

Chapter 9

The use of musical instruments

In the literature to date the replacement of, or maintenance work on, organs and the use of other instruments has been the most frequently discussed musical evidence, and has generally been taken to be indicative of Laudian activity. For Ian Payne, for instance, Laud's appointments culminated 'in the 1630s in a peak of musical activity... no Anglican musical institution could escape his allies' powerful influence: in the cathedrals studied, the organ is yet more in evidence, and the use of other instruments seems in general to have been greater than ever before; the acquisition of polyphony continues apace'.¹ Thus Payne discusses two entries in the records of Exeter cathedral relating to expenditure on the organ, dating from the 1630s, 'when (doubtless due to the influence of Laudianism) it was generally much used'.² Likewise, the employment by Jesus College, Cambridge of an organist and the building of a new organ, both in 1634, was due to the 'powerful influence of the Laudian movement'.³ Andrew Foster, in his anatomisation of church policy in the 1630s, drew attention to Richard Neile's agency in providing new organs at York and Durham as part of the Laudian programme.⁴ The impressionistic judgement of H.R. Trevor-Roper that 'Laud encouraged the setting up of organs to swell the praises of God' has some basis in fact, but his suggestion that the cause of his admiration was 'less for their music than for their ceremonial effect' gets us closer to the case.⁵ I shall argue that an examination of the patterns of expenditure on cathedral organs, and of their use, in the light of the churchmanship of those institutions explored in chapter 8, suggests that no such patterns can safely be identified.

It is clear from the rhetoric of some writers, mostly those, but not exclusively so, who might be classified as Puritan, that the use of instruments in worship was inherently objectionable. These objections were generally clustered around one of two polemical themes, both of which we have dealt with in a broader form in Part

¹ Payne, *Provision and Practice* p.80.

² Payne, *Provision and Practice* p.147.

³ Payne, 'Music at Jesus College, Cambridge, c.1557-1679' *PCAS* lxxvi (1987) 97-103, pp.97, 99-100.

⁴ 'Church policies' p.200.

One. The first of these was the potential of instruments to distract from the sense of the words sung, and a further connection which was intimately related, of the association of instrumental music with pagan (and by extension, Popish) dissolution and licence. William Prynne quoted Aelred of Rievaulx to the effect that the people

standing by trembling and astonished, admire the sound of the Organs, the noyse of the Cymbals and musical instruments, the harmony of the Pipes and Cornets: but yet looke upon the lascivious gesticulations of the singers, the meretricious alternations, interchanges and infractions of the voyces, not without derision and laughter: so that a man may thinke that they came, not to an Oratory, or house of prayer, but to a Theater; not to pray, but to gaze about them.⁶

The Geneva Bible rendered the list of instruments used as a call to the adoration of Nebucadnezzar's image in the book of Daniel as 'cornet, trumpet, harpe, sackbut, psalteries, dulcimer and all instruments of musicke', two of which, the sackbut and cornet, were in widespread use in the English church.⁷ This was an association with pagan peoples explicitly drawn out by Peter Smart, when he attacked 'Organs, Shackbuts and Cornets and all other instruments of Musicke, which were used at the Consecration of Nabuchadonozer's golden image.'⁸ The connection with Popery was clear in the reactions to the preparations for James's visit to Scotland in 1617. English carpenters were employed at Holyrood

who brought with them the portraits of the Apostles to be set in the Pews or Stalls; as they were proceeding in their work, a foolish and idle rumour went, that "images were to be set up in the Chappel [and that] the Organs came first, now the Images, and ere long they should have the Masse."⁹

The second main theme of the attack on instruments was that they had been part of the Old Testament dispensation now superseded by the coming of Christ. It

⁵ *Archbishop Laud, 1573-1645* (2nd edn, London, Macmillan, 1965) p.126.

⁶ Aelred's *Speculum caritatis: Histriomastix* p.281. Smart had objected that because the service at Durham was so beset by 'the confusedness of voices of so many singers, with a multitude of melodious instruments ... the greatest part of the the service is no better understood, then if it weare in Hebrue or Irish.' Cosin, *Correspondence* i.166. See also the discussion by Andrew Parrott, "Grett and solompne singing': instruments in English church music before the Civil War' *EM* 6 (1978) 182-187.

⁷ Daniel 3: 5 (facsimile edition of 1560 edition, Wisconsin, 1960).

⁸ 'A briefe but true historicall Narration', article 8.

⁹ John Spottiswoode, *The History of the Church of Scotland* (London, 1655) (facs.edn, Scholar Press, 1972) p.530. On the music of the visit, see Philip Brett, 'English Music for the Scottish Progress of 1617' in Ian Bent (ed.), *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music* (London, Stainer & Bell, 1981) pp.209-226.

was only Jewish weakness that had justified their use – as the writer of the *Holy Harmony* put it

tis true the Levites were there with their instruments of musick, which David made to praise the Lord, which I conceive he was forced to do, to comply with the people .. so that David happily suffered these plausible things, whereby to attract the peoples recourse to the Temple...¹⁰

The marginal notes of the Geneva Bible, on Psalm 150 and its description of praising God with ‘sound of the trumpet’ and ‘virginalls and organs’, argued that the Psalmist was ‘exhorting the people onely to rejoyce in praising God, he maketh mencion of those instruments which by Gods commandment were appointed in the olde Law, but under Christ the use thereof is abolished in the church.’¹¹ George Wither took a more moderate line, but at the same time accepted the obsolete nature of the Temple service. ‘Nor do I thinke’ he argued ‘we are bound to use their [the Israelites] Instruments of Musicke, or disallowed any, so they be not such as are contemptible and ridiculous’. It was enough for Wither to observe the injunction of 1 Corinthians 14:40 ‘that all things should be done decently and in order.’¹² There were clearly polemical objections raised in the 1630s and earlier to the use of musical instruments in worship. The task remains to determine whether Laudian practice involved any quantitative or qualitative change in cathedral practice.

Organs

On the face of it, there are several instances of work being done on the new provision, repair or replacement of organs in institutions that we have already tentatively identified as dominated by Laudian figures. Gilbert Sheldon, as Warden of All Souls’, Oxford was responsible for an appeal made in 1633 for money for a new organ for the college chapel.¹³ Accepted Frewen, as President, was responsible for a new organ at Magdalen, Oxford, built according to John Harper between 1630 and

¹⁰ London, 1643; no pagination.

¹¹ Psalm 150: 3.

¹² *A Preparation to the Psalter* p.80.

¹³ Montague Burrows, *Worthies of All Souls*’ (London, Macmillan, 1874) pp.141-151.

1633, and probably in 1631.¹⁴ One of the main planks of the musical innovations at Peterhouse under the mastership of John Cosin was the provision of an organ, and an organist to play it, and a new organ was installed at Durham during Cosin's tenure, in 1621. A new Dallam organ was installed at St John's College, Oxford in 1618 under the Presidency of Laud, and an organist appointed (the first since the disbandment of the foundation in 1577) in 1620, and Laud is known to have spent a considerable sum on the organ of Lambeth Palace after his accession to Canterbury in 1633.¹⁵ York Minster, a church whose history in the 1630s, as we have already noted, is characterised by antagonism between a staunchly Protestant Corporation and a chapter conscious of its position and in the process of various acts of beautification of the church, commissioned a new and relatively expensive organ completed in 1634.¹⁶

There are however certain difficulties in interpreting evidence such as this. Firstly, without the presence of musical sources containing the music actually played on these instruments, or evidence of a related choral establishment, it is difficult to establish with any security the way in which the instrument was used. An organ could as well be used to accompany the singing of metrical psalms as complex choir repertoire. A retrospective account of psalm singing during the siege of York of 1644, accompanied by 'a most Excellent-large-plump-lusty-full-speaking-Organ' being 'let out, into all its Fulness of Stops' demonstrates the varied use to which an organ could be put.¹⁷

Furthermore, the interpretation of a lone reference to work on an organ can only be interpreted in the context of the need for replacement or repair of the instrument. At Gloucester, a chapter we have already tentatively identified as under Laudian influence, a new organ was built in 1640-1. However, a need to replace the

¹⁴Harper, 'The Dallam Organ in Magdalen College, Oxford' *British Institute of Organ Studies Journal* (hereafter BIOS Journal) 9 (1985) 51-64; H.A.Wilson, *Magdalen College* (London, F.E.Robinson, 1899) pp. 145-9; *DNB* 'Frewen' xx.271-3.

¹⁵ John G. Hoffman, 'The Puritan Revolution and the "Beauty of Holiness" at Cambridge' *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 72 (1984) 94-105, pp. 98-99; Brian Crosby, 'The choral foundation of Durham cathedral, c.1350 – c.1650' p.171. On St John's, see Francis Knights, 'The history of the choral foundation of St John's College, Oxford' *MT* 131 (1990) 444-447, p.444-5, and W.C.Costin, *The History of St John's College, Oxford, 1598-1860* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, Oxford Historical Society, 1958) pp. 66-9; Dorothy Gardiner, *The Story of Lambeth Palace* (London, Constable, 1930) pp.132-33.

¹⁶ Peter Aston, 'The Organs of York Minster, 1634-1803' *MT* 114 (1973) 637-9, p.637. Also Aston, 'Music since the Reformation' in G.E. Aylmer, R. Cant (eds), *A History of York Minster* p.406. D. Griffiths, *A musical place of the first quality* p.10.

¹⁷ Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London, 1676) p.19.

existing instrument had been identified as early as March 1614, before the arrival of Laud as Dean, when a ‘Mr Dallam yt came to viewe ye organs’ was paid 22s. Thus, when Laud instigated an appeal in 1618 to replace the organ, which was ‘in greate decay and in short time likely to be of noe use’, this cannot be regarded in itself as evidence of a new and unusual expansion of the musical capacity of the cathedral, but a simply a response to a pressing need to maintain the *status quo*.¹⁸

It is also the case that expenditure on the organ is to be found at institutions over the Laudian credentials of which we have already established some doubt. Significant work was done on the organ at Salisbury in 1635, with the great organ being repaired and expanded and a new choir organ built. The total cost payable to the builder John Burward was the very significant sum of £220. We have already examined the uncertain state of affairs at Salisbury, and therefore this work cannot safely be described as due to the influence of ‘Laudianism’.¹⁹ At Exeter, John Lugge was appointed organist in 1602/3, and money was spent on the organ in 1618, 1619, 1624 and throughout the 1630s, with a final payment in 1644.²⁰

Furthermore, the timing of much organ building and repair in the reign of James suggests that a straightforward elision of the ‘beauty of holiness’ and the promotion of organs will not do. The work of Stephen Bicknell has placed a substantial revival in organ building in the last years of Elizabeth and first decade of the reign of James. This movement (which Bicknell misleadingly terms the ‘Laudian revival’) began after James came down decisively against Puritan pressure at the Hampton Court Conference.²¹ This interpretation is supported by the work of Ian Payne, who identifies a peak of organ building in the institutions under consideration

¹⁸ Eward, *Gloucester* p.4: see also Michael Gillingham ‘Organs and Organ cases of Gloucester Cathedral’ in anon. (ed.) *Organs and Organists of Gloucester Cathedral* (Gloucester, 1978).

¹⁹ Betty Matthews, *The Organs and Organists of Salisbury Cathedral, 1480-1972* (London, 1978) p.4. C. Wordsworth and Dora H Robertson, ‘Salisbury Choristers: Their endowments, boy-bishops, music teachers and headmasters with an history of the organ’ *Wiltshire Archaeology And Natural History Magazine* clxviii (1938) 201-31; p.222.

²⁰ Susi Jeans, ‘The musical life of Exeter cathedral 1600-1650’ *The Quarterly Record* 43 (1958) 103-5. See also A. Freeman, ‘The Organs of Exeter Cathedral’ *The Organ* 6 (1926-7) 100-112, and Betty Matthews, *The organs and organists of Exeter Cathedral* (Exeter, 1978).

²¹ Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* pp.69-71. This interpretation is broadly supported by Temperley (*Music of the English Parish Church* pp.50-1), with the caveat that parish churches still remained largely without organs throughout the period. Kenneth Fincham too has noted the construction of new organs at Wells and Worcester (1620 and 1613 respectively) : *Prelate as Pastor* p.144.

in his study between 1594 and 1610.²² An examination of the patterns of organ building in Jacobean cathedrals suggests that the most significant period of building occurred between roughly 1597 and perhaps 1610, and therefore cannot be seen as a hallmark of Laudian liturgical thought.

Examples of instruments built during this revival are numerous. We have already noted the building of an instrument at Magdalen College, Oxford under the Mastership of Accepted Frewen in the 1630s. However, John Harper has noted the building of a new instrument as early as 1597, albeit a small one.²³ New instruments were also built in 1609-10 at St George's Chapel Windsor, Worcester Cathedral in 1613, and King's College, Cambridge in 1605-6.²⁴ A new instrument was also built by Thomas Dallam over a period of three years (1607-1610) at Norwich cathedral. This building at Norwich was followed from 1615-6 by a stagnation in expenditure, with no entries at all in the chapter records for anything but small organ repairs.²⁵ Significant work was carried out on the organ of Trinity College, Cambridge in 1594, and again in 1609-10, but very little subsequently, and indeed Trinity was one of the colleges criticised in a 1636 report on the state of worship in the colleges, probably penned by Cosin.²⁶

At Ely, Henry Caesar, who became Dean in 1614, was widely reputed to have had a 'soft spot in [his] heart for music and musicians', donating small sums of money to 'musicians at the newe Ely fair' and to whom a service written by John Amner, organist of the cathedral from 1610 to 1641, was dedicated. However, it is difficult to

²² *Provision and Practice* pp.71-72.

²³ Harper, 'Magdalen' provides a transcript of the relevant entries in the College *Libri Computi*, which include entries for the organ, keys, colouring, gilding and wainscot all in 1597; p.60.

²⁴ S Campbell, W.L. Sumner, 'The organs and organists of St George's chapel' *The Organ* 45 (1966) 145-153, p.146-7; Michael Hodgetts, 'Recusant contributors to the Worcester Cathedral Organ, 1613' *Midland Catholic History* 1 (1991) 28-33. I owe this reference to Dr David Crankshaw. On King's, see Bicknell, *English Organ* p.74. The *Monumenta Sepulchra S Pauli*, by Hugh Holland (London, 1614) refers to a 'late sumptuous new repairing and gilding of the organs'; cited by S.A. Warner, *St Paul's Cathedral* (London, SPCK, 1926) p.81.

²⁵ Betty Matthews, 'Thomas Dallam at Norwich Cathedral' *BIOS Journal* 10 (1986) 102-111; p.102, 110. See also Andrew Cornall, 'The Practice of Music at Norwich Cathedral c.1558-1649' (University of East Anglia, M.Mus. thesis, 1976) p. 22. 51, 47-48; Peter Aston and Tom Roast, 'Music in the Cathedral' in Ian Atherton, Eric Fernie, C. Harper-Bill and Hassell Smith (eds), *Norwich Cathedral: Church, City and Diocese, 1096-1996* (London, Hambledon, 1996) pp. 688-704; p. 690.

²⁶ Ian Payne, *Provision and Practice* p.71, and his 'The Musical Establishment at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1546-1644' *PCAS* lxxiv (1985) 53-69; pp. 61-2, 64. F. J. Varley, *Cambridge during the Civil War, 1642-6* (Cambridge, Heffer, 1935) p.24.

detect a pattern of increased expenditure on the organ, or indeed on music copying or the other barometric indicators we are considering here. Although a new stop was added to the organ in 1616, and the organ tuned regularly up to and including 1636, the most significant work (a sum of just over £13) was in fact carried out in 1607.²⁷

At Christ Church in Dublin, there are numerous payments for repairs to the organ in the late 1630s, part of a general increase in activities attributed by the historian of the music of the church to 'the growth in the elaboration of cathedral services which marked the Laudian reforms of the same period.'²⁸ However, payments were made for the moving of the organs as early as 1594-5, and the largest single activity was the commissioning of Thomas Bateson to build a new instrument in 1616, and, although there is some doubt over whether it was built, payments were nonetheless made to Bateson in this regard.²⁹ The picture at Hereford follows this pattern of steady expenditure on the organs throughout the century.³⁰ It can be concluded therefore that the most significant expenditure on the building and refurbishment of organs can be detected from late in Elizabeth's reign and the early part of James's, and therefore cannot be attributed to Laudian influence. It was also the case that the profile of organ expenditure during the late 1620s and 1630s is not confined to those chapters that we have already identified as decisively Laudian in composition, and neither do all such chapters appear to have spent significant sums of money on their instruments.

In the parishes, there are a number of cases in which Laudian figures appear to have attempted to foster the use of the organ. On November 11th 1640 the House of Commons considered a petition from some of the parishioners of St Wulfram, Grantham (Lincs) regarding the 'Altar &c', which included a charge 'against Dr Farmery and Dr Hurst for putting Organs upon the towne'. This petition was a revival

²⁷ Reginald Gibbon, 'The Account Book of the Dean and Ely, 1604-77' *Church Quarterly Review* Jan 1933 210-233; pp. 213-219. On Amner, see *NGD* i.330-331. The chapter at this time also contained the moderate Calvinist divine Andrew Willet, whose views on music we have encountered earlier. He was inhabitant of the fifth stall of Ely from 1587 until his death in 1621: *DNB* 56 pp.288-292, 'Willet'. Also in the chapter was John Bois, the moderate divine involved in the translation of the Authorised Version of the Bible. He was holder of both the first and second stalls from 1615 until his death in 1644: *DNB* 3 pp.311-13 'Bois'.

²⁸ Barra Boydell (ed.), *Music at Christ Church before 1800: Documents and selected anthems* (Dublin, Four Courts, 1999) p.49, 83.

²⁹ Boydell, *Music at Christ Church* pp.49,8

of charges initially made against the vicar, Peter Tittley, in 1627.³¹ John Farmey was Chancellor of Lincoln Minster, and vicar general and official principal to John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln. Farmery was in regular correspondence with Laud, as in a letter of July 1634 concerning ‘great defects’ in the Minster and the diocese.³² However, the circumstances of the case suggest that we ought not to see this action by Farmery in donating this organ, where none had been previously, as simply Laudian promotion of musical activity. A certificate of the town corporation is significant in two ways. Firstly, the indication is that this organ was only used in a very limited fashion. The Corporation certified

that we are still very willing to have an organ continued and used in our church as it has been, viz to accompany the singing of the psalms after the common and plain tunes appointed to be used in the church. Finding by experience that by use of it hitherto practised in our church, first in the Parish Clerk signifying what psalm is to be sung and the organist then distinctly playing the *tune*, all persons that can read have time to turn unto the psalms [...] And the confusion which sometimes hath heretofore happened in our church, being a very large and spacious church, in singing the psalms appointed after divers tunes, is taken away.³³

It also appears to have been the case that the organ had only been accepted by the Corporation on the condition that it was to cost the town nothing at all to maintain, or have played. The certificate humbly prayed for the respecting of

that agreement made in a court held by our late Alderman Mr Richard Crawford to the persons present in that court about the beginning of his year ... by Mr Thos Hurst and Mr Robert Sanderson ... and with the consent and appointment (as they then affirmed to us) of Mr Doctor Farmary ... that the orgaines then intended to be erected in our church by the said Chancellor sholde not in any sorte be chargeable to the parish eyther in respect of the orgaines, the setting them up, or for the present or future maintenance of them or of an organist to play upon them [and if there be any default] then the orgaines should be taken away and removed.³⁴

³⁰ At Hereford, the relevant records to 1612 have not survived. After that point, money was spent on the organ in 1612, 1613 and 1629: Watkins Shaw, *The Organists and Organs of Hereford Cathedral* (Hereford, Friends of Hereford Cathedral, 1976) p.28.

³¹ Notestein (ed.), *Journal of Simonds d’Ewes* p.38: on the petition, see Michael Pointer, *The Glory of Grantham* (Grantham, 1979) p.30: on the earlier dispute, see H.T. Blethen, ‘Bishop Williams, the altar controversy and the royal supremacy’ *Welsh History Review* 9 (1978) 142-54, and E. Venables, ‘The altar controversy at Grantham in the seventeenth century’ *Associated Architectural Societies’ Reports and Papers* 13 (1875) 46-61.

³² CSPD 1633-4 p.471: 1634-5 pp.149, 523.

³³ Pointer, *Glory of Grantham* p. 30

³⁴ This, and a large portion of the certificate, dated October 30th 1640, is given by Venables, *Altar Controversy* pp.59-60.

This then was clearly not a straightforward case of Laudian enforcement of musical innovation on an unwilling parish. However, a similar case came to the attention of the Commons, against Sir John Lambe and Sir Nathaniel Brent, accused of ‘imposing a yearly Stipend of Fifteen Pounds, upon the Parishioners of Waddsdon [Waddesdon] in the County of Bucks, for the maintenance of a Organist there.’³⁵ It appears however from Lambe’s own testimony to the House, as related by D’Ewes, that although he admitted to such an order in September 1638, the organs had been set up through the agency of Dr William Roane, ‘commissarie to the Bishopp of Lincolne’ in December 1635.³⁶

This was not, however, the only case of Lambe involving himself in such matters. A petition of 1637 from the parish of St Michael Crooked Lane, in answer to proceedings from Lambe, gave ‘The reasons why Inhabitants and Parishioners are not able to sett up the Organs againe and the time since they were taken downe.’ The organs had not been used since the time of Mary, were beyond repair, and the present occupational position of the parishioners (which had changed since that time) meant that such resources were not available. The parish concluded

That consideringe our Ordinary and necessary general collections such as must of necessity be collected as the shipp money, and for the maintenance of the poore and visited houses have been of late more than we are well able to bare wee humbly desire Sr. John Lambe not to put us to this charge but to dismisse the court of this business that wee may be no further troubled.³⁷

The archdiaconal visitation book of Buckinghamshire for 1636-7 also records orders to set up organs at two parishes (Burnham and Hambleden) and to repair an instrument in disrepair and to find an organist to play it in a third (Wing).³⁸ The visitation was carried out by the archdeacon Robert Newell (half brother of Richard Neile) and under the auspices of Lambe, who had been appointed as commissary for the archdeaconries of Leicester and

³⁵ *Commons Journals* ii.97 (6th March, 1641). The matter had first come to the attention of the House on 1st February of the same year; *Ibid.* p. 76. See also Notestein, *Journal of Sir Simonds d’Ewes* pp. 306, 385, 447.

³⁶ Lambe’s evidence of 6th March 1641 is given in Notestein, *Journal of D’Ewes* pp.447. However, the picture is confused by the apparent admission by Brent earlier (22nd February) that it was at his agency, rather than that of Roane, that the organs were first set up: *Ibid.* p.385.

³⁷ *CSPD* 1636-7 p.546: Stephen Bicknell, *The history of the English organ* (Cambridge, CUP, 1996) p.71.

³⁸ E.R.C. Brinkworth, ‘The Laudian church in Buckinghamshire’ *Birmingham University Historical Journal* 5 (1955) 31-59: p.45.

Buckinghamshire in 1635.³⁹ It is then the case that there was some intervention by Laudian figures in the provision of organs in parishes. However, I am not aware of any other such cases apart from these six, five of which were due to one individual (Lambe) and the sixth also within a diocese in which he was active. It is difficult then to suggest without further exhaustive research into the organ in parish churches that a general Laudian policy towards them existed.

Before we leave the subject of the building and maintenance of organs, it must be noted that the intervention by diocesans and their staff in the use of parish organs was neither confined to Laudian figures nor to the 1630s. On 20th January 1623, Archbishop Tobie Matthew of York wrote to the Mayor and Aldermen of Hull, understanding that the church of Hull 'hath in former tyme been adorned with organes to joyne with voices to the glorie and praise of God in tyme of divine service'. He then requested 'thus hoping to be no further troubled herein, I doe wish that in this your church of Hull (a place verie fitting for such an ornament) that the organs may be restored and used to the godly intent aforesaid, without any exception or scruple to be taken against the due performance therof.'⁴⁰

It is also the case (although being a type of evidence on which not too much reliance can be placed) that a number of churches under direct and powerful Laudian influence appear to have made no provision for an organ at all. The church of St Katharine Cree, rebuilt between 1628 and 1630, and reconsecrated by Laud personally, appears to have had no organ as the loft, presently supporting a 1686 instrument, appears to have been built later, as it partially obstructs a door and a window.⁴¹ Similarly, the lavish rebuilding of Abbey Dore, Herefordshire, by the first Viscount Scudamore, with a self conscious use of all the ornaments of Laudian

³⁹ Brinkworth, *Buckinghamshire* p.32: A. Foster, 'The function of a bishop – the career of Richard Neile, 1562-40' in R. O'Day, F. Heal (eds), *Continuity and Change: Personnel and Administration in the Church of England 1500-1642* (Leicester, University Press, 1976) pp.33-54; p.44: CSPD 1634-5 p.523.

⁴⁰ Hull City Archive, L 192: see also R.A. Marchant, *The Church under the Law. Justice, administration and discipline in the diocese of York, 1560-1640* (Cambridge, CUP. 1969) pp.133-4. I am indebted to Adrian Finch for the use of his transcript of this letter.

⁴¹ Philip Norman, 'The church of St Katharine Cree', *Transactions of the St Paul's Ecclesiological Society* v (1905) 189-195; pp.192-3.

worship (an immovable marble altar, with a new altar piece, new glass in the east window, amongst others) seems to have not included an organ.⁴²

One of the particular difficulties inherent in assessing the significance of the organ in this period is the lack of sources on exactly how it was used. It is quite clear from the surviving organ books that it was used to accompany the solo passages in verse anthems, and we have also seen that at York it could be used to accompany the singing of a metrical psalm. There is also evidence of its use for the playing of voluntaries at various points in the service. A post Restoration source contains a 'Prelude upon ye Organ as was then usual before ye anthem' by Edward Gibbons of Exeter Cathedral.⁴³ James Clifford's post Restoration collection suggests that the practice was to play a voluntary between the psalms and the first lessons at both morning and evening prayer, and similar evidence exists for Chichester cathedral in a chapter order of 1616, and at Exeter.⁴⁴

The question most pertinent to this study, of whether there were any changes and developments in this mode of organ usage, and how such movement related to the incidence of Laudian cathedral chapters, is unfortunately one which is almost unanswerable due to the lack of any indications in the sources. There is one suggestive case, however. Roger Bowers has identified at Canterbury a large project of copying the repertoire of 'full' anthems and services, usually sung unaccompanied, into the Canterbury organ books, between 1627 and 1630.⁴⁵ We have already seen that Canterbury cannot safely be characterised as a Laudian chapter, and certainly not between 1627 and 1630.

⁴² Ian Atherton, 'The religious practices of the First Viscount Scudamore' *HJ* 34 (1991) 567-596; pp.569-586.

⁴³ Virginia Brookes, *British Keyboard Music to c.1660. Sources and a Thematic Index* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996) p.47. The source is BL MS Harl 7340, ff. 193v-194.

⁴⁴ Clifford, *The Divine Services and Anthems usually sung in the Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches of the Church of England* (London, 1663), as cited by Geoffrey Cox, *Organ Music in Restoration England: a Study of Sources, Styles and Influences* (New York, Garland, 1989) pp.8-10. The Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal suggests that the organ was used for the arrivals and departures of the clergy, and at the 'offertorye': Cox, *Organ Music* p.8. In 1623 the Exeter Dean and Chapter ordered that the organ be used 'with the Psalmes before and after morning prayer'; Susi Jeans, 'The musical life of Exeter cathedral 1600-1650' *Quarterly Record* 43 (1958) 103-5; p.105.

⁴⁵ Bowers 'Cathedral Liturgy and Music' p.446. However, other organ books of the period also contain full anthems: The Loosemore book, a book compiled independently of Laudian influence, contains

Instruments other than the organ

We have seen that one of Peter Smart's charges against Cosin was the use of instruments other than the organ. The question that arises, then, is one of whether Laudian institutions display any evidence of increased use of instruments, or ways of utilising them distinct from general cathedral use of the period from late in Elizabeth's reign on. If not, can it be argued that this Puritan opposition to instruments was a case of a previously neutral use being drawn into a polemical situation by association, rather than on its own merits. The picture that emerges resembles the latter rather than the former proposition.

It must be stated initially that some Laudian institutions appear to have been using sackbuts and cornets. From 1635 the Magdalen College Oxford *Libri Computi* refer to payments to 'Solut. musicis in Capella diebus festis' and a list of payments in the hand of Accepted Frewen during the 1629-1635 refurbishments lists the purchase of two cornetts and two curtalls.⁴⁶ Such a use was also the case at Durham during the tenure of Cosin there, definitely by 1632-3, and earlier, if Smart's sermon of 1628 is to be taken as correct in detail.⁴⁷

However, it is clear that such a use can be dated much earlier than the period of Laudian ascendancy. On a visit of James to St Paul's in 1604, a contemporary account records his entrance

into the closet, or rather the Privy-Chamber to this our Court Royall, through the windowes of which he might beholde the Cathedral Temple of Sainte Paule, upon whose lower battlements an anthem was sung by the Quiristers of the Church to the musicke of loud instruments.⁴⁸

On 26th March (Midlent Sunday) 1620, the combined choirs of the Chapel Royal, Westminster Abbey and St Paul's 'with solemn singing brought the king into

some six of the ten identifiable Byrd full anthems: Morehen, 'Sources' pp.202-4; Craig Monson (ed.), *The Byrd Edition vol 11: English Anthems* (London, Stainer & Bell, 1983).

⁴⁶ Harper, 'Magdalen' p.56.

⁴⁷ Crosby, 'Choral foundation of Durham cathedral' p.171. Payments for two players of each are recorded in the Cathedral Treasurer's Account Books for 1632-3; Crosby, 'Durham Cathedral's liturgical music manuscripts' *Durham University Journal* 66 (1973) 40-51; p.43. There appears to be no evidence of such instruments in use at Peterhouse under Cosin; Hoffman, 'The Puritan revolution' pp.98-100; A. Hughes, *Catalogue of Peterhouse Musical Manuscripts* pp.xiv-xvii. This may in part be due to the small size of the chapel, although other Cambridge college chapels did use such instruments (see Trinity below).

the quire .. they began to celebrate Divine Service, which was solemnly performed with organs, cornetts, and sackbuts', and the list of musicians in attendance at James funeral in Westminster Abbey included two each of 'Shagbutts' and 'Cornitors'.⁴⁹

The use of such instruments clearly then predates the Laudian ascendancy of Charles's reign. Neither is it the case that such uses were confined to extraordinary occasions at the important royal and metropolitan foundations of Westminster and St Paul's. Ian Payne records that payments for the use of cornets and sackbuts were made at Trinity, Cambridge from 1594-5 until 1643-4. A payment was made 'to those that played upon Sagbuttes and Cornetts' at York as early as 1590-1, and further payments occurred in 1607, 1611, 1624 and 1630.⁵⁰ Cornets were clearly in use at Christ Church Dublin in 1629-30 and Worcester in 1619, and both instruments at Salisbury in 1625 and at Winchester in 1619.⁵¹

The situation as revealed by Roger Bowers at Canterbury in some ways reinforces this picture of cornets and sackbuts as a use of some longevity in the late Elizabethan church and Jacobean church. Cornetts are first recorded in 1597 and sackbuts by 1610. However, Bowers does draw attention to one significant change, which had occurred by 1625, in that the sackbuteers (but not the cornetteers) had their own music book, presumably containing parts of the service music and anthems sung by the choir, in order to play with them. The records for 1625 refer to a payment for repairs to this 'Sackbut book' and further payment was made in 1634-5 for 'pricking one service in both Sackbut bookes'. Up to this point, Bowers argues that the players would have been insufficiently educated to play from written notation, rather confining themselves to flourishes and fanfares of an improvised or memorised

⁴⁸ Scott, *St Paul's* p.15

⁴⁹ Scott, *St Paul's* p.15: Edward Pine, *The Westminster Abbey Singers* (London, Dobson, 1953) pp.101-2.

⁵⁰ *Provision and Practice* p.146, 149. Griffiths, *A musical place of the first quality* lists payments for some 12 services surrounding the visit of the King in 1639, p.10.

⁵¹ Boydell, *Music at Christ Church* p.82: J. Noake, *The Monastery and Cathedral Church of Worcester* (London, 1866) p. 477: at Salisbury, a Mr Meidge (or Madge) was paid 40s a term for '2 single sackbuttes and 2 cornets on all Sondaies and hollidiaes': Wordsworth and Robertson, 'Salisbury Choristers', p.222. Betty Matthews, *The Music of Winchester Cathedral* (London, Stainer and Bell, 1974) p.12.

character.⁵² I am aware of little such evidence from other institutions, but for the purpose of this thesis, it will be sufficient to note that the change can be dated before the period of significant Laudian influence at Canterbury, and therefore cannot safely be in any sense characterised as a Laudian development.

With regard to novel ways of using these instruments, the evidence is extremely limited. In the Chapel Royal word book, the composition ‘Before the mountains were brought forth’ by William Lawes is described as ‘An Anthem with verse for Cornetts & Sagbutts’.⁵³ This is one of only three examples of evidence that the wind instruments were used for anything other than doubling the choir parts in full anthems and services. As the music of this piece does not survive, it is difficult to judge whether the instruments were to double parts in the organ accompaniment usually used in this type of anthem, or that this was an interlude for the instruments only.⁵⁴ Either way, it would appear that new and unusual musical practices were being fostered in the Chapel Royal, and by Lawes, who as we shall see was one of the most important progressive composers of the 1630s and after.

However, a second example in Henry Loosemore’s organ book (Drexel MS 5469) seems to suggest that such experimentation can happen purely from musical impulses, independent of the theological atmosphere of the institution. Drexel 5469 includes two compositions of interest here, both of single movements. The first, by (John) Coprario ‘A verse for the Organ, A sagbot & Cornute’ and the second by Loosemore himself ‘A verse for the Organ, a Sagbut, Cornute and Violin’.⁵⁵ It is unclear whether these were interludes in other vocal pieces, or free standing voluntary type material for reflective use. It is indeed uncertain whether they were in fact used in services, although their description as a verse, and their very presence in the source seems to suggest that they would have been at least intended as such. King’s can in no way be described as a Laudian college, and so such experimentation can be seen functioning independently of Laudian influence. It seems overall then that such experimentation in the use of sackbuts and cornets can only be detected in two

⁵² ‘Cathedral Liturgy and Music’ pp.445,450.

⁵³ Morehen, *Sources* p.423

⁵⁴ The two possibilities are suggested by Parrott, *Instruments* p.186.

institutions, the Chapel Royal and King's College, neither of which can be seen as Laudian in a straightforward sense.⁵⁶

The use of viols

There are numerous references in cathedral archives to the ownership of a consort of viols, and the use of these for the tuition of choristers. Trinity College, Cambridge maintained a consort from as early as 1594-5 unto the last recorded payment in 1615, St Paul's from as early as 1582. Mention is made of viols in York in 1618, Ely in 1604-5, Winchester by 1618, Canterbury in 1574 and Lincoln in 1594-5. At Peterborough in 1613 one Nicholas Bryne, a supernumerary clerk, was appointed to 'presentlie and from tyme to tyme teach the Choristers and the Children of the Dean or Chapter .. resident in Peterburgh upon the vialls and upon the songe'. This situation persisted under Bryne and his successors until 1643-4, and in 1641/2 the organist was given title of 'Master of the Violls'.⁵⁷

The retention of viols by cathedral chapters was clearly extremely widespread. The question as to whether these played a part in cathedral services is altogether more difficult to conclude upon. As John Morehen has pointed out, there is little evidence

⁵⁵For inventories see Morehen, *Sources* pp.205-210, and T. Dart, 'Henry Loosemore's Organ Book' *Trans. of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 3 (1959-63) 143-51. Dart suggests tentatively that the pieces may have been used to help the congregation 'digest a sermon' p.151.

⁵⁶ Andrew Parrott has suggested that Thomas Tomkins' verse anthem 'Know you not', composed on the occasion of the death of Prince Henry in 1612, could be related to the description of the occasion of the prince's coffin's waiting at St James' Palace, when the choir of the Chapel Royal performed 'divers excellent Anthems, together with the Organs, and other wind Instruments.' This is however, as he admits, purely conjectural. For the purposes of this study it is sufficient to note the early date of this as too early to be part of Laudian musical expansion: Parrott, 'Grett and solompne singing' p.186.

⁵⁷ On Trinity and Peterborough, see Payne, *Provision and Practice* pp. 134 -7, 144. Payne's suggestion that the persistence of this teaching arrangement at Peterborough into the 1630s was 'almost certainly because of the enhanced role of music under Laud's regime which encouraged such teaching' seems not to fit with the longevity of the arrangement before the advent of Laudian influence, and seems to take no account of the composition of the Peterborough chapter. At St Paul's, the will of Almoner Sebastian Westcott of 1582 refers to a 'cheste of vyalyns and vialls to exercise and learn the children there': Scott, *St Paul's* p.13. On Winchester, Matthews, *Music of Winchester Cathedral* p.12. At Canterbury, a set was purchased for the choristers in 1574, and a second set for the lay clerks in 1615. A set is recorded in a cathedral inventory of 1634: Roger Bowers, 'Cathedral Liturgy and Music' pp. 438, 442: J. Wickham Legg, W. St John Hope (eds), *Inventories of Christchurch Canterbury* (Westminster, Constable, 1902) p.261. At Gloucester, the vitality of the domestic music making is demonstrated by a 1641 document listing publications of instrumental music by Dering, Coperario, Ferrabosco and others: Eward, *No fine but a glass of wine* p.63.

to base such a supposition upon, as none of the existing liturgical sources preserve viol parts, and in the cases of those compositions where versions for both types of performance exist, numerous discrepancies are to be found between them, which suggests that they are genuinely different compositions, without such crossover of performance practice.⁵⁸

As regards actual evidence of the use of viols in divine service, I am aware of only four possible instances, of varying probability. The first concerns the account by the biographer of William Bedell of the instance of his dissatisfaction with ‘the pompous service of Christ Church in Dublin, which was attended and celebrated with all manner of instrumental music, as organs, sackbuts, cornet, viols &c. as if it had been at the dedication of Nebuchadnezzar’s golden image in the plain of Dura.’⁵⁹ However, Barra Boydell records no references to viols in his otherwise copious transcripts for the cathedral muniments, and it would seem that this reference may belong to the class of hyperbole, as the reference to Nebuchadnezzar, the significance of which we have already noted, would suggest. In a similar way, there is also no archival evidence to support Peter Smart’s reference to ‘fluits, bag-pipes; [and] tymbrells and tabers’ in the service of Durham.⁶⁰

The second archival reference relates to Exeter, where a consort of viols was to be acquired ‘for the service of the Quire with all convenient speed’ in 1637.⁶¹ This however is impossible to verify, as no musical manuscripts survive which can be associated with use in the cathedral.

⁵⁸ John Morehen, ‘The English Consort and Verse Anthems’ *EM* 6 (1978) 381-5.

⁵⁹ A. Clogy, *Memoir of Life and Episcopate of Dr William Bedell* (ed. W. Wilkins, London 1862) p.140-1.

⁶⁰ Boydell, *Music at Christ Church before 1800: Documents and selected anthems* (Dublin, Four Courts, 1999.); Cosin, *Correspondence* i.165; Crosby, *Choral foundation of Durham*, p.172.

⁶¹ Payne, *Provision and Practice* p.151. The absence of any previous references to viols at Exeter casts doubt on the accuracy of the account of the traveller Lieutenant Hammond who described in September 1635 ‘a delicate, rich and lofty Organ ... which with their Vialls, and other sweet Instruments, the tunable Voyces, and the rare Organist, together, makes a melodious, and heavenly Harmony, able to ravish the Hearers Eares’; *A Relation of a Short Survey of the Westerne Counties* (L.G.W. Legg (ed.) Camden Society xvi London 1936), cited, along with the Bedell reference, by Parrott, *Instruments* p.186. In the only such passage relating to the use of viols, of which I am aware, Charles Butler suggested in print in 1636 that ‘because Entata [stringed instruments] are often out of tune; (which sometimes happens in the mids of the Musik, when it is neither good to continue nor to correct the fault) therefore to avoid all offence (where the least should not be given) in our Church-solemnities only the Winde-instruments (whose Notes are constant) bee in use’ *The Principles of Musik* (London, 1636) p.103: also cited by Parrott, *Instruments* p.186.

A third example, conjecturally put forward by Ian Payne, concerns the verse anthem ‘Above the stars my Saviour dwells’ by the Exeter composer Robert Parsons.⁶² This piece survives for voices and organ only in Durham Cathedral sources, and in a later eighteenth-century score with instrumental parts suitable for viols, which accord with the Durham organ source. Payne suggests that after 1637 (when the Exeter viol consort was acquired) this anthem could have been performed with three viols during the solo verses, with the more usual cornet and sackbut doubling of parts during the full sections with the choir. Despite being a fascinating suggestion, it must remain at the level of conjecture, as there are no Exeter music manuscripts against which to verify, and there is also no evidence of such a use at Durham (indeed, there is no evidence of there being a consort of viols at Durham, even for non-liturgical use).⁶³ Payne suggests that the references to music copying of fourteen books at this time would fit this disposition of forces (ten choir, one organ, three instrumental) but this would involve the sackbut, cornet and viol players, conceivably five or even seven in number, sharing only three books. More broadly, supposing for a moment that Payne’s suggestion is correct, this would be further evidence of musical elaboration occurring independently of Laudian influence, as Exeter cannot be described with any confidence as a Laudian chapter.

To my knowledge, in contradiction of Morehen’s assertion above, there is one example of what appear to be manuscripts of sacred music written specifically for the use of the viol players of Canterbury cathedral. In 1626-7, some 40s was spent by the chapter on the creation of some *cantiones* (the term usually reserved, according to Roger Bowers, to books containing choral polyphony) ‘for the viols’.⁶⁴ This would seem to suggest that the viols were being incorporated into the production of the music of the liturgy. However, to the best of my knowledge, this is the only such reference in the archives of the period, and as the source itself does not survive, Bowers’ interpretation of the word ‘cantiones’ cannot be verified. Furthermore, if we were to assume for a moment that it is correct, the date of 1626-7 is rather early to be safely characterised as a ‘Laudian’ innovation, as it predates the period of Laud’s influence as Archbishop of Canterbury, to which see he was removed in 1633.

⁶² *Provision and Practice* p.152.

⁶³ Crosby, ‘The choral foundation of Durham cathedral’ p.172.

⁶⁴ Bowers, ‘Cathedral Liturgy and Music’ p.445.

Overall, it is clear that with regard to the use of viols in the choral service there is insufficient evidence to establish any definite instances, and furthermore, if we again suppose for a moment that these suggestive cases were to be verifiable, none of them occurred in a place or time which could clearly identify them with Laudian instigation.

In this section we have examined patterns of the building, maintenance and use of organs and other instruments. It can safely be concluded that there is insufficient direct evidence, and sufficient evidence to the contrary, that Laudian cathedral chapters or collegiate churches displayed any distinctive patterns of expenditure upon or use of the instruments in question. Organs were being built and maintained both before the period of Laudian ascendancy, and in churches not under its sway during that period. The use of sackbuts and cornets was common throughout the Jacobean cathedrals as well as the Caroline, and such instances as there were of novel use of these, or other instruments such as viols, either predate Laudian influence, or occur in institutions relatively indifferent or unsympathetic to it.