royal
143	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 791: The Batten Organbook	
144	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MSS 807-811: partbooks, c. 1610	
145	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus 1001: organbook, c. 1640	
146	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	Oxford, St John's College Library, MS Mus 181: bass, c. 1630	
147	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	RCM, MS 1051: Barnard MSS bass cantoris	New College
148	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	York Minster, MS M.29(S): bass (The Dunnington Jefferson MS)	Chapel Royal
149	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	York Minster, MSS M.1/1(S), M.1/5(S)-M.1/8(S): partbooks	Barnard's own MSS
150	Hereford	Bull, John	O God, best guide (text only)	BL, Harl MS 6346: texts, c. 1660	Durham Cathedral
151	Hereford	Bull, John	O God, best guide (text only)	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl.Poet.23: texts, c. 1625-35	York Minster
152	Hereford	Bull, John	Praise we the Lord our God (text only)	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl.Poet.23: texts, c. 1625-35	Chapel Royal
153	Hereford	Bull, John	Preserve, most mighty God (text only)	BL, Harl MS 6346: texts, c. 1660	Chapel Royal
154	Hereford	Bull, John	Preserve, most mighty God (text only)	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Mus.d.162: bass decani	Chapel Royal
155	Hereford	Bull, John	Preserve, most mighty God (text only)	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl.Poet.23: texts, c. 1625-35	Chapel Royal
156	Hereford	Bull, John	The man that fears the Lord (text only)	BL, Harl MS 6346: texts, c. 1660	New College
157	Hereford	Bull, John	The man that fears the Lord (text only)	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl.Poet.23: texts, c. 1625-35	Chapel Royal
158	Hereford	Davis [Hugh]	Preces and Psalms 136, 24	Gloucester Cathedral Library, MS 93: bassus book, 1640-41	Chapel Royal
159	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	Awake up my glory	BL, Add MSS 17792-17796: set of partbooks	Chapel Royal
160	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	Awake up my glory	Gloucester Cathedral Library, MS 93: bassus book, 1640-41	Gloucester Cathedral Gloucester (Merro) Gloucester Cathedral

	Institution	Composer	Title	MS Source	MS Provenance
161	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	Awake up my glory	NYPL, Drexel MSS 4180-4185: set of partbooks	Gloucester (Merro)
162	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	Defend us, Lord	Oxford, Christ Church, MSS Mus 544, 550, 551 (Barnard additions)	Hereford Cathedral
163	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	Have mercy upon me, O God	Oxford, Christ Church, MSS Mus 544, 546-551, 553 (Barnard additions)	Hereford Cathedral
164	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	Have mercy upon me, O God	RCM, MSS 1045-1051: Barnard MSS	Barnard's own MSS
165	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	Lord, from thy throne	Gloucester Cathedral Library, MS 93: bassus book, 1640-41	Gloucester Cathedral
166	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	Lord, from thy throne	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 791: The Batten Organbook	Gloucester Cathedral
167	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	Lord, in thy wrath	Gloucester Cathedral Library, MS 93: bassus book, 1640-41	Gloucester Cathedral
168	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	O sing unto the Lord a new song	Gloucester Cathedral Library, MS 93: bassus book, 1640-41	Gloucester Cathedral
169	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous	BL, Add MSS 17792-17796: set of partbooks	Gloucester (Merro)
170	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous	NYPL, Drexel MSS 4180-4185: set of partbooks	Gloucester (Merro)
171	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Mus.d.162: bass decani	New College
172	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous	Oxford, Christ Church, MSS Mus 544, 550 (Barnard additions)	Hereford Cathedral
173	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	The peace of God	Gloucester Cathedral Library, MS 93: bassus book, 1640-41	Gloucester Cathedral
174	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	The peace of God	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 791: The Batten Organbook	Gloucester Cathedral
175	Hereford	Farrant	Benedicite (I)	Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus. 88: organ, c. 1660	New College (?)
176	Hereford	Farrant	Benedicite (I)	Wimborne Minster Library MS P 10: organ, c. 1695	Wimbourne Minster
177	Hereford	Farrant	Benedicite (II) in F fa ut, for men	BL, Add MS 29289: altus	
178	Hereford	Farrant	De (God be merciful unto us)	Berkeley, Music Library, MS 751: organbook	Winchester Cathedral
179	Hereford	Farrant	Magnificat and Nunc dimittis	Durham Cathedral Library, MSS A6 (org), C 18 (bass dec)	Durham Cathedral
180	Hereford	Farrant	Psalms 21, 146, 147 (for Obit Sunday)	Cambridge, Pembroke Coll. Lib., MSS Mus 6.1 - 6.6: c. 1640	Pembroke College
181	Hereford	Farrant	Responses to the Commandments, Creed	Cambridge, Pembroke Coll. Lib., MSS Mus 6.1 - 6.6: c. 1640	Pembroke College
182	Hereford	Farrant, John	De (God be merciful unto us)	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1442: bass partbook, c. 1665-70	
183	Hereford	Farrant, John	O Lord almighty, thou God of Israel	BL, Harl MS 7340: Tudway MSS, c. 1717	Cambridge (Tudway)
184	Hereford	Farrant, John	O praise the Lord, all ye heathen	Gloucester Cathedral Library: cid (MS add in Barnard partbook)	Gloucester Cathedral
185	Hereford	Farrant, John	O praise the Lord, all ye heathen	RCM, Printed I.A. 1: Barnard, bass cantoris	St John's, Oxford
186	Hereford	Farrant, John	Short Service, Second Service in d sol re	BL, Add MS 29289: various single parts (Te only)	Peterhouse
187	Hereford	Farrant, John	Short Service, Second Service in d sol re	Cambridge, Peterhouse College Library (Former set)	Durham Cathedral
188	Hereford	Farrant, John	Short Service, Second Service in d sol re	Durham Cathedral Library, MS C13: tenor, c. 1640	Ely Cathedral
189	Hereford	Farrant, John	Short Service, Second Service in d sol re	Ely Cathedral Library, MS 28: tenor, mid C17th	New College
190	Hereford	Farrant, John	Short Service, Second Service in d sol re	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Mus.c.48: bass dec	New College (?)
191	Hereford	Farrant, John	Short Service, Second Service in d sol re	Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus 88: organ, c. 1660	Wimborne Minster
192	Hereford	Farrant, John	Short Service, Second Service in d sol re	Wimborne Minster Library, MSS P14, P16, c. 1670	York Minster
193	Hereford	Farrant, John	Short Service, Second Service in d sol re	York Minster, MSS M.1/1(S)-1/8(S): partbooks	Gloucester Cathedral
194	Hereford	Fido, John	Deliver me from mine enemies	Gloucester Cathedral Library, MS 93: bassus book, 1640-41	Southwell Minster
195	Hereford	Fido, John	Deliver me from mine enemies	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1382: The Southwell Minster Tenor book, 1617	Winchester Cathedral
196	Hereford	Fido, John	Hear me, O Lord, and that soon	Berkeley, Music Library, MS 751: organbook	Durham Cathedral
197	Hereford	Fido, John	Hear me, O Lord, and that soon	BL, Add MS 30478: tenor, c. 1664	Durham Cathedral
198	Hereford	Fido, John	Hear me, O Lord, and that soon	BL, Add MS 30479: tenor, c. 1670	Peterhouse
199	Hereford	Fido, John	Hear me, O Lord, and that soon	Cambridge, Peterhouse College Library (former & latter sets)	Durham Cathedral
200	Hereford	Fido, John	Hear me, O Lord, and that soon	Durham Cathedral Library, MSS A2 (organ) & various partbooks	Durham Cathedral

	Institution	Composer	Title	MS Source	MS Provenance
201	Hereford	Fido, John	Hear me, O Lord, and that soon	Gloucester Cathedral Library, MS 93: bassus book, 1640-41	Gloucester Cathedral
202	Hereford	Fido, John	Hear me, O Lord, and that soon	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Mus Sch c.32: bass partbook, C18th	
203	Hereford	Fido, John	Hear me, O Lord, and that soon	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1382: The Southwell Minster Tenor book, 1617	Southwell Minster
204	Hereford	Fido, John	Hear me, O Lord, and that soon	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1442: bass partbook, c.1665-70	
205	Hereford	Fido, John	Hear me, O Lord, and that soon	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 791: The Batten Organbook	
206	Hereford	Fido, John	Hear me, O Lord, and that soon	RCM, MS 1051: Barnard MSS bass cantoris	Barnard's own MSS
207	Hereford	Fido, John	Hear me, O Lord, and that soon	York Minster, MS M.29(S): bass (The Dunnington Jefferson MS)	Durham Cathedral
208	Hereford	Fido, John	I call with my whole heart	Gloucester Cathedral Library, MS 93: bassus book, 1640-41	Gloucester Cathedral
209	Hereford	Fido, John	I call with my whole heart	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1382: The Southwell Minster Tenor book, 1617	Southwell Minster
210	Hereford	Fido, John	If the Lord himself	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1382: The Southwell Minster Tenor book, 1617	Southwell Minster
211	Hereford	Fido, John	O king of Heaven	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1382: The Southwell Minster Tenor book, 1617	Southwell Minster
212	Hereford	Fido, John	O Lord, in thee is all my trust	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1382: The Southwell Minster Tenor book, 1617	Southwell Minster
213	Hereford	Gibbs, John	If the Lord himself	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 791: The Batten Organbook	
214	Hereford	Gibbs, John	If the Lord himself	RCM, MS 1051: Barnard MSS bass cantoris	Barnard's own MSS
215	Hereford	Gibbs, John	Service to the organs	Durham Cathedral Library, MS C18: bass decani	Durham Cathedral
216	Hereford	Gibbs, John	Service to the organs	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 791: The Batten Organbook	
217	Hereford	Inglott, William	I am well pleased	Gloucester Cathedral Library, MS 93: bassus book, 1640-41	Gloucester Cathedral
218	Hereford	Inglott, William	If ye love me	Norwich Cathedral Library, medius partbook	Norwich Cathedral
219	Hereford	Inglott, William	Out of the deep	SRO, MS LB15/1/227: tenor partbook, c.1597	Ludlow
220	Hereford	Inglott, William	Service (Te only)	Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus 1001: organbook, c.1640	New College
221	Hereford	Inglott, William	Service (V Te Bs K C Ma N)	Norwich Cathedral Library partbooks	Norwich Cathedral
222	Hereford	White, Matthew	O praise God in his holiness	attributed to W. White	
223	Hereford	White, Matthew	Responses to the 10 Commandments	SRO, MS LB15/1/229: bass partbook, c.1625-c.1660	Ludlow
224	Hereford	White, Matthew	The Lord bless us	attributed to R. White	
225	Hereford	White, Matthew	Zache stood forth	RCM, MSS 1049-1051: Barnard MSS	Barnard's own MSS
226	Llandaff	Carr, George	I have lifted up mine eyes	Clifford's Divine Services and Anthems (1664): text only	printed text
227	Llandaff	Carr, George	Let thy loving mercy	Clifford's Divine Services and Anthems (1664): text only	printed text
228	Ludlow	Cosyn, Benjamin	O praise God in his holiness	Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus 44: score, late C17th	
229	Ludlow	Cosyn, Benjamin	Venite (to Gibbons's Short Service)	BL, Royal Lib MS 23.1.4: score, Benjamin Cosyn's Virginal Book	
230	Ludlow	Hardson, Thomas	Almighty God, we beseech thee to hear us	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1021, partbook, late eighteenth century	
231	Ludlow	Hardson, Thomas	Almighty God, we beseech thee to hear us	York Minster, MSS M.1/1(S), M.1/5(S)-M.1/8(S): partbooks	York Minster
232	Ludlow	Hardson, Thomas	Godliness is greate riches	SRO, MS LB15/1/229: bass partbook, c.1625-c.1660	Ludlow
233	Ludlow	Hardson, Thomas	Keep, we beseech thee	Durham Cathedral Library, MSS A3 (organ) & various partbooks	Durham Cathedral
234	Ludlow	Hardson, Thomas	Keep, we beseech thee	York Minster, MSS M.1/1(S), M.1/5(S)-M.1/8(S): partbooks	York Minster
235	Ludlow	Pingle, George	Our Father	SRO, MS LB15/1/227: tenor partbook, c.1616	Ludlow
236	of Salop	Smith	My God, my God look upon me	NYPL, Drexel MSS 4180-4183: set of partbooks	Gloucester (Merro)
237	of Salop	Smith	My God, my God look upon me	SRO, MS LB15/1/227: tenor partbook, c.1597	Ludlow
238	of Salop	Smith	O praise the Lord all ye heathen	SRO, MS LB15/1/229: bass partbook, c.1625-c.1660	Ludlow

Database of church music by composers employed in Wales and the borderlands, 1549-1645
(ii) arranged alphabetically by MS Source / Institution (of employment) / Composer

	Institution	Composer	Title	MS Source	MS Provenance
1	Chester	Bateson, Thomas	Service	(sung at Chester until C19th: now lost)	Chester
2	Chester	White, Robert	O Lord, deliver me	adaptation of Cognovi Domine	
3	Chester	White, Robert	Let thy merciful ears	adaptation of O how glorious art thou	
4	Chester	White, Robert	Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all	adaptation of Speret Israel from motet Domine non est exultatum	
5	Chester	White, Robert	O Lord, rebuke me not	adaptation of The Lord bless us: BL, Harl MS 7338: score (Tudway MSS)	
6	Hereford	White, Matthew	The Lord bless us	attributed to R. White	
7	Chester	White, Robert	O praise God in his holiness	attributed to W. White	
8	Hereford	White, Matthew	O praise God in his holiness	attributed to W. White	
9	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	Barnard, John, The First Book of Selected Church Musick, 1641	printed
10	Hereford	Farrant	De (God be merciful unto us)	Berkeley, Music Library, MS 751: organbook	Winchester Cathedral
11	Hereford	Fido, John	Hear me, O Lord, and that soon	Berkeley, Music Library, MS 751: organbook	Winchester Cathedral
12	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	BL, Add MS 17784: bass, c.1675	
13	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	BL, Add MS 22597: tenor, late C17th	
14	Hereford	Farrant	Benedicite (II) in F a ut, for men	BL, Add MS 29289: altus	
15	Hereford	Farrant, John	Short Service, Second Service in d sol re	BL, Add MS 29289: various single parts (Te only)	
16	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	BL, Add MS 29427: altus, c.1616	London (Myriell)
17	Hereford	Bull, John	Frail man despise the treasures	BL, Add MS 29427: altus, c.1616	London (Myriell)
18	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	BL, Add MS 30087: J. Bishop's score of Barnard, 1844-63	
19	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	BL, Add MS 30478: tenor, c.1664	Durham Cathedral
20	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	BL, Add MS 30478: tenor, c.1664	Durham Cathedral
21	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	BL, Add MS 30478: tenor, c.1664	Durham Cathedral
22	Hereford	Fido, John	Hear me, O Lord, and that soon	BL, Add MS 30478: tenor, c.1664	Durham Cathedral
23	Chester	Stevenson, Robert	When the Lord turned again	BL, Add MS 30479: tenor, c.1670	Durham Cathedral
24	Chester	White, Robert	O how glorious art thou	BL, Add MS 30479: tenor, c.1670	Durham Cathedral
25	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	BL, Add MS 30479: tenor, c.1670	Durham Cathedral
26	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	BL, Add MS 30479: tenor, c.1670	Durham Cathedral
27	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	BL, Add MS 30479: tenor, c.1670	Durham Cathedral
28	Hereford	Fido, John	Hear me, O Lord, and that soon	BL, Add MS 30479: tenor, c.1670	Durham Cathedral
29	Chester	White, Robert	O how glorious art thou	BL, Add MS 30480: contratenor, late C16th	Durham Cathedral
30	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	BL, Add MS 30480: contratenor, late C16th	Durham Cathedral
31	Chester	Bateson, Thomas	Holy Lord God almighty	BL, Add MSS 17792-17796: set of partbooks	Gloucester (Merro)
32	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous	BL, Add MSS 17792-17796: set of partbooks	Gloucester (Merro)
33	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	Awake up my glory	BL, Add MSS 17792-17796; set of partbooks	Gloucester (Merro)
34	Hereford	Bull, John	Attend unto my tears (I)	BL, Add MSS 29372-29375: T. Myriell's 'Tristitiae Remedium', 1616	London (Myriell)
35	Hereford	Bull, John	Frail man despise the treasures	BL, Add MSS 29372-29375: T. Myriell's 'Tristitiae Remedium', 1616	London (Myriell)
36	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	BL, Add MSS 29372-29377: T. Myriell's 'Tristitiae Remedium', 1616	London (Myriell)
37	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	BL, Harl MS 4142: texts, c.1643-64	
38	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	BL, Harl MS 4142: texts, c.1643-64	
39	Chester	White, Robert	O how glorious art thou	BL, Harl MS 4142: texts, c.1643-64	
40	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	BL, Harl MS 6346: texts, c.1660	Chapel Royal

	Institution	Composer	Title	MS Source	MS Provenance
41	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	BL, Harl MS 6346: texts, c.1660	Chapel Royal
42	Hereford	Bull, John	God the Father, God the Son (text only)	BL, Harl MS 6346: texts, c.1660	Chapel Royal
43	Hereford	Bull, John	How joyful and how glad	BL, Harl MS 6346: texts, c.1660	Chapel Royal
44	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	BL, Harl MS 6346: texts, c.1660	Chapel Royal
45	Hereford	Bull, John	O God, best guide (text only)	BL, Harl MS 6346: texts, c.1660	Chapel Royal
46	Hereford	Bull, John	Preserve, most mighty God (text only)	BL, Harl MS 6346: texts, c.1660	Chapel Royal
47	Hereford	Bull, John	The man that fears the Lord (text only)	BL, Harl MS 6346: texts, c.1660	Chapel Royal
48	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	BL, Harl MS 6346: texts, c.1660 (attr. J.White)	Chapel Royal
49	Chester	Jewett, Randolph	I heard a voice from heaven	BL, Harl MS 7339: Tudway MSS, score, c.1715-20	Cambridge (Tudway)
50	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	BL, Harl MS 7339: Tudway MSS, score, c.1715-20	Cambridge (Tudway)
51	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	BL, Harl MS 7339: Tudway MSS, score, c.1715-20 (attr M. White)	Cambridge (Tudway)
52	Hereford	Farrant, John	O Lord almighty, thou God of Israel	BL, Harl MS 7340: Tudway MSS, c.1717	Cambridge (Tudway)
53	Ludlow	Cosyn, Benjamin	Venite (to Gibbons's Short Service)	BL, Royal Lib MS 23.1.4: score, Benjamin Cosyn's Virginal Book	Cambridge (Tudway)
54	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	BL, Royal Mus Lib MS 24.d.2: score (J.Baldwin autograph), c.1590-1610	Cambridge (Tudway)
55	Hereford	Bull, John	I am feeble	BL, Royal Mus Lib MS 24.d.2: score (J.Baldwin autograph), c.1590-1610	Cambridge (Tudway)
56	Chester	White, Robert	O how glorious art thou	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 117: score, c.1693 (hand of J. Blow)	Cambridge (Tudway)
57	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 117: score, c.1693 (hand of J. Blow)	Cambridge (Tudway)
58	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 117: score, c.1693 (hand of J. Blow)	Cambridge (Tudway)
59	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Cambridge, King's Coll., Rowe Mus Lib MSS 10-17: partbooks, c.1660	Cambridge (Tudway)
60	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	Cambridge, King's Coll., Rowe Mus Lib MSS 10-17: partbooks, c.1660	Cambridge (Tudway)
61	Chester	Jewett, Randolph	I heard a voice from heaven	Cambridge, King's Coll., Rowe Music Lib., MS 23: score, early C18th	Pembroke College
62	Hereford	Farrant	Psalms 21, 146, 147 (for Obit Sunday)	Cambridge, Pembroke Coll. Lib., MSS Mus 6.1 - 6.6: c.1640	Pembroke College
63	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Cambridge, Pembroke Coll. Lib., MSS Mus 6.1 - 6.6: c.1640	Pembroke College
64	Hereford	Farrant	Responses to the Commandments, Creed	Cambridge, Pembroke Coll. Lib., MSS Mus 6.1 - 6.6: c.1640	Pembroke College
65	Hereford	Fido, John	Hear me, O Lord, and that soon	Cambridge, Peterhouse College Library (former & latter sets)	Peterhouse
66	Chester	Stevenson, Robert	When the Lord turned again	Cambridge, Peterhouse College Library (Former set)	Peterhouse
67	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Cambridge, Peterhouse College Library (Former set)	Peterhouse
68	Hereford	Farrant, John	Short Service, Second Service in d sol re	Cambridge, Peterhouse College Library (Former set)	Peterhouse
69	Chester	White, Robert	O how glorious art thou	Cambridge, Peterhouse College Library (Latter set)	Peterhouse
70	Chester	Jewett, Randolph	Bow down thine ear O Lord	Clifford's Divine Services and Anthems (1664): text only	Chester
71	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Clifford's Divine Services and Anthems (1664): text only	printed text
72	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	Clifford's Divine Services and Anthems (1664): text only	printed text
73	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	Clifford's Divine Services and Anthems (1664): text only	printed text
74	Llandaff	Carr, George	I have lifted up mine eyes	Clifford's Divine Services and Anthems (1664): text only	printed text
75	Llandaff	Carr, George	Let thy loving mercy	Clifford's Divine Services and Anthems (1664): text only	printed text
76	Hereford	Farrant, John	Short Service, Second Service in d sol re	Durham Cathedral Library, MS C13: tenor, c.1640	Durham Cathedral
77	Hereford	Gibbs, John	Service to the organs	Durham Cathedral Library, MS C18: bass decani	Durham Cathedral
78	Chester	White, Robert	O how glorious art thou	Durham Cathedral Library, MSS A1 (organ) & various partbooks	Durham Cathedral
79	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	Durham Cathedral Library, MSS A1 (organ) & various partbooks	Durham Cathedral
80	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Durham Cathedral Library, MSS A2 (organ) & various partbooks	Durham Cathedral

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81	Hereford	Fido, John	Hear me, O Lord, and that soon	Durham Cathedral Library, MSS A2 (organ) & various partbooks	Durham Cathedral
82	Chester	Stevenson, Robert	When the Lord turned again	Durham Cathedral Library, MSS A3 (organ) & various partbooks	Durham Cathedral
83	Chester	Stevenson, Robert	Whole Service (V Te Bs K Cr Ma N)	Durham Cathedral Library, MSS A3 (organ) & various partbooks	Durham Cathedral
84	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	Durham Cathedral Library, MSS A3 (organ) & various partbooks	Durham Cathedral
85	Ludlow	Heardson, Thomas	Keep, we beseech thee	Durham Cathedral Library, MSS A3 (organ) & various partbooks	Durham Cathedral
86	Hereford	Farrant	Magnificat and Nunc dimittis	Durham Cathedral Library, MSS A6 (org), C 18 (bass dec)	Durham Cathedral
87	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	Durham Cathedral Library, MSS C1, 4 -7, 9-10, 19: partbooks	Durham Cathedral
88	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	Ely Cathedral Library, MS 28: tenor, mid C17th	Ely Cathedral
89	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Ely Cathedral Library, MS 28: tenor, mid C17th	Ely Cathedral
90	Hereford	Farrant, John	Short Service, Second Service in d sol re	Ely Cathedral Library, MS 28: tenor, mid C17th	Ely Cathedral
91	Hereford	Broad [William]	Praise the Lord	Gloucester Cathedral Library, MS 101: organbook, c.1662-63	Gloucester Cathedral
92	Hereford	Davis [Hugh]	Preces and Psalms 136, 24	Gloucester Cathedral Library, MS 93: bassus book, 1640-41	Gloucester Cathedral
93	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	Awake up my glory	Gloucester Cathedral Library, MS 93: bassus book, 1640-41	Gloucester Cathedral
94	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	Lord, from thy throne	Gloucester Cathedral Library, MS 93: bassus book, 1640-41	Gloucester Cathedral
95	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	Lord, in thy wrath	Gloucester Cathedral Library, MS 93: bassus book, 1640-41	Gloucester Cathedral
96	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	O sing unto the Lord a new song	Gloucester Cathedral Library, MS 93: bassus book, 1640-41	Gloucester Cathedral
97	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	The peace of God	Gloucester Cathedral Library, MS 93: bassus book, 1640-41	Gloucester Cathedral
98	Hereford	Fido, John	Deliver me from mine enemies	Gloucester Cathedral Library, MS 93: bassus book, 1640-41	Gloucester Cathedral
99	Hereford	Fido, John	Hear me, O Lord, and that soon	Gloucester Cathedral Library, MS 93: bassus book, 1640-41	Gloucester Cathedral
100	Hereford	Fido, John	I call with my whole heart	Gloucester Cathedral Library, MS 93: bassus book, 1640-41	Gloucester Cathedral
101	Hereford	Ingloft, William	I am well pleased	Gloucester Cathedral Library, MS 93: bassus book, 1640-41	Gloucester Cathedral
102	Hereford	Farrant, John	O praise the Lord, all ye heathen	Gloucester Cathedral Library: ctd (MS add in Barnard partbook)	Gloucester Cathedral
103	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	Lambeth Palace, MS 764: bass, c.1630	Lambeth Palace
104	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Lambeth Palace, MS 764: bass, c.1630	Lambeth Palace
105	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Lichfield Cathedral Library: tenor dec, MS additions to Barnard, c.1665	Lichfield Cathedral
106	Chester	Jewett, Randolph	O God the king of glory	Manchester, The Henry Watson Library, MS 340 Cr71: ac, c.1675	
107	Hereford	Ingloft, William	Service (V Te Bs K C Ma N)	Norwich Cathedral Library partbooks	Norwich Cathedral
108	Hereford	Ingloft, William	If ye love me	Norwich Cathedral Library, medius partbook	Norwich Cathedral
109	Chester	Jewett, Randolph	I heard a voice from heaven	NYPL, Drexel MS 5469: The Henry Loosemore organbook, 1627-c.1640	King's Cambridge
110	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	NYPL, Drexel MS 5469: The Henry Loosemore organbook, 1627-c.1640	King's Cambridge
111	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	NYPL, Drexel MS 5469: The Henry Loosemore organbook, 1627-c.1640	King's Cambridge
112	of Salop	Smith	My God, my God look upon me	NYPL, Drexel MSS 4180-4183: set of partbooks	Gloucester (Merro)
113	Chester	White, Robert	Lord, who shall dwell	NYPL, Drexel MSS 4180-4184: set of partbooks	Gloucester (Merro)
114	Gloucester	Smith	Set up thyself	NYPL, Drexel MSS 4180-4184: set of partbooks	Gloucester (Merro)
115	Chester	Bateson, Thomas	Holy Lord God almighty	NYPL, Drexel MSS 4180-4185: set of partbooks	Gloucester (Merro)
116	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	Awake up my glory	NYPL, Drexel MSS 4180-4185: set of partbooks	Gloucester (Merro)
117	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous	NYPL, Drexel MSS 4180-4185: set of partbooks	Gloucester (Merro)
118	Chirk/Wrexham	Deane, William	Blessed are those (they)	NYPL, MS Mus. Res. *MNZ(Chirk): The Chirk Castle partbooks	Chirk Castle
119	Chirk/Wrexham	Deane, William	Evening Service for men Ma, N	NYPL, MS Mus. Res. *MNZ(Chirk): The Chirk Castle partbooks	Chirk Castle
120	Chirk/Wrexham	Deane, William	Lord, in thy wrath	NYPL, MS Mus. Res. *MNZ(Chirk): The Chirk Castle partbooks	Chirk Castle

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121	Chirk/Wrexham	Deane, William	O Lord God most merciful saviour	NYPL, MS Mus. Res. *MNZ(Chirk): The Chirk Castle patbooks	Chirk Castle
122	Chirk/Wrexham	Deane, William	O Lord, thou hast dealt graciously	NYPL, MS Mus. Res. *MNZ(Chirk): The Chirk Castle patbooks	Chirk Castle
123	Chirk/Wrexham	Deane, William	Short Service for meanes Te Bs K Cr Ma N	NYPL, MS Mus. Res. *MNZ(Chirk): The Chirk Castle patbooks	Chirk Castle
124	Chirk/Wrexham	Deane, William	The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ	NYPL, MS Mus. Res. *MNZ(Chirk): The Chirk Castle patbooks	Chirk Castle
125	Hereford	Fido, John	Hear me, O Lord, and that soon	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Mus. Sch. c.32: bass partbook, C-18th	
126	Hereford	Farrant, John	Short Service, Second Service in d sol re	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Mus. c.48: bass dec	New College
127	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Mus. d.162: bass decani	New College
128	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Mus. d.162: bass decani	New College
129	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Mus. d.162: bass decani	New College
130	Hereford	Bull, John	Preserve, most mighty God (text only)	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Mus. d.162: bass decani	New College
131	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl. Poet. 23: texts, c.1625-35	Chapel Royal
132	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl. Poet. 23: texts, c.1625-35	Chapel Royal
133	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl. Poet. 23: texts, c.1625-35	Chapel Royal
134	Hereford	Bull, John	God the Father, God the Son (text only)	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl. Poet. 23: texts, c.1625-35	Chapel Royal
135	Hereford	Bull, John	How joyful and how glad	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl. Poet. 23: texts, c.1625-35	Chapel Royal
136	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl. Poet. 23: texts, c.1625-35	Chapel Royal
137	Hereford	Bull, John	O God, best guide (text only)	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl. Poet. 23: texts, c.1625-35	Chapel Royal
138	Hereford	Bull, John	Praise we the Lord our God (text only)	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl. Poet. 23: texts, c.1625-35	Chapel Royal
139	Hereford	Bull, John	Preserve, most mighty God (text only)	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl. Poet. 23: texts, c.1625-35	Chapel Royal
140	Hereford	Bull, John	The man that fears the Lord (text only)	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl. Poet. 23: texts, c.1625-35	Chapel Royal
141	Chester	White, Robert	O how glorious art thou	Oxford, Bodleian, MSS Mus. f.11-15: partbooks, c.1630 (Thomas Hammond)	Suffolk
142	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Oxford, Bodleian, MSS Mus. Sch. d.212-216, e.381: partbooks, early C17th	
143	Ludlow	Hardson, Thomas	Almighty God, we beseech thee to hear us	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1021, partbook, late eighteenth century	
144	Chester	White, Robert	Lord, who shall dwell	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1303: score, 1863	
145	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1303: score, 1863	
146	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1382: The Southwell Minster Tenor book, 1617	Southwell Minster
147	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1382: The Southwell Minster Tenor book, 1617	Southwell Minster
148	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1382: The Southwell Minster Tenor book, 1617	Southwell Minster
149	Hereford	Fido, John	Deliver me from mine enemies	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1382: The Southwell Minster Tenor book, 1617	Southwell Minster
150	Hereford	Fido, John	Hear me, O Lord, and that soon	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1382: The Southwell Minster Tenor book, 1617	Southwell Minster
151	Hereford	Fido, John	I call with my whole heart	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1382: The Southwell Minster Tenor book, 1617	Southwell Minster
152	Hereford	Fido, John	If the Lord himself	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1382: The Southwell Minster Tenor book, 1617	Southwell Minster
153	Hereford	Fido, John	O king of Heaven	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1382: The Southwell Minster Tenor book, 1617	Southwell Minster
154	Hereford	Fido, John	O Lord, in thee is all my trust	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1382: The Southwell Minster Tenor book, 1617	Southwell Minster
155	Chester	Jewett, Randolph	O God the king of glory	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1442: bass partbook, c.1665-70	
156	Chester	Jewett, Randolph	O God, who through the teaching	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1442: bass partbook, c.1665-70	
157	Chester	Jewett, Randolph	O that he once the heavens	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1442: bass partbook, c.1665-70	
158	Chester	Jewett, Randolph	Short Evening Service 'for verses'	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1442: bass partbook, c.1665-70	
159	Chester	Jewett, Randolph	The king shall rejoice	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1442: bass partbook, c.1665-70	
160	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1442: bass partbook, c.1665-70	

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161	Hereford	Farrant, John	De (God be merciful unto us)	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1442: bass partbook, c.1665-70	
162	Hereford	Fido, John	Hear me, O Lord, and that soon	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 1442: bass partbook, c.1665-70	
163	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 791: The Batten Organbook	
164	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 791: The Batten Organbook	
165	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 791: The Batten Organbook	
166	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	Lord, from thy throne	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 791: The Batten Organbook	
167	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	The peace of God	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 791: The Batten Organbook	
168	Hereford	Fido, John	Hear me, O Lord, and that soon	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 791: The Batten Organbook	
169	Hereford	Gibbs, John	If the Lord himself	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 791: The Batten Organbook	
170	Hereford	Gibbs, John	Service to the organs	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 791: The Batten Organbook	
171	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MS 791: The Batten Organbook	
172	Chester	White, Robert	O how glorious art thou	Oxford, Bodleian, Ten MSS 807-811: partbooks, c.1610	
173	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus 1001: organbook, c.1640	
174	Hereford	Inglott, William	Service (Te only)	Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus 1001: organbook, c.1640	
175	Ludlow	Cosyn, Benjamin	O praise God in his holiness	Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus 44: score, late C17th	New College
176	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus 47: organ, c.1680	New College
177	Chirk/Wrexham	Deane, William	Lord, in thy wrath	Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus 6: The Chirk Castle organbook	New College
178	Chirk/Wrexham	Deane, William	Short Service for meanes Te Bs K Cr Ma N	Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus 6: The Chirk Castle organbook	
179	Chester	White, Robert	O how glorious art thou	Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus 88: organ, c.1660	Chirk Castle
180	Hereford	Farrant, John	Short Service, Second Service in d sol re	Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus 88: organ, c.1660	Chirk Castle
181	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus. 88: organ, c.1660	New College (?)
182	Hereford	Farrant	Benedicite (I)	Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus. 88: organ, c.1660	New College (?)
183	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus 88: organ, c.1660	New College (?)
184	Chester	White, Robert	O how glorious art thou	Oxford, Christ Church, MSS Mus 1220-1224: partbooks, c.1640-1700	Oxford Cathedral
185	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	Have mercy upon me, O God	Oxford, Christ Church, MSS Mus 1220-1224: partbooks, c.1640-70	Oxford Cathedral
186	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous	Oxford, Christ Church, MSS Mus 544, 546-551, 553 (Barnard additions)	Hereford Cathedral
187	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	Defend us, Lord	Oxford, Christ Church, MSS Mus 544, 550 (Barnard additions)	Hereford Cathedral
188	Hereford	Broad [William]	Benedicite	Oxford, Christ Church, MSS Mus 544, 550, 551 (Barnard additions)	Hereford Cathedral
189	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Oxford, Christ Church, MSS Mus 546, 547(Barnard additions)	Hereford Cathedral
190	Hereford	Bull, John	How joyful and how glad	Oxford, Christ Church, MSS Mus 56-57, 59-60: partbooks, c.1620	Hereford Cathedral
191	Chester	White, Robert	Lord, who shall dwell	Oxford, Christ Church, MSS Mus 56-57, 59-60: partbooks, c.1620	Fanshaw household
192	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	Oxford, Christ Church, MSS Mus 984-988: partbooks, late C16th	Fanshaw household
193	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	Oxford, Christ Church, MSS Mus 984-988: partbooks, late C16th	
194	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	Oxford, St John's College Library, MS Mus 181: bass, c.1630	Chapel Royal
195	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	Oxford, St John's College Library, MS Mus 181: bass, c.1630	Chapel Royal
196	Chester	Pilkington, Francis	Care for my soul	Oxford, St John's College Library, MS Mus 181: bass, c.1630	printed
197	Chester	Pilkington, Francis	O gracious God, pardon	Pilkington: The Second Set of Madrigals, 1624	printed
198	Chester	Pilkington, Francis	O praise the Lord, all ye heathen	Pilkington: The Second Set of Madrigals, 1624	printed
199	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	RCM, MS 1048: Barnard MSS medius cantoris	Barnard's own MSS
200	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	RCM, MS 1051: Barnard MSS bass cantoris	Barnard's own MSS

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201	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	RCM, MS 1051: Barnard MSS bass cantoris	Barnard's own MSS
202	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	RCM, MS 1051: Barnard MSS bass cantoris	Barnard's own MSS
203	Hereford	Fido, John	Hear me, O Lord, and that soon	RCM, MS 1051: Barnard MSS bass cantoris	Barnard's own MSS
204	Hereford	Gibbs, John	If the Lord himself	RCM, MS 1051: Barnard MSS bass cantoris	Barnard's own MSS
205	Hereford	Davis, Hugh	Have mercy upon me, O God	RCM, MSS 1045-1051: Barnard MSS	Barnard's own MSS
206	Hereford	White, Matthew	Zache stood forth	RCM, MSS 1049-1051: Barnard MSS	Barnard's own MSS
207	Hereford	Farrant, John	O praise the Lord, all ye heathen	RCM, Printed I.A. 1: Barnard, bass cantoris	St John's, Oxford
208	Chester	Pilkington, Francis	Hidden, O Lord are my most horrid sins	Sir Thomas Leighton: The Tears or Lamentations...	printed
209	Chester	Pilkington, Francis	High, mighty God of righteousness	Sir Thomas Leighton: The Tears or Lamentations...	printed
210	Hereford	Bull, John	Attend unto my tears (I)	Sir Thomas Leighton: The Tears or Lamentations...	printed
211	Hereford	Bull, John	Attend unto my tears (II)	Sir Thomas Leighton: The Tears or Lamentations...	printed
212	Hereford	Bull, John	In the departure of the Lord	Sir Thomas Leighton: The Tears or Lamentations...	printed
213	Hereford	Ingloft, William	Out of the deep	SRO, MS LB15/1/227: tenor partbook, c.1597	Ludlow
214	of Salop	Smith	My God, my God look upon me	SRO, MS LB15/1/227: tenor partbook, c.1597	Ludlow
215	Ludlow	Pingle, George	Our Father	SRO, MS LB15/1/227: tenor partbook, c.1616	Ludlow
216	Hereford	White, Matthew	Responses to the 10 Commandments	SRO, MS LB15/1/229: bass partbook, c.1625-c.1660	Ludlow
217	Ludlow	Hardson, Thomas	Godliness is greate riches	SRO, MS LB15/1/229: bass partbook, c.1625-c.1660	Ludlow
218	of Salop	Smith	O praise the Lord all ye heathen	SRO, MS LB15/1/229: bass partbook, c.1625-c.1660	Ludlow
219	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	St Paul's Cathedral: td bd bc, c.1670-90	Ludlow
220	Chester	White, Robert	O how glorious art thou	Wimborne Minster (attr. to W.White)	St Paul's Cathedral
221	Hereford	Farrant	Benedicite (I)	Wimborne Minster Library MS P 10: organ, c.1695	Wimborne Minster
222	Hereford	Farrant, John	Short Service, Second Service in d sol re	Wimborne Minster Library, MSS P14, P16, c.1670	Wimborne Minster
223	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	Windsor, St George's Chapel Library, MSS 1-4: partbooks, c.1660	St George's, Windsor
224	Chester	White, Robert	O how glorious art thou	Windsor, St George's Chapel Library, MSS 48-50: ctc td tc, 1640	St George's, Windsor
225	Chester	Stevenson, Robert	Behold, how good and joyful	York Minster, MS M.29(S): bass (The Dunnington Jefferson MS)	Durham Cathedral
226	Chester	Stevenson, Robert	When the Lord turned again	York Minster, MS M.29(S): bass (The Dunnington Jefferson MS)	Durham Cathedral
227	Chester	White, Robert	O how glorious art thou	York Minster, MS M.29(S): bass (The Dunnington Jefferson MS)	Durham Cathedral
228	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	York Minster, MS M.29(S): bass (The Dunnington Jefferson MS)	Durham Cathedral
229	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	York Minster, MS M.29(S): bass (The Dunnington Jefferson MS)	Durham Cathedral
230	Hereford	Bull, John	Deliver me, O God	York Minster, MS M.29(S): bass (The Dunnington Jefferson MS)	Durham Cathedral
231	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	York Minster, MS M.29(S): bass (The Dunnington Jefferson MS)	Durham Cathedral
232	Hereford	Fido, John	Hear me, O Lord, and that soon	York Minster, MS M.29(S): bass (The Dunnington Jefferson MS)	Durham Cathedral
233	Hereford	Bull, John	In thee, O Lord put I my trust	York Minster, MSS M.1/1(S), M.1/5(S)-M.1/8(S): partbooks	York Minster
234	Ludlow	Hardson, Thomas	Keep, we beseech thee	York Minster, MSS M.1/1(S), M.1/5(S)-M.1/8(S): partbooks	York Minster
235	Chester	White, Robert	The Lord bless us	York Minster, MSS M.1/1(S), M.1/5(S)-M.1/8(S): partbooks	York Minster
236	Ludlow	Hardson, Thomas	Almighty God, we beseech thee to hear us	York Minster, MSS M.1/1(S), M.1/5(S)-M.1/8(S): partbooks	York Minster
237	Hereford	Farrant, John	Short Service, Second Service in d sol re	York Minster, MSS M.1/1(S)-1/8(S): partbooks	York Minster
238	Hereford	Bull, John	Almighty God, who by the leading	York Minster, MSS M.1/1(S)-M.1/3(S), M.1/5(S)-M.1/8(S)	York Minster

APPENDIX M

Performing edition of full anthem:

The Grace of Our Lord**William Deane**

THIRD PARTY MATERIAL EXCLUDED
FROM DIGITISED COPY

PLEASE REFER TO ORIGINAL TEXT
TO SEE THIS MATERIAL

Editorial Note

- Source:** New York, NYPL, MSS MNZ Mus.Res.*MNZ (Chirk): The Chirk Castle Partbooks (Medius, Countertenor, Tenor, Bassus).
- Method:** Note values halved, transposition up a minor third, organ part editorial.
- Variants:** Bars 10-12 have an editorial reconstruction of Bassus part as these bars are lacking from Bassus partbook.
Bar 11:3, Tenor partbook has B flat crotchet for E flat crotchet.
- Notes:** William Deane's *The Grace of Our Lord* is unique to this source whose provenance is that of Chirk Castle where Deane was organist during the 1630s. This anthem does not appear, however, in the Chirk Castle Organbook (Oxford, Christ Church Library, MS Mus 6).

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 MS Mus 1001 organbook, c.1640.

MSS Mus 1220-1224 partbooks, c.1643-1700 (Barnard partbooks from Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford).

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P257/B/3/1 St Mary, Shrewsbury, 1544-1633.

P257/B/3/2 St Mary, Shrewsbury, 1627-1703.

P250/C/1/1 Holy Cross, Shrewsbury, 1565-1727 (General parish meetings [open vestry] minute book, 1610-1729: includes churchwardens' accounts for 1565-1727).

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LB4 Corporation Accounts:

LB4/2 Renters' accounts.

LB5 Records of the Palmers' Guild:

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LB5/3/50 Rent collectors' accounts from 1486 [SRO 356 box 325].

LB7 Records of Administration:

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LB 8/1/125-213 Bailiffs' and chamberlains' accounts, 1600-1700.

LB15 Parish Administration:

- LB15/1/2-43 Churchwardens' accounts [formerly SRO 356/Boxes 484a, 489-494].
 LB15/1/2 1506/1540-1605.
 LB15/1/3 1464
 LB15/1/4 1470
 LB15/1/5 1472
 LB15/1/6 1512
 LB15/1/7 1584
 LB15/1/8 1588
 LB15/1/10 1601-1602
 LB15/1/11 1606-1607
 Etc.

Church Music Books:

- LB15/1/225-229 Five manuscript part books, earliest bass, then the remainder are bass, two tenor, one treble, 1570-1640 [formerly SRO 356/ box 519, MSS 1-5].
 LB15/Box 532 Fragments of medieval service books, unlisted. [Once re-used as bindings for other manuscripts and books in the Ludlow collection.]

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 LB15/3/39 Will of Geoffrey Baugh, a palmer, dated 12 Nov 1500 [formerly SRO 356/ box 520].

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SRO 356/box 315 Foundation deed of Hosier's almshouses, 1486.

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Windsor, St George's Chapel Library

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MSS 48-50 Partbooks, 1640.

Worcester, Cathedral Library

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MS Q.86 Thirteenth-century psalter with added fourteenth-century Hereford breviary.

York, Minster Library

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