MUSIC AND THE EXPERIENCE OF WORSHIP: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN REFORMATION BRISTOL AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE, 1530-1642

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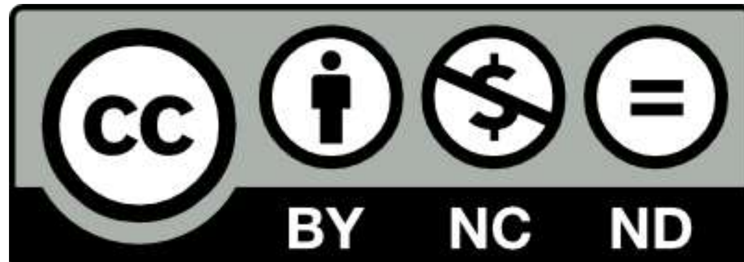

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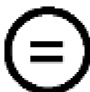

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Abstract

This thesis examines the multitude of factors involved in the development of contrasting experiences of worship, and particularly the nature and role of musical practices within worship, throughout the Reformation, until around 1642. Through the close study of the geographically adjacent yet highly contrasting regions of Bristol and Gloucestershire it challenges existing scholarly narratives surrounding changes in musical practices within worship throughout the Reformation by presenting a much more varied soundscape than hitherto expressed. It also nuances relationship – often polarised by modern historical and musicological scholarship – between certain musical practices and forms of religious identity, exposing the micropolitics that frequently informed such changes on the ground.

Chapter One of the thesis seeks to identify many of the agents that influenced changes within practices of worship by thematically examining how financial and social factors, institutions, and people were all able to effect change. Chapters Two, Three, and Four examine how these various factors influenced musical practices within worship, focussing on the development of singing, organs, and bells within worship respectively. All four chapters draw heavily from a wide range of sources, including extant churchwardens' accounts, consistory court records, cathedral records, and records of civic institutions, to provide a detailed study into the development of experiences of worship throughout Reformation Bristol and Gloucestershire.

Through the close examination of practices, this thesis will demonstrate how a whole host of agents were able to influence experiences of worship, either independently or interacting with a combination with other factors. It will also show the unique character of each church's soundscape of worship, illustrating the micropolitics involved in any change in musical practice. Whilst preferences for certain practices are certainly attributable to particular religious groups, the relationships between actual practices and identities were often more nuanced than hitherto

recognised. As such, music within worship was, under the right conditions, often more flexible and durable than existing scholarship has suggested.

Acknowledgments

There have been many to whom I owe inestimable debt for their support over the last few years, to which the brevity of what follows will never do justice. First and foremost, I thank my supervisors Dr Jonathan Willis and Professor John Harper for their patience, immeasurable knowledge, and unwavering support. Both have been incredibly generous with their time and expertise, for which I will eternally be grateful.

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Last, but certainly not least, I owe enormous gratitude to my friends and family for their support and encouragement. In particular, I owe my parents, Gordon and Angela Barnes, everything. Without their gift of music to me as a child, and their unending love and support, I would not be who I am today. I would also like to thank my brother, James Barnes, for his constant friendship. There have been times over these many years when all that has got me through the week was looking forward to standing on the terraces at Bristol Rovers FC on the weekend, despite the knowledge that

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Note on Conventions and Abbreviations

The dates presented are frequently, but not necessarily, the dates given on the original documents. For churchwardens' accounts, the year presented is often the year that the accounts ran from (ie. An account between 1542 and 1543 will be presented as 1542), unless the date is specified by the account or context. Original spelling in quotations has been maintained, apart from the occasional transposing of i to j, y to i, u to v, and v to u, where necessary for readability. Contractions within the original document are represented by being underlined.

Abbreviations

GA Gloucestershire Archives

BA Bristol Archives

TNA The National Archives

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Introduction

In 1577 Bristol's popular preacher and former minister of St. Mary Redcliffe John Northbrooke concluded that music was 'a thing not necessarie' within worship; it was better not to use it, rather 'than to suffer their [the laity's] pleasures to be cockered with the destruction of their soules'.[1] Around 50 years later, in 1631, the attitude of St. Mary Redcliffe's minister was almost antithetical to Northbrooke's, when Thomas Palmer later wrote that 'Musicke breaths heaven, nay more, it doth disclose it'.[2] Within a relatively short period, the opinions of St. Mary Redcliffe's incumbents had shifted from a cautionary position on the use of music within worship to one where music was the breath or soul of heaven and the mediator between heaven and human ears. So how did worship sound under each of these opposing incumbents? Did the sonic dimension of worship reflect the wishes and beliefs of the minister and laity, and were there any other contributing factors that manifested in the creation of St. Mary Redcliffe's post-reformation soundscape of worship? This thesis has two fundamental aims. Firstly, through a close local study of Bristol and Gloucestershire, it will show the contingent and contextual nature of the development of music within post-reformation English worship throughout the two very different regions. It will show that many parishes within Bristol retained their musical traditions, compared to an apparent dearth of traditional musical practices across Gloucestershire. It will also show the emerging vitality of metrical psalmody throughout both regions in Elizabeth's reign. Secondly, it will identify some of the fundamental agents that were able to induce, facilitate,

[1] John Northbrooke, *A Treatise Wherein Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine playes or Enterluds with other idle pastimes, etc., commonly used on the Sabboth day, are Reproved* (London, 1577), p. 85.
[2] Elway Bevin, *A briefe and short instruction of the art of musicke to teach how to make discant, of all proportions that are in use* (London, 1631), unpaginated.

or hinder changes in people’s musical (and broader) experience of worship. In a period where attitudes towards music within a worship varied dramatically, the soundscape of worship within each church was unique. Nevertheless, a number of general patterns are observable as local institutions, authorities, and communities sought to control their soundscape of worship. This thesis will demonstrate the complexity of the many, often conflicting, agents and the ‘parish politics’ involved in changing the role of music within worship. It will show how effective ecclesiastical authority was successfully able to reform the soundscape within ideologically sympathetic communities and the resistance encountered by communities and individuals that opposed them.

Soundscapes and Music

As it still is today, the soundscape of worship was a core component of worship in the post-Reformation period, with music arguably being one of the most dominant and controversial elements within it.[3] Just as conflicting communities throughout the Church of England today clash over the use of organs, choirs, bells, guitars, drums, and many other instruments

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[3] Any use of the term ‘soundscape’ throughout this thesis will follow the recent International Standards Organization, or ISO, definition for ‘soundscape’: ‘[the] acoustic environment as perceived or experienced and/or understood by a person or people, in context’ (ISO 12913-1 (2014): Acoustics Soundscape Part 1: Definition and Conceptual Framework). Alexander Fisher’s definition of soundscape is: ‘the totality of perceived sounds in a given space and time, some of which command immediate attention, others of which are habitual sounds that are invested with cultural meaning, and still others of which recede into the background as constant acoustic phenomena’ (A. Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria* (Oxford, 2014), p. 9). However, the term ‘soundscape’ has become somewhat of a ubiquitous catchall expression. In 1977 R. Murray Schafer’s foundational text *The Tuning of the World*, the ‘soundscape’ is generally defined as our sonic environment, the total accumulative array of noise in which we are present (R. Murray Schafer, *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World* (Rochester, Vt., 1977). The plethora of various definitions have relatively recently come under scrutiny and have been criticised, with concerted efforts being made towards coming up with a new definition or theories of ‘soundscape’. For an argument against Schafer’s definition, for example, see Tim Ingold, ‘Against Soundscape’, in A. Carlyle, ed., *Autumn Leaves: Sound and the Environment in Artistic Practice* (Paris, 2007), pp.10-13. For a genealogy of the term ‘soundscape’ and a detailed criticism see Ari Kelman, ‘Rethinking the Soundscape: A Critical Genealogy of a Key Term in Sound Studies’, *Sense & Society*, 5 (2010), pp.212-224.

within worship, communities were having the very same arguments over 400 years ago in an effort to ensure their own musical preferences were heard within public worship. This thesis will primarily examine the practices of music, as one of the foremost experiences of worship, throughout Bristol and Gloucestershire during the English Reformation, from the religious changes brought about by Henry VIII through to the Civil War. Whilst the whole context of the soundscape of worship is to be considered, as sounds designed to be communicated sonically can only be truly understood as part of the total soundscape, this thesis primarily concerns itself with anthrophonic musical sounds due their nature to often hold particular communal emphasis: namely bells, organs, and singing.

Sound, and music in particular, has always had the ability to move us. As one of the eight senses recognised within the Western World, it is one of the ways that an individual's experience of worship could have been affected before being guided through a cognitive response to their sensory system. Of all the senses, the visual and auditory systems are perhaps the most measurable and influential in stimulating and observing a cognitive response to a change in worship.[4] 'Sound studies' is a swiftly growing field that has recognised the importance of sound and now spans across many disciplines. This has led to the soundscape of worship throughout the Reformation, and particularly the musical aspects of the soundscape, to have been approached via several disciplines.[5] Historically, two dominant approaches may be identified. The first approach may be identified through work

[4] Matthew Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation* (Farnham, 2011), particularly pp. 25-39.
[5] This growth may perhaps be demonstrated in the variety of disciplines encompassed within the AHRC-funded international network, Soundscapes in the Early Modern World. The AHRC-funded international research network 'Soundscapes in the Early Modern World' was created with the ambition to: 'develop new approaches to hearing the sounds of the early modern world, reflect on how we engage with historical soundscapes, and consider the multifaceted relationship between meaning and hearing' (https://emsoundscapes.co.uk [Accessed: 13.11.19]).

generally done by musicologists. They have, naturally, approached the topic through their skillsets, leading them to predominantly focus upon repertory, performance practice, style, and composition.[6] Another approach, predominantly favoured by historians but also utilised by many musicologists, is to approach the subject through more tangible historical evidence. This has led to conclusions based upon the historical incidences of subjects such as choirs and organs throughout a wide range of institutions.[7] This study will largely follow in the footsteps of the latter, being led by the most tangible available evidence throughout the range of covered institutions.

Musicologists such as Nicholas Temperley and Peter Le Huray originally opened an array of new areas of study within early modern English church music.[8] These works have largely withstood the tests of time, although they are visibly dated; their concerns are largely insular, with any historiographical engagement now largely outdated. For example, Le Huray presents the binary oppositional model of 'High Church' against 'Puritan'.[9] Since then, very few musicologists have drawn upon the concurrent historical research in the religion of early

[6] Timothy Duguid's *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice* is a prime example of such an approach. It ably demonstrates the formation and development of English and Scottish metrical psalmody, providing some suggestions of performance practice, through focussing predominantly upon the textual and musical differences (T. Duguid, *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice: English 'Singing Psalms' and Scottish 'Psalm Buiks', c.1547-1640* (Abingdon, 2014)). Even some of Temperley's latest work fits firmly within this mould (N. Temperley, ''All skillfull praises sing': how congregations sang the psalms in early modern England', *Renaissance Studies*, 29/4 (2015), pp. 531-553; B. Quitsland and N. Temperley, eds., *The whole book of Psalms. Collected into English metre by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins and others. A critical edition of texts and tunes*. 2 vols. (Tempe, Arizona, 2018)).

[7] For cathedrals, for example, see Stanford Lehmberg's *The Reformation of Cathedrals* (Guildford, 1988) and *Cathedrals Under Siege: Cathedrals in English Society, 1600-1700* (Exeter, 1996). For parishes and cathedrals, see J. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England* (Aldershot, 2010).

[8] See Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* (2 vols. Cambridge, 1979), vol. 1; Percy Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England* (New York, 1962); Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England* (London, 1967); Frank Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain* (London, 1963); Erik Routley, *The Church and Music* (London, 1967); Edmond Fellowes, *English Cathedral Music* (5th edn, London, 1969).

[9] P. Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England*, pp. 47-53. For a more detailed historiography surrounding Le Huray and Temperley's works, see P. Webster, 'The Relationship between Religious Thought and the Theory and Practice of Church Music in England, 1603-c.1640' (PhD Thesis, University of Sheffield, 2001), pp. 8-10.

modern England. Notable exceptions include Roger Bowers' work on choral foundations, Peter Webster's work on church music between 1603 and 1640, James Apgar's thesis on 'singing by course' and the politics of worship between 1560 and 1640, and Anne Heminger's thesis on music, religious identity, and sacred space in London between 1540 and 1560.[10] The work of musicologists such as Magnus Williamson and John Harper has also significantly enhanced our understanding the evolving musical practices within both the late-medieval Church and within its post-Reformation counterpart.[11] Linda Austern's recent publication *Both from the Ears & Mind* also deserves a particular mention, particularly for the content in Chapter 2 that focusses on the debate surrounding the appropriate use of music within post-Reformation worship.[12] These contrasting views on musical practices within worship, and their apparent relationships with both of the ideological extremes, will be observed on a physical and practical level within this thesis.

[10] Roger Bowers, 'Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music, 1444-1644' in J. Massing and N. Zeeman, eds., *King's College Chapel 1515-2015: Art, Music and Religion in Cambridge* (London, 2014), pp. 259-286; R. Bowers, 'The Liturgy of the Cathedral and its Music, c.1075-1642' in P. Collinson, N. Ramsey, and M. Sparks, eds., *A History of Canterbury Cathedral* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 408-450; R. Bowers, 'Music and Worship to 1640' in D. Owen, ed., *A History of Lincoln Minster* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 47-76; P. Webster, 'The Relationship between Religious Thought and the Theory and Practice of Church Music in England, 1603-c.1640'; James Apgar, ''Singing by Course' and the Politics of Worship in the Church of England, c1560-1640' (PhD Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 2018); A. Heminger, 'Confession Carried Aloft: Music, Religious Identity, and Sacred Space in London, c.1540-1560 (PhD Thesis, The University of Michigan, 2019).

[11] See, for example, John Harper, 'Continuity, Discontinuity, Fragments and Connections: The Organ in Church, c.1500-1640', in E. Hornby and D. Maw, eds., *Essays on the History of English Music in Honour of John Caldwell: Sources, Style, Performance, Historiography* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 215-231; J. Harper, 'Changes in the fortunes and use of the organ in church, 1500-1800' in I. Quinn, ed., *Studies in English Organ Music* (Abingdon, 2018), pp. 59-72; J. Harper, 'Liturgy and Music, 1350-1550' in P. Barnwell, ed., *Places of Worship in Britain and Ireland 1350-1550* (Donington, 2019), pp. 11-24; J. Harper, 'Liturgy and Music through the Decades of Change, c.1550-c.1690' in P. Barnwell and T. Cooper, eds., *Places of Worship in Britain and Ireland 1550-1689* (Donington, 2019), pp. 22-34; Magnus Williamson, 'Playing the organ, Tudor-style: some thoughts on improvisation, composition and memorisation', in D. Smith, ed., *Aspects of English Keyboard Music Before 1630* (London, 2019), pp. 99-122; M. Williamson, 'Liturgical Polyphony in the Pre-Reformation English Parish Church: A Provisional List and Commentary', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 38 (2005), pp. 1-43; M. Williamson, 'Liturgical Music in the Late-Medieval Parish: Organs and Voices, Ways and Means', in *The Parish in Late-Medieval England*, eds. C. Burgess & E. Duffy, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, XIV, (Donington, 2006), pp. 177-242.

[12] Linda Austern, *Both from the Ears & Mind: Thinking about Music in Early Modern Music* (London, 2020).

Scholars from other disciplines, largely historians, have also utilised traditional historical sources, such as churchwardens' accounts or court records, to study music at a parish level, integrating such work into a much greater corpus of religious and social history. This body of work attempted to fill the large gap that was only occasionally touched upon since the early significant contributions of Le Huray and Temperley. Historians such as John Craig, Ian Green, Andrew Pettegree, Jonathan Willis, and Christopher Marsh have all made significant contributions towards various aspects of music and religion.[13] The overwhelming broader contribution from this recent historiography is the reintegration of post-Reformation musical discourses into the updated historical scholarship on early modern religion. Willis' *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England* and Marsh's *Music and Society in Early Modern England* have been particularly influential.[14] Both works provide extraordinary detail into the historical development of music within worship, positing a far more optimistic revision than those expressed before them. Despite these works, however, connections between sound, particularly music, religious identity, and the agents of changing experiences within early-modern England are yet to be fully explored. Whilst Willis' and Marsh's works have provided the most significant revision in the history of music within worship, these are not categorical. They are national, synthetic studies that miss the contextual richness that is only possible through a local study. Whilst presenting a

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[13] John Craig, 'Psalms, Groans and Dogwhippers: the soundscape of worship in the English parish church, 1547-1642' in W. J. Coster and A. Spicer, eds., *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2005). pp. 104-123; Ian Green, '"All people that on earth do dwell, sing to the Lord with cheerful voice": Protestantism and music in early modern England' in S. Ditchfield, ed., *Christianity and Community in the West* (Ashgate, 2001), pp. 148-164; Andrew Pettegree, 'Militant in Song' in his *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 40-75; and Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2010).
[14] J. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England*; J. Willis, 'Music and Religious Identity in Elizabethan London: The Value (and Limitations) of the Churchwardens' Accounts' in V. Hitchman and A. Foster, eds, *Views from the Parish: Churchwardens' Accounts c.1500-c.1800* (Newcastle, 2015), pp. 179-198; C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*.

convincing picture of what was happening nationally, motivations behind any local variations have not been examined in depth. By closely studying a local area, this thesis will examine any variations in both musical practice and motivations, evaluating the conclusions drawn up within existing historiography.

Willis' research is particularly pertinent to my own thesis, both in his as yet unchallenged findings and through the similarities in methodology at the core of his monograph. Willis' methodology, in only contemplating complete churchwardens' accounts, understandably presents a select number of parishes across the country in an attempt to present a national trend. The results are acknowledged to have a natural London-based bias, and a slightly more surprising bias towards Devon, but are deemed to be representative enough to at least support 'a substantial reassessment of the significance of the parish as a site of interaction between novel and traditional musical and religious impulses, and to the nature of the accommodations which resulted'.[15] A local study provides an opportunity for a much greater level of close analysis and to examine a much fuller range of sources, which has enabled this thesis to examine some of the complex parish and community politics behind any change in musical provision. This study also advances beyond Willis's Elizabethan chronological focus to explore musical aspects within worship in the early-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. This allows an examination into how significant changes in the national Church affected local musical provision, particularly throughout areas under the influence of very different communities and ecclesiastical authorities. It also helps to identify some of the most significant agents of change in a period of intense religious conflict.

[15] J. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England*, p. 129.

Despite the growing amount of work upon sound within worship, there is a general lacuna regarding the implementation of any local change in music within worship.

Religious Identity, Experiences of Public Worship, and Effecting Change

This thesis will primarily explore the relationship between experiences of public worship and the many variations of Protestantism within early modern Bristol and Gloucestershire. The terms 'public worship' and 'worship' will here be treated interchangeably. Whilst private and domestic devotion certainly played a significant part in the country's religious culture, the politics involved in negotiating any preferred practice into an outward facing communal worship requires further attention.[16] Factors such as size, non-attendance, conflict surrounding social status, and diverse preferences in practices of worship frustrated the very ideals of any church, and parish churches in particular, from being a cohesive body.[17] It will become clear that churches throughout these regions all developed unique experiences of public worship, formed through differences in their political, social, and religious development. However, patterns of similar practices may often be observed between churches with distinct similarities in dominant ideological views. These notions have often led historians to polarise these practices and beliefs, definitively attributing certain practices in worship to either of the conflicting parties. In reality, religious identity in both theory and practice was more complex than the polarised concepts often presented. By looking at the

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[16] For more on private worship and devotion, see Alec Ryrie and Jessica Martin's edited collection of essays in *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain* (Farnham, 2012).
[17] Julia Merritt, 'Religion and the English Parish' in A. Milton, ed., *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume 1: Reformation and Identity c.1520-1662* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 122-146.

peculiarities of the local experience we can move beyond the tendency of historians to generalise in particular ways.

The experiences in context presented throughout the thesis and their attribution to particular religious identities are made tentatively and rely on both their historiographical provenance and the debates surrounding the very nature of the Reformation. Throughout the history of the Reformation, whilst acknowledging the presence of indifferent or passive individuals, historians have tended to emphasise a polarisation in worship practices between communities with conflicting religious identities.[18] This duality was almost always between a group pushing for further reform and a more conservative party. This has led towards the characterisation of a puritan's preference of sermon-centric worship, for which preaching, education, and scripture were also essential, against a more sacrament-centred worship that was favoured amongst conservative worshippers.[19] However, historians such as Julia Merritt have complicated such hostile juxtapositions in preferences of worship.[20] This thesis intends to do the same in terms of the soundscape of worship.

This thesis will demonstrate how a whole host of agents were able to affect changes in people's experiences of worship. Whilst the implementation of national religious policy

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[18] The argument of the general passivity of many congregations is summarised by Christopher Haigh. He noted that 'parish congregations went to church: they prayed again to their God, learned again how to be good, and went off home once more. That was how it had been in 1530; that was how it was in 1590' (C. Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993), p. 295).

[19] J. Merritt, 'Religion and the English Parish', pp. 122-146; Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences, 1590– 1640* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 52–4; J. Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 67–8.

[20] J. Merritt, 'Religion and the English Parish', pp. 122-146. Merritt and George Yule also combatted such notions, showing that the significant focus on furnishing and adorning the very fabric of churches was not solely upon those associated with Laudianism (J. Merritt, 'Puritans, Laudians and the Phenomenon of Church-Building in Jacobean London', *The Historical Journal*, 41/4 (1998), pp. 935-960; G. Yule, 'James VI and I: Furnishing the Churches in his Two Kingdoms' in A. Fletcher and P. Roberts, eds., *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Honour of Patrick Collinson* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 182-208).

relied largely on its effective administration within the diocese, other social factors, institutions, and people also contributed to a church's practices.[21] For example, effective ministry has been long identified to have been a factor in implementing change, or indeed in resisting change.[22] Whilst the role of a cathedral's dean and chapter has been identified to have often shaped the experiences of worship within their institution, the role of the early modern cathedral in influencing experiences within the wider community, however, have been largely overlooked.[23] Civic institutions have likewise been identified as influencing worship within their jurisdiction, having developed an 'all-embracing puritan political vision traceable from the mid-sixteenth century', a 'Puritan paradigm'.[24] Collinson, for example, has demonstrated that many civic authorities, such as those in Bury St. Edmunds and

[21] Daniel Beaver highlights the importance of effective court administration in his study on the Vale of Gloucester, stating that 'the diocesan courts in Gloucestershire became the most important local agent of Reformation in the later sixteenth century'. He concludes that the Reformation was ultimately brought to the Vale of Gloucester after an intensified use of church courts to reform immoral behaviour following several local catastrophes (D. Beaver, *Parish Communities and Religious Conflict in the Vale of Gloucester, 1590-1690* (London, 1998), p. 118).

[22] J. Merritt, 'Religion and the English Parish', pp. 132-134, 137-138; Tom Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement c.1620-1643* (Cambridge, 1997).

[23] Cathedrals have been treated from three perspectives: they have been either largely overlooked and viewed as completely isolated from the rest of the Church, as being an essential part of the Church of England by showcasing the idealised form of worship and acting as a role model to the rest of the Church, or as a very physical reminder of their Catholic past (Ian Atherton, 'Cathedrals' in A. Milton, ed., *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume 1: Reformation and Identity c.1520-1662* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 228-242; D. MacCulloch, 'The Myth of the English Reformation', *Journal of British Studies*, 30 (1991), pp. 1-19; D. MacCulloch, 'Putting the English Reformation on the Map', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6/15 (2005), pp. 75-95; R. Houlbrooke, 'Refoundation and Reformation, 1538–1628', in I. Atherton, et al., eds., *Norwich Cathedral: Church, City and Diocese, 1096-1996* (London, 1996), pp. 538-9; J. Merritt, 'The Cradle of Laudianism?: Westminster Abbey, 1558–1630', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 52 (2001), pp. 623-646). Skeeter's brief examination of Bristol Cathedral is one exception to the comparatively underrepresented literature regarding cathedrals' wider role within the community. Skeeter highlights the connections between the newly founded Bristol Cathedral, the incumbent clerical elite, and the laity, and argues that the cathedral played a large part in the education of the civic elite, conducting most of the preaching within the city, and in operating the consistory court (M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy: Bristol and the Reformation c.1530-c.1570* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 138-142).

[24] Nicholas Tyacke, 'The Puritan Paradigm of English Politics, 1558-1642', *The Historical Journal*, 53/3 (2010), p. 527.

Ipswich, were committed to the concept of a godly magistracy.[25] It was not only institutions that were able to effect changes in worship. As Marshall states, 'English parishioners were not simply passive and stoic consumers of the officially prescribed diet'.[26] Indeed, various authors have shown instances of lay-nonconformity and popular resistance to official religious policy.[27] Patronage was one potential method for a layman to implement or retain their preferred form of worship. Forwarding a favourable ministerial candidate for a rectory or vicarage became an increasingly rewarding approach, particularly after the advowsons of former monastic houses passed to the crown and into laymen's hands following the Dissolution.[28] Through the calculated provision of patronage, networks consisting of communities of similar religious identities were able to form, nurture their ideological position amongst wider communities, and potentially resist authority to a greater extent that if an individual acted alone.[29] Lay-power also rested in within churches' vestries. After all, they had the executive oversight of a parish.[30] This thesis will actively seek the specific factors that changed experiences of worship and challenge previous assumptions in the

[25] Patrick Collinson, 'Magistracy and Ministry: a Suffolk Miniature' in R. Knox, ed., *Reformation, Conformity and Dissent: Essays in Honour of Geoffrey Nuttall* (London, 1977), p.89; P. Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625* (Oxford, 1982), particularly chapter four: 'Magistracy and Ministry', pp. 141-188.

[26] Peter Marshall, '(Re)defining the English Reformation', *Journal of British Studies*, 48/3 (2009), p. 586.

[27] For example, Edwardian parishes in London removed their altars before they were lawfully required to and many had anticipated the revival of Catholic liturgy upon Mary's accession, performing the Latin liturgy when still technically illegal (K. Fincham and N. Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c.1700* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 15-17).

[28] J. Merritt, 'Religion and the English Parish', pp. 134-135.

[29] David Rollison, for example, has highlighted the importance of networks and patronage in the case of the godly preacher Philip Jones. He relied on some powerful individuals within Cirencester, and even possibly within the circle of the earl of Leicester, Robert Dudley. In extreme circumstances, the notoriously Calvinist Feoffees for Impropriations managed to purchase the impropriate rectory of Cirencester in 1627; Cirencester was one of a number of rectories purchased in order to appoint and provide pulpits for Calvinist clergymen within particular strategic towns (D. Rollison, *Commune, Country and Commonwealth: The People of Cirencester, 1117-1643* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 147, 219).

[30] J. Merritt, 'Religion and the English Parish', pp. 135-136.

characterisation of practices, showing that many trends formerly characterised under polarised practices were more nuanced than previously believed.

Local Historical and Historiological Narratives

My own personal local networking connections, the survival of largely unexamined sources, the geographic adjacency, and the historical diversity of Bristol and Gloucestershire make them perfect areas to focus such a study. Whilst the nature of the sources underpinning this study will be considered later, Bristol and Gloucestershire are two adjacent regions that were both newly created dioceses within months of each other between 1541 and 1542. As may be seen in Map 1 in Appendix 1, until 1541 they had both been part of the Diocese of Worcester. The Diocese of Gloucester was first created on 3 September 1541, with the former Benedictine St. Peter's Abbey ordained as the new Cathedral Church of the Holy and Indivisible Trinity, and the town of Gloucester being formally recognised as a city.[31] Previously an ecclesiastical administrative centre as the archdeaconry of Gloucester within the diocese of Worcester, the creation of a new cathedral city here made logistical sense, despite only having an estimated 4,000 inhabitants compared to Bristol's 10,000.[32] The diocese originally consisted of the entirety of Gloucestershire, including the portion of Bristol that was originally part of the diocese of Worcester, essentially the section north of the River

[31] R. Atkyns, *The Ancient and Present State of Glostershire, Part I* (1712, reprint: Wakefield, 1974), pp. 44-45; Joyce Horn, ed., *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541-1857: Volume 8, Bristol, Gloucester, Oxford and Peterborough Dioceses* (London, 1996), pp. 35-37.

[32] David Harris Sacks, *Trade, Society and Politics in Bristol, c.1500-c.1640* (PhD Thesis, Harvard, 1977), pp. 204-213; William Hoskins, 'English Provincial Towns in the Early Sixteenth Century', reprinted in P. Clark, ed., *The Early Modern Town* (New York, 1976), pp. 92-93; Penelope Corfield, 'Urban Development in England and Wales in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', reprinted in J. Barry, ed., *The Tudor and Stuart Town: A Reader in English Urban History 1530-1688* (New York, 1990), pp. 49-50.

Avon.[33] The Diocese of Bristol was subsequently established on 4 June 1542.[34] Although originally considered as the site of a new diocese in 1539, no action was taken until the creation of the diocese of Gloucester. The promotion of their rival town Gloucester to a cathedral city potentially wounded the pride of Bristol's civic authorities, with their new privileges also considered to be a threat; Martha Skeeters has suggested the influence of the civic elite in the diocese's creation.[35] Nevertheless, in 1542 the Augustinian Abbey of St. Augustine became the Cathedral Church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, and Bristol was formally recognised as a city. This last-minute decision to create the diocese is reflected in its geographical peculiarity. The new diocese consisted of the rural deanery of Bristol, apart from around ten parishes that remained within the diocese of Gloucester, and integrated the churches of St. Mary Redcliffe, St. Thomas, and Temple that were formerly in the diocese of Bath and Wells. Additionally, the parish of Abbot's Leigh was added from Bath and Wells diocese, and the whole county of Dorset, formerly from Salisbury diocese, was also annexed. This created the unique situation where part of Bristol's diocese was separate by around forty miles from the other, with the diocese of Bath and Wells in between.[36] Nevertheless, these two adjacent new dioceses shared a common ecclesiastical jurisdiction prior to 1542, shared a common fate in being relatively poor, had trade and religious networks that extended between each diocese, and went on to share several bishops throughout the

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[33] Those parishes south of the Avon initially remained in the diocese of Bath and Wells.

[34] Isabel Kirby, *A Catalogue of the Records of the Bishop and Archdeacons and Dean and Chapter of Bristol Diocese* (Bristol, 1970), pp. 9, 16.

[35] M. Skeeters, 'The Creation of the Diocese of Bristol', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 103 (1985), pp. 175-178; M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy: Bristol and the Reformation c.1530-c.1570* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 122-125.

[36] J. Horn, ed., *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541-1857: Volume 8, Bristol, Gloucester, Oxford and Peterborough Dioceses* (London, 1996), pp. 3-6; M. Skeeters, 'The Creation of the Diocese of Bristol', pp. 175-178; M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, pp. 122-125.

following century. Despite these historical similarities it will become evident that the general forms of worship between these two dioceses contrasted significantly by the seventeenth century, making these areas an ideal location to examine such differences in the experience of worship and to provide some explanations behind either their similarities or their differences.

The changing experience of worship encountered by the laity has been examined by numerous scholars throughout the past 60 years, although previous work surrounding early modern Bristol, Gloucester, and Gloucestershire have received perhaps comparatively little attention compared to some of the work carried out within areas such as London and Norwich. Caroline Litzenberger, Kenneth Powell, Ben Lowe, Peter Clark, Martha Skeeters, Joseph Bettey, David Rollison, and Daniel Beaver have all made significant contributions towards furthering our understanding of both the social and religious changes on a local scale.[37] As such, the region has been involved in reshaping the traditional narrative of the

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[37] Caroline Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity: Gloucestershire, 1540-1580* (Cambridge, 1997); C. Litzenberger, 'St. Michael's, Gloucester, 1540-80: The Cost of Conformity in Sixteenth-century England' in K. L. French, G. G. Gibbs and B. A. Kümin, eds., *The Parish Life, 1400-1600* (Manchester, 1997), pp. 230-249; C. Litzenberger, 'The Coming of Protestantism to Elizabethan Tewkesbury' in P. Collinson and J. Craig, eds., *The Reformation of English Towns, 1500-1640* (Basingstoke, 1998), pp. 79-93; Kenneth Powell, 'The Beginning of Protestantism in Gloucestershire', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 90 (1971), pp. 141-157; K. Powell, 'The Social Background to the Reformation in Gloucestershire', *The Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 92 (1973), pp. 96-120; K. Powell, *The Marian Martyrs and the Reformation in Bristol* (Bristol, 1972); Ben Lowe, *Commonwealth and the English Reformation: Protestantism and the Politics of Religious Change in the Gloucester Vale* (Farnham, 2010); Peter Clark, 'The Civic Leaders of Gloucester, 1580-1800' in P. Clark, ed., *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns* (London, 1984), pp. 311-345; P. Clark, ''The Ramoth-Gilead of the Good': Urban Change and Political Radicalism at Gloucester 1540-1640' in J. Barry, ed., *The Tudor and Stuart Town: A Reader in English Urban History 1530-1688* (New York, 1990), pp. 244-273; M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*; J. Bettey, *Bristol Parish Churches During the Reformation c1530-1560* (Bristol, 1979); J. Bettey, *Church and Community in Bristol During the Sixteenth Century* (Bristol, 1983); J. Bettey, 'Early Reformers and Reformation Controversy in Bristol and South Gloucestershire', *Transactions of the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 115 (1997), pp. 9-18; J. Bettey, *The Suppression of the Religious Houses in Bristol* (Bristol, 1990); J. Bettey, ed., *Records of Bristol Cathedral* (Bristol, 2007); D. Rollison, *The Local Origins of Modern Society, Gloucestershire 1500-1800* (London, 1992); D. Rollison, *Commune, Country and Commonwealth: the People of Cirencester, 1117-1643*; D. Beaver, *Parish Communities and Religious Conflict in the Vale of Gloucester, 1590-1690*.

reformation, the 'rapid Reformation from below' that was disseminated by scholars such as Arthur Geoffrey Dickens.[38] The historiography of the Reformation in Bristol very closely mirrors broader developments in the field over the past 60 years and, as such, the historical consensus on the ultimate nature and form of the Reformation throughout the regions is contested.

The work of Powell, Litzenberger, Clark, and Lowe on the region encapsulates and mirrors some of these broader historiographical developments surrounding the nature of the Reformation. It may be unsurprising that many of Dickens' general conclusions about a swift Reformation from below found traction within the work of his student, Powell, and his work on Bristol and the textile communities of Gloucestershire.[39] For Powell, Protestantism spread swiftly through local communities and trades via some uncoordinated reform minded ministers; conversion, rather than coercion, was apparently easy and fast for many amid a corrupt and disengaging Catholic Church. Powell's approach was flawed through his reliance on sources focussing on atypical zealous minority, such as those detailed within Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* and court act books. It therefore often fails to recognise the experiences of the laity more broadly, instead focussing on a small but vociferous minority. These pictures have been broadly overturned by revisionist historians.

[38] Arthur Dickens, *The English Reformation* (1564); A. Dickens, 'The early expansion of Protestantism in England, 1520-58', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschicht*, 78 (1987), pp. 187-222. For a discussion on Dickens and the subsequent revisions made following his work, see A. Pettegree, 'A. G. Dickens and his Critics: a New Narrative of the English Reformation', *Historical Research: the Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 77/195 (2004), pp. 39-58.

[39] K. Powell, 'The Beginning of Protestantism in Gloucestershire', pp. 145-148; K. Powell, *The Marian Martyrs and the Reformation in Bristol*; K. Powell, 'The Social Background to the Reformation in Gloucestershire', pp. 96-120.

Using the now familiar local approach, several revisionists staked their claims in Gloucestershire or Bristol as 'their' county or community. Using surviving consistory court records and churchwardens' accounts, Litzenberger presented a narrative of the diocese which mirrors that propagated on the national scale by fellow revisionist scholars such as Eamon Duffy, Jack Scarisbrick, and Christopher Haigh.[40] Whilst acknowledging that each region, and even each church, had varying degrees of conformity to the national faith, Litzenberger repeatedly concluded that Gloucestershire was ultimately reluctant to embrace Protestantism, only accepting it in certain parts of the diocese by the mid-1570s. This revisionist notion led to the concept of a 'long reformation' of a seemingly ever-increasing length; some observed that the Reformation process was still active into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with Jeremy Gregory even arguing such a process was still occurring in the early-Victorian period.[41] The process of Reformation within Gloucestershire, according to Litzenberger was very much 'from above'. Change was caused through the introduction of a more definitive national religious policy, combined with an effective authority to enforce reform through the courts.[42] Clive Burgess has similarly represented

[40] See, for example: E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400-c.1580* (New Haven, 1992); Christopher Haigh, ed., *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge, 1987); and C. Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993). The broad revisionist argument is famously laid bare within the opening of Scarisbrick's *The Reformation and the English People*; 'on the whole, English men and women did not want the Reformation and most of them were slow to accept it when it came' (Jack Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Blackwell, 1984), p. 1).

[41] Adherents to the 'long reformation' have argued that ardent reformers were a vast and scattered minority until the reign of Elizabeth. Even then, it isn't possible to truly speak of a Protestant church until the 1580s, at least. Norman Jones, approaching the question in terms of life cycles and generation change, concluded the process just into the early-Stuart period. Some have even extended it until the 1640s and beyond (see Peter Marshall, *Reformation England, 1480-1642* (London, 2003); Nicholas Tyacke, ed. *England's Long Reformation, 1500-1800* (London, 1998); Norman Jones, *The English Reformation: Religion and Cultural Adaptation* (Oxford, 2002); J. Gregory, 'The Making of a Protestant Nation: 'Success' and 'Failure' in England's Long Reformation' in N. Tyacke, ed., *England's Long Reformation, 1500-1800* (London, 1998), pp. 304-333).

[42] C. Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity*; C. Litzenberger, 'The Coming of Protestantism to Elizabethan Tewkesbury', pp. 79-93; C. Litzenberger, 'St. Michael's, Gloucester, 1540-80: The Cost of

revisionism in Bristol. Whilst focussing almost entirely on late-medieval Bristol, he has consistently rebuffed the traditional narratives of prevalent negligence and immorality amongst the clergy, and claims of widespread anticlericism amongst the laity, that scholars of Dickens' era saw as naturally paving the path towards a much welcome Protestantism.[43] Instead, Burgess has evoked a picture of a deeply pious late-medieval town with a flourishing religious culture and a vast amount of lay involvement, an image that can be observed elsewhere across the country.[44]

Joseph Bettey and Martha Skeeters have similarly revised some of the traditional narratives surrounding the Reformation in their work on Bristol. Bettey's numerous works have supported the picture of a thriving late-medieval religious culture within Bristol depicted by Burgess and have demonstrated both the physical and cultural effects of the Reformation. He concludes that the Reformation was by nature, at least physically, 'from above', and that the laity particularly embraced the return of Catholicism under Mary. Nevertheless, he also concludes that Bristol's churches appear to have made all the requisite changes in fabric and liturgy swiftly. Bristol's ruling Tudor class were concerned with securing a stable government and maintaining public order.[45] Skeeters, in her monograph on

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Conformity in Sixteenth-century England', pp. 230-249. For more on English church courts throughout this period, see Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640* (Cambridge, 1987).

[43] A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation*.

[44] Clive Burgess, ''For the Increase of Divine Service': Chantries in the Parish in Late Medieval Bristol', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 36/1 (1985), pp.46-65; C. Burgess, ''By Quick and by Dead': Wills and Pious Provision in Late Medieval Bristol', *The English Historical Review*, 102/405 (1987), pp. 837-858; C. Burgess. ed., *The Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints', Bristol: Part 1* (Oxford, 1995); C. Burgess, ed., *The Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints', Bristol: Part 2* (Bristol, 2000); C. Burgess, ed., *The Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints', Bristol: Part 3* (Bristol, 2004); Margaret Bowker, *The Secular Clergy in the Diocese of Lincoln, 1495-1520* (Cambridge, 1968); Peter Heath, *The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation* (London, 1969); R. Houlbrooke, *Church Courts and the People During the English Reformation, 1520-70* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 177-179.

[45] J. Bettey, *Bristol Parish Churches During the Reformation c1530-1560*; J. Bettey, *Church and Community in Bristol During the Sixteenth Century*; J. Bettey, *The Suppression of the Religious Houses in Bristol*. Litzenberger

Community and Clergy: Bristol and the Reformation, c.1530-c.1570, focussed on the nature and role of the clergy within the wider community before and after the dislocation of the Reformation.[46] It similarly builds on Burgess' work and pushes the narrative forward. She argues that late-medieval clerical life was rich and that clerical standards declined demonstrably following the destruction of the institutions of the late-medieval Church. Furthermore, she demonstrated the investment of lay authorities in attempting to temper religious conflict, becoming increasingly involved within ecclesiastical affairs. However, this work does not entirely conform to either the traditional or revisionist narratives. It highlights the various experiences throughout the city, demonstrating that it was both a centre of devout lay piety in the late Middle Ages, but equally had a large dissenting community, which gave way to become a centre of lay and clerical Protestantism in the late-sixteenth century. These changes appear to neither be definitively from the bottom up or from above, rather emerging from the rather more complex daily actions of the community and society. The limitations of focussing on institutions and clerical personnel, and the lack of recognition on the lived experiences of worship within the community, inhibit this emerging perspective; these have yet to be fully explored.

Recent scholarship on the Reformation has evolved to be more nuanced and less categorical in nature. Significant work by scholars such as Ethan Shagan, Diarmaid MacCulloch, Andrew Pettegree, John Craig, and Peter Marshall, have helped to develop this post-revisionist response.[47] Post-revisionism is not a unanimous approach, other than in its

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also makes a similar argument for St. Michael, Gloucester in C. Litzenberger, 'St. Michael's, Gloucester, 1540-80: The Cost of Conformity in Sixteenth-century England', pp. 230-249.

[46] M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*.

[47] See, for example, Ethan Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003); P. Marshall, '(Re)defining the English Reformation', pp. 564-586. For further discussion into the nature of post-revisionism,

attempts to challenge both of the traditionally opposing interpretations of the Reformation and illuminate the innumerable subtleties of reform. This was the approach that Lowe self-consciously aimed to emulate in his study *Commonwealth and the English Reformation: Protestantism and the Politics of Religious Change in the Gloucester Vale*.[48] Lowe attempted to replicate the approach incorporated in Ulinka Rublack's work on the continental Reformation and take up Euan Cameron's call for the 'social history of belief'; one must examine the entire social context scrupulously.[49] Building on the work of Peter Clark and Litzenberger, Lowe argued that the Henrician and Edwardian reforms were swiftly adopted by the civic and landed elites throughout the Vale of Gloucester; he concludes that a combination of social and economic factors, with the addition of very persuasive prophetic messages from figures such as Bishop John Hooper, caused these leading political classes to find such reform beneficial.[50] He argues that 'while a "long Reformation" may have typified much of the country, among Gloucester's leaders it was clearly over by the time the *Thirty-nine Articles* were promulgated in 1563', with the same argument made for the gentry.[51] Lowe's work, however, does not attempt to demonstrate the real changing experiences of worship that most of the community would have encountered, or the manner in which these

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see B. Lowe, 'A Short Reformation? A Case for Recalculating the Chronology of Religious Change in Sixteenth-Century England', *Anglican and Episcopal History*, 82/4 (2013), pp. 409-447; B. Lowe, *Commonwealth and the English Reformation*.

[48] B. Lowe, 'A Short Reformation? A Case for Recalculating the Chronology of Religious Change in Sixteenth-Century England', pp. 409-447; B. Lowe, *Commonwealth and the English Reformation*.

[49] Ulinka Rublack, *Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 194, 196; Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation* (Oxford, 1991).

[50] B. Lowe, *Commonwealth and the English Reformation*.

[51] B. Lowe, *Commonwealth and the English Reformation*, p. 250. Clark had previously argued that 'the key to the puritan advance in the community lay in the role of the urban elite' and that a dominant puritan party had emerged within Gloucester's magistracy within Elizabeth's reign (P. Clark, ''The Ramoth-Gilead of the Good': Urban Change and Political Radicalism at Gloucester 1540-1640', p. 266). Litzenberger had also previously acknowledged the emergence of such godly beliefs throughout Gloucester's civic elite (C. Litzenberger, 'St. Michael's, Gloucester, 1540-80: The Cost of Conformity in Sixteenth-century England', pp. 230-249).

civic and landed elite utilised their positions to encourage religious change. This thesis will demonstrate these changing experiences of worship through the regions' extant sources and similarly examine social contexts scrupulously to posit some of the primary agents in implementing such change.

Local scholarship dictates that the influx of godly ministers in the early 1590s throughout the Vale of Gloucester nurtured communities that desired a greater standard of clerical behaviour and pastoral provision.[52] Daniel Beaver also suggests that effective diocesan courts in Gloucestershire 'became the most important local agent of Reformation in the later sixteenth century' following an intensified use of church courts to reform immoral behaviour after several local catastrophes.[53] Meanwhile, Peter Clark has described how civic authorities within the city of Gloucester increasingly identified as a godly community seeking to strengthen social order in a struggling local economy through religious reform.[54] However, this work does not address many of the details surrounding Gloucester Corporation's influence in impressing their religious identity throughout the city. This thesis will elucidate such details, demonstrating the influence that the corporation had in influencing practices of worship throughout the city.

Meanwhile, a more complex picture of early-Stuart Bristol has been presented. Whilst predominantly focussing on the reputable centre of godly learning that was Norwich, Matthew Reynolds has shown that Bristol's civic authorities were not ideologically unified.[55]

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[52] D. Beaver, *Parish Communities and Religious Conflict in the Vale of Gloucester, 1590-1690*, p. 133

[53] D. Beaver, *Parish Communities and Religious Conflict in the Vale of Gloucester, 1590-1690*, p. 118.

[54] P. Clark, 'The Civic Leaders of Gloucester, 1580-1800', pp. 311-345; P. Clark, ''The Ramoth-Gilead of the Good': Urban Change and Political Radicalism at Gloucester 1540-1640', pp. 244-273.

[55] Matthew Reynolds, *Godly Reformers and their Opponents in Early Modern England: Religion in Norwich, c.1530-1643* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 261-262.

David Harris Sacks, whilst acknowledging the apparent prominence of a godly community within the city's civic authorities, has identified conflict between a rising Laudian party and the 'anti-monopolistic' trades occupied largely by the middling sort within Bristol's civic elite in the 1620s and 1630s. He has found some links between the monopolistic Merchant Venturers' Company and support for the policies of the Caroline Church.[56] Although identified as a rising 'Laudian' party, Sacks never truly explains his choice of terminology nor goes into any detail into how they may have changed the experiences within worship throughout the city.[57] This thesis will show that there was such a party within Bristol, actively opposing those identified under the various guises of 'puritans', 'Calvinists', 'the godly', or 'hotter sort of Protestant' throughout the covered period.[58] It will reveal some of their preferred forms of worship and show its presence and growth throughout the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries under the guise of 'avant-garde conformity'.[59] It is possible

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[56] D. Harris Sacks, 'Bristol's 'Wars of Religion'' in R. Richardson, ed., *Town and Countryside in the English Revolution* (Manchester, 1992), pp. 100-129; D. Sacks, *The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy, 1450-1700* (London, 1991), pp. 231-241; see also M. Reynolds, *Godly Reformers and their Opponents in Early Modern England*, pp. 261-262.

[57] Sacks' characterisation of the party as Laudian would initially appear to be fair, predominantly due to Alderman Robert Aldworth's kinship with William Laud. However, the nature or origins of such a movement were not assessed (D. Sacks, 'Bristol's 'Wars of Religion'', pp. 100-129; D. Sacks, *The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy, 1450-1700*, pp. 231-241).

[58] The nomenclature surrounding 'Puritans' has been greatly contested. The term 'puritan' was often used by unsympathetic neighbours as an offensive catch-all. Collinson defined puritans as 'the hotter sort of Protestants' after an Elizabethan pamphleteer, stating that it was the differences of degree, of theological temperature [...] rather than of fundamental principle' that separated them from their conformist neighbours, laying the foundation to reassess puritanism as sociological rather than purely doctrinal. The appellation of 'the godly' was preferred by those individuals themselves (P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Oxford, 1967), pp. 26-27, 433, 467; P. Collinson, *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London, 1983), p. 1; J. Spurr, *English Puritanism, 1603-1689* (Basingstoke, 1998).

[59] These beliefs originated as an anti-Calvinist movement, or in 'avant-garde conformists', particularly in their rejection of absolute and double predestination. The term 'avant-garde conformism' was coined by Peter Lake in 'Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge, and Avant-Garde Conformity at the Court of James I' in L. Peck, ed., *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 113-133; K. Fincham and N. Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 74-125.

that ‘avant-garde conformity’ had its roots within a much more local context than in the theology of certain higher clergy around the turn of the seventeenth century.

Sources, Methodology, and Structure

The research has inevitably been led through the surviving archival material relating to the parishes throughout the Dioceses of Gloucester and Bristol, their cathedral churches, their ecclesiastical court records, and the records of local civic institutions, roughly between the years 1530 and 1642. This timeframe, from the Henrician Reformation to the start of the Civil Wars, is appropriate for such a study into assessing the development of practices within worship and the nature of Reformation Gloucestershire and Bristol. This timeframe allows any potential formation and development of a confessional narrative throughout the period to be observed. It enables the examination of the experiences of worship at the first significant signs of destruction within a thriving late-medieval Church, throughout several vastly different Reformations under successive monarchs, and at the outbreak of the ‘last War of Religion’. Any relative trends in experiences of worship may then be contextualised within the broader historiographical arguments over the nature of the Reformation.

Many of the conclusions drawn upon parish churches within this thesis have been largely dictated through the surviving records documented by their vestries, principally their churchwardens’ accounts and vestry books, and through the surviving ecclesiastical court records. A thorough examination of the two county archives led to the discovery of 24 churchwardens’ accounts or vestry books from the Diocese of Gloucester, including three from the city of Gloucester itself, and twelve accounts from the city of Bristol, that contained

data between 1530 and 1642.[60] Some of these were not examined by Ronald Hutton within his *The Rise and Fall of Merry England*, and did not fall within his specific definition.[61] A more detailed process of recording churchwardens' accounts within a database is currently taking place under the direction of Valerie Hitchman.[62] These churches are spread widely throughout the diocese of Gloucester, providing a good coverage for many communities throughout the diocese. The locations for the churches within Bristol are indicated on Maps 2 & 3 within Appendix 1, with the location of those churches with surviving records within the Diocese of Gloucester are marked on Map 4. The city of Bristol's survival rates for these records fare better than the city of Gloucester's, with 12 surviving records compared to three. The other 21 surviving records are spread throughout the Diocese of Gloucester. Of these 21 churches, six are within the deanery of Winchcombe, four are within the deanery of Stonehouse; three are within both Gloucester and Cirencester deaneries; two are within

[60] These may be seen in Appendix 4. One further set of churchwardens' accounts exist for St. Michael, Bristol, from 1635, but these have unfortunately been deemed as absolutely unfit for production and a copy has not yet been produced (BA, P.St M/ChW/1/a). As such, these are not included within the thesis. Two more sets from Bristol have been cited within the thesis through secondary sources. The churchwardens' accounts from St. Mary le Port and St. Nicholas unfortunately perished a direct consequence of German bombing between 1940 and 1941. St. Mary le Port's accounts for 1564, 1568, 1574, 1576, and 1577 are transcribed within Frank Hockaday's 'Abstracts' for the parish (GA, D3439/1/442). The early records of St. Stephen's churchwardens' accounts were heavily drawn upon by Edward Atchley in his essay 'On the Mediaeval Parish Records of the Church of St. Nicholas, Bristol', *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 6 (1906), pp. 35-67.

[61] Whilst Hutton's ambitions were to find all churchwardens' accounts up to 1690, even he admitted his list was 'inevitably a failure' due to hidden accounts and the documents deemed unfit for production by archivists across the country. Hutton did not seek to include those accounts which were 'for spans of time for which only summary totals of income and expenditure are entered' and those that 'only concern themselves with very limited categories of entry'. Many of these unlisted churchwardens' accounts would have met his approval. Hutton does not record the churchwardens' accounts of: St. James, Bristol; St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester; Chipping Campden; Daglinworth, Eastington, Elmstone Hardwicke, Hampnett, North Nibley, Tortworth, and Winchcombe (Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400-1700* (Oxford, 1994), Appendix, p. 263; see also Katherine Olson, 'Counting Communities, Counting Cultures: Problems and Progress with Early Modern Churchwardens' Accounts in Western England and Wales' in V. Hitchman and A. Foster, eds., *Views from the Parish: Churchwardens' Accounts c.1500-1800* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2015), pp. 89-108).

[62] The churchwardens' accounts project seeks to create a searchable database of all surviving churchwardens' accounts from the earliest known to c.1850. It is headed by Valerie Hitchman and coordinated by Beat Kümin and My-Parish at the University of Warwick. See http://warwick.ac.uk/cwad for the current progress of the database.

Dursley, Campden, and Fairford deaneries; and one is within each of Forest and Hawkesbury deaneries. Only Stow deanery remains unrepresented.[63] This coverage enables the examination of many varied communities across Bristol and Gloucestershire.

Inconsistent survival rates of churchwardens' accounts have been highlighted to be an issue in the quantitative methodological approach, with Andrew Foster predicting the overall survival rate within England to be as low as 8%.[64] However, the survival rate of these accounts within each studied region is significantly higher than the national average, giving additional justification for choosing to focus on these regions. Of Bristol's 19 parochial churches, at least some form of vestry document survives for twelve of them, and actual churchwardens' accounts within ten of them, equating to around a 50% survival rate. There are 22 surviving churchwardens' accounts for the churches pertaining to the diocese of Gloucester, accounting for around 14% of the total number of parish churches and chapelries in the diocese.[65] Despite the comparatively good rate of survival, there is the additional complication that existing accounts may provide statistical imbalances between such issues as values of benefices, and urban and rural divides. Some issues of imbalance are visible within the data gathered. There is, generally, a greater survival rate of accounts within more urban areas; this is particularly clear when considering the survival of Bristol city's parishes accounts and vestry records. A much greater proportion of these documents

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[63] See Map 4 in Appendix 1.

[64] Andrew Foster, 'Churchwardens' Accounts of Early Modern England and Wales: some problems to note, but much to be gained', in K. French, G. Gibbs and B. Kümin, eds., *The Parish in English Life 1400-1600* (Manchester, 1997), p. 82

[65] The diocese of Gloucester pertains of 270 parishes and 33 chapelries. The total number for each deanery within the diocese of Gloucester are as follows: Gloucester, 34 parishes; Stow, 32 parishes and one chapelry; Winchcombe, 32 parishes and three chapelries; Stonehouse, 28 parishes and five chapelries; Dursley, 15 parishes and nine chapelries; Hawkesbury, 28 parishes and six chapelries; Campden, 34 parishes and three chapelries; Cirencester, 40 parishes and one chapelry; Forest, 27 parishes and five chapelries.

also survive from a much earlier date than elsewhere in Gloucestershire. It is important to acknowledge these imperfections and any bias within these sources, and equally important therefore, to provide supplementary evidence from other sources where possible.

Vestry records, and particularly churchwardens' accounts, are key documents to help identify the practices, events, and experiences of worship within individual churches. However, the accounts examined here, as is often their nature, vary widely between churches. Some churches have almost complete and continuous accounts, such as All Saints, Bristol, whereas some only have surviving accounts for a few years, such as Winchcombe and Withington in Gloucestershire. A further inconsistency is the amount of detail provided within the accounts. This can be both between churches and within the same parish. Many churches fortunately provided detailed accounts, whereas some churchwardens were a little more sparing. The churchwardens for Lechlade, for example, often found it sufficient to only note the churchwardens' names, that year's annual income and expenditure, and an inventory of church goods.[66] Whilst many churches appear to include absolutely every item of expenditure in certain years, from the necessary unblocking of a parish conduit due to an ill-fated cat to the direct payment of named stipendiary ministers and clerks, many do so inconsistently or draw funds from extranumerary sources.[67] Besides the inconsistent approach to financing, inconsistencies in recording individual entries also pose potential issues.

[66] GA, P197/CW/2/1.
[67] In 1592, the churchwardens of St. Thomas, Bristol, paid 1*s*. 4*d*. 'unto John Plomer and Robard another Daye for the sarching of the pype which we fownd a catte that did stope the watter' (BA, P.St T/ChW/28). The 'easter book' is a prime example of an extranumerary source of funding through which the incumbents of Bristol were often paid. Their wages were frequently topped up via the churchwardens' accounts should the book of tithes and collections fall short (for example, BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a).

The documents themselves vary in detail between single parishes and individual churchwardens, vestries, and recorders.[68] A consistent frustration is the occasional lack of detail given to single entries which fail to specify a particular repair or expense. For example, when considering the repair of bells and bell wheels, differing parishes, churchwardens, and clerks all record these in varying levels of detail. This issue is shown particularly well within St. James, Bristol, where the churchwardens' accounts for the year 1635 state simply that the significant amount of £30 was paid to John Roome 'for the Frames of the bels'. However, a supplementary bond transcribed into the vestry book gives the extraordinary detail that Roome was to build 'a new frame for the sixe beles finding timber and workmanshipe and new 3 quarter wheeles and stockes as many as are nedfull and shall dow all manner of worke'.[69] Therefore, when an account uses vague terms, such as the payment at St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester, in 1593 for 'mendinge other thinges abowte the Belles' or at Dursley in 1640 'for mending the bell wheele & a foorme', supplementary evidence is required to posit what particular repair, development or addition is being recorded. This often necessitates a level of caution when attempting to draw conclusions both regionally and against the national picture. Finally, churchwardens' accounts are very effective in providing the actual record of a specific event within the church, but they do not provide the reasons for such events. To reach such conclusions, the use of alternative sources is often essential, combined with a great deal of detective work, and a judicious amount of speculation.

[68] Churchwardens' accounts range from the rich and fulsome records of Morebath, which enabled Eamon Duffy to write a complete monograph upon a rural Devonshire parish, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven and London, 2001), to examples such as Barnsley, Gloucestershire, which doesn't even record the certain expenditures such as communion bread and wine between 1609 and 1628.

[69] BA, P.St J/V/1/1, p. 50.

Specifically focussing on surviving pre-reformation churchwardens' accounts, Clive Burgess criticised the approaches of scholars such as Beat Kümin and Ronald Hutton with accusations of quarrying for material to match their agendas. He also raised the issue surrounding the quantitative approaches and the potential lack of detail within the churchwardens' accounts alone.[70] Kümin rebuffed Burgess, defending the quantitative approach. He claimed that these sources can be utilised to make comparisons between churches, particularly when aiming for 'breadth' rather than 'depth', as they survive in great numbers.[71] Burgess' subsequent defence then warned of the dangers of depending on these sources for the 'quest of statistical data', which may risk any work being 'self-referential'.[72] Although there are arguably fewer supplementary sources, or certainly fewer with such extraordinary detail, that exist for post-Reformation churches, it is important to acknowledge their existence. It will never be possible to fully reconstruct every intricacy within any account of a single parish's social and religious life. These sources are generally all the documentary evidence that remains to provide us with any indication of their daily experiences and should not be completely discounted. Such issues surrounding churchwardens' accounts should still be addressed, necessitating the acknowledgement by Hutton within his own rebuttal to Burgess, that any argument is 'not based upon the assumption that those accounts yield a comprehensive impression of parish life'.[73] These

[70] C. Burgess, 'Pre-Reformation Churchwardens' Accounts and Parish Government: Lessons from London and Bristol', *English Historical Review*, 117 (2002), pp. 306-322.
[71] B. Kümin, 'Late Medieval Churchwardens' Accounts and Parish Government: Looking Beyond London and Bristol', *English Historical Review*, 119 (2004), pp. 87-99.
[72] C. Burgess, 'The Broader Church? A Rejoinder to 'Looking Beyond'', *English Historical Review*, 119 (2004), pp. 100-116.
[73] R. Hutton, 'Seasonal Festivity in late Medieval England: Some Further Reflections', *English Historical Review*, 120/485 (2005), p. 73. Gary Gibbs has subsequently concluded that the 'inconsistencies in the churchwardens' accounts do not invalidate quantitative approaches any more than the lack of a rich textual tradition invalidates historical contextualisation, or the lack of a more full treatment of the sources undoes the work which has only

sources offer some of the sole information regarding practices of parochial worship. It is the role of the historian to make judgements, based on scholarly literature, on their method and use of the sources.

A purely quantitative approach in solely approaching a region's churchwardens' accounts for such a study is problematic. Firstly, sample size may be an issue with studies focussing solely upon these documents. For example, Andrew Foster states that samples between 100 and 200 sets of accounts have been customary to provide a reasonable basis for generalisations.[74] The total amount of surviving sets of English churchwardens' accounts were listed at 662 between the years of 1558-1660 by Ronald Hutton, although Foster believes the true figure may be as high as 800.[75] As Reeks therefore concludes, any purely quantitative approach effectively rules out any study spanning a single county or diocese alone.[76] However, there are times when a quantitative approach to these accounts may be used to illustrate an argument.[77] The churchwardens' accounts used in this thesis have all been subject to the same treatment. The documents were thoroughly transcribed, with key data, such as evidence of changes in church fabric, ornaments, or evidence of sound within worship, subsequently cross-referenced with each other to identify any trends or anomalies. From there it was then possible to examine in even greater detail any potential agents that

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cited one line' (G. Gibbs, 'London Parish Records and Parish Studies: Texts, Contexts, and the Debates over Appropriate Methods' in V. Hitchman and A. Foster, eds., *Views from the Parish: Churchwardens' Accounts c.1500-1800* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2015), p. 88).

[74] A. Foster, 'Churchwardens' accounts of early modern England and Wales: some problems to note, but much to be gained' in K. French, G. Gibbs and B. Kümin, eds., *The Parish in English Life, 1400-1600* (Manchester, 1997), pp.74-75.

[75] Hutton, *Rise and Fall of Merry England*, pp.263-293; Foster, *Churchwardens' accounts*, p.76.

[76] John Reeks, 'Parish Religion in Somerset, 1625-1662, With Particular Reference to the Churchwardens' Accounts' (PhD Thesis, the University of Bristol, 2014), pp.26-27.

[77] For a detailed account of these arguments and a robust view of methodology in dealing with churchwardens' accounts see J. Reeks, Parish Religion in Somerset, 1625-1662, With Particular Reference to the Churchwardens' Accounts', pp. 24-36.

effected such change and the parish politics involved within any given church, contextualised against a multitude of additional source material, in an attempt to explain why such each occurred.

To aid and contextualise any argument within the thesis, a large amount of supplementary evidence was also incorporated, predominantly deriving from the ecclesiastical legal documents of the Dioceses of Bristol and Gloucester. These range from probate records, inventories, and last wills and testaments, to consistory court act books. Unfortunately, Bristol's surviving consistory court documents are not extensive, with many having been a lost to the firing of the Bishop's Palace in Bristol's 1831 riots. Of those that do survive, many are in a decrepit state and unavailable for the archives to produce to the public. Gloucester's ecclesiastical records, however, are substantial. Whilst there are no surviving records from the archdeacon's court, the consistory court records are largely unbroken and complete from around 1540.[78] The abundance of churchwardens' presentments and detection records enabled a more holistic examination of trends, ecclesiastical orders, and overall motives for resistance or change throughout the diocese. Additionally, large collections of depositions after 1575 provide a detailed picture of individual cases, and in turn provide a close insight into individuals' lives. Wills and inventories were also used to provide further insights into individuals' personal lives, their status, their networks, and any inclination towards a particular preference in religious identity or practice.

[78] The lack of records from the archdeacon's court appears to not be too large of an issue, with the archdeacon seemingly having very little jurisdiction without the presence of the consistory. For more, see pp. 55-62.

Methodological issues surrounding court records are well recorded. Similar to churchwardens' accounts, a common critique over their use is their potential to be mined for data and used out of context to support an author's agenda. The use of court depositions and testamentary records, particularly a testator's preamble within their last will and testament, to indicate an individual's confessional identity is another methodological contention. Whilst some scholars have heavily drawn upon these statements largely under the assumption that they were direct access to an individual's identity, others have been swift to highlight the heavy involvement, censure, and mediation that the wills' author and clerks had in their formation.[79] In a much broader sense, Natalie Davis has also pointed out that 'evidence' found within archives is often 'fiction'; those who wrote the documents personally shaped records such as depositions into a story to strategically present a narrative that would appear 'true' to their reader.[80] As such, one must be wary of the bias incorporated within the 'evidence'. A much broader critique towards the use of church court records to form arguments is that they are records primarily recording only deviations and offences; the individuals referred to court are usually a small minority of individuals within a community. Furthermore, most detections relied on the abilities, any hidden agendas, or perception of the local church authorities, primarily the churchwardens.

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[79] C. Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity*. More examples of research focussing on will preambles include G. J. Mayhew, 'The Progress of the Reformation in East Sussex 1530-1559: the Evidence from Wills', *Southern History*, 5 (1983), pp. 38-67; Michael Zell, 'The Use of Religious Preambles as a Measure of Religious Belief in the Sixteenth Century', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 50 (1977), pp. 246-249; J. D. Alsop, 'Religious Preambles in Early Modern English Wills as Formulae', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 40/1 (1989), pp. 19-27; and J. Craig and C. Litzenberger, 'Wills as Religious Propaganda: the Testament of William Tracy', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 44/3 (1993), pp. 415-431. For some criticism and the advocation of a combined literary and historical methodology in the examination of church court documents, and particularly depositions, see Frances Dolan, *True Relations: Reading, Literature, and Evidence in Seventeenth-Century England* (Philadelphia, 2013), in particular Chapter 4.

[80] Natalie Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth Century France* (Standford, California, 1987), p. 2; F. Dolan, *True Relations*, p. 114.

Other sources used include the surviving records of both cathedrals and both city corporations. Many of the criticisms involved within churchwardens' accounts can also be applied to Gloucester Cathedral treasurer's books, Bristol Cathedral's Computa, and both cities' stewards' account books. Their contents can also be supplemented using both cathedrals' surviving chapter act books, and both cities' act books. The records of both Bristol and Gloucester Cathedrals are unfortunately limited and are unable to provide detailed accounts of each institution for the entirety of the period. Bristol Cathedral's only surviving chapter act book from this period dates between 1603 and 1618, although the cathedral has a largely continuous run of Computa from 1550. Still, these summary annual accounts of receipts and disbursements do not provide too much information other than financial records and the cathedral's personnel. Gloucester Cathedral fares slightly better than Bristol. Although their treasurer's accounts do not start until 1609, with their first chapter act book also not starting until 1616, there are numerous visitation records throughout the annals of Gloucester's consistory court. These sources are crucial in attempting to understand the experiences of worship occurring within the cathedral, and their influence within the wider community. Both city corporations hold detailed account books for the city's expenditure and the council's act books throughout the period. These sources will likewise detect any attempt from the city to interact in ecclesiastic affairs, as well as provide a larger political and social context.

Using these sources, this thesis will first examine many of the various factors and agents behind any continuation or change in an individual's or community's experience of worship within chapter one: Agents of Change. This will be thematic, splitting the agents into three distinct subsections: Finance, Institutions, and People. It will introduce many of the

factors that influenced changes in the experience of worship will be later observed to have effected changes in musical practices. Chapters two, three, and four focus specifically on music within worship, and analyse the chronological development of singing, organs, and bells within worship respectively.[81] These chapters will demonstrate the myriad aural experiences present throughout the region within the context of national and local trends of confessionalisation and explain the crucial factors behind the developments in their soundscape of worship.[82] This thesis will demonstrate the developing experiences of worship, predominantly through the focus on its musical aspect, and identify the agents involved in shaping communities' practices of worship. It will refine the traditional narratives of singing and organs. Whilst the traditional historiographical conclusions of music within worship were true for many, musical practices were able to continue within the right conditions. It will show that 'avant-garde conformity' may have had its roots within the parishes rather than amongst higher clergy, potentially enabling the swift transition to 'Laudianism', and the accompanying rejuvenation of the organ, throughout those churches.

[81] These three topics have been deliberately chosen as chapters due to their musical nature and their prominence within the soundscape. The musical nature of bells, rather than simply disorganised noise, is discussed in C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, pp. 456-457.

[82] It should be acknowledged that this structure is not perfect. The musical developments in singing and organs were largely intrinsically linked. However, they are treated as separate practices here due to the post-Reformation development of metrical psalm singing. Whilst choirs may have generally met the same fate as organs in many areas, singing within worship found a new function and role that was commonly separate to that of the organ.

CHAPTER I:

Agents of Change

Any individual was able to have their experience of worship altered through the intervention of a multitude of agents. In a period of major religious upheaval, experiences of worship changed dramatically between 1530 and 1640. As a communal space for individuals to worship, and as the primary means to shape both individuals' and communities' experiences of worship, churches were highly contested spaces on both national and local arenas. A regional study such as this allows a closer examination into local responses to the Reformation and into the parish politics that surrounded many of the local changes surrounding worship. This chapter does not aim to comprehensively examine all the agents involved in changing local experiences of worship over a tumultuous 100-year period. It will instead attempt to recognise some of the foremost agents involved in affecting individuals' experiences of post-Reformation worship in Bristol and Gloucestershire. This chapter will start with the broadest of strokes, assessing the impact of each region's comparative financial status, and move down through a series of hierarchical layers, to consider the plethora of ways that laymen themselves could both influence and find themselves subject to changes in worship.[1] It will also start to demonstrate how post-Reformation Bristol and

[1] It is worth acknowledging here a relative absence of women within the thesis. Other than a few notable occasions (such as fn. 213 on p. 104, fn. 234 on p. 111, fn. 246 on p. 116, and fn. 75 on p. 312), women's voices are relatively absent throughout this work. This does not necessarily imply that women had little influence in changing experiences of worship. Instead, their relative absence is largely due to the lack of available evidence. Whilst testamentary evidence shows that women were able to bequeath sums of money or material items to influence experiences of worship, and court records show that women were able to defy ecclesiastical authority and protest their current experiences, women generally appear not to have been directly involved in positions of authority or influence within the records of patriarchal institutions that have been examined. For a discussion surrounding the relative absence of women from court records in Norwich, for example, and a brief historiography surrounding women's roles within the Reformation, see Muriel McClendon, 'Women, the Courts, and Urban Government in Early Reformation Norwich', *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary*

Gloucester, both newly created and geographically adjacent dioceses and cathedral cities, became increasingly dissimilar in the century or so prior to the British Civil Wars. Understanding these agents will demonstrate how very different experiences of worship were shaped, and present many of the agents that were paramount to the diverse forms of music within worship that will be examined later.

Finances I: The Cities of Bristol and Gloucester

The significant disparity in the financial prosperity of the two largest metropolitan centres within each of their dioceses directly influenced the citizens' experiences of worship. Throughout the period, Bristol became an increasingly flourishing port city as an entrepôt of the Atlantic economy. As the grandeur and splendour of Bristol's fine medieval architecture suggests, Bristol and its citizens were unquestionably amongst the wealthiest within late-medieval England. Shrewd business within the international market kept Bristol relevant and saw the city's, and its citizens', wealth continue to grow. With such prosperity came significant increases in population.[2] Gloucester, however, appears to have become comparatively impoverished throughout the period. Gloucester had many established industries up until the mid-sixteenth century, and the establishment of a separate port in 1580 was an essential factor in the city's economic health, enabling it to become the principal port on the River Severn for wheat, barley, and malt, and a significant centre for its

Journal, 14/2 (2020), pp. 79-100. Similarly, any indication of influence from within a familial context has unfortunately gone undocumented. For an introduction into women's roles in society, politics, and religion also see: James Daybell, ed., *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700* (Farnham, 2004); Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England, 1550-1720* (Oxford, 1998); Jacqueline Eales, *Women in Early Modern England, 1500-1700* (London, 1998); and Patricia Crawford, *Women and Religion in England, 1500-1720* (London, 1993).

[2] For Bristol's economic and social changes between 1450 and 1700 see David Harris Sacks, *The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy, 1450-1700* (London, 1991).

marketing and distribution. However, the collapse of industries such as textiles and capping, the decline of industries such as metal working, and the poaching of oversees commerce by Bristol, left the city in economic difficulty.[3] By 1555, the city's corporation were in deficit.[4] By 1635 this deficit had increased to over £600, rising to over £700 by 1637.[5] This impoverishment led the city's authorities to continuously lament their economic misfortune.[6] The city's relative impoverishment to Bristol may also be seen in comparisons between their early modern population estimates; Wrigley estimates that Bristol's urban population in 1600 was approximately 12,000, whilst Gloucester was estimated to have roughly half that at 6,000.[7] The economic disparity is equivalently observable within the cities' parishes, particularly within their churchwardens' expenditure.

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[3] P. Clark, 'The Civic Leaders of Gloucester, 1580-1800' in *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns* (London, 1984), P. Clark, ed., p. 313; N. Herbert, ed., 'Early Modern Gloucester (to 1640): Population and economic development to 1640', in *A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 4, the City of Gloucester* (London, 1988), pp. 73-81.
[4] GA, GBR F4/3.
[5] In a precarious situation, these deficits were forced upon the four incoming stewards of the city; they had to personally lend the corporation the funds to cover its financial shortcomings (GA, GBR F4/5). See also P. Clark, 'The Civic Leaders of Gloucester, 1580-1800', p. 317).
[6] In 1626, the city's Members of Parliament claimed that their failure to implement the 1625 Privy Seal loan was due to 'the great fall of trade generally in this city by reason of the late great and yet continuing plague, the excessive number of poor, chiefly occasioned by the decay of clothing' (GA, GBR, H2/2, p. 67). Further complaints were made prior to 1640 (GA, GBR H2/2. p. 127; TNA, PRO, E 134/11; Chas. I Mich./45). For more see N. Herbert, ed., 'Early Modern Gloucester (to 1640): Population and economic development to 1640', pp. 73-81.
[7] Bristol is estimated to have been the third or fourth largest city within England in 1600. Only London (200,000) and Norwich (15,000) are estimated to be larger, with Bristol having an estimated population equivalent to York (12,000). Gloucester was estimated to have a similar urban population to Salisbury, King's Lynn, Chester, Coventry and Hull (A. Wrigley, 'Urban Growth and Agricultural Change: England and the Continent in the Early Modern Period', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 15/4 (1985), p. 686).

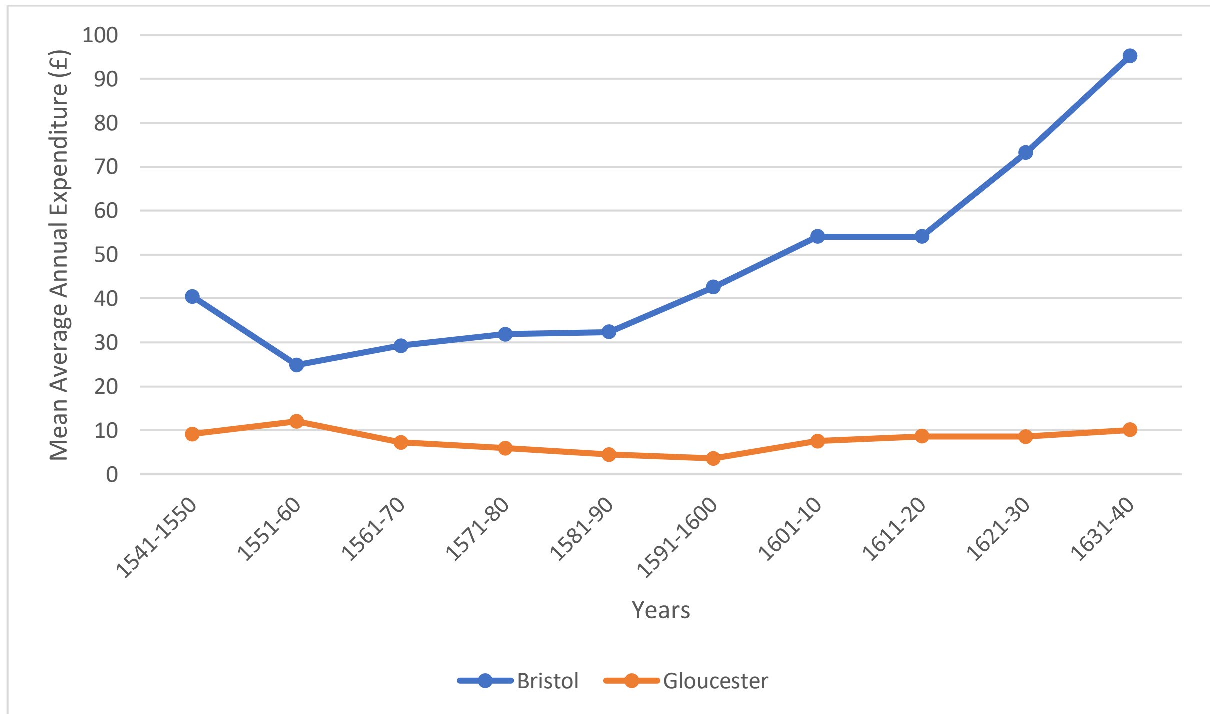
Table 1. Annual Churchwardens' Expenditure within the City Parishes of Bristol and Gloucester (1541-1642)

Parish (City)	Highest Annual Expenditure	Lowest Annual Expenditure	Rough Mean Average Annual Expenditure
All Saints' (Bristol)	£484 5*s*. 8*d*.	£20 3*s*. 0*d*.	£77 1*s*. 7*d*.
Christchurch (Bristol)	£359 17*s*. 6*d*.	£18 15*s*. 8*d*.	£78 9*s*. 7*d*.
St. Ewen's, (Bristol)	£57 1*s*. 8*d*.	£2 15*s*. 9*d*.	£12 11*s*. 5*d*.
St. James' (Bristol)	£140 18*s*. 11*d*.	£9 6*s*. 3*d*.	£43 14*s*. 0*d*.
St. John's (Bristol)	£173 17*s*. 7*d*.	£7 17*s*. 8*d*.	£38 18*s*. 9*d*.
St. Mary Redcliffe (Bristol)	£219 18*s*. 11*d*.	£24 18*s*. 11*d*.	£77 16*s*. 0*d*.
Sts. Phillip and Jacob (Bristol)	£103 7*s*. 8*d*.	£2 19*s*. 0*d*.	£12 11*s*. 10*d*.
St. Thomas (Bristol)	£199 1*s*.9*d*.	£14 19*s*. 2*d*.	£68 7*s*. 7*d*.
St. Werburgh's (Bristol)	£124 19*s*. 5*d*.	£4 1*s*. 7*d*.	£33 2*s*. 5*d*.
Temple (Bristol)	£237 19*s*. 3*d*.	£22 18*s*. 2*d*.	£57 18*s*. 6*d*.
St. Aldate's (Gloucester)	£10 10*s*. 0*d*.	£0 13*s*. 4*d*.	£3 3*s*. 2*d*.
St. Mary de Crypt (Gloucester)	£32 17*s*. 2*d*.	£0 19*s*. 8*d*.	£5 16*s*. 0*d*.
St. Michael's (Gloucester)	£36 16*s*. 4*d*.	£2 7*s*. 4*d*.	£12 9*s*. 5*d*.

The marked differences in economic capabilities between each city's parishes with extant churchwardens' accounts are observable in Table 1. The average expenditure of every examined parochial church within Bristol is higher than every one of Gloucester's parishes. Moreover, the overall mean average for the Bristol parishes is over six times greater than Gloucester's.[8] Additionally, the immense sums of money that were able to be made available within Bristol's parishes casts a vast shadow over Gloucester's parishes. Simply put, the larger the income, the greater the opportunity to furnish their church lavishly.

[8] The average annual expenditure for all of Bristol's parishes is around £50 9*s*. 7*d*., whilst Gloucester's is £7 10*s*. 1*d*.

Graph 2. The Mean Average Churchwardens' Expenditure for Bristol and Gloucester.



As may be seen in Graph 2, this economic disparity grew throughout the examined period. The increasing expenditure within Bristol's churchwardens' accounts during this period is pronounced, particularly in comparison to Gloucester's parishes. This graph highlights both the financial fortunes of both cities at this time and the support garnered within Bristol surrounding a movement that favoured ceremonialism and 'the beauty of holiness' in the 1620s-30s.[9]

The most significant difference between the two cities' generation of income throughout their parishes was church property. This could not be more evident than in the differences between two of the largest parishes within each city.[10] Between 1605 and 1606

[9] For more on the rise of the movement linked with 'the beauty of holiness', see pp. 91-96.

[10] In 1603 St. Michael, Gloucester, reported 450 communicants within the diocesan population return, whilst Christchurch, Bristol, recorded 414 communicants within 1601 Easter Book. For St. Michael, Gloucester's returns see Alicia Percival and W. Sheils, eds., 'A Survey of the Diocese of Gloucester, 1603', in *An Ecclesiastical*

St. Michael, Gloucester, received £3 4*s*. through the rent of five properties, whilst Christchurch, Bristol, received £55 7*s*. 2*d*. from 35 different tenements, shops, land, and gardens.[11] Even the poorest of parishes of Bristol, such as St. Ewen and Sts. Philip and Jacob, received a greater proportion of their income through church property than the largest parishes within Gloucester.[12] In comparison, St. Aldate, Gloucester, likely the city's poorest parish, received £2 7*s*. 9*d*. in rent within the same year.[13] Gloucester's parishes did not have the same level of secure and regular income available as Bristol and their parishes were therefore unable to build up a substantial surplus or to make large-scale acquisitions or refurbishments without the support of other extraordinary methods of income.

The adage of needing to spend money to make money certainly rang true within many of Bristol's parishes. Due to their relative financial stability, Bristol's parishes were often able to make shrewd financial decisions to enhance their portfolio, ensuring the augmentation of long-term income. All Saints were actively seeking ways to secure more long-term income for the parish. In 1568 the parish paid an initial £100 to Robert Brayne, Esquire, 'For Certene landes and tenementes Bowght of hym [...] For the Churche of All

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Miscellany (Gateshead, 1976), p. 68 and Alan Dyer and D. M. Palliser, eds., *The Diocesan Population Returns for 1563 and 1603* (Oxford, 2005), p. 329. The 1603 diocesan returns for Bristol are not extent. However, the 414 communicants at Christchurch, Bristol, in 1601 are taken from their Easter Book, a book containing the records of all communicants contributing to the Easter collection (P. Slack, 'The Local Incidence of Epidemic Disease: the Case of Bristol 1540-1650' in P. Slack, ed., *The Plague Reconsidered: A New look at its Origins and Effects in 16th and 17th Century England* (Matlock, 1977), p. 55).

[11] The year 1605 was used, rather than the logical 1603, to ensure the time frame for all parishes' accounts were the same; the accounts in 1603 for St. Michael, Gloucester, ran for over a year until the start of 1605 (GA, P154/14/CW/2/1, unpaginated; BA, P.St E/ChW/2, unpaginated).

[12] Between 1605 and 1606 St. Ewen, Bristol, received £7 2*s*. 10*d*. in the renting of tenements, shops, and lands, with Sts. Philip and Jacob receiving £6 9*s*. 4*d*. in rents for tenements, houses and pastures (BA, P.St E/ChW/2, p. 151; BA, P.St P and J/ChW/3/a, p. 153).

[13] GA, P154/6/CW/1/37.

Saintes and by the consent of the holle parryshners'.[14] The final cost for providing the new lands and tenements was £129 3*s*. and was largely financed through the levying of money through the parishioners. Similarly, their largest annual expenditure of £484 5*s*. 8*d*. also encompassed the substantial repair of existing church properties, acquisition of more land, and the erection of three new houses.[15] Exceptionally ingenious methods were additionally used by St. Thomas in 1570 when they managed to obtain the patents and construct the new market of St. Thomas.[16] They assigned officers to oversee the wool and beast markets and received significant annual receipts from them, ensuring a large income with a longevity many churches failed to secure.[17] The evidence from Gloucester's three parishes serve as a direct contrast; no efforts were made to obtain any additional constant source of funding. Instead, all three parishes continued to rely on the relatively limited and insecure forms of income from parishioners.[18] Unlike Gloucester's parishes, most churches within Bristol were therefore able to afford any additional necessary expenditure without relying on any

[14] Robert Brayne, Esquire, held the manors of Flaxley and Staunton within the Diocese of Gloucester, was the lay-proprietor of St. John's and St. Lawrence, Bristol, prior to 1565, and had inherited the property of the former St. James' Priory, Bristol (TNA, PROB, E113/1/181; Martha Skeeters, *Community and* Clergy, pp. 118-119).

[15] All Saints, Bristol, received part of this substantial sum from a rate levied upon their tenants 'towardes the building of three new houses in the pittie' (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a). In 1573, Christchurch, Bristol, also paid over £50 to build a new house and vestry adjoining the chancel (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated). Similar methods of securing a parish's financial future through such investment can be seen within Bristol's other wealthy parishes. For example, in 1583 St. Mary Redcliffe bought land from their vicar, Arthur Saul, at the cost of £11 19*s*. 10*d*. (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/b, p. 112).

[16] The mayor and commonalty represented the distress of the region of St. Thomas Street and petitioned the Crown, given the decay of woollen cloth manufacturing in the area. Queen Elizabeth I granted the Mayor and Commonalty a market held in St. Thomas Street every Thursday of the year, for the sale of 'yarn, cloth, cattle and all other things whatsoever'. The grant of St. Thomas Street Market, dated 11 December 1570, is transcribed in R. Latham, ed., *Bristol Charters, 1509-1899* (Bristol, 1947), pp. 121-124).

[17] In 1601, for example, the beast market receipts totalled £15 15*s*. 1*d*., and the wool market receipts totalled £9 19*s*. 5*d*. (BA, P.St T/ChW/34).

[18] Examples of these direct forms of income from parishioners include seat money, communicant offerings, burial charges, and charges for burial knells. For an analysis of the forms of income from St. Michael's, Gloucester, between 1540 and 1580, see C. Litzenberger, 'St. Michael's, Gloucester, 1540-80: The Cost of Conformity in Sixteenth-century England', pp. 230-249.

extraordinary income. For example, St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester, had to seek additional sources of income for some minor church reparations and a new Bible in 1616, whilst similar sums of money were readily available for the same purchase within All Saints, Bristol.[19] Extraordinary expenditure could be raised in several ways. The parish could receive a voluntary collection, implement a taxation or rate upon the parishioners, or they could rely on a loan from a wealthy and benevolent individual. These extraordinary sources relied on other institutional or personal agency to enforce and implement and so will be addressed later.

Besides the ability to invest much greater amounts into their churches' fabric and ornaments, Bristol's churches were also able to generally attract clergymen of greater stature through their benefices' greater values. Whilst both cities faced similar fortunes with the shortages in early-Elizabethan clergy, Bristol's churches ultimately found a way to attract a larger number of preaching graduates to their benefices through continuous efforts to enlarge stipends.[20] At Christchurch, for example, successive rectors were compounded for the first fruits of the rectory at £11 between 1578 and 1634. The churchwardens were already supplementing the £11 1*s.* 7*d*. raised through tithes by 1578, paying their rector Morgan Williams the total stipend of £14.[21] This stipend rose throughout the late-sixteenth

[19] In 1615 a taxation was made upon St. Mary de Crypt's parishioners, 'made for a newe bible and other reparacions of the church', and raised £3 0*s*. 8*d*. The Bible ultimately cost £2 5*s*., with 18*d*. paid for carriage from London, whilst around £1 was paid for additional church repairs, largely surrounding retiling and liming (GA, P154/11/CW/2/1, unpaginated). Meanwhile, All Saints, Bristol, paid £2 10*s*. 'for a lardge Bible for the Churche' in the same year. The parish did not require any extraordinary method of income and still had expenditure spare to pay £12 'towards the building of the newe walke Adjoyninge the All Hallond Churche' and give £5 to 'Master Markes our minister towardes his proseding batchelor in divenitye' (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a).
[20] For Bristol's shortage of early-Elizabethan parish clergy see M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, pp. 93-121. Gloucester evidently had a similar fortune, relying on former pre-reformation priests such as John Henbury, Henry Hawkes, John Myrrye, and pluralist minor-canons from the cathedral, such as Richard Warret, to serve their cures.
[21] BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated.

and early-seventeenth centuries, culminating in Richard Standfast's stipend of £45 6*s*. 8*d*. in 1638.[22] All Saints had similarly seen their vicar's stipend rise from around £8 in 1568 to over £30 in 1637.[23] It is abundantly clear that churches actively sought to increase these values, often supplementing tithes through the churchwardens' accounts, with the intention of attracting a sufficiently educated preacher as their incumbents. Their success may be seen in the quantity of resident graduate preachers that were incumbent within Bristol's parishes by 1640; Bristol's parishes were able to boast at least one resident minister with a BA, nine with an MA, and two with a BD, all of whom were active preachers within the city.[24] Although evidence shows that the poorest parishes were unable to increase their benefice's value to such a great extent, the intent was certainly visible. St. Ewen, with a rectory worth £3 6*s*. had

[22] The rector Morgan Williams received an annual wage rise in 1582 to £16. In 1585, Williams' successor, Morgan Jones, got paid the same rate. By 1590 Jones was being paid £20 per annum, with the tithes received in the Easter Book remaining around the same at £10 2*s*. Jones' wage was raised again to £24 per annum in 1595, to £25 per annum in 1598, to £26 per annum in 1599, and to £29 3*s*. 4*d*. in 1615. When Edward Shaw became rector in 1619, the wage was raised significantly to £40, receiving £26 13*s*. 4*d*. directly from parish funds and £13 6*s*, 8*d*. through the Easter Book. Richard Standfast became rector in 1633 and received the same sum, although his wage was increased to £35 6*s*. 8*d*. in 1638, with £32 paid directly by the churchwardens and £13 6*s*. 8*d*. through the Easter book (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a-b).

[23] All Saints' vicar Humphrey Hyman was compounded for the first fruits of the vicarage at £4 3*s*. 4*d*. in 1541. From 1568 an additional sum was paid to the vicar on top of their relatively small tithes. Mr. Haslyn, or Hasting, was paid an annual £4 'benevolence' from the churchwardens. The successive vicars John Knight and Francis Arnold were paid an additional £6 between 1593 and 1603. In1604 Francis Arnold received an additional £10 out of the churchwardens' accounts. Between 1605 and 1629 Francis Arnold, and his successors Robert Markes, William Gregory, Richard Towgood, and George Williamson received an additional 'benevolence' of £12. Under Williamson, this payment was referred as being a 'free gift for his preachinge' and was raised to £18 in 1630 in respect that he was now also preaching lecture sermons every second Sunday, besides his usual preaching. In 1636 Williamson was paid an additional £24 over the value of the benefice for preaching 48 sermons over the year. Williamson's additional benevolence was raised to £26 in 1637, due to him now preaching 52 sermons a year (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a). St. James had also seen their curate's stipend of £8 increase to £30 between 1571 and 1627 (BA, P.St J/ChW/1/a-b; BA, P.St J/V/1/1).

[24] BA: Jacob Brent, rector of St. Michael; James Read, vicar of St. Augustine the Less. MA: George Williamson, vicar of All Saints (later BD in 1642); Richard Standfast, rector of Christchurch; Matthew Hassard, minister of St. Ewen; John Paule, minister of St. James; Alexander Westerdale, minister of St. Mary Redcliffe; John Pearce, vicar of Sts. Philip and Jacob; Hugh Hobson, rector of St. Stephen; and John Tilladam, rector of St. Werburgh. BD: Richard Towgood, vicar of St. Nicholas; Abel Loveringe, vicar of Temple. The education levels of John Norton, rector of St. Leonard (perhaps MA 1617 from University College, Oxford), Richard Pownall, rector of St. John the Baptist (perhaps matriculated New Inn Hall, Oxford in 1610), and Robert Pritchard, rector of St. Peter, cannot be certain. A Mr. Collins, minister of St. Thomas, was also a preacher and likely a graduate.

only managed to increase the curate's wage to £10 by 1620. However, the intent for raising the value is captured within their vestry book. The prominent parishioner Thomas Hobson left some advice 'for Letting or selling any of the Church Landes or Tenementes', in the form of a note stating that:

> It is good to increase the rentes of the Church yearly Thatt therby we may gather a stocke to purchase more Lande to the Church: and so in time the parish may be able to have so much land to the Church as maye paye 20 poundes per Annum or more to mainetaine a good minister amongst them which will be the Cheefest uphoulding of the Church and parish.[25]

These ambitions, under the encouragement of both state and diocesan authority, were shared by Gloucester's citizens, although they seem to have lacked the financial requirements to improve the impoverished value of their benefices.[26]

Table 3 demonstrates the state of impoverishment that many of Gloucester's benefices faced by 1603. Many of the city's wealthier parishes, such as St. Katherine and St. Mary de Lode, were being farmed by larger institutions, and their vicars and curates were only provided a small proportion of their value. Many of the smaller parishes were historically poor and struggled to supply their own benefices. Even the central parish of St.

[25] BA, St. E, 1/BCC/CCP/1/2, unpaginated.
[26] The Privy Council wrote to the Bristol's Bishop, Mayor, and Aldermen in 1593 to raise the maintenance of the city's poor ministers. Bishop Rowland Searchfield, on behalf of the city's ministers, asked the city's civic authorities to increase the livings for their better maintenance in 1620. Searchfield subsequently took the matter to the Privy Council (Jonathan Harlow, *Religious Ministry in Bristol 1603-1689: Uniformity to Dissent* (Bristol, 2017), pp. 13-14).

Michael, once one of the city's wealthiest parishes, had seen the value of the benefice decrease significantly.[27]

Table 3. The Value of Gloucester's Parishes in 1603.[28]

Parish	Patron	Valuation	Incumbent	Communicants	Additional Details
All Saints	Crown	Rectory: £7 0*s*. 10*d*.; Curate's Stipend: £4 6*s*. 8*d*.	John Johnson (Curate)	84	'Noe parson there for that is so smale'
Holy Trinity	Dean and Chapter of Gloucester	Vicarage: £9	Christopher Green (Vicar)	249	
St. Aldate	Crown	Rectory: £3 17*s*. 3½*d*.	Robert Provis *alias* Carlion (Curate)	124	'And all dutyes paid forth of it, the profitte of it is not above 40s, and therefore void of a parson.'
St. Katherine	Dean and Chapter of Gloucester	Rectory: £26 13*s*. 4*d*.; Curate's Stipend: £6	Guy Knowles (Curate)	350	'It hath bene long voyde.'
St. John the Baptist	Crown	Rectory: £7	Robert Provis *alias* Carlion (Curate)	312	'The profittes of which rectory amounteth not above £7, all dutyes discharged, and therefore voyd of an incumbent.'
St. Mary de Crypt	Crown	Vicarage: £14 7*s*. 2*d*.	William Grove (Curate)	257	'The yerely proffittes worth £9, out of which is yerely paid 24s pencion to the Kinge besides tenths and subsidies and other duties. It is void of a parson by reason thereof.'

[27] This decline clearly continued, for when Thomas Woodroffe was instituted into the rectory in 1626, the first fruits were only rated at £8 16*s*. 10*d*. (GA, D3439/1/219).
[28] Information Gathered From BL, MS Harley 594, ff. 225r-255v. (transcribed in Percival, A., and W. Sheils, eds., 'A Survey of the Diocese of Gloucester, 1603', pp. 59-102) and GA, GDR 80.

St. Mary de Lode	Dean and Chapter of Gloucester	Rectory: £200; Vicarage: £10 13*s*. 4*d*.	Thomas Tomkins (Vicar)	520	'It hath a vicar endowed'
St. Mary de Grace	Dean and Chapter of Gloucester	Curate's Stipend: £6	Robert Havard (Curate)	200[29]	
St. Michael	Crown	'Valued at £21 5*s*. in Kinges Book but barely worth £13 6*s*. 8*d*.	Richard Maunsell (Rector)	450	
St. Nicholas	Mayor and Burgesses of Gloucester	Curate's Stipend: £10	Elias Wrench (Curate)	580	'the curate is the farmer'
St. Owen	Crown	Vicarage: £5	Christopher Green (Vicar)	289	'all the profittes do not exceed the summe of £4 10s. It is voyd of a vicar by reason of the smaleness of the profittes'

Gloucester's laity were therefore forced to rely upon largely uneducated pluralist ministers to serve their city parishes, increasingly originating from within the cathedral's choir.[30] Compared to Bristol, Gloucester's parishes were clearly unable to compete both in churchwardens' expenditure and in ministerial provision. Gloucester was simply an unattractive city to many graduates. Between 1558 and 1603 Gloucester's eleven parishes had only boasted one graduate not associated with the cathedral.[31] These clerical issues improved only within the wealthiest of early-Stuart Gloucester's parishes; only the parishes

[29] Percival and Sheils gave the figure of 236 communicants for St. Mary de Grace. This was corrected by Dyer and Palliser (Dyer, A., and D. Palliser, eds., *The Diocesan Population Returns for 1563 and 1603*, p. 329).
[30] For more on the cathedral's choir ministering within the city's parishes, see pp. 192-194.
[31] The only member of parochial clergy within Gloucester between 1558 and 1603 to be a known graduate and not affiliated with the cathedral is Richard Taylor, the curate of St. Michael between 1572 and 1580, and rector of Holy Trinity in 1576. He was evidently a BA by his institution in 1572 (GA, GDR 27A).

of St. Mary de Crypt, St. Michael, and St. Nicholas were able to be served by graduates.[32] Even the city's most educated ministers were often only able to be maintained through pluralism or through receiving an additional stipend elsewhere for preaching.[33] By 1640, only three of Gloucester's parochial clergy were graduates and preaching within the city.[34] This financial misfortune directly affected the experience of worship throughout the city, resulting in Gloucester's churches having a comparative lack of educated preaching ministers. They instead had to rely on either the cathedral's preachers, or the corporation's lecturer, to meet their spiritual requirements.[35]

Early-Stuart Bristol, on the other hand, appears to have been an attractive city for educated clergy to secure a benefice. Values of benefices were significant enough on their own to attract numerous graduates. By the 1620s it was uncommon for any minister within the city not to hold at least an MA, let alone be a graduate.[36] The financial capabilities of

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[32] Evan Vaughan, the curate of St. Nicholas between 1609 and 1610, appears as a BA (GA, GDR 107, unpaginated). Successive curates of St. Michael were MA graduates; at least William Smith (1607), Thomas Potter (1609-1610), and Thomas Woodroffe (1625-1642) were all graduates (GA, GDR 102, unpaginated; GA, GDR 107, unpaginated; GA, GDR D1). John Allibond, the rector of St. Mary de Crypt between 1634 and 1635, and curate of St. Nicholas between 1635 and 1645, was also an MA by 1619 (CCEd ID: 7521).
[33] For the maintenance of city lecturers, for example, see pp. 68-87.
[34] Thomas Woodroffe, rector of St. Michael, and John Allibond, minister of St. Nicholas, were MA, whilst William Hulett appears to have matriculated from Clare College, Cambridge, in 1632.
[35] For more on the city's lecturer, see pp. 68-87.
[36] At All Saints: Francis Arnold (vicar between 1597 and 1611) was BA, Robert Markes (1611-1626) was MA, Richard Towgood (1619-1624) was an MA, and George Williamson (1626-1639) was MA. At Christchurch: Edward Shawe (rector between 1617 and 1634) was MA, and Richard Standfast (1631-1645) was also MA. At St. Ewen's: Matthew Hassard (minister from 1640) was also MA. At St. James: William Batcheler (curate between 1627 and 1635) was an MA, and John Paule (1635-) was also MA. At St. Mary Redcliffe, Thomas Palmer (vicar between 1623 and 1640) was an MA, as was William Noble (1640-). At St. Mary le Port: Edward Almond (rector between 1621-1634) was a BA. At St. Michael: James Brent (rector between 1636 and 1642) was a BA. At St. Nicholas: John Goodman (vicar between 1604 and 1616) was an MA, whilst his successor William Jones (1617-1623) was likely to have also been an MA. At St. Peter: John Burneley (parson between 1611 and 1618) was a BA. At Sts. Philip and Jacob: William Yeoman (vicar between 1604 and 1633) was an MA, and John Pearce (vicar between 1634 and 1642) was an MA. At St. Stephen: Robert Hyggins (rector between 1612 and 1628) was a BA, Hugh Hobson (1628-1641) was an MA, and Henry Jones (1641-) was also MA. At St. Thomas: Abel Loveringe (rector between 1616 and 1638) was a BD. At St. Werburgh: John Tilladam (rector from 1634) was an MA.

individuals, churches, and cities clearly had a significant factor in people's experience of worship. The relative wealth of a parish, and the management of those finances, helped to determine the experience of worship in terms of both physical church fabric and in specific spiritual nourishment through preaching clergy.

Finances II: The City of Gloucester and the Outshire

Whilst the city of Bristol was, rather exceptionally, geographically distant from the rest of the diocese, the Diocese of Gloucester corresponded almost exactly with the county lines of Gloucestershire. As within any diocese, it consisted of an economically diverse set of parishes. The 1603 survey of parishes simultaneously displays both the abundancy of dwindling rural benefices and of flourishing cloth towns. Curacies in chapelries and impropriated benefices often consisted of low values. The curate of Charlton Abbots, for example, was paid a miserly annual stipend of £2 with the tithes, whilst the impropriated benefice was worth £20. Similarly, the curate of Ampney St. Peter was paid the meagre sum of £2 13*s*. 4*d*., with the associated rectory, reputedly worth £40, impropriated by the King.[37] In 1635 Bishop Godfrey Goodman complained to Archbishop William Laud that the county was full of impropriations, 'which makes the ministers poor, and their poverty makes them fall upon popular and factious courses'.[38] The 1603 survey of the diocese shows that 126 out of the 278 churches listed were impropriated by other institutions and individuals.[39] As a

[37] The curate of Ampney St. Mary often also served Ampney St. Peter. The associated rectory seems to be that of Ampney Crucis, worth around £40.
[38] *Laud's Works*, Vol. V, Part II, p. 336.
[39] Of the 126 impropriations: lay-farmers held 41 benefices; the King held 30; the Dean and Chapter of Christchurch, Oxford, held nine; the Bishop of Gloucester held five; the Dean and Chapter of Bristol held four; the Dean and Chapter of Hereford held three; the Bishop of Bristol held three; the Dean and Chapter of Worcester held two; the Hospital of St. Bartholomew's, Gloucester, held two; and the Dean and Chapters of Oxford, Salisbury, Wells, New College (Oxford), Trinity College (Oxford), the masters of the free schools in Abergavenny and Northleach, the Bishop of Llandaff, the Earl of Worcester, and the Vicars Choral of Hereford

result of these impropriations, not only were the parsonages and chancels often out of repair, many cures were also left with small benefices.[40]

Conversely, many benefices evidently reflected the rising economic fortunes of those areas that were swiftly becoming local centres of industrialisation, especially in the cloth industry.[41] There was certainly a significantly greater number of large benefices available outside of the city. The average value of the city's eleven benefices in 1603 was around £7 9*s*., with the diocese's other benefices averaging around £12 16*s*. 9*d*.[42] Moreover, benefices such as Bishop's Cleeve, Eastington, Minchinhampton, Berkeley, and Tetbury offered much larger values than any of the city's benefices, all worth over £30 annually, naturally attracting a greater number of preaching graduates to the cures outside of the city.[43] The city of Gloucester serves as a stark contrast, with a comparative lack of graduates outside of the cathedral precinct.[44] Whilst the city's reliance on the cathedral and their city lectureship

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all held one each. The impropriators of eight benefices were not listed (A. Percival and W. Shiels, 'A Survey of the Diocese of Gloucester, 1603', pp. 59-102).

[40] Records of such farmers not allowing sufficient stipends for their curates occasionally appear throughout the court records. For example, in 1605, Thomas Bainham, the non-resident rector of Frampton Cotterell, was presented for 'not allowinge a sufficient stipend to a Curate (GA, GDR 97).

[41] D. Rollison, *The Local Origins of Modern Society*, pp. 21-63.

[42] The values of nine benefices, out of the 278 churches listed, are not given a value (A. Percival and W. Shiels, eds., 'A Survey of the Diocese of Gloucester, 1603', pp. 59-102).

[43] Eleven benefices are listed as being worth over £30 per annum in 1603: Bishop's Cleeve (£84 6*s*. 8*d*.), Great Barrington (£57), Standish (£44 8*s*.), Minchinhampton (£40), Tetbury (£36 13*s*. 4*d*.), Eastington (£32 14*s*. 9*d*.), Withington (£30), and Moreton Valence (£30) (A. Percival and W. Shiels, eds., 'A Survey of the Diocese of Gloucester, 1603', pp. 59-102). The survey and the episcopal visitation in 1603 reveal that at least two clergymen outside of the city were Doctors of Divinity, four were Bachelors of Divinity, 38 had MA degrees, with at least a further 18 having BA degrees. Although several of these benefices were held by prebends of Bristol and Gloucester, held additional diocesan offices, or were chaplains to gentry, many of the graduates appear to have been incumbent upon these benefices (GA, GDR 80 and A. Percival and W. Shiels, 'A Survey of the Diocese of Gloucester, 1603', pp. 59-102).

[44] The city corporation's preacher and curate of St. Mary de Crypt, William Grove, was the only member of clergy outside of the cathedral within the city of Gloucester that was a university graduate. Elias Wrench, who was serving as minister and preacher at St. Nicholas in 1603, was also a prebendary at the cathedral (A. Percival and W. Shiels, eds., 'A Survey of the Diocese of Gloucester, 1603', pp. 59-102).

for ministry are examined in greater detail later, the greater financial prosperity within many rural benefices attracted educated and preaching ministers.

Table 4. Expenditure from the Diocese of Gloucester's Parishes Outside of the City Between 1554 and 1641.

Parish (Surviving Accounts' Years)	Highest Annual Expenditure	Lowest Annual Expenditure	Rough Mean Average Annual Expenditure
Barnsley (1609-1641)	£8 7*s*. 7*d*.	£0 2*s*. 0*d*.	£1 9*s*. 0*d*.
Bromsberrow (1633-1639)	£8 10*s*. 2*d*.	£2 15*s*. 8*d*.	£5 13*s*. 0*d*.
Cheltenham (1639)	£46 12*s*. 6*d*.	£46 12*s*. 6*d*.	
Chipping Campden (1626-1641)	£34 18*s*. 0*d*.	£13 3*s*. 3*d*.	£22 10*d*. 10*d*.
Cirencester (1627-1641)	£135 19*s*. 8*d*.	£51 14*s*. 6*d*.	£82 19*s*. 5*d*.
Daglingworth (1624-1640)	£4 5*s*. 0*d*.	£0 16*s*. 4*d*.	£2 8*s*. 7*d*.
Dursley (1566-1641)	£149 13*s*. 0*d*.	£0 10*s*. 4*d*.	£12 11*s*. 7*d*.
Eastington (1616-1641)	£9 13*s*. 2*d*.	£1 3*s*. 10*d*.	£3 15*s*. 5*d*.
Elmstone Hardwick (1589-90)	£2 0*s*. 2*d*.	£1 14*s*. 6*d*.	£1 17*s*. 5*d*.
Hampnett (1607-1619)	£3 17*s*. 4*d*.	£0 17*s*. 4*d*.	£1 13*s*. 2*d*.
Lechlade (1567-1641)	£18 17*s*. 1*d*.	£3 11*s*. 3*d*.	£8 16*s*. 9*d*.
Mickleton (1639-1641)	£126 15*s*. 5*d*.	£14 10*s*. 1*d*.	£54 18*s*. 7*d*.
Minchinhampton (1554-1639)	£84 3*s*. 6*d*.	£1 12*s*. 9*d*.	£11 11*s*. 0*d*.
North Nibley (1615-1641)	£119 11*s*. 3*d*.	£6 4*s*. 8*d*.	£17 15*s*. 2*d*.
Stroud (1623-1639)	£31 12*s*. 3*d*.	£14 11*s*. 4*d*.	£19 5*s*. 3*d*.
Tetbury (1608-1641)	£73 16*s*. 11*d*.	£8 18*s*. 6*d*.	£23 14*s*. 0*d*.
Tewkesbury (1563-1641)	£126 16*s*. 0*d*.	£1 2*s*. 4*d*.	£24 0*s*. 9*d*.
Tortworth (1599-1640)	£25 2*s*. 5*d*.	£1 9*s*. 11*d*.	£6 6*s*. 5*d*.
Twyning (1638-1639)	£16 12*s*. 7*d*.	£13 12*s*. 2*d*.	£15 2*s*. 5*d*.
Winchcombe (1602)	£11 0*s*. 1*d*.	£11 0*s*. 1*d*.	
Withington (1636-1641)	£10 9*s*. 4*d*.	£3 1*s*. 10*d*.	£7 12*s*. 5*d*.

The high variance in economic fortunes is similarly reflected within the parishes' churchwardens' accounts. Table 4 demonstrates the disparity in economic capability between parishes. Barnsley's average expenditure, for example, was £1 9*s*., with Cirencester, only around four miles distant, averaging a far greater £82 19*s*. 5*d*. Nevertheless, the average expenditure for the parishes of Gloucestershire outside of their cathedral city was over double the expenditure compared to the three parishes within it.[45] Whilst other agents were involved in decisions of expenditure, larger sums of regular income meant a greater opportunity for larger expenditure. It is possible, to some extent, to see their comparative expenditure reflected in their mandated purchases. For example, whilst Tewkesbury paid the significant sum of £5 12*s*. 4*d*. for 'a fayre silver cup for the communion table' in 1618, Eastington paid 30*s*. 2*d*. for 'making the Challice' in 1622.[46] Similarly, whilst other agency was inherent in factors such as their decoration, the order to rail in the communion table 'altarwise' by Archbishop Laud and his commissioners in 1636 was implemented at varying levels of expenditure. A relatively common figure for obeying this order appears to have been around £1.[47] However, the churchwardens of Chipping Campden were willing and able to pay more for a (presumably) more elaborate rail, paying £3 10*s*. 'For makeing the Raile in the church' after going to view the rails already set up at Stratford on

[45] The mean average for the 'rural' parishes was approximately £19 13*s*. 2*d*., whilst the average for the three city parishes was around £7 2*s*. 9*d*.
[46] GA, P329/1/CW/2/1, p. 202; transcribed in Caroline Litzenberger, ed., *Tewkesbury Churchwardens' Accounts, 1563-1624* (Stroud, 1994), p. 128; GA, P127/CW/2/1, unpaginated.
[47] Between 1636 and 1637 the churchwardens of Barnsley paid £1 3*s*. 3*d*. for 'timber for the Chancell' and 4*s*. 4*d*. for 'the Carpenters woorke'; the churchwardens of Daglingworth paid £1 2*s*. 'for raylinge in the Communion Table'; Minchinhampton's churchwardens paid £1 7*s*. 8*d*. 'for Rayleinge the Chancell'; North Nibley's churchwardens paid £1 6*s*. 8*d*. 'for raylinge in the Communion table in the Chancell'; and Tortworth's churchwardens paid £1 'for rayleing in the Communion table and for hingis and nayles' (GA, P34/CW/2/1, unpaginated; GA, P107/CW/2/1, p. 17; GA, P217/CW/2/1, p. 192; GA, P230/CW/2/1, unpaginated; GA, P338/CW/2/7, unpaginated).

the vicar's appointment.[48] The city of Gloucester's parishes paid similarly various sums for this order. St. Michael laid out £1 12*s*. 'on the frame about the Comunion Table' in 1636, whilst the churchwardens of impoverished St. Aldate unenthusiastically spent 1*s*. 3*d*. 'for five Iron pinns for the raile in the Channcell', 1*s*. 4*d*. 'for Boordes for the Channcell', and 1*s*. 8*d*. to the workman, to conform to the order.[49]

Financial disparity was present in both metropolitan and rural contexts within the Diocese of Gloucester. Many parishes outside of the city were more economically able to procure ministers, maintain their buildings, and furnish them as they saw fit. Whilst the whole diocese was generally struggling to procure educated ministers, most educated individuals were situated in either the cathedral precinct or enjoying a valuable country living. A parish's income was dependent on the financial fortunes of the community and citizens within them. Whilst sustainable income was often guaranteed through the renting and leasing of church property, increasing numbers of parishes were forced to rely on wealthy benefactors, the involvement of other forms of institutions, and taxes, levies, or church rates on the householding parishioners. This will become particularly evident in the extraordinary payments towards the provision of bells throughout the diocese in the 1630s.[50] Whilst other agents would determine how a church expended their finances, a church with a substantial sustainable income was able, and therefore much more likely, to invest greater amounts into church maintenance, ornaments, and church fabric. A more

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[48] In 1636 the churchwardens of Chipping Campden provided 5*s*. 'for a workeman & 2 of us to goe to Stratford to view their Railes to make ours by Master Bartholomews appointment'. William Bartholomew, a minister with a godly outlook, yet a fierce and unapologetic royalist, was instituted as vicar of Chipping Campden that very year (GA, P81/CW/2/2, f. 31r).
[49] GA, P154/14/CW/2/1; GA, P154/6/CW/2/7.
[50] See pp. 350-358.

sustainable method of income was also much more conducive to a harmonious community, with sudden heavy and irregular rates often acting as additional causes of conflict within the church. Finances had a direct effect on the experience of worship for all.

Institution I: National Religious Policy

The foremost religious authorities for any church within the Church of England were the monarch and the archbishop of the relevant province. All churches throughout the Dioceses of Bristol and Gloucester were to implement the acts and injunctions directed forth from these highest figures of authority. It was the responsibility of the archbishop and each diocese's bishop to ensure the implementation of such religious policy. To ensure and enforce this policy, they held the right to conduct visitations within their sees. These visitations were often the primary method utilised to enact reform throughout the diocese. Either the bishop themself, the bishop's vicar general or chancellor, or an archdeacon, demanded answers to their enquiries from every church within their jurisdiction. From these responses they would process any necessary corresponding citations into their respective consistory and archdeaconry courts, from whence they could be enforced to reform their misdemeanours.[51] It should go without saying that the implementation of the monarch's and archbishop's religious policy was one of the foremost agents in changing the experiences of worship. As such, the local implementation of this national religious policy is by far the most trodden ground; within these regions alone, scholars such as Litzenberger, Bettey, and

[51] For a summary of the processes involved within Gloucester's consistory court, see F. Hockaday, 'The Consistory Court of the Diocese of Gloucester', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 46 (1924), pp. 195-287.

Skeeters have all examined the nature of its implementation.[52] Whilst significant changes are unlikely to have occurred without changes in national religious policy, its implementation was dependent upon the factors examined here, in the dioceses' local institutions, ecclesiastical authorities, social structures, and lay belief.

Whilst countless examples could be used to show how the successful implementation of changing national policy changed the experiences of worship, perhaps the readoption of Catholicism under Mary I can best demonstrate this. Following the death of Edward VI in 1553, and the consequent events leading to the succession of Mary, the reaffiliation with Rome and the restoration of Catholicism were met with both fervent enthusiasm and ardent opposition. This naturally meant that the enthusiasm with which Catholic practices were readopted were incredibly local, depending on the religious sympathies of each church's minister or congregation.[53] However, no matter how staunch the opposition, nor how fiery the consequences, churches were made to conform to national religious policy; all 168 parishes nationwide that have surviving Marian churchwardens' accounts, listed and studied by Hutton, demonstrated conformity.[54] The surviving accounts within Bristol and Gloucester,

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[52] Litzenberger has addressed the implementation of Protestantism throughout the Diocese of Gloucester between 1530 and 1580 (C. Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity: Gloucestershire, 1540-1580* (Cambridge, 1997); C. Litzenberger, 'St. Michael's, Gloucester, 1540-80: The Cost of Conformity in Sixteenth-century England', pp. 230-249; C. Litzenberger, 'The Coming of Protestantism to Elizabethan Tewkesbury' in P. Collinson and J. Craig, eds., *The Reformation of English Towns, 1500-1640* (Basingstoke, 1998), pp. 79-93). Bettey has similarly examined its implementation in Bristol over a similar period (Joseph Bettey, *Bristol Parish Churches During the Reformation c1530-1560*; J. Bettey, *Church and Community in Bristol During the Sixteenth Century*). Skeeters has similarly examined such relationships within Bristol between around 1530 and 1580 (M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy: Bristol and the Reformation c.1530-c.1570* (Oxford, 1993)).

[53] For example, an old priest was recorded to have sung mass on 11 August in St. Bartholomew, London, only a month after Mary's claim to the throne, and three months prior to the act making it illegal to perform any service introduced during Edward's reign. This act unsurprisingly led to conflict (See Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven, 2017), pp. 359-365).

[54] R. Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England* (Oxford, 1994), p. 96.

and the dioceses' court books, reflect national patterns and show almost complete conformity by the end of 1554.[55]

The evidence within Bristol shows varied enthusiasm towards the readoption of the Latin Rite. The conflicting beliefs and practices within early-Marian Bristol were summed up by the prebendary of Bristol, Roger Edgeworth. Edgeworth addressed the city in a plea for uniformity, stating:

> Here among you in this citie som wil heare masse, some will heare none by theyr good wils, som wil be shriven, som wil not, but for feare, or els for shame, some wyll pay tithes & offeringes, som wil not, in that wors then the Jewes which paid them truly, and fyrst frutes & many other duties beside. Som wil prai for the dead, som wil not, I heare of muche suche discension among you.[56]

These conflicting ideologies can particularly be observed within the contrasting parishes of Christchurch and St. Werburgh between August and December 1553. Despite their community's prevailing theological convictions, St. Werburgh, arguably one of the most reformed churches within Bristol by 1552, demonstrated only little resistance or reluctance to liturgical changes. Their accounts between Michaelmas 1552 and Michaelmas Eve 1553 saw little change in their liturgical space, however their church inventory demonstrates that the necessary preparations had been made.[57] Their former reforming minister, Christopher

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[55] Nonconformists were met with increasing levels of scrutiny and punishment. Nonconformists were hastily brought before the courts and often submitted and conformed. Exile upon the continent was preferential to those that could afford it, whilst the few that remained outwardly steadfast suffered death and martyrdom. For more see Kenneth Powell, *The Marian Martyrs and the Reformation in Bristol* (Bristol, 1972).
[56] Roger Edgeworth, 'The twelfth treatise or sermon' in *Sermons very fuitfull, godly, and learned, preached and sette foorth by Maister Rodger Edgeworth* (London, 1557), f. 109v.
[57] The list of the church's goods included 'a challis parcell gilte withowt a pattent', 'a pawlle of blacke velcet', 'a laten Bible & a englishe Bible', two white altar cloths, a dornex carpet and surplice, and four coffers. By

Pacy, had also been deprived and the parish hired a stipendiary priest, 'Sir Robert', on numerous occasions to say masses every Sunday and Holiday.[58] The stone altars were finally re-erected between 1554 and 1555.[59] St. Werburgh appears to have been a parish reluctant, but nonetheless willing, to conform to national religious policy. Meanwhile, Christchurch were much more enthusiastic, with the accounts showing a much hastier transformation of their church's liturgical space. The stone altar was swiftly re-erected, vestments were quickly obtained, and liturgy above the canonical requirements was reintroduced.[60] Similar enthusiasm can also be seen within St. Mary Redcliffe.[61] Whether a church welcomingly

December 1554, it also included another two surplices, 'a Boke callyd a myssall and a manuell', a holy water pot, a pax and 'a copp<u>er</u> crosse w<u>ith</u> a staff'. These additions were not made until late 1554. The missal was not bought until 5 November for 9*s*., the cross on 3 December for 20*s*. 11*d*., a surplice for the sexton on the same day for 4*s*., the holy water pot on 7 December for 3*s*. 4*d*., the pax on the same day for 8*d*., and the manual was bought on 13 December for 4*s*. 8*d*. Additionally, an albe for the priest was made for 9*s*. 10*d*., 'a gridell for the prest & incle for the thinge for his head' was bought for 3*d*., two new corporas case were made for 7*s*. and 1*s*. 9*d*. respectively, a new patent was bought for the chalice for 20*s*. 10*d*., a pair of brass candlesticks were bought for 12*s*., a processional was bought for 3*s*. 8*d*., a pair of sensars were bought for 5*s*. 6*d*., an additional altar cloth was made for 6*s*. 3*d*. (BA, P.St W/ChW/3/a).

[58] The accounts between 1554 and 1555 also show that a stipendiary priest, 'Sir Robert', was paid for saying mass on 5, 12 and 19 August 1554, at 6*d*. a mass. By 24 August, an agreement had been made that 12*d*. was to be paid 'to the priest [...] For ev<u>ery</u> sonday and other holyday after for ij evensonges one mattynes and a masse'. The following payment was the 14*s*. duly owed to 'Sir Robert' for performing such services from the 14th Sunday after Trinity to the 27th; he was likewise paid at this rate throughout the rest of the year. This priest must have been using his own copy of the liturgy, for the church did not own their own missal until a month following his first service (BA, P.St W/ChW/3/a).

[59] The stone altars were re-erected between 1554 and 1555, with 20*s*. 1*d*. expended upon 'bryan the masyn for x dayes ½ about the alt<u>er</u>s & the steppes at xij*d*. p<u>er</u> day & for ij laborares to tend upon him'. Four vats of freestone 'for the allt<u>er</u> steppes' was bought for 20*s*., whilst 32 vats of rubble and stone, and free stone from the black friars, were also bought for 5*s*. 7*d*. 'to Rere th[e]allt<u>er</u> steppes'. The sum of 6*s*. 8*d*. was also expended 'for peyntinge the rode ov<u>er</u> the allt<u>er</u>'. Three ells of canvas were bought and painted, 'w<u>hich</u> is before the hyghe allt<u>er</u>', for 4*s*. 4*d*. (BA, P.St W/ChW/3/a).

[60] The churchwardens paid 12*d*. in 1553 'for Ryngyng when the quenes grace was proclamyd at the hey crosse', and an altar stone was re-erected soon after over six days, a cross was purchased for 20*s*., and various vestments were purchased, including those that had been previously sold off - all prior to the Queen's coronation on 1 October 1553, for which the bells were rung. Significant payments were also made for items such as 'the canabe [canopy]' for 33*s*. and 33*s*. 4*d*. 'for the alt<u>er</u> clothes & the Front that was be Fore the hy alter'. A cope of purple velvet was purchased for £2, a cope 'of clothe of tewssewe' was bought for £5, Curtains were provided for the quire, the font was repaired and redressed with drapery, and the scripture upon the walls was washed out (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated).

[61] At St. Mary Redcliffe the stone high altar was swiftly re-erected shortly after Mary's coronation, with 12*d*. expended 'At the goodman Cokes fo<u>r</u> brede And alle unto the men that Browght In the Awete<u>r</u> stone'. An altar cloth, two tapers, a mass book, a 'hymnall fo<u>r</u> the quia<u>r</u>', and a processional were bought at the same time. The

embraced or reluctantly conformed with the readoption of Catholic worship, all ultimately outwardly conformed in a relatively swift reaction to a reversal in national religious policy.[62]

An example of archiepiscopal initiatives for reform may be seen in Archbishop John Whitgift's orders in 1586. Bullinger's *Decades* had been issued by Archbishop Whitgift in 1586 as a textbook to better increase the learning of junior clergymen under the level of an MA. Bishop John Bullingham had implemented and oversaw this direction within the Diocese of Gloucester, causing each minister to be assessed within the 1589 episcopal visitation and enjoining many 'to doe some exercises upon Bullingers decades'. These exercises were to be set by more learned ministers within their deaneries and the ministers were to return to them 'to certifie [...] how he proffiteth therein'. Some were also required 'to make a latine exercise'.[63] It is difficult to assess the success of such an initiative, yet this serves well as an example of the local implementation of an archepiscopal order.

Institution II: The Religious Courts

The implementation of religious policy throughout the dioceses relied on the effectiveness of their two local ecclesiastical courts: the consistory court and the archdeacon's court. The

parish evidently also managed to recover their old cross, for 10*s*. 2*d*. was paid to 'Barri the gooldSmythe' for 'the Drewwyng and mending of the ollde Crose' in 1553 (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a).

[62] For more on the historiography surrounding the national implementation of Mary's religious policy, see F. Smith, 'Historiographical Review: Reinventing the Counter-Reformation in Marian England, 1553-1558', *The Historical Journal*, 64/4 (2021), pp. 1105-1127. Locally, Litzenberger, using the parish of St. Michael, Gloucester, as a case study, has suggested that, despite the parish consisting of numerous leading parishioners clearly in favour of Protestant reform, both the individuals' and parishes' outward conformity may have been motivated through their sense of community (C. Litzenberger, 'St. Michael's, Gloucester, 1540-80: The Cost of Conformity in Sixteenth-century England', pp. 230-249).

[63] GA, GDR 73. Archbishop Whitgift had told those wishing to be better educated to daily read a chapter of the Bible and to make notes of what they had learned. They should also read through one of Bullinger's books each week and make notes as to what they had learned. They were to once a quarter meet with their tutor to discuss their learning and to receive further instructions (Patrick Collinson, *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London, 1983), p. 433).

consistory court was headed by a vicar-general or chancellor, appointed by the bishop of the diocese, who had jurisdiction over the entire diocese. The archdeacon's court was headed by the archdeacon himself, however the records for the Archdeacon of Gloucester's court appear not to have survived for this period. However, archdeacons clearly held courts within their jurisdiction, with the Archdeacon of Gloucester's court appearing to have predominantly concerned itself with matters regarding clergymen and conformity.[64] However, the archdeacon's courts appear to have largely been subservient to the consistory.[65] These courts oversaw the implementation of national religious policy, and any particular emphasis added by the diocese's incumbent bishop.

The surviving consistory court books demonstrate their effectiveness in many of the cases presented within them. The courts predominantly relied upon the minister and parishioners of each church to present any offenders or offence that violated the court's visitation articles, although the court's apparitors were able to personally visit churches

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[64] Evidence that the archdeacon held his own courts are numerous throughout both surviving consistory court records and churchwardens' accounts. In 1581, for example, the parson of Wickwar Henry Bishop, was presented to the consistory for having an unpaved chancel and a parsonage that is 'in decaie & part of it is downe'. Bishop replied that the archdeacon had already 'taken order with him that he shall repayr the premisses within five yeres & to bestow reparacion £5 yerelie untill it be repaired' (GA, GDR 50). The Archdeacon of Gloucester appears to have been concerned largely with conducting visitations, and directly dealing with members of the clergy. For example, in 1606 the nonconformist minister of Forthampton, Richard Gardiner, was summoned, alongside other nonconformist members of the parish, 'to answere for theyre unreverent behaviour in receaving the holye Communion some sittinge and some standinge contrarye to gods worde and the lawes of the land' (GA, GDR 100). Also, when the notorious nonconformist minister Humphrey Fox was presented before the consistory and Bishop Goodman in 1632, the bishop ordered the archdeacon to 'deale with the said Master Foxe most lovingly and like a broether to recall him' (GA, GDR 179). The archdeacon was also originally involved surrounding the conformity of Gloucester's lecturer, Thomas Wynell, in 1639 (GA, GDR 190, unpaginated; see pp. 79-80). Samuel Burton, the archdeacon of Gloucester between 1607 and 1634, notably encouraged John Sprint, the nonconformist vicar of Thornbury, to conform in 1618 (J. Sprint, *Cassander anglicanus shewing the necessity of conformitie to the prescribed ceremonies of our church, in case of deprivation* (London, 1618)).

[65] The Archdeacon of Gloucester had lost their independent jurisdiction by the early-seventeenth century, with a summons delivered from the archdeacon's court to Mickleton's churchwardens in 1632 described by Chancellor Francis Baber as an 'innovation' and a violation of the consistory court's jurisdiction (D. Beaver, *Parish Communities and Religious Conflict in the Vale of Gloucester, 1590-1690*, pp. 122-123; William Bradford Willcox, *Gloucestershire: A Study in Local Government, 1590-1640* (New Haven, 1940), p. 239).

occasionally and report any issues or misdemeanours back to the court alongside their regular tasks of delivering messages or prayers.[66] Many of the processes instigated by the courts appear to have been swiftly followed by the necessary parties. For example, following the completion of the King James Bible in 1611 and its introduction as the new authorised version, it was swiftly adopted by many parishes across both dioceses. Gloucester's consistory court records show that, under Bishop Miles Smith's authority, the churchwardens of every parish were cited in July 1613 'for that they want a Bible of the last edici̲on' and were given the deadline of Michaelmas to procure it under penalty of 20*s*.[67] Obedience to such authority and the threat of a significant financial penalty for many appears to have been enough. Many churchwardens' accounts show that they had sourced the necessary funds and expended, in many cases, a relatively large sum upon the new translation within a year.[68] All parishes within the diocese had obtained a new bible within a few years.[69] Additionally, Bishop John Thornborough of Bristol can likely be added to those listed by Fincham to have ordered their comparatively early purchase, with Bristol's

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[66] Apparitors were primarily the court's messengers, delivering citations, summoning people to court, and occasionally delivering occasional prayer books. An occasion where the apparitor was sent to survey a church may be seen at Dursley in 1637, when the churchwardens paid 4*s*. 4*d*. 'to my Lord Bishopes survayor for the survaying of the Church & for the paritors feese' (GA, P124/CW/2/4).

[67] Under the direction of one of the translators of the King James Bible, Bishop Miles Smith, the Diocese of Gloucester were amongst the first to mandate their purchase within every church. Smith himself often presided over the consistory at this time. For more on the King James Bible's production, dissemination, and reception, see Kenneth Fincham, 'The King James Bible: Crown, Church and People', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 71/1 (2020), pp. 77-97, particularly p. 88.

[68] In the diocese of Gloucester, St. Michael, Gloucester, purchased 'a newe bible for the Church' for 46*s*. 8*d*., Minchinhampton paid 'for the Church bible and Caridg', and Tortworth laid out 50*s*. 'for our Bible' and 6*d*. for its carriage (GA, P154/14/CW/2/1, unpaginated; GA, P217/CW/2/1, p. 148; GA, P338/CW/2/7, unpaginated).

[69] Barnsley had paid £2 4*s*. 8*d*. 'for the newe Byble in 1614, St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester, paid 45*s*. 'for a newe Bible' and 18*d*. for its carriage from London in 1615, Tewkesbury acquired a new bible in 1614 alongside a book of canons and book of common prayer for £3 0*s*. 10*d*. (GA, P34/CW/2/1, unpaginated; GA, P154/11/CW/2/1, unpaginated; GA, P329/1/CW/2/1, p. 168, transcribed in C. Litzenberger, ed., *Tewkesbury Churchwardens' Accounts, 1563-1624*, p. 113). Most of the citations within the original record have been certified without any further citations. Later citations were usually simple cases of certification or clarification, such as the churchwardens of Wapley's appearance later in 1613 where their vicar, John Mascall, certified that he had bought a new bible for the parish (GA, GDR 120, unpaginated).

churchwardens' accounts showing that many churches had also bought the new edition in 1613.[70] There appears to have been little resistance to such an order, likely due to the relatively uncontroversial nature of the new edition and to the effective administrative authority of the bishops.[71] This example demonstrates the effectiveness of a fully functioning ecclesiastical court system on enforcing the reform of a church's material object.

With the appropriate authority, these courts were also able to facilitate successful efforts to ensure at least a nonconformist's outward conformity, particularly between 1570 and 1630.[72] For example, in 1605 Gloucester's consistory court acted against many of the diocese's nonconformists following the induction of the notoriously unsympathetic Thomas Ravis as bishop. Ravis sat as head of his own consistory alongside John Seman within the cathedral and thoroughly oversaw the citation of numerous nonconformist ministers throughout the diocese, subsequently arranging private meetings with Bishop Ravis himself.[73] For example, John Rowles, the rector of Harescombe and Pitchcombe, was

[70] Sts. Philip and Jacob paid 35*s*. 'for the exchange of an old Byble, for one of the newe translation' in 1613, the churchwardens of St. Werburgh paid £2 8*s*. 'for a new Bible' and 1*s*. 7*d*. for its carriage from London, whilst 'Master Rogers' was paid £2 13*s*. by St. Thomas, Bristol, on 6 April 1613 'for our new Bible & Carradge both of the new & ould' (BA, P.St P and J/ChW/3/a; BA, P.St W/ChW/3/a, f. 8v.; BA, P.St T/ChW/46).

[71] Some resistance can be seen in some of the smaller and poorer parishes. For example, St. Owen and St. Mary de Grace, Gloucester, were cited in 1616 for still 'not having a bible of the last translacion' (GA, GDR 125). The citation of St. Katherine in 1619 for wanting 'a Bible of the last edicion' reveals that they had 'bene borne withall by my Lord Bishopp' – they had received a copy off Bishop Miles Smith (GA, GDR 135).

[72] See Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640*, particularly Chapter 3.

[73] The nonconformists in 1605 included Laurence Bridger, rector of Slimbridge and prebend of Gloucester Cathedral, who was presented for not using the sign of the cross in baptism and for not wearing the surplice, hood, nor other garments accordingly. Mr. Matrevas, curate of St. Michael, Gloucester, was also found to be preaching without a licence and for not having a square cap and gown according to the canons. Thomas Tullie, minister of Standish, was presented 'for not signing with the signe of the Crosse in Baptisme and for not weareing the surplesse'; he excused himself that the surplice was 'ragged'. John Staunton, minister of Wotton-under-Edge, was presented 'for not Completely observinge the booke of Common prayer or ceremonies', not signing the cross at baptism, not wearing the surplice or hood, not catechising, not bidding holidays or fasting days, and not using the required apparel. John Sprint, the vicar of Thornbury, was presented for not reading the letany, not using the sign of the cross in baptism, and for not wearing the surplice or hood. John Rowles, the rector of Harescombe and Pitchcombe was detected for preaching without a licence, not bidding holidays and fasting days, not wearing canonical apparel nor the surplice, for teaching school without a licence, and for

> detected for administringe the communion but twise this laste yeere [...], for preachinge not licensed, for not bidding hollidayes nor fasting dayes, for not goinge in his apparell accordinge to the article, for not wearinge the surples at all, for teachinge schole without licence, the parsonadge barne fallen downe in his defaulte, the Channcell alsoe in decaye.

Rowles, there and then, was admonished to 'conforme himself accordinge to the order of the church', 'to use the Crosse in Baptisme & to weare the surples', to repair Pitchcombe's chancel, and was inhibited from teaching school without a licence any longer. Rowles, like all nonconformist ministers, was also ordered to attend and meet Bishop Ravis at the Bishop's residence at the Vineyard in Over. Rowles appeared the next Saturday as directed and 'had some conference with my Lord & my Lord did admonish him to conforme himself & come & subscribe [to the 39 articles] & observe all of the rites & Ceremonies of the churche'.[74] He must have refused to subscribe and conform, for he was eventually deprived by 1606, much to his objection.[75] Evidence such as this shows that an active and strong individuals with the required authority, and with the time and patience necessary to examine and converse in

not signing the cross. Christopher Greene, the vicar of Holy Trinity, did not procure sermons and did not have a canonical gown and cloak. Robert Ball was presented for not reading the canons, nor prayer according to the prescribed order, for not signing with the cross in baptism, wearing the surplice or hood, not bidding holidays and fasting days, and not using the form of thanksgiving to women. Other nonconformist ministers included: Edward Brown, the rector of Nymphsfield; George Holmes, curate of Kingswood; Thomas Drake, the curate of Forthampton; John Harvey, curate of Dowdeswell; the anonymous minister of Barnsley; Thomas Hooke, vicar of Hawkesbury; and Christopher Cragg, minister of Saintbury (GA, GDR 97, unpaginated).

[74] GA, GDR 97, unpaginated. The parish was simultaneously admonished for wanting a cloth and cushion for the pulpit, a table of consanguinity, and that their parish clerk could not read. John Rowles was also admonished to provide a sufficient parish clerk.

[75] GA, GDR 100; GA, GDR 101. For more on the consequent physical and aural conflict surrounding Rowles' deprivation and the successive incumbent Peter Hogg at Harescombe, see pp. 342-344.

particularly controversial matters, were able to effectively reform the diocese's churches and ministry via the processes of the consistory court.

However, the efficacy of any attempted reform through the courts was often hampered by inefficient administration of the diocese's courts. Gloucester's Elizabethan consistory court became renowned for its corruption, with these seeds continuing to be sown well into the early-sixteenth century. Bishop Cheyney's apathetic administration saw the consistory's authority falling 'to a point of near collapse', creating an environment where religious diversity was nurtured.[76] Following a suit raised by Richard Sheppard, the subdean of the Cathedral, Thomas Powell, the chancellor of the diocese, was eventually found guilty by the High Commission in 1579 of corruption.[77] However, this corruption continued when William Blackleech was appointed chancellor in 1581.[78] The nature of corruption saw the monetary payments received by the court in lieu of having to perform public penance, intended to be devoted towards pious uses, increasingly being distributed 'at the judge's discretion'.[79] The commission's examination of the consistory's records from the previous

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[76] F. Doughlas Price, *The Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes within the Dioceses of Bristol and Gloucester, 1574* (Gateshead, 1972), p. 4 and C. Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity*, p. 128. Litzenberger even suggests that it may have been Bishop Cheyney's intent that the ineffective administration hindered the promotion of Protestantism throughout the diocese.

[77] Thomas Powell was also charged with adultery, fornication, rape, blasphemy, haunting of taverns, not receiving communion, perjury, rioting in the cathedral precints, reviling litigants, and being habitually drunk in charge of the Consistory Court (F. D. Price, 'An Elizabethan Church Official: Thomas Powell, Chancellor of Gloucester Diocese', *Church Quarterly Review*, 128 (1939), pp. 94-112).

[78] This led to a heated and protracted dispute with Bishop Bullingham, culminating in the eventual sitting of two separate consistory courts, one held by the chancellor and the other by the bishop. This situation eventually necessitated the direct intervention by the Privy Council (F. Douglas Price, 'Bishop Bullingham and Chancellor Blackleech: a diocese divided', *Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaelogical Society*, 91 (1972), pp.175-198).

[79] There are many examples of this form of corruption throughout the court's act books. For several examples, see F. D. Price, 'Bishop Bullingham and Chancellor Blackleech: a diocese divided', pp.178-179. A loose note or message within a court book from 1582 also hints at these potential corrupt methods. John Ward, a minor-canon at the cathedral and a proctor of Chancellor Thomas Powell, penned a message to a 'Master Jones', stating 'I praye yow delyver unto this berance William Cleveley his oblygacion, I ame content to Remit his penance in his parishe churche. Tak[e] such fees as doth apertayne in this case, meat at Master Powelles' (GA,

two or three years found that of the 300-400 individuals presented to the court for moral offences, fewer than thirty had correctly confessed, performed public penance, or had their penance properly commuted. It was alleged that Powell and the court had commuted their penances for monetary payments.[80] This served the court no favours amongst those who believed such institutions to be 'half-reformed' and a relic of popery.[81]

These courts appear to have been largely ineffective against those individuals most entrenched upon both poles of the religious spectrum. The ineffectiveness of Gloucester's early-Elizabethan consistory had prompted the Crown to set up a Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes within Bristol and Gloucester in 1574, reasserting and augmenting the court's power. This court was fairly successful in punishing and reforming moral offenders

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GDR 50, loose parchment). Ward had originally found Cleveley, of Longborrow, guilty, having been 'suspected with John Wyllyes wief' and initially giving 'ill voice'. He performed penance in the cathedral and was ordered to confess that he had performed such penance for the offence within his own parish. However, Ward had forborne Cleveley the embarrassing performance within his parish, demanded and taken any such fee the court ordered, and met within the confines of the chancellor's private house (GA, GDR 50). These were exactly the actions that Chancellor Powell was found guilty of doing by the high commission in 1578.

[80] The High Commission found that 'by vewe and serch of the registry of Gloucester they have founde that within these ij or iij yeares there hath bine iijC or iiijC persons presented to D[octor] Powell for incest, adultery, fornicacion and such like, of which number not above xiiij persons of such as have confessed their faultcs or fayled in their purgacion have done open penaunce, and not past xiiij or xvj such persons that have had their penaunce orderlie and uncorruptlie commuted into money, and not one of them commuted with the bushopps consent' (transcribed in F. D. Price, *The Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes within the Dioceses of Bristol and Gloucester, 1574*, p. 4).

[81] M. Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640*, p. 4. Such corruption had clearly gained notoriety throughout the diocese by 1588, with John Warde, the cathedral's minor-canon and surrogate to Chancellor Thomas Powell, personally singled out in a case against Robert Saville of Tibburton. Saville's mother-in-law, Joan Hannam, had previously been excommunicated, and could therefore not enter a church. However, both Saville and his mother-in-law had gone to Morning Prayer upon a Sunday. Witnesses claim that when the parish clerk had gone to see whether she was absolved of her excommunication, Robert jumped onto his seat and exclaimed 'what have we the popes lawe come up[?] this is but a kynd of poperye[.] I esteame of their blessinges no better then my dogges blessinge Because it is but for money'. He also allegedly said that 'Master Wardes blessinges and Cursinges who is substitute to the Chancellor of Gloucester is but a ceremonie of the popes', 'if Mr Ward who is deputy to the Chancellor of Gloucester should demand or take 16 groats for [him], his wife, his mother and his servant, which is four groats a peace it was extortion' and stated that 'they did gain by extortion a hundreth or two of pounds by year[,] which he would save his poor Country[,] and that he could have no justice amongst them' (GA, GDR 65). Saville himself was interrogated by Bishop Bullingham and confessed. Such corruption and internal disputes within the dioceses' courts only served to both disrupt effective administration and undermine efforts to reform the diocese.

but limited in its ability to enforce religious conformity; even with additional authority, the courts were unable to remove entrenched theological beliefs from both Catholic recusants and Protestant nonconformists.[82] The metropolitan visitation in 1576, for example, demonstrated the failings in Cheyney's administration throughout his tenure as bishop with many parishes clearly not having undergone necessary reform. This visitation was much more thorough than any previous episcopal visitation and many churches were detected not to have the canonically required books, fabric, and ornaments, and were without sermons. Likewise, many ministers were presented for altering the prescribed liturgy, issuing communion with chalices, amongst divers other faults. Cheyney's poor administration had led to a divided diocese, with practices of worship wildly varying. For at the same time that the vicar of Aylburton was presented for being 'a maynteyner of popish purgatorie & other papistrie', wearing a surplice during rogation, and administrating with a chalice, Edward Grosse, the curate of All Saints, Gloucester, refused to wear the surplice and bid holidays and fasting days.[83] Difficulties in implementing change throughout the diocese via the consistory lasted throughout the period, markedly observable once again within the period of enforced Laudian reform, examined later. Despite these failings, however, effective authority and reform was still possible under strong and present diocesan leadership.

[82] F. D. Price, 'The Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes for the Dioceses of Bristol and Gloucester, 1574', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 59 (1937), pp. 61-184; F. D. Price, *The Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes within the Dioceses of Bristol and Gloucester, 1574*; C. Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity*, pp. 128-129.
[83] GA, GDR 40. For more discussion on the 1576 metropolitical visitation of Gloucester see C. Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity*, pp. 130-131.

Institutions III: The Cathedrals and the Dioceses

The traditional Catholic ecclesiastical structures that remained in post-Reformation England, of which Cathedrals were a key part, have been argued to have been a 'cuckoo in the nest' of English Protestantism.[84] Whilst their very existence was believed by some to be a very physical reminder of a Church only 'halfly-reformed', they were able to provide an array of reformed functions. They offered financial stability to reform-minded higher clergy and were often centres of godly preaching and education.[85] The character of a cathedral often reflected the dominant beliefs of their incumbent dean and chapter.[86] Cathedrals were intended to be a diocese's mother church. A relationship originating as a medieval idea, the cathedral was to be the liturgical exemplar within its diocese. This relationship continued within the sixteenth-century, reinterpreted as an exemplar of preaching and teaching, whilst the Laudian faction reverted the relationship in the early-seventeenth century, reemphasising the cathedral as exemplar for ceremonial practices.[87] The lack of early sources for both Bristol and Gloucester's cathedrals, two of the poorest within the country, leaves us unable to draw too many conclusions into their practices of worship and influence throughout their respective cities and dioceses.[88] However, evidence for the early-Stuart

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[84] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England, 1547-1603* (Basingstoke, 2001), p. 29.
[85] Stanford Lehmberg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals* (Guildford, 1988), pp. 159-163, 297-301, 304-306).
[86] Whilst many early-Elizabethan cathedrals took on a more reformed nature, remote areas were potentially 'more immune to revolution'; Durham Cathedral is a prime example of a conservative Elizabethan institution (S. Lehmberg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals* (Guildford, 1988), pp. 146-154).
[87] Ian Atherton, 'Cathedrals, Laudianism, and the British Churches', *The Historical Journal*, 53/4 (2010), p. 906.
[88] Gloucester was the slightly wealthier of the two institutions, receiving an income of £721 at their foundation in 1544, compared to Bristol's £661. However, they were both the poorest of the newly founded cathedrals. Bristol had the lowest income of any cathedral institution, whilst Gloucester was third from bottom (Carlisle came between them with an income of £654). See S. Lehmberg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals*, pp. 88-89.

cathedrals shows that the practices of worship and the actions taken within the cathedrals were able to directly influence change throughout their surrounding churches.

Cathedrals were clearly thought to have the potential to be agents of change, both directly influencing the experiences of worship for those that attended cathedral services, and those throughout their diocese's parishes. Those with direct control and influence over these institutions, namely the bishop, dean, and chapter, were able to both implement changes in national religious policy within their practices and impose their own preferred forms of worship within the cathedral. This would often be done in the hope that other churches would follow their example. Occasionally, these changes prompted significant conflict throughout communities. Perhaps the most notorious example is the controversy caused throughout the Diocese of Gloucester when William Laud, in his first act as Dean of Gloucester in 1616, moved the communion table to an 'altarwise' position.[89] Prior to Laud's institution as dean in 1616, the cathedral's deanery and prebends had been occupied by a significant number of either actively godly clergymen or sympathisers to their cause.[90] Their forms of worship within the cathedral, and the frequent sermons preached by the dean,

[89] On 25 January 1616 Dean William Laud and the chapter there present (Subdean Thomas Prior, Henry Aisgill, and Elias Wrench) made the infamous 'Order for the communion table': 'It was by Master Deane and the chapter aforesaid ordered and decreed that the communion table should be place[d] altar wise at the upper ende of the quier close und[er the] walle upon the uppermost greeses or steppes acc[ording] as it is used in the king's majestie's chappell and in [all] or the moste parte of the cathedrall churches of [the] realme' (GCL, Chapter Act Book 1, f. 4r.; transcribed in Suzanne Eward, ed., *Gloucester Cathedral Chapter Act Book, 1616-1687* (Bristol, 2007), p. 3).

[90] Most Gloucester Cathedral's deans prior to Laud either held godly opinions or were sympathetic towards those that held them. For example, Lawrence Humphrey (1571-80) was a former Marian exile and a head of the vestarian controversy (see Thomas Freeman, 'Laurence Humphrey (1525x7–1589)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2010). As Bishop of St. David's, former Dean Anthony Rudd (1585-96) has been described as 'sympathetic to puritanism' (Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 21; David Walker, 'Anthony Rudd (1548/9–1615)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004). Prebends with similar reforming outlooks are visible in Arthur Saule and Guy Eton, see pp. 96-101.

chapter, or their proxies, were likely to have influenced practices in the parishes in the immediate vicinity of Gloucester and further afield, especially in a period of poor diocesan leadership. These sympathies were likely one of the reasons that godly thought and practices had started to flourish within the city by the time Laud arrived. The turning of the communion table 'altarwise', accompanied with the order to observe due reverence unto it, caused an uproar within the community of godly throughout the city and diocese and prompted a defiant parochial response.

Laud's actions had first and foremost offended Miles Smith, the godly Bishop of Gloucester. In a letter to Smith, Laud insinuated that when Smith spoke to him at Christmas, 'it seemed by the speech he uttered to me, that somebody had done the poor Church of Gloucester no very good office'.[91] Within Archbishop Laud's trial in 1644 John Langley, the cathedral's godly schoolmaster, deposed that Smith had heard of Laud's intentions to remove the communion table, and had 'opposed it with much earnestnesse' and

> seriously protested to the deane and the Prebends, that if the Communion Table were removed, or any such Innovations brought into that Cathedrall as this Deane intended to introduce, hee would never come within the Walls of the Cathedrall more.

Subsequently, Laud 'was then violent', and 'that in despite of the Bishops direction and opposition', removed the table anyway. Langley claims that he made good on his threat and never again went into the cathedral, whereas Laud disputed this and says that Smith never said a word to him about it, otherwise he would have either satisfied him in that, or vice

[91] *Laud's Works* (Oxford, 1857), v. 6, part 1, pp. 239-240.

versa.[92] Whilst the new positioning of the communion table itself had likely offended Smith, this was also a direct challenge to his authority and jurisdiction. Smith's displeasure could also be seen echoed by his fellow godly clergymen and their communities.

A libel written by John White, the curate of Winchcombe, was soon found in the pulpit of St. Michael, Gloucester. It was a copy of a letter to Chancellor John Seman asking for clarification if the 'strange things of late here with us, that seeme almost incredible' were true. White claimed that it had offended 'the whole Citie almost' and decried the 'fainte hearted' prebends, for not one of them 'did so much as offer by word or deed to resist him, or to tell him what harme this example might doe, and how much hereby, the secret Papists would be stirred up to rejoyce'.[93] A letter to Laud was written by two prebends, Henry Aisgill and Elias Wrench, warning the absent dean about the letter. The libel was found by St. Michael's parish clerk, Thomas Smith, as he lay the pulpit cloth for the city's godly lecturer and subdean of the Cathedral, Thomas Prior. Smith and the curate, John Wells, read and divulged the contents of the letter 'so that all in the Citie well neare doe new speake of it'. They urged for a High Commission to be procured to examine the matter. They feared that should there not be a speedy recourse, 'it will in short time breed no small inconvenience within this place', simultaneously lamenting that 'Assuredly these zealous people are our Precisians, the number whereof is great in this place'.[94] Laud's intentions were to reform his cathedral's practices and to act as an example for other churches. Clearly, this action caused furore amongst the diocese's numerous 'Precisians'. Furthermore, the parochial

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[92] W. Prynne, *Canterburies Doome* (London, 1644), p. 75; *Laud's Works*, v. 4, pp. 233-235.
[93] W. Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, pp. 75-78.
[94] In a letter to Richard Neile, the Bishop of Lincoln, it becomes apparent the Subdean Thomas Prior also sent a similar letter (*Laud's Works*, v. 6, part 1, pp. 240-241).

consequences of Laud’s actions appear to have led to an open defiance within many churches throughout the diocese, where they pointedly reinforced their own practices of communion.[95] Whilst Laud used his available authority to locally reform the cathedral, likely with the intent to be an example to all other churches, it appears to have caused even greater division within the Church. His actions had managed to simultaneously create division between the highest ecclesiastical authorities in the diocese, the diocese’s clergy, and amongst the laity. Whilst not all changes in practices of worship had such an influential impact upon parochial worship, the cathedral could clearly perform such actions beyond the influence exerted as a patron to several livings or through its educators and preachers.

[95] The diocese’s churchwardens’ accounts show a clear pattern of increased expenditure in the renovation of their churches’ respective communion spaces. There is no surviving evidence to suggest that a parish swiftly followed suit in placing their communion table ‘altarwise’ and provided a frame or a rail to surround it. Instead, many parishes reacted by defiantly reinforcing their own practices of communion. For example, St. Michael, Gloucester, paid 9*s*. in 1618 ‘for the Communion table in the Chancell’. It is possible that the ‘in the Chancell’ was intended to be particularly pointed, and that the table was moved into the chancel rather than somewhere in the midst of the church. However, unlike the practice now enforced at the cathedral, the communicants at St. Michael evidently kneeled, or were at least encouraged to kneel, likely at their designated communion seats, for 6*d*. was paid in 1573 for ‘three Jemelles for the communion seate’, ‘three dozen of mattes for the parishioners to knele upon when theie receive the Communion’ were provided in 1586, and 4*s*. 9*d*. was paid ‘for matts which are layde in the seates in the Chauncell’ in 1629 (GA, P154/14/CW/2/1). In 1620, the bold parishioners of St. Mary de Crypt pointedly made their feelings clear. They received an additional £9 4*s*. from ‘A Taxacion made [...] by the Churchwardens & the rest of the parishioners of the parishe of Criste in the City of Gloucester for and towardes the making of new Seates for the Communicants to be placed & sett in the Chancell of the same Church’; £11 2*s*. 9*d*. was subsequently paid to Robert Porter ‘for makinge new Seates in the Chancell’ (GA, P154/11/CW/2/1). This reaction was not limited to the city. In 1618, Dursley were given a new ‘table borde’ and North Nibley obtained a new ‘frame for the Comunion Table’, whilst Minchinhampton paid 10*s*. ‘for a Communion table’ in 1619 (GA, P124/CW/2/4; GA, P230/CW/2/1; GA, P217/CW/2/1). This period of particular attentiveness to each church’s form and practice of communion was likely to be indirectly caused by Laud’s intervention at the cathedral. The seemingly coordinated response may even suggest that it may have been an organised response by Bishop Smith and diocesan authority. The response seems to tie in with Archdeacon Samuel Burton’s visitation in 1618, although neither they nor the court books contain any particularly radical demand for investment or change (K. Fincham, ed., *Visitation Articles of the Early Stuart Church, Volume I* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 31, 49-50).

Institutions IV: Civic Leadership

Civic authority may have been one of the most important factors in the formation of a community's religious identity. Executed effectively, authorities were able to mould the religious experiences of communities throughout their jurisdiction through the promotion of like-minded ministers and preachers. To enable this, civic authorities were able to work both within and around the limitations of the established ecclesiastical structures to influence local religious affairs. They could obtain presentation rights to strategic parishes, and present sympathetic clergy to the offices, or they could fund their own sympathetic lecturer. Both Bristol and Gloucester's civic leadership had a direct influence over their cities' experiences of worship. However, the actions taken by each city's authorities significantly contributed in different ways towards their increasingly divergent religious identities during the early-seventeenth century.

The relationship between city lectureships and a godly form of theology has long been noted.[96] Civic lectureships were initially designed to support the advancement of reformed Protestant worship in financing an acceptable salaried preacher within a town or city where parochial resources may not have been deemed adequate. Both cities' civic authorities initially wished to not only address the relatively poor standards of ministry in the parishes during the early Elizabethan period, but to promote the godly ideals of preaching and teaching throughout the city. By the 1580s, a high proportion of Gloucester's civic authorities supported the promotion of godly ideals and sought to consolidate

[96] Christopher Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (London, 1964); Paul Seaver, *The Puritan Lectureships: the Politics of Religious Dissent, 1560-1662* (Stanford, 1970); P. Collinson, *Godly People*, particularly chapter 18.

oligarchic authority and unite the civic leaders within a period of municipal strain.[97] Both cities initially supported successive appointments of godly preachers. In Gloucester, the 'puritan' local schoolmaster and minister William Groves was appointed when the city's lectureship appears to have first been instituted in 1598, receiving the annual stipend of £20.[98] He was succeeded in 1611 by Thomas Prior, a man 'of great sufficiencie for the preaching of the Gospel, and instruments that the Lord made much use of, for the advancing of the true saving knowledge of himself, and for the setting up of the real and substantial power of godliness' in Gloucester.[99] Prior's confessional identity was confirmed in 1618, when the conservative vicar of Bisley, Christopher Windle, labelled him 'that puritan Minister' and accused him of being in collusion with the mayor in instigating the pulling down of two maypoles within Berkeley and St. Nicholas, Gloucester.[100]

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[97] Peter Clark argues that the promotion of puritanical activity within Gloucester was promoted through such socio-economic developments as: the expanding coastal trade and the close contact with other puritan towns of the South-West; the many city mercers and drapers' likely religious convictions; a growing number of Gloucestershire gentry with puritanical outlooks who gave their patronage to businesses within the city; and the handful of godly ministers resident within the cathedral (P. Clark, ''The Ramoth-Gilead of the Good': Urban Change and Political Radicalism at Gloucester 1540-1640' in *The Tudor and Stuart Town: A Reader in English Urban History 1530-1688*, J. Barry, ed. (New York, 1990), pp. 244-273).

[98] Evidence shows that the city had been providing regular lectures prior to this date as early as 1564 when John Hitchens, a woollen draper, bequeathed £25 'Towardes the fyndinge of a preacher that shalbe able to instructe the people in godes booke and that he shall preache ones a Daie for one whole yeare at suche places within the Citie of gloceter as shalbe throughte moste Conveniente by the Judgemente of Master maior and Master Recorder' (TNA, PROB 11/47/151). Groves was formerly master of St. Mary de Crypt school between at least 1589 and 1595 and later vicar of Hartpury between at least 1603 and 1612 (GA, GBR F4/3; GA, GDR R8, 1611/188; CCEd ID: 151306). He was also have been curate of St. Mary de Crypt between 1601 and 1603 (GA, GDR R8, 1602/4; 1602/120; GA, GDR 80). He was installed as vicar of Elmore in 1601 under the patronage of renowned godly sympathiser Sir William Guise, when the corporation of Gloucester had to grant Grove leave to perform his duties at Elmore every Sunday (GA, GBR B3/1, f. 194r). For Guise, see pp. 102-103.

[99] Both Prior and John Workman were described as such within a preface written by Valentine Marshall to *Capel's remains being an useful appendix to his excellent Treatise of tentations, concerning the translations of the Holy Scriptures : left written with his own hand* (London, 1658). Prior was instituted as city lecturer on 23 September 1611 (GA, GBR, B3/1, ff. 236v).

[100] A note was inserted within Christopher Windle's commentary on the King's Book of Sports: 'Remember at ye pulh'ng down of 2. poles in Barkley so I. in St. Nicolas parish in Gloucester, some say at ye Judges commandment.at ye Instigation of ye Maior & prior that puriwrc Minister. & thomas cherics a precisian' (transcribed in Audrey Douglas and Peter Greenfield, eds., *Records of Early English Drama: Cumberland, Westmorland, Gloucestershire* (Toronto, 1986), p. 386).

Bristol's authorities similarly appointed successive godly preachers to their city lectureships to influence the city's religious disposition, although they were increasingly able to maintain more than the one lecturer due to their superior financial capabilities. The city's first lecturer was Robert Temple, officially appointed in 1585 although he was likely performing the role from 1581.[101] Whilst he actively preached for religious conformity in the 1590s, he did acknowledge his earlier nonconformity.[102] However, he was later presented for nonconformity in 1605 as vicar of Dowdeswell, in the Diocese of Gloucester.[103] Little is known about Temple's successors, although they were likely to be of a similar Calvinist disposition; John Pyttes, Robert Gulliford, and William Robinson all appear to have served the lecture between 1586 and 1598.[104] However, much more is known about Nathaniel

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[101] Temple was paid the stipend of £34 13*s*. 4*d*. to provide lectures every Tuesday and Thursday morning at St. Nicholas. In 1585 the city ordered that every parish was to contribute towards the payment for 'the mayntenance of a learned preacher to preache the worde of God in this cyte twyse everye weeke as it hath heretofore used', although no such evidence of previous lectures may be found within the city records (see Maureen Stanford, ed., *The Ordinances of Bristol 1506-1598* (Gloucester, 1990), pp. 84-85, 92). However, All Saints' churchwardens' accounts show that Temple was already 'Readinge lecture at St Nycholas' from 1581 (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a). Neither Skeeters nor Harlow were able to find any information surrounding a previous lectureship (M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*; J. Harlow, *Religious Ministry in Bristol 1603-1689*). Skeeters identifies 'Mr Temple to be 'Arthur Temple', although no such evidence of the first name exists within the cited records, nor within CCEd's database (M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy,* p. 147). Given Robert Temple's proximity as a prebend at Bristol Cathedral, this is a much more likely identity (CCEd ID: 59599).

[102] Under the fastidious conformist Bishop John Aylmer he published *A Sermon teaching discretion in matters of religion, and touching certayne abuses nowe in the churche* (London, 1592), in which he preached for quiet conformity, acknowledging some reasons that 'diswades verie many, and did for a time discourage my selfe'.

[103] Temple was presented to Gloucester's consistory 'for not readinge the booke of Canons for callinge the Curate knave and pullinge him out of the pulpitt in service time, for havinge Communion but once a yeare admittinge John Wolllams much absent, not Catechisinge, wearinge noe hoode, not usinge decent apparell [the] Chancell windowes not well glazed, the parsonage howse not repayred,[and] beinge a userer'. Temple was cited to attend Bishop Ravis the following day, where he 'promiseth reformacion of the thinges he acknowledgeth & the purgacion of him self in the other that are falsely imputed unto him'. Temple's curate, John Harvye, was also presented and inhibited from serving the cure 'for not abservinge the prescript forme of service, not the rites and Ceremonies servinge not beinge allowed, not usinge decent apparell for beinge a drunkerd and a common gamster' (GA, GDR 97, unpaginated).

[104] Temple's successor was evidently John Pyttes, who preached the St. Nicholas lectures between 1586 and 1589, being initially paid the same rate of £5 annually by All Saints' churchwardens before it was raised to £6 in 1587, corresponding with the city's order for parishes to increase their rates towards the preacher's maintenance. (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a; M. Stanford, ed., *The Ordinances of Bristol 1506-1598*, p. 91). His full name is revealed to be John Pyttes in the last will and testament of Edmund Popley in 1597 (TNA, PROB 11/90/197). All Saints' churchwardens' accounts suggest that there were two or more preachers between 1590 and 1598

Baxter, who had become the city's public lecturer by at least 1601, when the council voted against dismissing him.[105] Baxter had established himself as a 'vociferous Calvinist, critical of the established church'.[106] Instead of dismissing him, they proceeded to hire another preacher to aid the lectures, thereafter officially admitting Robert Gulliford one of the two city preachers.[107] Appointments of godly lecturers continued to be made by Bristol's civic authorities within the early-seventeenth century. Edward Chetwynd, one of the two 'pillars of a notable evangelical revival in the West Country', was appointed in 1607 and paid the significant stipend of £52 plus accommodation to preach every holiday and Sunday afternoon.[108] Two more godly preachers, in William Yeaman and Thomas Thompson, were also appointed in 1607. Yeaman was the incumbent vicar of Sts. Philip and Jacob and was later described as a 'zealous preacher' who would often observe his place but 'would not

serving the lecture, although they remain anonymous (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a). Gulliford is paid as a preacher by St. James between 1590 and 1595 (BA, P.St J/ChW/1/a). William Robinson is vicar of St. Nicholas between 1595 and 1604. The last will and testament of the parishioner of Christchurch, Edmund Popley also suggests these three individuals as potential candidates, as Robert Gulliford, John Pittes, and William Robinson 'preachers of the worde of God' were bequeathed 40*s*., 20*s*., and 20*s*., respectively (TNA, PROB 11/90/197). At least Gulliford seems to have been within a godly circle; his last will and testament, dated 1613, names his fellow godly prebendaries Edward Green and Dr. William Hill executors (TNA, PROB 11/121/260). These two executors were suspected to have moved within godly circles, albeit not deliberately causing controversy (see Margaret Stieg, *Laud's Laboratory: The Diocese of Bath and Wells in the Early Seventeenth Century* (London, 1982), p. 62; W. Hill, *The First Principles of a Christian: OR Questions and Answers upon the Creede, the Ten Commandements, and the Lord's Prayer for the Further Opening of the Ordinary Catechisme* (London, 1616)).

[105] Nathaniel Baxter was present within the city by 1597, where he became the regular preacher at St. Thomas. He was last paid there in 1602 (BA, P.St T/ChW/32-36). Baxter was saved from being expelled from his office as lecturer in 1601 by 20 votes to 11 (BA, M/BCC/CCP/1/1, p. 54).

[106] Andrew Hadfield, 'Nathaniel Baxter (fl.1569-1611)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004). In his office as lecturer at Bristol he appears to have got into a conflict with the anti-puritan clergyman John Downe after disputing Downe's argument that faith did not entail assurance of salvation, instead faith granted the believer 'affiance' – a promise that was not absolute binding (John Downe, *A treatise of the true nature and definition of justifying faith together with a defence of the same, against the answere of N. Baxter* (Oxford, 1635); Ross Kennedy, 'John Downe (1570?-1631)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004).

[107] Gulliford was appointed over Samuel Davies, the vicar and regular preacher of Bedminster and St. Mary Redcliffe, beating Davies by 16 votes to 12 (BA, M/BCC/CCP/1/1, p. 54).

[108] Chetwynd was ordered to preach one sermon every Sunday afternoon and public holiday throughout the year, although he was not expected to make any lecture or sermon upon any weekday not being appointed to be kept holy, nor on any of the holidays of Christmas, Easter, or Whitsontide, unless he did so voluntarily (BA, M/BCC/CCP/1/1, p. 139). For the quote, see Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 172; Samuel Crooke was the other pillar.

suffer his hearers to use any blind devotion, as bowing at the name of Jesus, and ignorant or rather customary walking and profaneing the Sabbath'.[109] He was a moderate godly preacher, preaching regularly against issues such as drunkenness, other immorality, and the popular festivities associated with disorder.[110] By 1613 the city council were maintaining weekly lectures on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Sundays, all via preachers sympathetic to a reformed form of worship.[111] However, the authorities' approaches began to differ around 1620. Gloucester continued to promote godly beliefs, becoming increasingly radical against the growing perceived threat of Laudianism, whilst Bristol promoted a more even-handed approach to growing religious tensions within their city.

In Gloucester, the appointment and staunch support of John Workman in 1619, was to be the foremost indication of Gloucester's support for a godly form of worship in the face of a very present and growing threat of 'Laudianism'. Their entrenched support for Workman ultimately led them to open conflict with both diocesan and archepiscopal

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[109] In 1672 Edward Terrill, the independent author of *The Records of a Church of Christ in Bristol*, states that Yeaman was 'a zealous preacher, that, although in some things, he, keeping in his place, did observe According to the time that then was, yet would not suffer his hearers to use any blind devotion, as bowing at the name of Jesus, and ignorant or rather customary walking and profaneing the Sabbath. To Whom the awakened soules and honest minded people did flock very much to hear him, and sate under his light near 20 years, keeping many fast days together in private houses'. Here, they apparently 'did Cry day and night to the Lord to plucke downe the Lordly Prelates of the time, and the Superstitions thereof' (R. Hayden, ed., *The Records of a Church of Christ in Bristol, 1640-1687* (Gateshead, 1974), p. 84). William Yeamans was vicar of Sts. Philip and Jacob's between 1603 and his death, in 1633 (CCEd ID: 54877). On 23 September 1607 committees were appointed within each parish to deal with raising a contribution towards the maintenance of two City preachers, besides Chetwynd. The order states that Yeamans was to be one of the preachers (BA, M/BCC/CCP/1/1, p. 147). He had likely been providing this service prior to this order, for he was given £10 by the city on 18 August 1607 'for his paynes taken heretofore in preachinge the worde of god in St. Warborowes churche and St. Peters church and in other places in this Cytie besydes his owne parishe churche' (BA, M/BCC/CCP/1/1, p. 140).

[110] See also Mark Pilkinton, ed., *Bristol: Records of Early English Drama* (Toronto, 1997), p. xxiv.

[111] The issue of tracing the history of Bristol's council mandated lectures originates in the deficiencies of the sources; many of the orders and payments regarding the annual lectures appear to have made outside of the city's audit and order books. Harlow's effort to trace the history of Bristol's lectures is the best so far (J. Harlow, *Religious Ministry in Bristol 1603-1689*, pp. 63-71).

authorities. Workman was appointed city lecturer in 1619, following the corporation's lament that

> hitherto no sufficient care hath beene had nor course taken for the setling and establishing of the publique preaching of godes word heere amongst us were to bee wished the same being the only ordinary meanes of our salvation and therefore more to be sought after then any earthly thing whatsoever.[112]

Around 1622 he was also appointed curate of St. Nicholas, a large parish under the patronage of the corporation.[113] Workman was described as 'godly' and a 'pious and painfull preacher' and quickly won the hearts of Gloucester's laity.[114]

However, his religious identity was clearly radical. Whilst he would have been viewed sympathetically by Bishop Miles Smith, Smith's successor Godfrey Goodman took immediate umbrage against Workman's radical preaching. In 1629 Goodman himself presided over the

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[112] Workman was to preach every Thursday morning at 9 o'clock at St. Michael and every Sunday afternoon, alternating between St. Michael and St. Nicholas each week (GA, GBR B3/1, ff. 466r-467r.). He was initially paid the twenty marks appointed by the corporation, augmented by an additional 40*s*. bequeathed by William Drinkwater perpetually (GA, GBR B3/1, f. 467r.). William Drinkwater's tombstone in Down Hatherley churchyard also states that 'William Drinkwater was buried the 29th of January 1615, who (in zeal to the Worde) gave Forty Shillings yearly for ever toward the Maintenance of a Preacher in Gloucester' (J. N. Langston, 'John Workman, Puritan Lecturer', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 66 (1945), p. 220. This stipend was increased to make it £20 annually ten days following his appointment (GA, GBR 3/1, f. 468).

[113] This appointment was not entered within the minutes, yet the appointment evidently raised some questions surrounding his lectureship stipend. An act by the council ordered cleared up any questions following his appointment on 9 September 1622, ordering that 'Master Workeman Lecturer for this Citty shall have his stipendend [sic] of twenty pownds (grannted to him heeretofore by this house yearely) payd unto him for this yeare' (GA, GBR 3/1, f. 486r). Workman signs each transcript of the parish's registers between 1622 and 1627 as 'curate' or 'minister' (GA, GDR/V1/114).

[114] W. Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, p. 103; Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (London: 1662), p. 360. An order on 20 July 1627 reconfirmed John Workman's position as city lecturer, saying 'That whearas Master John Workman hath for these many yeaeres togeather beene a Lecturer in this Cittie of worthy respecte both in regard of his painefull teaching and exemplary liveinge whereby he hath gained the generall love and approbacion of this house, In token whereof it is mutually agreed and ordered That he [...] shall have the full somme or stipend of £20 per annum confirmed unto him and duly paid unto him out of the Chamber of this Cittie for soe long time as he shall heere continue Lecturer' (GA, GBR 3/1, f. 518).

consistory court and questioned Workman over numerous charges, including 'usinge disgracefull wordes' within two sermons 'against the most blessed virgine mary the mother of god', for preaching upon controversies, and for preaching against outward worship.[115] Workman was made to confess 'That it was madd superstition to call the blessed virgine mary lady or that there shold be lady dayes or lady Churches or Chappelles', 'that scripture speakes meanely of her', 'that Christe takes her upp short', 'that he wold not heare of the title of mother', and 'that her silken pictures, were fitter for a Brothell howse, then for a churche with such like unseemely wordes'.[116] Goodman suspended Workman from preaching, although he was able to continue his duties as a minister. As none of the parishioners of St. Michael had informed any authority of Workman's speeches, Goodman interdicted them from holding sermons upon weekdays, apart from funeral sermons, until he saw fit.[117] As one of the corporation's two main churches, this was equally an indictment of the corporation as well as the parish. Despite the punishment, Workman was reinstated as a preacher and became the city's lecturer again in 1630.[118] However, Workman quickly found himself in trouble once more, and was tried by the High Commission in 1633; he was

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[115] The bishop charged him for 'that he did usually preache uppon controversies Both contrary to the kinges injunctiones and the injunctions of the late kinge James of blessed memory' and that he had 'often preached against the outward worshipp and service of god as to be uncovered at the name of Jesus to Bowe to the communion tabell, or the altar to weare Copes'. He had also used 'personall invectives & abuses against men of the best Rancke and condicion' within the city of Gloucester and had 'lately touched some thinges which diverse of his auditors did understand to be spoken against his diocesan'. The sermons were preached at Gloucester Cathedral on Christmas Day and at St. Michael in May last past. Workman objected to these charges and said he could prove them, yet Goodman thought fit to simply admonish him for these offences. However, he managed to get one charge to stick and received a written confession from Workman (GA, GDR 170).

[116] GA, GDR 170. Fuller states that Workman was prosecuted by Goodman 'for preaching to the disparagement of the Blessed Virgin Mary, though he pleaded his words were only these, That the Papists painted her more like a C[o]urtesan, than a modest Maid' (T. Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England*, p. 360).

[117] GA, GDR 170. Bishop Goodman also gave notice 'to all his Clergy that such as shold not speake with the greatest honor and reverence of the blessed virgin mary the mother of god', warning that any who defied him 'shold neaver be admitted to preache within the dioces soe longe as he had pwer to hinder them'.

[118] On 9 November 1630 a corporation minute records that John Workman was to continue as city lecturer as formerly (GA, GBR 3/1, f. 518; J. Langston, 'John Workman, Puritan Lecturer', p. 223).

ultimately prohibited from preaching once again.[119] However, the city corporation retaliated and continued to maintain him. This ultimately saw themselves in contempt of the High Commission and directly facing Archbishop Laud.[120]

This clash of religious cultures between town and clerical establishment is a clear example of the influence civic authority, and indeed a charismatic minister such as Workman, could have in shaping religious affairs within their jurisdiction. If there was a great number of godly at the start of the seventeenth century, as Laud implied upon his appointment as Dean of Gloucester Cathedral, then there were certainly a greater number

[119] Workman had preached a sermon, saying 'That Pictures or Images were no more ornaments to a Church, then Stewes to a Common wealth', 'That for a man to have any Image of any Saint, especially of our Saviour in his house, is unlawfull', and 'that if any man kept such pictures in his house, if it were not flat Idolatry, yet it was little better'. He was also alleged to have 'used some harsh expressions against lascivious mixt dancing, especially on the Lords day', said that 'how many paces a man made in dancing so many paces he made to hell', prayed for the states of Holland, the King of Sweden, and other Generals beyond the seas within prayer before praying for the King, and preached in favour of the election of ministers by their congregations. Workman ultimately confessed to uttering such doctrines and offered to maintain many of them (W. Prynne, *Canterburies Doome* (London, 1644), pp. 103-104; J. Langston, 'John Workman, Puritan Lecturer', pp. 223-224; TNA, PROB, SP, 16/261, ff. 206v, 207r).

[120] On 9 August 1633 the city corporation ordered that Workman 'shall have his stipend confirmed unto him [...] untill our lady day next whether hee preach or not and that letters bee written to the Lord Bishop and Channcellor that hee may have like liberty to preach till then as formerly hee hath had' (GA, GBR B3/2, p. 11). Laud became Archbishop of Canterbury that month and Workman's case was quickly advanced to the High Commission Court, whereupon he was deemed a schismatical lecturer and deposed from his position. The city retaliated and ordered on 26 September 1633 that Workman 'shall have his allowannce of Twenty poundes yearly [...] continued unto him so long as hee shalbe pleased to in habite & live in the Citie whether hee preach or not'. This contempt of court saw Mayor John Brewster and townclerk William Guise, brought before the House of Lords and examined before the High Commission, alongside five aldermen: Anthony Edwards, Thomas Purie, John Nelmes, Henry Browne, and William Price (J. Langston, 'John Workman, Puritan Lecturer', p. 225). The council, suddenly faced with court proceedings, reversed their order on 31 December 1633, recording that 'It is now uppon further consideracion thought fitt and so ordered & enacted that the said act shall from henceforth stand repealed and bee utterly void & of none effect' (GA, GBR B3/2, p. 22). Workman was pronounced excommunicate and ordered to make a submission and recant doctrine contrary to the canons. After several days within the Gatehouse prison, several months more of delay, and likely another term of imprisonment, he obtained his freedom. Upon Workman's return to Gloucester in 1635, he started a small private school until the archbishop inhibited it. He then turned to practicing physick, but was once again inhibited. He died in 1640 following a long sickness, reputedly falling into a melancholy disorder after being deprived of all methods of subsistence and went mad prior to his ultimate death. Workman's case was used in Laud's trial against him (J. Langston, 'John Workman, Puritan Lecturer', p. 230; *Laud's Works*, vol. IV, pp. 233-237).

following Workman's term as city lecturer.[121] The rise of godly forms of worship can be viewed clearly throughout the city's surviving churchwardens' accounts across the period. For example, as seen earlier, Gloucester's parishes catered for seated communicants. New pulpits were also increasingly purchased and reorientated to become focal points within the church.[122]

This ascendency of the godly party, however, was not all encompassing. In 1623 Alderman John Jones, the principal diocesan registrar, supporter of William Laud, and prominent parishioner of St. Mary de Crypt, gave the church a large and highly decorative cushion depicting Christ and two angels 'to remayne for the Communion table & in the pulpett at all sermons'.[123] This addition was certainly provocative and would not have been appreciated by Workman and his faction. Indeed, the imagery likely caused controversy, for 3*s*. was paid the following year 'to Henry Elliotts for makeing a cover for the cushion which

[121] In a letter to Richard Neile, the bishop of Lincoln, in 1616, Laud states that a 'strange monster' had been born within the city of Gloucester, and that he prayed 'God the Puritans, which swarm in those parts, do not say it was one of God's judgements, for turning the Communion-table into an Altar' (*The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud, D.D.*, VI, Part I, pp. 240-241).
[122] For example, St. Michael paid the relatively large sum of £4 for a new pulpit in 1611, evidently placing it in a new position within the church. The churchwardens of St. Michael'paid: £4 to Robert Porter 'for the newe pulpitt'; 20*s*. 'for a pulpitt Cloth', 12*d*. 'for a Rod that Carieth the vault of the pulpitt & the staples'; 6*d*. 'for three Long porsteles nayles to fasten the pulpitt to the wall'; 7*d*. 'for boord nayles to nayle the stayres'; 3*s*. 4*d* to [John] 'Sandy for a paior of hinges & a latch for the pulpitt'; and 6*s*. 8*d*. for 56 boards and four sleepers for the stairs. A 'barell of lyme' was also purchased 'for stopping the hole wher the pulpitt stood'. The pulpit cushion also required additional decoration, including silk and fringe, costing an additional 20*s*. 4*d*. (GA, P154/14/CW/2/1, unpaginated). Workman's arrival in 1619 may have also spurred St. Michael to make a new seat for the minister in 1620, and to spend £4 'for paynting a wrightinge all over the Church' in 1623. These pieces of scripture were not to last for too long, for when the parish faced increased scrutiny around 1633 surrounding their involvement with Workman, many were washed out with new ones written over them. This also comes about the same year as the king's arms were erected (GA, P154/14/CW/2/1, unpaginated).
[123] Alderman John Jones gave to the parish: 'a Blewe velvett Larg Cushion with the picture of Christe & two pictures of Angelles & of 2 Ladies all wrought in silke & golde above 3 ~~Fyve~~ foote Long & above two Foot Broade, embroidered & spangled, to remayne for the Communion table, ~~upon~~ & in the pulpett at all sermons, for ever' (GA, P154/11/CW/2/1, unpaginated). For more on Jones' career and potential confessional identity, see Matthew Reynolds, *Godly Reformers and their Opponents in Early Modern England: Religion in Norwich, c.1530-1643*, pp. 257-259.

Master Alderman Jones gave unto the parishe'.[124] Moreover, this cushion may have even played a part in Bishop Goodman's allegations in 1623 that Workman had made 'personall invectives & abuses against men of the best Rancke and condicion' within the city of Gloucester and had 'lately touched some thinges which diverse of his auditors did understand to be spoken against his diocesan'.[125]

The corporation's very open endorsement and propagation of a godly form of worship helped to instil confidence and conviction in those beliefs throughout the city, even in the face of Laudian impositions in the 1630s. Whilst Clark states that it would be wrong to exaggerate the city's alarm to the introduction of Laudian innovations, many churches did resist and simply ignored the orders from 1636 to move their communion tables 'altarwise'.[126] Amongst the parishes detected for not complying within the 1639 episcopal visitation were the prominent city churches of St. Nicholas, All Saints, St. Mary de Crypt, and St. Michael. They were once again ordered 'To provide a newe Communion table & to place the same North & South at the upper end of the Channcell noe Seate upp above it & to rayle the same in'.[127] St. Michael appear to have outwardly conformed swiftly after the initial

[124] GA, P154/11/CW/2/1, unpaginated.
[125] GA, GDR 170.
[126] P. Clark, ''The Ramoth-Gilead of the Good': Urban Change and Political Radicalism at Gloucester 1540-1640', p. 270. On 9 July 1635 the ministers and parishes of Gloucester Deanery assembled by Archbishop Laud's commissioners. One of the thirteen orders here published was the infamous order: 'That the Communion table be sett at the upper end of the Channcell northe and southe and a Rayle before it or round aboute it to keepe it from annoyance by Bartholomewe day next and to certifye thereof the nexte courte day after' (GA, GDR 189, unpaginated).
[127] St. Nicholas were also ordered to repair the stairs going up into the gallery, to cause more sentences of scripture to be placed within the church, to properly seal the church, and to bring down the height of an irregular seat. All Saints were also to provide Bishop Jewel's *Apology*. St. Mary de Crypt were also to provide a handsome and convenient pew for the minister to read divine service in and to cause the irregular seats to be taken down and made uniform. St. Michael were to also to repair a gutter. Whilst the other churches had evidently already conformed and moved their altar, they also had many things amiss: St. Mary de Grace had to provide a reading pew, to get the church remossed, and to rewrite sentences of scripture; St. Owen had to provide a new communion table and 'place it in the place where the old one now standeth', to get some new stairs to the pulpit, a new reading desk, to repair the chancel roof, and to remoss and retile the church; St.

order in 1636, purchasing a 'frame about the comunion Table' for £1 12*s*. Whatever action the parish took, it was evidently not deemed satisfactory for they found themselves back in consistory court in 1639 regarding the table.[128] Meanwhile, whilst St. Mary de Crypt appears to have repaired their chancel and purchased a new communion table for 18*s*. in 1636, they were frequently called into both the consistory and archdeacon's court 'about the Communion Table' in subsequent years.[129] Unlike the other churches, the churchwardens' accounts never detail the purchase of a rail to go about the communion table, and a rail is not listed among the inventory made in 1639. Even after the church had supposedly conformed, Bishop Goodman evidently did not trust their certification. In 1640 the churchwardens were made to pay 'Master Varcote', presumably an apparitor, 3*s*. 4*d*. 'for taking view of the Church by an order from the Bishop'.[130] Both churches were disobeying the command to turn their communion tables 'altarwise'.

Aldate were to ensure that the church porch was kept locked every day except Sundays and holidays, to provide a new cover to the communion table, a new reading pew, a new table of consanguinity and affinity, and repair the pavement; St. John were required to repair the pavement of the church, seal the chancel roof, get the church re-white limed, rewrite the sentences of scripture 'nowe defaced', and to make the seats uniform; St. Mary de Lode were ordered to repair the church's paving, provide a new door to the church porch, and make their seats uniform (GA, GDR 201, unpaginated).

[128] It is possible that St. Michael moved their communion table higher into the chancel and railed it in, complying with most of the order, but did not remove all the seats above it. There is little suggestion that any seats were removed within the churchwardens' accounts. The accounts for 1639-1641 are missing, so any action taken following their citation to consistory court in 1639 is unknown (GA, P154/14/CW/2/1).

[129] Following the archbishop's visitation, St. Mary de Crypt was cited to the archdeacon's court twice in 1635 for unspecified reasons. In 1636, the parish was summoned 'at 2 severall tymes being Cited to the Courte aboute the Communion Table' and 'at the Archdeacons Corte at 2 severall Courtes Cited' following the archdeacon's visitation. Following the 1637 visitation the parish was cited a further two times to the archdeacon's court for unspecified reasons, although large sums of money paid that year towards workmen and building material suggest citations over the repair of church fabric. However, the parish was yet again summoned to court 'about the Communion Table' on three occasions in 1638. In 1639, the parish was cited to the archdeacon's court twice, and once to consistory for unclarified reasons. Following the 1640 visitation, the parish was summoned to the archdeacon's court once and the consistory twice (GA, P154/11/CW/2/1, unpaginated).

[130] GA, P154/11/CW/2/1, unpaginated.

All of Gloucester's churches that resisted the implementation of the Laudian 'altarwise' instruction were under a significant degree of corporation influence, whilst all the others had cathedral clergy or choirmen as their incumbent ministers. Influential civic figures and renowned godly sympathisers filled their parishes' vestries and actively campaigned for their preferred style of worship.[131] Whilst St. Michael initially appeared to have conformed to the order to turn their communion table 'altarwise', the parishioners and corporation's resistance continued through their choice of a godly curate. Despite episcopal and archiepiscopal pressure, the corporation preferred Thomas Wynell as curate. Wynell, one of the twelve 'puritanically affected clergymen' within the diocese, was paid a £20 stipend by the corporation to preach and catechise at St. Michael on Sunday afternoons in 1636.[132] He immediately found himself in trouble with the consistory for attempting to circumvent the Royal Instructions of 1629, which ordered all afternoon sermons to be turned into catechising by question and answer. Later, he was also accused of going into Scotland to meet covenanters.[133] Despite these accusations, the corporation continued to support

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[131] The vestry of St. Mary de Crypt, for example, contained the reputable Thomas Pury, William Guise, John Holland, and John Jordan guiding their parish's affairs. Their constant oversight of the parish's affairs may be seen through their regular meetings and ever-present signatures upon the seventeenth-century accounts (GA, P154/11/CW/2/1).

[132] On 22 September 1636 the corporation agreed that Wynell, then curate of St. Michael's, was to have the annual stipend of £20 'to preach and catechise Saboth dayes in the after noone' at St. Michael, 'so long as hee shalbe conformable to the Church of England' (GA, GBR B3/2, p. 63). Wynell was delineated as one of twelve 'puritanically affected clergymen' by the conservative Gloucester minister Allibond in 1639 (William Douglas Hamilton, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1639-40* (London, 1877), pp. 580-583).

[133] Wynell was charged in consistory for disobeying the archdeacon's order and for that hee doth innovate & bring in a newe fasion of Catechiseing upon his owne fancye not according to the forme prescribed in the booke of Common prayer & that hee doth often times paraphrase upon or expannd the second lessons appointed to be reade at Evening prayers with other such like matters not warrantable by the Cannons' (GA, GDR 190, unpaginated). In 1639 Wynell was examined by Bishop Goodman, Mayor William Caple and Alderman Anthony Robinson in September 'touching the cause of his going into Scotland'. He claimed that he had gone into Scotland with the intent of taking a B.D. at the University of St. Andrew's, although upon talking to one of the heads of the college was told that he could not, for the conferring of that degree was solely in the power of the absent archbishop. He claimed that he met no ministers but heard five or six sermons within the week. He also states that John Nelmes and Anthony Edwards of Gloucester, two laymen that were described by contemporary John Allibond as 'both strong and rank Puritans', were acquainted with his journey. There, he

Wynell, although they did briefly suspend his pay as a precaution during his trials in London.[134] Their continued convictions may also be seen within worship at St. Michael. Despite the close eye kept on the services at St. Michael's, Wynell's expositions and such purchases as a bason to baptise in suggest that the form of worship continued to ultimately be influenced through the actions of godly civic leaders.[135]

The endorsement of a preacher with similar affectations as the council's was only one way that civic authorities furthered their own godly cause. Prior to the English civil wars, efforts were made to unite several of Gloucester's parishes to enable the maintenance of a sufficiently preaching minister.[136] Efforts were also keenly invested in the education of their youth, with significant efforts made to oust the conservative Robert Bird as Headmaster of Crypt school in favour of electing the sympathetic puritan John Langley.[137] Similarly, their right of presentation to the parish of Littledean, as governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital

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had commended the Scottish Church, 'for that they are punished for their offences every week', and had a sermon prepared, although he claims not to have preached. He also claimed that he had taken no oath there, nor was any oath, covenant, or subscription tendered to him; he wore his tippet by reason of his office as a nobleman's chaplain and may have worn it, if he chose, prior to his journey; and he had burnt all of his letters, being his usual custom (W. Hamilton, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1639* (London, 1873), pp. 519-521).

[134] Whilst investigations continued, the corporation thought it wise to cease Wynell's stipend 'in regard hee is charged by the Kinges Majestie & his Councell for certayne misdemeanors untill hee cleare himself of such matters' (GA, GBR B3/2, p. 134). This was eventually repealed on 30 September 1641, and Wynell was restored to his previous stipend, being granted an additional £10 'in full satisfacion of his Charges disbursed in his Jorney to London and all other Demands concerning his preaching here' (GA, GBR B3/2, p. 197).

[135] In 1638 'a Bason weighing Three pownd & a quarter' was purchased for 4*s*. 10*d*. A bason was frequently used to baptise instead of a font in godly circles (GA, GA, P154/14/CW/3/1, unpaginated).

[136] 'House of Lords Journal Volume 10: 3 April 1648', in *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 10, 1648-1649* (London, 1767-1830), pp. 167-177.

[137] John Langley, Gloucester Cathedral's Headmaster, had refused to take the oath in June 1635's metropolitical visitation and suspected of puritanism; he was deferred as he was recognised as a good schoolmaster. He was nevertheless replaced by November. The city council elected him as usher of Crypt school in 1639 after finding the incumbent schoolmaster John Bird negligent. When seeking to appoint Langley as Headmaster in 1640, the King and Archbishop Laud directly intervened, condemning the city's 'attempt to bring in one Langley a man factiously sett agaynst the government of the Church of England', having 'defected' the Cathedral's school following his refusal to take an oath (GA, GBR B3/2, pp. 132, 134, 148; Charles Knighton, 'John Langley (d.1657)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*).

in Gloucester, was also utilised to further their religious cause. Their nomination of Walter Ridler to be curate raised yet more concerns in High Commission Court when Ridler was accused of being ‘an unconformable minister’.[138] The particularly cohesive radical nature of Gloucester’s corporation played a large role in not only the implementation and significant increase of godly forms of worship practiced within the city and diocese, but also in the openly hostile rebuttal of more traditional and ceremonial forms of worship.

On the other hand, the dominance of godly preachers provided by Bristol’s civic authorities ceased in 1618. Reflecting the growing theological divides growing amongst the city’s civic authorities within the early-seventeenth century, Thomas Tucker was appointed a lecturer in 1618.[139] That year, the council ‘Resolved to have a Batchellor of Divinitie from Oxforde and to that ende they have lately written to some of their frendes there to procure one from thence’.[140] It is likely that Alderman Robert Aldworth, a kinsman of William Laud, utilised this connection with the then President of St. John’s College to procure a suitable candidate.[141] It should be of no surprise that Laud suggested a candidate of his own mould in Tucker; he was almost certainly a protégé of Laud and a staunch ceremonialist.[142]

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[138] Walter Ridler had previously been suspended for preaching that all Roman Catholics were damned (A. P. Baggs and A. R. J. Jurica, *A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 5, Bledisloe Hundred, St. Briavels Hundred, the Forest of Dean*, eds., C. R. J. Currie and N. M. Herbert (London, 1996), pp. 159-173). A suit in the High Commission Court was made against Toby Bullock and others in February 1638. They were charged with having encroached upon ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the making of orders for St. Bartholomew’s government and having made a lease to Thomas Ridler. The appointment was apparently made on the petition of 42 inhabitants of Littledean in 1636 (John Bruce, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1637-8* (London, 1869), pp. 286-287).

[139] The council appear to have originally asked Bishop John Thornborough for a recommendation prior to his translation to Worcester. Having eventually commended a ‘Mr Lymar’, at least 16 members of the council rejected his appointment (BA, M/BCC/CCP/1/2, f. 76v.).

[140] BA, M/BCC/CCP/1/2, f. 76v.

[141] Laud, in a letter to the Earl of Mulgrave in 1629, states that ‘For Mr. Aldworth , I know the man well, and he is a little kin to me, though very far off’ (*Laud’s Works*, vol. VII, p. 31).

[142] Throughout Tucker’s time at St. John’s, as an undergraduate and a postgraduate, Laud was present as a senior fellow. Tucker was even reluctantly crowned ‘the Christmas Prince’ in 1607, a Prince or Lord of the Revels figure that held authority for all the Christmas festivities within the college. These festivities openly

Nevertheless, when put to the council whether Tucker was to be accepted or not, a majority of 21 votes to eight accepted him as lecturer.[143] These votes start to relate to the group of individuals with greater ceremonialist beliefs identified by Sacks.

Sacks has written of the rise of a 'Laudian' faction within Bristol, intrinsically linked with the monopolistic merchant venturers' company.[144] Their growing influence over the city council facilitated the growth of such a faction throughout the city. Unfortunately, Sacks does not offer a definitive definition of 'Laudian' or offer any suggestion to how large such a faction was. The party appears to have been headed by the aforementioned Robert Aldworth, the founder of Bristol's first sugar refinery and one of Bristol's wealthiest citizens. These factions are particularly visible in the contested city elections in 1626 and 1633, and in any nominations and elections regarding ministers. For example, Sacks has suggested that

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supported traditional festive traditions and were a critique of puritan attitudes (Frederick Boas and Walter Greg, eds., *The Christmas Prince* (Oxford, 1922). The narrative portions of the manuscript are available in John Elliott, Alan Nelson, Alexandra Johnston and Diana Wyatt, eds., *Records of Early English Drama: Oxford, 1 The Records* (London 2004), pp. 340-381. For more see Jill Ingram, 'Avant-garde Conformists and Student Revels at Oxford, 1607-08', *Anglican and Episcopal History*, 80/4 (2011), pp. 349-372 and Elizabeth Dutton, 'The Christmas drama of the household of St John's College, Oxford' in *Household Knowledges in Late-Medieval England and France*, G. Burger and R. Critten, eds. (Manchester, 2020), pp. 100-128). Tucker voted for Laud in the 1611 presidential election, allegedly under duress from the former president, John Buckeridge (Katherine Parsons, 'Sir Thomas White's Dream: St. John's College, Oxford, the Merchant Taylors' Company, London, and the Reformation' (PhD Thesis, University of California Riverside, 2016), pp. 112, 287-289). Tucker's later advancements were also largely due to Laud and his circle. Tucker acted as a chaplain to Bishop Richard Neile of Coventry and Lichfield in 1611, he later became Dean of Arts, logic reader, and bursar under Laud's presidency at St. John's College, and became a prebendary of Bath and Wells in 1627 whilst Laud was bishop there. Tucker matriculated on 3 July 1601, aged 15. He graduated BA on 3 July 1605 and MA on 27 June 1609. He later graduated BD on 18 July 1616. See Andrew Hegarty, *A Biographical Register of St. John's College, Oxford, 1555-1660* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 149-150.

[143] The council minutes show that there was a vote on 'whether Master Thomas Tucker shalbe accepted for a Lecturer or not?'. The response of each individual is listed next to those then present under either an 'a' [accept] or an 'S'. Two other marks are adjacent to the column of 'A's and 'S's, a dot was to simply signify their presence at the meeting, whilst the roman numerals were to signify how much money the individual was willing to put forward in response to the other business at that meeting – procuring sufficient sureties for the payment of £50 to the mayor (BA, M/BCC/CCP/1/2, f. 77r.).

[144] Sacks argues that there was a connection between the orthodox position of the Caroline Church and the monopolistic nature of many of Bristol's wealthiest merchants; their hierarchical vision of social order naturally inclined themselves towards the King's faction (D. Sacks, 'Bristol's 'Wars of Religion'', pp. 100-129).

the closely fought 1626 mayoral election had religious undertones, where the traditional trend of the council almost unanimously electing the candidate nominated by the outgoing mayor was challenged by the candidate nominated by the other aldermen and sheriffs.[145] Aldworth's religious preferences may be seen through his support for internal modifications of church space associated with Laudianism during his lifetime, let alone his kinship with Laud and his position as godparent to the son of ceremonialist minister Thomas Tucker.[146] These preferences may also be found within many of Bristol's wealthiest citizens and leading civic authorities with increasing frequency, predominantly from within Aldworth's circle.[147] The growing prominence of these beliefs amongst the city can be seen throughout Bristol's churchwardens' accounts.[148]

Despite these growths in the ceremonialist factions, the civic authorities decided that a more considered, cautious, and accommodating response was necessary when Tucker left

[145] Towards the end of each year, three candidates were nominated to become the successive mayor. The first candidate was nominated by the incumbent mayor, the second by the rest of the Aldermen and sheriffs, and the final by the rest of the common council. Between 1600 and 1642 there were 37 elections where the outgoing mayor's nominee was chosen. There were four occasions where the aldermen's nomination was elected (in 1600, 1614, 1615 and 1626). There were two occasions where the rest of the common council's nomination was elected (in 1616 and 1634). In 1626 the conservative merchant venturer Robert Aldworth was nominated by the outgoing mayor, John Barker, whilst the likely godly sympathising Christopher Whitson was nominated by the aldermen, former mayors, and sheriffs. Guy Allen was finally nominated by the rest of the common council. In a close election, Allen gained one vote, Aldworth gained 20 votes, and Whitson was elected mayor with 22. Interestingly, Allen's one vote came from Robert Aldworth, whereas Christopher Whitson voted for himself (BA, M/BCC/CCP/1/2, f. 143r). See D. Sacks, 'Bristol's 'Wars of Religion'' in *Town and Countryside in the English Revolution*, R. Richardson, ed., (Manchester, 1992), pp. 100-129.

[146] For example, Aldworth bequeathed £20 for the beautifying of Wantworth church, Berkshire, within his last will and testament (TNA, PROB 11/167/30). Robert Aldworth, Robert Rogers, and John Barker all donated £20 towards the cathedral's beautification project in 1630 (BA, DC/F/1/1; transcribed in J. Bettey, ed., *Records of Bristol Cathedral*, pp. 52-56). Aldworth left £10 'to my godson Rowland Tucker sonne of Thomas Tucker Clerke' within his last will and testament (TNA, PROB 11/167/30). See also D. Sacks, *The Widening Gate*, p. 234; D. Sacks, 'Bristol's 'Wars of Religion'', pp. 100-129; M. Reynolds, *Godly Reformers and their Opponents in Early Modern England*, pp. 261-262.

[147] Members of Aldworth's circle were heavily involved with the setting up of organs throughout the city in the early-seventeenth century and in bequeathing both material objects and significant financial sums towards beautifying their churches. See also, p. 285.

[148] See pp. 89-96.

the city lectureship in 1622. Originally intended as an interim measure, it was decided that the city's five incumbent parish preachers were to supply the vacant St. Nicholas lecture on Sunday afternoons in turns.[149] Six months later, two of those preachers were elected to preach and supply the Tuesday lectures instead of Tucker. This was a deliberate action to diversify the lecture series previously held by Tucker alone, with the council evidently voting in favour by 23 votes to 3. The remaining preachers were to continue preaching in turns on a Sunday afternoon, with the addition of another member of preaching parish clergy.[150] Appointing numerous local beneficed clergymen had the logistical benefit of ease in securing another to supply a sermon should somebody be unavailable, assisting in improving the economic fortunes of local beneficed clergy, and the community potentially profited from receiving a more diverse range of theological positions. This even-handed approach continued throughout the 1630s.[151]

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[149] The five preachers listed are Edward Shaw (rector of Christchurch and St. John), Robert Pritchard (rector of St. Peter), William Jones (vicar of St. Nicholas), Abel Loveringe (minister of St. Thomas), and Richard Towgood (vicar of All Saints'). Jones was to start and then the rest were to go in course according to their 'seniorities and degrees of Schole' (BA, M/BCC/CCP/1/2, f. 109v.).

[150] Richard Towgood and Abel Loveringe were to supply the Tuesday lecture. The remaining three aforementioned preachers were to be joined by Ralph Farmer, the minister of St. Werbugh (BA, M/BCC/CCP/1/2, f. 116v.).

[151] The subsequent elections of Richard Standfast and Matthew Hassard to be a city lecturers in 1633 and 1639 respectively also demonstrates the council's overall determination for balanced ministry. Standfast was a chaplain-in-ordinary to Charles I, an ardent royalist, and an advocate of episcopacy. His position was steadfastly made in a sermon preached at the visitation of April 1644 and was it is like that this sermon was used as part of the evidence given for Standfast's ultimate sequestration in 1645. He advocated for peace and moderation, but spoke out against puritans, outlining several arguments against the new sects that were appearing amongst the godly (R. Standfast, *Clero-laicum Condimentum or, A Sermon Preached at a Visitation in Saint Nicholas Church in Bristoll* (London, 1644)). Standfast was also appointed to be the new rector of Christchurch by the council, and his views had clearly gained ascendancy throughout the council. When the rectory of Christchurch became available following Edward Shawe's death in 1633, a vote was made within the council to whom they should present into the office. Four clergymen were presented by the council members: Richard Standfast, John Paule, and Thomas Tucker. Tucker was, rather unsurprisingly, nominated for by Robert Aldworth, although his conservative voice had evidently lost sway within the council for only Aldworth voted for him. The unidentified 'Stere' received seven votes. However, the main contest for the office was between the godly John Paule and the moderate conservative Standfast. Paule received eleven votes, whilst Standfast ultimately received 20 (BA, M/BCC/CCP/1/3, f. 48r.). The council later demonstrated their even-handedness in the appointment of

The efforts taken by Bristol's council to control the city's religious affairs also saw them increase efforts to procure sufficient preachers within their parishes. In 1623 the council made an advance to Sir Charles Gerrard, the heir of the estates of St. James' Priory, to obtain the advowsons of St. James, St. Peter, Christchurch, St. Ewen, St. Michael, and Sts. Philip and Jacob.[152] These were eventually granted in 1627, increasing the number of city churches for which the council were patrons from two, to eight.[153] Their developing conscious effort to remain even-handed saw them present ministers to their parishes without any bias, presenting ministers at either end of the religious spectrum.[154] The council additionally used their position to progress the careers of relatives, presenting them into cures under their patronage, albeit ones outside of the city.[155] The council also used these parishes outside of the city to help maintain the city lecturers.[156]

Despite utilising similar methods to influence ecclesiastical affairs within their cities, the civic leaders of Bristol and Gloucester clearly had differing ideas to what constituted a

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Matthew Hassard, who would later become a notorious godly minister, to be rector of St. Ewen's in 1639 (BA, M/BCC/CCP/1/3, f. 98v.).

[152] BA, M/BCC/CCP/1/2, f. 112r-112v.

[153] The city paid £450 to Sir Charles Gerrard for the transfer of property (BA, 01075(1)). For a table of patronage see J. Harlow, *Religious Ministry in Bristol 1603-1689: Uniformity to Dissent* (Bristol, 2017), p. 30.

[154] For example, the godly John Oldham was presented by the council to be rector of St. John's in 1616, and the conservative Richard Standfast was presented to the rectory of Christchurch in 1633 (BA, M/BCC/CCP/1/2, f. 59r.; BA, M/BCC/CCP/1/3, f. 47r.). Oldham clearly held godly sympathies, for a few years after his departure from St. John's and as rector of Shipton Moyne he took an oath before the High Commission to answer the Articles (J. Bruce, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1634-5* (London, 1864), p. 120). In 1637 he later preached 'in derogation of the cathedral service and of pictures of the Saviour' (J. Bruce, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1637-8* (London, 1869), pp. 63-64). In January 1637, Archdeacon Hugh Robinson later told William Dell, secretary to Archbishop Laud, that Oldham had preached some erroneous doctrine. Oldham was described as 'a little touched perhaps with preciseness by the neighbourhood of others, but of himself a weak-brained man, and thought to be crazy, certainly quickly overtaken with a little wine or beer' (J. Bruce, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1637-8*, p. 142). For Standfast see above, p, 83, fn. 153.

[155] For example, on 20 April 1604, the city lecturer Robert Gulliford was presented to the vicarage of Congresbury by the council (BA, M/BCC/CCP/1/1, p. 82).

[156] On 4 September 1607, for example, Robert Salterne, the son of the deceased Bristolian merchant William Salterne, was presented to the vicarage of Stockland (BA, M/BCC/CCP/1/1, p. 142).

uniform, peaceful, orderly, and godly community. Exactly why each council differed so greatly warrants further investigation. It is possible that the differences between each city's social structure, their trades, and ultimately their financial fortunes fostered such differences. Whilst these do not indicate political or religious identity alone, the evidence suggests that there is some credence in the contemporary analysis by Gloucester's John Corbet in 1645.[157] Corbet suggested that many of the rich men and the poorest within Bristol were inclined towards the king, whereas many of the middling sort were inclined towards parliament.[158] It was this economic fortune, Sacks suggests, that could have led to an individual's expression of cultural and religious identity; prosperity carried with it social expectations and obligations of service and keeping order.[159] This may have meant that Bristol's wealthiest held a slight natural inclination to ultimately side with hierarchy, order, and the king. On the other hand, Gloucester's comparative economic struggles may have forged their own identity as a radically godly community, staunchly supporting godly ministers and forms of worship in the face of persecution.[160] Of course, this alone would not forge a community's cultural and religious identity. As demonstrated in other sections, alternative factors such as influential ecclesiastical leaders or poor ecclesiastical administration also contribute to these ultimate constructions of identity. Nevertheless, civic

[157] Corbet was born in Gloucester, the son of the shoemaker Roger Corbet, and was appointed rector of St. Mary de Crypt in 1640. He was also usher of their free school between 1641 and 1643, and chaplain to the parliamentarian Colonel Edward Massey whilst Gloucester was garrisoned (N. H. Keeble, 'John Corbet (bap. 1619, d.1680), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004)).
[158] Corbet states that 'So it was, that the Kings Cause and Party were favoured by two extreames in that City [Bristol]; the one the wealthy and powerfull men, the other of the basest and lowest sort, but disgusted by the middle ranke, the true and best Citizens' (J. Corbet, *An Historicall Relation of the Military Government of Gloucester* (London, 1645), p. 14).
[159] See D. Sacks, 'Bristol's 'Wars of Religion'', pp. 112-113.
[160] See P. Clark, ''The Ramoth-Gilead of the Good': Urban Change and Political Radicalism at Gloucester 1540-1640', pp. 244-273. Similar conclusions are also drawn by Keith Wrightson and David Lavine in *Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525-1700* (Oxford, 1995), particularly Chapter 6 ('Changing Cultural Horizons: Education and Religion').

institutions clearly held significant influence in forging the religious identity of their community through their maintenance of city lecturers, and the parish clergy under their patronage, that upheld the same ideals and beliefs as the institution.

People I: Bishops

Bishops were clearly in a position to influence the forms of worship practiced throughout their diocese and to encourage their own preferences, so long as it was conformable with national religious policy. These beliefs could be enforced through their visitation articles, the ecclesiastical courts, and through their control over the licenses of preachers and schoolmasters within the diocese. Many historians have studied the effects of the installation of individual bishops within a diocese, with local studies having already examined the roles that figures such as John Hooper, Richard Cheyney, and Godfrey Goodman had upon the dioceses as bishops.[161] Whilst this study cannot justify the space for a comprehensive examination of every bishop and their influences, it is fruitful to explore some of the particular efforts made by several of the more unfamiliar bishops, and to re-evaluate some of the dioceses' more prominent bishops, to reemphasise the influence that they were able to exert upon their diocese.

As is evident in Appendix 2, the financial precarity of both dioceses meant that bishops, often on the first rung to higher preferment, often only held the office for short periods. The poor financial situation even meant that the dioceses were without bishops for

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[161] G. Baskerville, 'Elections to Convocation in the Diocese of Gloucester under Bishop Hooper', *The English Historical Review*, 44/173 (1929), pp. 1-32; James Gairdner, 'Bishop Hooper's Visitation of Gloucester', *The English Historical Review*, 19/73 (1904), pp. 98-121; F. D. Price, 'Gloucester Diocese under Bishop Hooper, 1551-3', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 60 (1938), pp. 51-151; C. Litzenberger, 'Richard Cheyney, Bishop of Gloucester: And Infidel in Religion?', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 25/3 (1994), pp. 567-584; G. Soden, *Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, 1584-1656* (London, 1953).

periods or were fused together to enlarge the profitability of the see.[162] These frequent short periods in office meant that enforcing long-term ambitions of reforming the diocese were not met, and it is noticeable that some of the greatest observable change occurred under bishops that were present for a more extended period.

Bishop of both Bristol and Gloucester Richard Cheyney has had his theological allegiance questioned and his lax administration criticised for creating dioceses largely slow to adopt reform.[163] His conservative beliefs found himself in open disputes with Bristol's influential godly ministers, John Northbrooke and James Calfhill, and even with the city's civic authorities. He also claimed that the Geneva Bible was 'falslie translated' and encouraged the godly of Bristol and Gloucester to follow older authorities within the Church rather than those propounded by John Calvin.[164] It was this conservative nature and his poor administration that helped Bristol and Gloucestershire retain many of their traditional

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[162] See Richard Cheyney and John Bullingham, for example.

[163] Bishop Cheyney often left the running of the dioceses to his chancellors and was described by the contemporary Gloucestershire priest, Arthur Blunt, as 'an Infidill of his Religion'. Cheyney's conservative theological views were often found to be contrary to those favoured by the Elizabethan ecclesiastical establishment. He believed in consubstantiation, the simultaneous physical presence of bread and wine throughout the mass and the presence of Christ's blood and body within the consecrated elements. This position caused difficulty when he was required to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion prior to the 1571 convocation, disagreeing with the word 'only' within the twenty-eighth article. For more on Cheyney's theology see C. Litzenberger, 'Richard Cheyney, Bishop of Gloucester: An Infidel in Religion?', pp. 567-584.

[164] In 1566 Richard Rowles of Leonard Stanley was required to appear in consistory court as he had 'laughed at the bysshopes wordes where in his sermonde he saide that the Geneva Bible was falslie translated in the eightene chapter of Saincte John Gospell' (GA, GDR 21, p. 304). The eighteenth chapter of St. John details Judas' betrayal of Jesus, Jesus' questioning by Annas, and his examination by Pilate. For more on his weak diocesan leadership and altercations with puritan ministry see M. Skeeters, *Community and* Clergy, pp. 126-130, 134-138; C. Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity*, pp. 106-110, 143-144; F. D. Price, *The Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes within the Dioceses of Bristol and Gloucester, 1574*, pp. 3-5. The Geneva Bible was the most popular Bible of its time, despite not winning the favour of many within secular and ecclesiastical government. Whilst it has often been presumed that the Geneva Bible was preferred predominantly by Puritans and radicals, Thomas Fulton has argued that this translation was preferred across the spectrum of religious identity (C. Hill, *The English Bible in the Seventeenth Century* (Harmondsworth, 1993), pp. 56-65; Michael Jensen, '"Simply" Reading the Geneva Bible: The Geneva Bible and its Readers', *Literature and Theology*, 9/1 (1995), pp. 30-45; T. Fulton, 'Toward a New Cultural History of the Geneva Bible', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 47/3 (2017), pp. 487-516).

practices. It was not until the metropolitical visitation was conducted in 1576 that the dioceses' churches were forced to destroy or sell many of their former Catholic material and people's behaviour started to be reformed.[165] Litzenberger claims that the judgement of Cheyney as lazy, weak, and incompetent is based upon the assumption that his ambition was the implementation of the Elizabethan Settlement, the charge of each bishop by the queen and Privy Council. This may not have been Cheyney's ultimate ambition, and instead he may have wished to create a diocese tolerant of papists and conservatives.[166] Whatever his intention, his administration created an environment within Gloucestershire where conservative beliefs were still dominant by the late-1570s.

The influence of successive bishops with contrasting opinions on issues such as adiaphora and the rites and ceremonies of the Church can be observed throughout the court records of the dioceses. A clear change in focus is readily observable within the Diocese of Gloucester following Bishop Godfrey Goodman's institution after Bishop Miles Smith's death in 1624. Smith was a sympathiser of the godly and an opponent to all 'papists, Arminians, and carnal gospellers'.[167] The beliefs held by Goodman are not readily assigned to one party, although he was accused of holding 'Romanist' beliefs following a court sermon in 1626 that reputedly 'supposed to trench too near the borders of popery' after pressing 'so hard upon the Point of the *Real Presence*'.[168] He was a firm believer in beautifying church spaces,

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[165] See pp. 55-62.
[166] C. Litzenberger, 'Richard Cheyney, Bishop of Gloucester: And Infidel in Religion?', p. 583.
[167] Thomas Prior, the city lecturer and subdean of the cathedral, preached Miles Smith's funeral sermon, saying that days before his death he spoke to a noble knight discoursing upon 'the Certainty of Salvation, and the Perseverance in Grace: comfortable truths so much opposed by Papists, Arminians, and carnall Gospellers' (*Sermons of the Right Reverend Father in God Miles Smith Late Lord Bishop of Glocester* (London, 1632)).
[168] Peter Heylyn, *Cyprianus anglicus, or, the history of the life and death of the most reverend and renowned prelate William, by divine providence Lord Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1668), p. 153.

bestowing crucifixes, high crosses, and altars within Gloucester and Windsor, although he and Laud had a surprisingly frosty relationship following his constant begging for better preferment and for his poor performance within the diocese.[169] Goodman's personal encouragement of church beautification is visible, although the effect on the diocese was negligible, likely due to the dominant reformed beliefs nurtured under Bishop Smith.

Goodman, however, did have an immediate effect in confronting nonconforming ministers and in the removal of lecturers throughout the diocese. Bishop Smith's leniency in the reconciliation of conformity saw moderate godly belief flourish throughout the diocese.[170] Despite Bishop Goodman's reputation of administrative incompetence, the local ecclesiastical authorities made a concerted effort to enforce ceremonial conformity in the early-1630s and suspended many of the godly lecturers. For example, the notorious godly ministers John Workman and Humphrey Fox were suspended by Goodman in 1629 and 1630 respectively.[171] Goodman also oversaw a period of sustained pressure on nonconformity in

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[169] For more see Nicholas Cranfield, 'Godfrey Goodman (1583-1656)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2012) and G. Soden, *Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, 1584-1656*.
[170] Whilst Miles Smith did have a reputation for leniency, he did refuse to license serial and notorious nonconformists such as Humphrey Fox (see Daniel Beaver, *Parish Communities and Religious Conflict in the Vale of Gloucester, 1590-1690*, p. 158).
[171] For a more detailed examination of Workman, see pp. 72-77. Fox, as curate of Tewkesbury, was originally presented for nonconformity in 1602; he refused to wear the surplice during communion and served the laity seated (GA, GDR 91). He was then suspended and excommunicated for both his nonconformity and for attending conventicles (GA, GDR 97). He evidently visited Scotland in 1606, and may have lived in Tortworth around 1612, when Fox and his wife were presented for refusing to receive the communion unless they were standing (W. Hamilton, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1639*, p. 199; GA, GDR 116). Fox evidently had become curate of Forthampton by 1616, although he appears unlicensed in both 1616 and 1619 (GA, GDR 115). He was accused of further nonconfomist actions and was, again, suspended in 1623 (GA, GDR 134; GA, GDR 146). In 1631 he was presented to consistory for not going to divine service and receiving the sacrament at Tewkesbury; the minister reported that when he cited Fox, 'one pynned a ragge upon his back in contempt' (GA, GDR 174). In 1632 it becomes apparent that Bishop Goodman had suspended Fox from the exercise of his ministry 'for the space of three yeares in that he did not conforme himselfe to the orders and cermonyes of the church of England'. Goodman, 'desiring to try allwayes to wynne the said Master Fox if it were possible by faire meanes to conformity', restored him from his suspension, but forbid him to officiate or serve in any cure within the diocese unless he conformed himself. He then left the archdeacon with the duty 'to deale with the said Master Foxe most lovingly and like a broether to recall him' (GA, GDR 179). Fox clearly remained staunch in his convictions and was presented at Deerhurst in 1634 for christening a child without the

1634, suspending several persistent nonconforming ministers from their offices.[172] However, despite the increased persecution of nonconforming individuals under Bishop Goodman many of these nonconformists evidently managed to continue in exercising their function of minister in some capacity, defying suspensions and excommunications to preach, teach, or officiate. Whilst bishops such as Goodman and the aforementioned Ravis at least attempted to exert their authority over matters of canonical obedience amongst their clergy and laity, others were influential in successfully implementing their own ideals within worship.

Robert Wright, bishop of Bristol between 1623 and 1632, was a significant figure in ensuring that Bristol's churches underwent substantial alterations to match his own beliefs

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sign of the cross (GA, GDR 186). In an examination into his son's return from Edinburgh in 1639, Fox stated that he had not received the communion in seven years, and had been presented, excommunicated, signified, and arrested (W. Hamilton, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1639*, p. 199). Foxe's record of nonconformity is also detailed throughout Beaver's *Parish Communities and Religious Conflict in the Vale of Gloucester, 1590-1690*. Similarly, John Gwillam, vicar of Down Hatherley, was suspended from preaching in 1631 after being judged to have 'carried himself indiscreetly & improvidently' within his sermon at the previous assizes, tending 'rather to scandall then edificacion & that his reprooses savored of raylinge rather then a modest reprehencion of vice' (GDR 174, unpaginated). Guillam was described as 'a very popular man, and of parts sufficient, only he is guilty of three small crimes, —pride, covetousness, and contention' by the conservative John Allibond in his letter to Peter Heylyn (W. Hamilton, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1639-40*, (London, 1877), pp. 580-583).

[172] Edward Birdall, Kingswood's curate and lecturer for over 20 years, was suspended after confessing that 'he never wore the Surplice nor chisened any child with the signe of the Crosse', he had 'not ever churched any woman there nor at any tyme observed whether any of his parishioners did sitt or kneele when they receaved the holy Communion' as he 'held it a thinge indifferent whether his parishioners did receave the holy communion standinge sitting or kneelinge & therefore left it to the discrecion of his parishioners either stand sytt or kneele at any tyme when they did receave the holy communion' (GA, GDR 185). Edward Norris was suspended for 'That he hath not reade divine prayers in the churche of horsley nor preached in his hood & other formalyties nor worne the surplice when he hath reade divine service or preached since he was last ordered'. He also admitted to leaving it to his parishioner's discretion how they received communion. Caple, Prior, and Gwilliam were all suspended after refusing to read the book of sports as appointed (GDR 186). Edward Norris, the curate of Horsley, Richard Caple, rector of Eastington, Gerard Prior, vicar of Sandhurst, John Gwilliam, vicar of Down Hatherley, were all likewise suspended. Others, such as Thomas Ackson, the vicar of Wotton-Under-Edge, were explicitly given their official warning for their nonconformity. Ackson was ordered to: wear the surplice and hood as required; ensure the signing of the cross at baptism; to only administer and receive the communion kneeling; read the litany as appointed, catechise the youth and ignorant in the ten commandments, the articles of belief, the Lord's prayer, and 'by noe other questions and answeares then such as are made in the catechisme set forth'; ensure the use of a ring in marriage with the appointed liturgy; declare holidays and fasting days appropriately; to church women; say the commination against sinners as appointed; and to duly perambulate in the rogation week (GA, GDR 186).

in church beautification. Wright appears to have supported the movement surrounding the 'beauty of holiness' and the tenets that have broadly been identified as 'Laudianism'.[173] A core element of these beliefs was centred around sacrament and public worship, rather than centred entirely around preaching, placing a much greater significance in the visual elements of the church.[174] Although Wright was later to be translated to the Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield under the recommendation of William Laud, then Bishop of London, Wright appears to have little to do with Laud during his time as Bishop of Bristol. Thus, he may not consciously be named a Laudian. However, he could be fairly labelled as an avant-garde conformist. In a 1637 letter to Laud, Wright professed his commitment to 'Laudian' ecclesiastical reform, claiming that he had 'got all the churches in that city [Bristol] soe well repaired and beautified that I dare say noe Parish church in London exceeds them'.[175] His

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[173] These beliefs originated as an anti-Calvinist movement within the Church, spearheaded by figures such as Lancelot Andrewes and Richard Hooker in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries; supporters of this movement are now labelled 'avant-garde conformists'. These beliefs originated as an anti-Calvinist movement, or in 'avant-garde conformists', particularly in their rejection of absolute and double predestination. The term 'avant-garde conformism' was coined by Peter Lake in 'Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge, and Avant-Garde Conformity at the Court of James I', pp. 113-133; K. Fincham and N. Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 74-125.

[174] This belief was also a core component of Arminianism upon the continent. These beliefs also incorporated a much more significant role for man's freewill in achieving salvation, therefore increasing the importance of the sacraments within the liturgy for one to achieve salvation. These beliefs were at the core of the aggressive alterations in official Church policy in the 1630s branded 'Laudianism', after the Archbishop of Canterbury William Laud. 'Laudians' characteristically viewed the church as the physical house of God. As such, people were to conduct themselves with utmost reverence and respect within the church. Ceremonialism was therefore justified and encouraged; adiaphora, or things indifferent, was to be dispensed with and to become central to English piety due to their necessity to salvation and spiritual edification. Similarly, a much greater concern in the physical building and its contents is attributable; the material fabric and ornaments of the church should also radiate the beauty of holiness exclaimed in Psalm 96. See P. Lake, 'The Laudian Style: Order, Uniformity and the Pursuit of the Beauty of Holiness in the 1630s' in *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642*, K. Fincham, ed., (Basingstoke, 1993), pp. 161-185. Peter Lake argues that all the anti-Calvinist, or 'avant-garde conformist', tenets were present within England prior to the turn of the seventeenth century, even before the term 'Arminian' was regularly used. It only required an ambitious group to bind them into a cohesive movement to challenge the predominant Calvinism inherent within the Church; Laud later headed such a faction (P. Lake, 'Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge, and avant-garde conformity at the court of James I', pp. 113-133; N. Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism* (Oxford, 1987) and P. Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English conformist thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (Boston, 1998)).

[175] The list concerned Wright's primary endeavours to restore and beautify churches. This letter was an attempted to vindicate himself by listing his personal actions and efforts for the benefit of prosperity

concerns for the 'decorous observance of divine worship' are visible within his 1631 visitation articles for Bristol.[176]

Immediately following Wright's installation, churches were encouraged to invest in their church fabric and obtain new ornaments and furniture. For example, Wright personally oversaw the erection of an organ, the great west window, and a clock, alongside the beautification of the choir, within the cathedral in 1630.[177] For some parishes, Wright's appointment simply encouraged several parishes, particularly those south of the river, to continue their ongoing efforts of church beautification that had occurred over the previous decade.[178] At St. John, for example, whereas new pews had previously been erected throughout the church, the church was newly painted, and a freestone screen was erected in the chancel in an effort to beautify their church in 1621, Wright's appointment allowed them to continue such work, such as newly building the chancel in 1627 for £50.[179] His

throughout his ministry. At Sonning, Wright had 'got a new ile to bee built to the chancell and the church to be put into the best state of any in that country, and made at my own charge a faire windowe in the darke corner at my departure to Bristol'. At Hayes, Wright had made the 'hurch and chancell to be better repaired and beautified then any church I then knew in that country' (TNA, SP 16/351/38; see also M. Cahill, 'The Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, 1603-1642', pp. 191-192).

[176] Wright enquired whether the congregation stood and turned to the east 'at all three creeds convertet towards the holy Table when they are sung or said?' They were also required to turn towards the 'blessed Table' at the doxology of each psalm. (Michael Cahill, 'The Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, 1603-1642, pp. 192-193).

[177] BA, DC/F/1/1. For more on this beautification work, and particularly the organ, see pp. 284-287.

[178] Avant-garde conformism rose to prominence in the 1610s within Bristol, particularly within the churches south of the River Avon. This was largely to do with the churches' incumbent ministers. For more, see pp. 254-257.

[179] In 1621, St. John's churchwardens' accounts state that 'the new pewes through all the Church, the Scryne of freeston in the Channcell, the Kinges armes over the gate were all made & the Church new painter. the Charge whereof amounted unto the Some of one hundreth & fortie poundes'. In 1627, 'the Channcell was new Buylded & the armes over the lower part of the gate in Christmas Street the Charge whereof amounted was Fiftie poundes' in 1627 (BA, P.St JB/ChW/3/a, unpaginated).

intervention is noticeable at Temple that year in overseeing similar work, including the enlargement of the rail about the communion table.[180]

Wright's involvement may also be seen within Bristol's churches that were yet to show any visible reform prior to his arrival. It is not a coincidence that many of Bristol's churches were suddenly required to pay for repairs to their fabric or expend large sums of money on beautifying their churches. At St. Werburgh, for example, Wright's personal involvement is visible between 1623 and 1626. The merchant Richard Longe was initially charged with 'setting upp of the wainscott behinde the Communion table' in 1623.[181] Following their payment of £5 10*s*. 'for chardges of restauracion of the Church', Bishop Wright and his officers' involvement become clear, as £1 was paid by the minister, John Farmer, 'to my Lord Bishop his man, for a gratuitey given him when as our Church was Restored'.[182] By 1625 even the comparatively financially meagre parish of St. Ewen had managed to beautify their church through Wright's instruction.[183] Similar alterations are

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[180] Similarly, Temple had previously paid £15 to 'Bessells Harvie for makinge the Screene & Kinges Armes Betweene the Churche & Channcell & for the Mynisters and Clarckes pewes', the arms were guilded for a further 30*s*. in 1619 (BA, P.Tem/Ca/8/8). Promptly following Wright's appointment as bishop in 1623, he visited the church, with his entourage seemingly paid 5*s*. 10*d*. by the churchwardens on his visit. Shortly after, William Board was paid 14*s*. 6*d*. 'for inlarginge the rayle about the Communyon Table, & other worke' and £5 18*s*. was paid 'for pavinge the southe Ile, and parte of the Chauncell' (BA, P.Tem/Ca/9).
[181] BA, P.St W/ChW/3/b, p. 37.
[182] BA, P.St W/ChW/3/b, p. 46.
[183] St. Ewen had managed to repair and reorder the church, colour the windows, paint the ceiling, and erect a new screen, pulpit and minister's seat, amongst other modifications. For example, £8 2*s*. 6*d*. was paid to John Purnell 'for a screene [...] a pulpitt and the ministers seate, triminge the beame under the 10 Commandements'. The church was evidently retiled, replastered, white limed, reglazed, and the ceiling was newly leaded and painted. Pews were also moved, new set, and mended. Other payments include those for 'Coloringe the windowes' (BA, P.St E/ChW/2, unpaginated). The vestry minutes account for extraordinary payments made 'in New Plaistering the Church in the Roof, with inside, and Paintinge the same, and in setting up a New Skreene, and a new Pulpitt, and in new Painting the Kinges Armes with some other thinges'. The aims are made clear through the terminology used by the churchwarden and generous benefactor, Thomas Hobson, in presenting his yearly account; the money was disbursed 'in repairinge and beautifyinge the Church' (BA, P.St E/ChW/2, f. 29r.) By 1628, St. Ewen were again modifying their chancel. They are likely to have raised, retiled, and decorated the chancel, as they paid for painted bricks to be laid in the chancel, for wainscot, and ultimately 'for 4 Angelles for the Chancell'. These changes appear to have had the support, if not the direct

observable within Sts. Philip and Jacob in 1626.[184] All Saints also underwent significant beautification work throughout 1627 and 1628 that cost the parish around £350 over two years. This work saw the church newly tiled, painted and gilded, fitted with new pews, and new wainscot was installed. Carvings featuring 'figures' and 'knottes & leaves' were also set up in the chancel, the figures of Prudence and Fortitude were adorned over the mayoral sword rest, a bird was cut on the font, a new pulpit and screen were made, the screen was adorned with five 'figures on the skreene' and three 'figures of Angells att the pillers', and an expensive monument for Queen Elizabeth I was also set up.[185] This increased expenditure

encouragement of Bishop Wright as 6*d*. was paid, out of a total 2*s*. 'For on dozen of painted brickes' for the chancel, with 'order given by the bishop' (BA, P.St E/ChW/2, unpaginated).

[184] The churchwardens paid 5*s*. 8*d*. 'for raysing of the schreene', 6*d*. 'for a mat about the Font', and 16*s*. 8*d*. 'for two faire flagons'. Between 1629 and 1631, the church underwent a short period of renewed vestige in visual aesthetics. This was partly enabled through the bequest of £20 within merchant Edward Cox's last will and testament, dated 1627, where £20 was given to the churchwardens of St. Philip and Jacob 'to buy a Screene for the Church [...] and to make the lesser Comunion cupp as big and fayer as the bigger is'. He also gave £4 annually to the parish of St. Phillip's out of his estate to procure eight sermons a year, and provided money for Richard Towgood (minister of All Saints'), Robert Pritchard (minister of St. Peter's), and to both William Yeamans (minister of St Phillip's) and his son (TNA, PROB 11/153/129). The work between 1629 and 1631 included the churchwardens paying 12*s*. 10*d*. 'for mending & colouring the great window', £23 'to the joyner for the great skreene & the ministers & clerkes pewes or seates', and £12 2*s*. 7*d*. more 'to the joyner for the pulpit, the pew under it & other worke'. Smaller screens were also purchased for the belfry and for 'by the chancell doore'. The church was white limed, whilst the screens, the 'end of the church', and the roof were all painted (BA, P.St P and J/ChW/3/a).

[185] Some of the standout entries include payments of: £1 5*s*. 'for 5 of the figures on the skreene'; 5*s*. 'for cutting 7 knottes & 8 leaves for the chancell'; 10*s*. 6*d*. 'for the figures of prudence & fortitude over the sword and for the bird cutt on the Font'; £3 5*s*. 4*d*. was paid 'for makeing 28 yuardes of waneskott att the upper end of the church', with a further £1 11*s*. 6*d*. 'for makeing x yardes & a halfe of wainskott in the pew under the pulpitt & the new waneskott in the mynister & Clerkes seats'; 1*s*. 6*d*. was paid 'for placeing upp the figures of the Angells at the pillers & for plaster of pallace to fasten them; and £60 was paid to the painter 'for all his work donn about the churche in painting guilding (except for the branch & stem for Master Maiors sword)' (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a). The additional payment of £10 19*s*. 2*d*. was paid to Richard Aldworth 'for Queene Elizabeths Monument' is particularly intriguing. It was potentially influenced by the memorials to Elizabeth that were erected in at least 38 of the 113 parishes in the City of London; they often portrayed an image of Elizabeth or Elizabeth's tomb. This monument was amongst the more expensive within London, with the most expensive in London costing £11 at All Hallows, London Wall (erected around the same time, between 1628 and 1629). Although none of them survive, all were wall, panel, or canvas paintings, except for a stained-glass window at St. Mildred, Bread Street. All Saints' monument was evidently framed by 32 yards of rails and £1 5*s*. 5*d*. was additionally spent on '29 yardes ½ of yard borad canvas for the place about the monument'. A ladder was also required 'to hang the saile before the monument'. The memorials championed Elizabeth as a figurehead of Protestantism, stood as an open criticism to the early-Stuart government and their foreign policy, and reminded parishioners of their debt to divine providence, recording key moments in the Church's history (for a

throughout Bristol can be observed in Graph 2, cited earlier; the exponential increase in churchwardens' expenditure from 1620 coincides with both the growing national support of 'the beauty of holiness' and directly with Wright's installation as bishop.[186] Wright had successfully encouraged many parishes to spend significant sums on improving their church's fabric, especially in beautifying their pulpits and chancels.[187] Wright had successfully nurtured a popular movement of avant-garde conformity within early-Stuart Bristol.[188]

People II: Ministers

Ministers were a church's spiritual leader and as such influenced their congregations' experiences through implementing their own perceived true form of worship. Changes in experience often happened relatively quickly following a minister's arrival into a church, creating potential conflict within the community as individuals supported or disagreed with any change. Some of these consequent internal conflicts may be seen soon after Elizabeth's succession, when many of the Marian exiles returned to England and were placed in prominent positions within the Church. Both the bishoprics of Bristol and Gloucester remained vacant for several years following the deaths of former bishops John Holyman and James Brookes in 1558, and the successive period under Bishop Richard Cheyney is renowned for being a period of weak diocesan leadership. During this period there was a

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detailed study into London's memorials of Elizabeth I, see Natalie Mears, 'Memorials of Queen Elizabeth I in early Stuart London', *The Seventeenth Century*, 37 (2021), pp. 1-22).

[186] For the national movement see K. Fincham and N. Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 74-125.

[187] Whilst the chancels were being beautified, there is little evidence to suggest that Wright enforced communion tables to be 'railed in'. Many churches appear to have already receiving communion within the chancel itself, with a frame 'about', ie. surrounding, it on all four sides prior to his arrival.

[188] For more on Wright and his diocesan leadership within the Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, see M. Cahill, 'The Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, 1603-1642' (PhD Thesis, University of Warwick, 2001, particularly chapter 5).

localised emergence of a largely unregulated form of godly Protestantism through the return of these exiles and their promotion into positions of authority. In the effective absence of Bishop Cheyney, reformers such as Guy Eton, Arthur Saule, and John Northbrooke became some of those most influential throughout Bristol and Gloucester. Their promotion to positions of authority and influence within both dioceses saw an abrupt change in the form of worship within the churches under their influence.[189]

Many of these influential figures' preferred form of reformed worship can be informed through their involvement within the 1562/3 convocation. The events of the convocation saw the narrow defeat of a sizeable party within the lower house who had campaigned for even greater reform. Whilst Bishop Cheyney was absent from proceedings in the upper house, the local figures present within the lower house were John Cotterell, Guy Eton, George Savage, Arthur Saul, and Robert Crowley.[190] Apart from Cotterell, all were ardent supporters of further reform within the Church and amongst the members that demanded that ministers were to baptise without using the sign of the cross, that kneeling at the communion should be left indifferent, wanted the removal of copes and surplices entirely from the Church, believed that congregational psalms should be sung at common

[189] In early Elizabethan Bristol, for example, the restoration or promotion of individuals sympathetic to reformed methods of worship such as George Carew, Arthur Saule and Christopher Pacy within Bristol Cathedral between 1559 and 1560 affected not only the Cathedral, but also drove further reform throughout the city in the absence of strong diocesan leadership. However, the lack of diocesan leadership and the authority of the conservative Chancellor John Cottrell meant that the impact of such efforts were limited (M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, pp. 133-142). The promotion of the same Arthur Saule and fellow Marian exile Guy Eton to a prebend at Gloucester Cathedral, and Eton's simultaneous appointment as archdeacon of Gloucester, had a similar limited impact throughout a diocese lacking in strong diocesan leadership and effective administration (For Saule's wider influence, particularly as a representative of the archbishop, alongside fellow reformer Dean Laurence Humphrey, within the 1576 visitation, see C. Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity*, pp. 130-131).

[190] John Cotterell was present as Archdeacon of Wells, Richard Guy was proctor for Bristol's clergy, Guy Eton was archdeacon of Gloucester, George Savage was proctor for Gloucester's clergy, Arthur Saul was proctor of Gloucester Cathedral's Dean and Chapter, Robert Crowley was archdeacon of Hereford.

prayer, and to see 'curious singing' and the playing of organs removed entirely from worship. These individuals were also among the 43 people that approved of the subsequent six articles that only failed to pass by a single vote.[191] Even though the party's grander scheme to reform the national Church had failed, there was still opportunity to reform practices closer to home.

This reforming faction significantly influenced the shape of local religious experiences for many throughout the dioceses. In Gloucester, Saul and Eton were undoubtedly familiar. They served as prebendaries at the cathedral together between 1562 and 1571, with Eton even acting as Saul's proxy upon his presentation to the chapter. However, they went back even further; both were former Marian exiles and present in Strasbourg in 1554.[192] Upon becoming Archdeacon of Gloucester, Eton was simultaneously presented to the office's historical rectory of Dursley. Under Eton and his curate's guidance, Dursley became an exemplar of reformed worship within an influential cloth town. Their 1566 inventory shows that, unlike many churches, they had already purged all material objects that were related to popery.[193] The church had also provided more than the objects simply necessary for

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[191] For an account of the 1562/3 convocation, see John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, Vol. I, Part I. (Oxford, 1824), pp. 484-518.

[192] Guy Eton left London around 29 May 1554 for Strasbourg, bearing a letter from Bishop John Hooper to Bullinger. Eton was formerly Bishop Hooper's chaplain, and was regarded as 'my friend Guido, my most faithful associate in the labours of the Gospel' within his letter to Bullinger (Christina Garrett, *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 181-182). Together, they signed an admonition to the exiled community in Frankfurt, declining the opportunity to remove there, and were beneficiaries of the Duke of Wüttemberg's bounty (W. Whittingham, *A Brief Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort in the Year 1554, about the Book of Common Prayer and Ceremonies* (London, 1574), p. 23; C. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, pp. 181-182, 284-285).

[193] Queen Elizabeth I's royal articles in 1559 enquire whether 'all images, shrines, all tables, candlesticks, trindalls or rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned and false miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition be removed, abolished, and destroyed'. They were also required to report an inventory of all vestments, copes, plate, books, plate, and particularly grails, couchers, legends, processionals, hymnals, manuals, and portuesses to the officer at their local visitation (W. H. Frere and W. P. M. Kennedy (eds.). *Visitation Articles and Injunctions. Volume III: 1559-1575* (London, 1910), pp. 2, 22). Many churches kept valuable items, such as vestments, until the 1570s.

conformity. Their inventory included: a communion table, a communion cup, a holland linen tablecloth for the communion table, two Bibles, the Paraphrases of Erasmus, the two tomes of homilies, a Book of Common Prayer, a psalter, and a volume containing the Book of Common Prayer, the psalms of David in prose and metre, and the first book of homilies.[194] Interestingly, they appear not to have owned a surplice. Given Eton's history as Bishop John Hooper's chaplain, it would perhaps be unsurprising if Eton and his curates shared similar reforming views on vestments. Furthermore, a total of £9 6*s*. 11*d*. was paid in 1565 'For the Sieges aboute the Communion Table'.[195] The erection of these seats, and those erected above the altar and attached to the east wall in particular, were a clear visual declaration of separation, divorcing the Reformed Communion service from the perceived superstitious Eucharistic practices associated with the Catholic Mass. Eton had exerted his influence as rector of Dursley to impose his own preferred form of worship upon the parishioners, altering the church's fabric and furniture, and providing additional educational literature.

Arthur Saul, Eton's fellow Marian exile, was one of the most influential figures within Elizabethan Bristol and Gloucester and was an ardent reformer.[196] He was instituted to the prebends of Bedminster and Redcliffe in Salisbury Cathedral and the first prebend in Bristol Cathedral in 1559 and 1560 respectively, under the patronage of Lord Robert Dudley. He was

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[194] Queen Elizabeth's 1559 injunctions required each church to provide one Bible of the largest volume in English, the paraphrases of Erasmus upon the Gospels. Each minister under the degree of MA was to provide their own New Testament in both Latin and English, with Paraphrases upon the same (Walter Frere and William Kennedy (eds.). *Visitation Articles and Injunctions. Volume III: 1559-1575* (London, 1910), pp. 10-11, 13-14. For more on the metrical psalter, see pp. 174-176.

[195] These seats required additional income; the funds appear to have been raised via contributions and a church rate placed upon the parishioners. Each listed parishioner paid a sum between 10*s*. and 1*d*.

[196] He was described as 'a member of the extreme party' at Magdalen College that had sought and obtained leave of absence following the succession of Mary I to the throne. He was duly expelled by Bishop Stephen Gardiner's visitors in 1553 and migrated to Strasbourg with Eton. After a period in Heidelberg, he returned to England at the start of Elizabeth's reign (C. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, pp. 284-285).

also presented to a prebend in Gloucester Cathedral in 1562.[197] The appointment to the prebend of Bedminster and Redcliffe simultaneously made him patron of both the chapelries of St. Mary Redcliffe and St. Thomas within Bristol. His zealous reforming nature instantly influenced the church of St. Mary Redcliffe and the parishioners, from whom he was met with some resistance. Saule had exerted his position to become 'parson' of the church, provided his own curate, Robert Wharton, who clearly upheld Saule's own beliefs for reformed worship, and hastily set about removing all remnants of Catholic worship.[198] Whilst the high altar had been removed, the surrounding images had been washed out, and the *Book of Common Prayer* had been purchased between 1558 and 1559, it was not until Saule's succession that more drastic reform was enforced. In 1560, St. Mary Redcliffe's altars in the Lady Chapel and St. George's chapel were taken down and destroyed, whilst desks were made for the scriptures, and the ten commandments were set up.[199] These alterations

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[197] The presentation, bond to the bishop, and institution to the prebend of Gloucester are all listed within GA, GDR 2A, pp. 97, 141-142. This presentation was due to his patronage. By 1562 he had also become a chaplain to the lord keeper of the great seal, Sir Nicholas Bacon. Saul used this position to successfully petition livings for both himself, on no fewer than four occasions, and on behalf of others, on no fewer than 16 occasions – the prebend of Gloucester Cathedral was one of them. Besides the prebend at Gloucester Cathedral Saul was successful in obtaining the livings of: Porlocke, Somerset, in 1562, worth £18 11*s*. 6*d*.; Ubley, Somerset, in 1564, worth £11 11*s*. 5½*d*.; and Doynton, Gloucestershire, in 1566, worth £14 11*s*. 2*d*.; for more on the Lord Keeper's Patronage see: R. O'Day, 'The Ecclesiastical Patronage of the Lord Keeper, 1558-1642', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 23 (1973), pp. 89-109.

[198] Wharton is likely to have held similar views to Saule. He seems to have had links with the Bishop of Norwich John Parkhurst, the former resident rector of Bishops Cleeve, Gloucestershire, and former Marian exile, from Wharton received a licence to preach anywhere within the diocese of Norwich in 1560. He exhibited this license to the consistory court in Bristol in 1561 and was ultimately granted leave to preach within his cure of St. Mary Redcliffe, but inhibited from preaching anywhere else outside of it (BA, EP/J/1/5, pp. 239, 324, 338). It is possible that a connection between fellow exiles in Strasbourg, Saule and Parkhurst, may have been the reason for Wharton's appointment. Parkhurst had become a close friend to Bishop Hooper prior to Mary I's succession 'as well by disposition as by vicinity of residence' and was in Strasbourg by at least July 1554. In Strasbourg he would have been resident with his former acquaintances Eton and Saul. Like Eton, Parkhurst continued on to Zurich, carrying a letter from Hooper to Bullinger. Here Parkhurst made his temporary residence, living with Rudolph Gualter (C. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, pp. 181-182, 284-285; Ralph Houlbrooke, 'John Parkhurst (1511?–1575), bishop of Norwich', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004)). Whaton was minister of St. Mary Redcliffe from at least 1561 (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a, p. 184). Skeeters has Wharton as *alias* Fortune (M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, p. 195).

[199] The reversal back to Protestantism following Elizabeth's succession appears to have not been enthusiastic. The churchwardens, only in 1560, paid 15*d*. 'for the taken donne for the hye Aweter A gaianst the visitacion'

may have contributed to the parishioners' apparent conflict with their new incumbent, for the churchwardens' accounts show that Saule was almost instantly involved in a legal dispute with the parish.[200] It may be safe to assume that the case regarded Saule's presentation to the prebend, his rights as parson, and the income granted from the office.[201] The outcome of the case is unfortunately unclear, yet Saule's continued effort to reform this largely conservative parish can be seen within the parish's annual meeting to confirm the churchwardens' accounts. In 1563, Saule personally attended the meeting instead of his curate, in the presence of the leading members of the parish that had attempted to usurp his authority, and signed his name above all others. However, this was the last time Saul's presence is indicated within the accounts. The following year Saule appointed the equally committed godly minister John Northbrooke to the church who pressed even more assuredly for greater reform within the church and congregation.[202] The examples of both Eton and Saule show both the continued vitality of the Marian exile networks and the ways

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and 7*s*. 'for whesshyng owt of the Images In the hye awter And for peyntyng of [s]cripture In the seyde place' only when ultimately necessary. The altars were almost certainly broken and destroyed in the process of removal for 6*d*. was paid 'to a massone for a dayes worke to take donne the alltar in St Jorgies chappell and to bere away the Rubbell'. The homilies and two books of psalms in metre were also bought in late 1560, and the ten commandments were also set upon the wall. (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a).

[200] A total of £2 18*s*. 10*d*. was expended upon 'Kostes in suett of lawe with Master Sawll our parssone' between 1560 and 1561. The suite clearly lasted over a few years, for a further £16 11*s*. 8*d*. was paid in costs 'in cuite of lawe bi Jhone Mellows agaynst parsoone Sawll' in 1561, and another £11 12*s*. 6*d*. was paid in suit of law in 1563. Although the contents of the suit are uncertain, it evidently involved the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Sir Nicholas Bacon, worked through several courts before ultimately being heard before the Six Clerks Office, and 'Master Gryffyth one of the Six Clarkes', in particular.

[201] Perhaps the greatest clue about the case comes in 1561, where the 'costes and paymentes in shute of lawe bi Thomas Kyrckland' were apparently 'agaynst Sall the parson for [...] tenements'. In 1562 the churchwardens of St. Mary Redcliffe paid 20*s*. 'for ij horse hier to London A bout Master Salle'. Council was sought in the case: 15*s*. was paid to 'Master Loveles for his counsell agaynst Master Sall' and 'Master Watson for his councell' was paid 6*s*. 8*d*. The fee of 3*s*. 4*d*. was paid to 'Master Gryffyth one of the Six Clarkes', whilst a further 10*s*. was paid to him 'for openyng of our matter to my lord keper at his howse'.

[202] For more on Northbroke see pp. 163-168.

in which an active minister was able to influence change in the experiences of worship within their churches.

People III: Patrons

In the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, areas of particularly godly identity rose in notoriety. In Gloucestershire, these areas were often centred around the cloth trade, including Dursley, Elmore, Eastington, Forthampton, and Tytherington. In Bristol, the parishes of St. Ewen, St. James, and Sts. Philip and Jacob similarly became largely godly communities. Whilst the largest influence on the laity's affectations perhaps lay in the hands of the minister, the minister was often presented to the church through the patronage of an individual. Obtaining the patronage to a parish was perhaps the easiest and most influential method for an individual to impress their preferred style of worship upon a church. A succession of presentations from a sympathetic patron often caused the creation of godly communities within parishes. Influential patrons, such as Sir William Guise of Elmore and Nathaniel Stephens of Eastington, ensured that networks of godly ministers were established and sustained throughout the Vale of Berkeley and the Severn Vale. Whilst these figures used their political positions to oppose unpopular policies undertaken in Charles I's personal rule, they also ensured that opposition to changes in religious policy remained steadfast throughout the Diocese of Gloucester.

Sir William Guise and Nathaniel Stephens both held high political offices within Gloucestershire.[203] In the memoirs of one of his grandsons, Guise was described as 'a greate

[203] Sir William Guise was High Sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1608 alongside Sir Robert Woodroffe (Christopher Elrington, 'List of Sheriffs of Gloucestershire', *Transactions of the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 128 (2010), p. 217). He was also made Vice-Admiral of Gloucestershire in 1626 (J. Bruce, ed., *Calendar*

folower and favourer of silent ministers and nonconformists, with abundance of zeale in himself'. The contemporary conservative clergyman John Allibond also described him as 'a great favourer of that [puritanical] side, and practises conformity more out of awe than love'.[204] Guise held the manors of Brockworth and Elmore and, as such, held the rights of presentation to their parishes. He presented sympathetic ministers, such as William Grove, John White, Valentine Marshall, and possibly John Workman, to the vicarages and curacies of Brockworth and Elmore, besides hiring them as his private chaplains.[205] The notorious nonconformist minister Richard Caple dedicated his publication, *Tentations their nature, danger, cure* (1633), to Sir William Guise, stating that he had 'done God much honour in setting up such Lights in our Countrey; Ministers who both Doe and Teach'. He implies that Guise had personally overseen the introduction of godly ministers in a number of incumbencies.[206]

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of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1625-26 (London, 1858), pp. 265-266). Both Sir William Guise and Nathaniel Stephens gave information together to the privy council as Justices of the Peace for the county of Gloucester in 1631 (J. Bruce, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1631-3* (London, 1862), pp. 87-88).

[204] Sir Christopher Guise (1617-1670) was brought up as a child, for a period, under his grandfather, Sir William Guise, at Elmore. He found the 'whole house was a scoole of disiplinants, wherein I wanted not my share, itt being easy for those to whose care I was comitted, under the cloake of care and pretences religiouse, to wreake theyr malice upon every slight omission, and soe punish my father, whome they hated, in mee' (Godfrey Davies, ed., *Autobiography of Thomas Raymond and Memoirs of the Family of Guise of Elmore, Gloucestershire* (London, 1917), p. 113; W. Hamilton, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1639-40*, pp. 580-583).

[205] John White was presented to the vicarage of Brockworth by William Guise in 1588; he is the same individual that was curate of Winchcombe in 1616 that printed a libel against William Laud's removal of the communion table in the Cathedral (see p. 66; GA, GDR 27A). The last wills and testaments of Anselme Wooles and William Leighton of Elmore, both dated 1618, are witnessed and signed by John Workman, suggesting that he was present within the parish with a cure of souls (GA, GDR R8, 1618/7 and 1618/240).

[206] Caple states that godly ministers will honour him, as he had 'built us of our coat some Synagogues'. He also ponders if to save one soul from death is an honourable piece of service within scripture, how great would his honour be given Guise's 'Heart and meanes to set up sundrie Lights of it for the Saving of many soules, in many Parishes' (R. Capel, *Tentations their nature, danger, cure* (London, 1633)). Caple's name is spelt both 'Caple' and 'Capel' across various sources.

Eastington had swiftly become a centre of godly religion due to the patronage of godly clergymen under the Stephens family, particularly Nathaniel Stephens. As lord of the manor in Eastington, Stephens held the rights of presentation for the parish church and twice presented ministers to the parish. Stephens was an infamous puritan within Gloucestershire's gentry, who held the office of Justice of the Peace between 1622 and 1637, eventually being deprived for opposing ship money, and was a strong supporter of Parliament in the Civil Wars.[207] Stephens had presented Richard Caple and William Mew in 1613 and 1635 respectively.[208] Caple was a notorious nonconformist, as later reported by his contemporary Valentine Marshall in the preface of Caple's posthumous *Tentations their nature, danger, cure* (1658).[209] Extent court records also confirm his reluctance to conform throughout his incumbency. In 1619 Caple was presented to consistory court for 'not administering the sacraments kneeling neither useth the signe of the crosse in baptsime neither weareth the surplasse & for not bidding hollidayes & for christening children in a

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[207] Alan Davidson and Ben Coates, 'Nathaniel Stephens (1589-1660)' in A. Thrush & J. Ferris, eds., *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1604-1629* (Cambridge, 2010); Kathleen Morgan and Brian Smith, 'Eastington: Manors and other estates', in C. Elrington, N. Herbert and R. Pugh, eds., *A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 10, Westbury and Whitstone Hundreds* (London, 1972), pp. 127-131. An account of the county's Short Parliament election of March 1640 is given by John Allibond in his letter to Peter Heylyn (W. Hamilton, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1639-40*, (London, 1877), pp. 580-583). See also Andrew Warmington, *Civil War, Interregnum and Restoration in Gloucestershire 1640-1672* (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 24-27.

[208] Richard Caple, MA, the son of godly Alderman Christopher Caple of Gloucester, was instituted into the rectory of Eastington on 12 October 1613 (GA, GDR 27A). William Mew, BD, was instituted on 7 May 1635 following Caple's resignation (CCEd ID: 72355).

[209] Richard Caple (1586-1656) had matriculated from St. Alban Hall, Oxford in 1601, graduated BA from Magdalen College in 1605, and proceeded MA in 1607. He was a fellow there from 1608 to 1614. He served at King James' court until 1613 under Robert Carr, the Earl of Somerset. From here he became rector of Eastington. Marshal provides a detailed biography within the preface of *Tentations*, describing him as 'a true Evangelical Preacher', preaching twice every Sunday and once during the week at Eastington, although did not cry down opposition from the pulpit, but 'gave it a more deadly blow in his contrary walking'. He was 'lively' in his prayers, but convinced that set forms were lawful, and 'lived and died a true Orthodox Divine according to the knowne doctrine of the Church of England' (Valentine Marshall's preface to *Capel's remains being an useful appendix to his excellent Treatise of tentations, concerning the translations of the Holy Scriptures : left written with his own hand* (London, 1658); Thompson Cooper & Vivienne Larminie, 'Richard Capel (1586-1656)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008).

bason & not in the font'.[210] Caple was clearly under Stephens' patronage, dedicating the posthumous book of his fellow godly minister and friend, William Pemble's *Vindiciae gratiae* (1627), to him, in which Arminianism is impugned and reproached.[211] Caple's successor, William Mew, evidently had a similar disposition. In 1640 Allibond described Mew as a former lecturer in London and 'stands affected as most lecturers do'.[212] It is likely that these godly influences originated much earlier; Robert Ball, a clergyman with nonconformist tendencies, was previously presented to the rectory by Nathaniel's grandfather, Edward Stephens, in 1581.[213] Court records also show that laity from other parishes were flocking to

[210] GA, GDR 136, unpaginated. In 1634 Caple was also suspended by Chancellor Baber 'for not conformity'; he appears to have refused to read the book of sports. Having not appeared to the court in person, Caple claimed that weakness and sickness prevented him from both appearing, and from reading divine service and performing sermons. After Bishop Goodman personally presided over his case, his order for Accepted Frewen, the Laudian dean of Gloucester Cathedral, to personally nominate a person to perform these services throughout his incapacity likely served as a catalyst for Stephens to persuade Caple to resign and again present his own minister to the parish that shares his own views (GA, GDR 186, unpaginated). He voluntarily resigned the rectory and obtained a license to practice medicine, eventually settling in Pitchcombe (T. Cooper & V. Larminie, 'Richard Capel (1586-1656)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008).

[211] William Pemble was a godly theologian and author, and a student of Richard Capel at Magdalen College. He became reader, tutor, and divinity reader at Magdalen Hall following proceeding MA in 1918. He died at Capel's house in Eastington in 1623 and Capel ensured the posthumous publication of multiple works (R. Greaves, 'William Pemble (1591/2-1623)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2013); W. Pemble, *Vindiciæ gratiae. = A plea for grace More especially the grace of faith* (London, 1627). He also dedicated Pemble's *A short and sweete exposition upon the first nine chapters of Zachary* (London, 1629) to Katherine, wife of Nathanial Stephens.

[212] Allibond also mentions rumours that there was 'an underhand canvass' to elect Mew as a clerk for the convocation (W. Hamilton, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1639-40*, pp. 580-583. Mew also accompanied Stephens to Parliament on 29 November 1643 to preach a sermon on the fasting day, later published as *The Robbing and Spoiling of Jacob and Israel* (London, 1643).

[213] Robert Ball was instituted as rector of Eastington on 15 February 1581 (LPL, Grindal's Register I). Ball was presented to the consistory court in 1594 for [not] 'baptizeth in a fonte' (GA, GDR 76, p. 200). He was also presented in 1599 'for baptising Children in a Bason there being a font & not using the signe of the crosse according to the order of the booke of Common prayer' (GA, GDR 87, p. 221). These charges continued into 1605, where he appeared before the consistory 'for not readinge the Canons, nor readinge prayer accordinge to the prescript order not signe with the signe of the Crosse in Baptisme or weare the surplice or hoode or Bidd holy dayes or fasting dayes, for not usinge the forme of thanksgivinge to woeman'. The bishop 'spoke with him & had conferennce severall hours', yet Ball was still required to appear at the next court date; the outcome here is unknown (GA, GDR 97). He was also presented to consistory court in 1613 'for not weareing the surplisse', but evidently died prior to any consequence ('mortus est' is simply inscribed below the citation) (GA, GDR 120, unpaginated). These seeds of nonconformity may have been sown much earlier with the curate Thomas Jones *alias* Llewys presented in 1570 as he 'dothe were no surplesse nor doth reade the injunctions and doth minister with comen white breade' (GA, GDR 26, p.133).

hear these godly sermons rather than attend their own preacher.[214] Stephens' influence as patron was not restricted to Eastington. As patron of Horsley, he also appointed the godly and future migrant to the New World, Edward Norris, as curate.[215] These examples have clearly shown the ability of laity to influence local practices of worship, and even help sustain complex networks of nonconformity, through patronage. Although these have shown the support of the godly, it will be seen later how patronage could also be used for a variety of theological beliefs.[216]

People IV: Churchwardens and Vestries

Churchwardens themselves have been recognised as playing an important role in implementing religious policy, with ecclesiastical authorities 'dependent on the churchwardens' in pursuing their agenda.[217] As the elected representatives of a parish, they were executors of the church's finances, regulated church matters, and a direct line of communication with religious courts. They were able to influence worship by being selective in their presentments and in deciding how expenditure could be spent.[218] Similarly, the rise

[214] In 1605, for example, the widow Merry, Catherine Butt, and Alice Rowles of Arlingham were all presented 'for frequentin other parishes at devine service, havinge a sermon at her owne parish'. When examined, the widow Merry stated that 'she goeth to Eastington sermons', around six miles distant; the other two women also stated the same reason, and all three were admonished and enjoined to remain and attend services within their own parish (GA, GDR 97, f. 12r.).
[215] Edward Norris was curate of Horsley by at least 1623 and was still present in 1635 (GA, GDR 146 and 185). He left for Bristol in 1635 and was a leading activist in the arranging of puritan migrants to settle in Massachusetts. After several publications, and the outspoken defence of Calvinist orthodoxy in particular, Norris and his wife had fled to the New World and Salem by 1639 (see Nancy Matthews, *William Sheppard, Cromwell's Law Reformer* (Cambridge, 1984), p. 17; Richard Greaves, 'Edward Norris (1583/4–1659)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004).
[216] See the example of Samuel Davies, pp. 252-255.
[217] M. Stieg, *Laud's* Laboratory, p. 291.
[218] For the role of churchwardens and their ability to influence change within a parish, see: Eric Carlson, 'The origin, function and status of the office of churchwardens, with particular reference to the diocese of Ely' in M. Spufford, ed., *The World of Rural Dissenters, 1520-1725* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 164-208; John Craig, 'Co-operation and Initiatives: Elizabethan Churchwardens and the Parish Accounts of Mildenhall', *Social History*, 18/3 (1993), pp. 357–80; Christopher Marsh, 'Order and Place in England, 1580-1640: The View from the Pew',

of vestries throughout the period increasingly enabled the leading members of a parish to directly influence and form their own experiences of worship. These self-selecting individuals were the decision-making body of a church, overseeing a wide range of duties, ranging from property management, church maintenance, arrangements of church seating, lawsuits, and the oversight of the parish's churchwardens and other officers. In some cases they were even been involved in the election of a new minister.[219]

An order in 1614 demonstrates the development of Cirencester's vestry into a large and organised body, when orders concerning all future churchwardens were agreed by the two 'Treasurers' of the parish, eight other significant parishioners, the two existing churchwardens, and 'before many others of the better sorte of the same parishe then present'.[220] The orders highlighted the seniority of the parish's treasurers; the two treasurers of the parish were elected to be the foremost authority within the vestry, with the vestry appointing churchwardens, sidesmen, overseers of the poor, and surveyors of the highways beneath them. They also had the ability to appoint the beadle for the poor and the master of the free grammar school. The treasurers, and two of the 'better sort of the parishioners', were to audit all churchwardens' accounts and oversee any collection gathered for charitable causes. No person was able to be placed in any seat without the

Journal of British Studies, 44/1 (2005), pp. 3-26; John Reeks, 'Parish Religion in Somerset, 1625-1662, With Particular Reference to the Churchwardens' Accounts'.

[219] The criteria for becoming a vestryman within each parish varied between churches and over time. Many parishes' inhabitants, or at least the resident house owners, met at least once a year to elect their church officers. As is evident within London's vestry records, many parishes had developed a smaller, or select, body of inhabitants to meet more regularly, limiting their own numbers, creating criteria for membership, and holding elections for new members (Julia Merritt, 'Contested Legitimacy and the Ambiguous Rise of Vestries in Early Modern London', *The Historical Journal*, 54/1 (2011), pp. 24-45).

[220] The named parishioners present were: the treasurers Robert George, esquire, and John Coxwell, esquier; the gentlemen, Robert George, Jeffery Bathe, John Mortimer, William Seacole, Thomas Stone; the incumbent churchwardens Rowland Freeman and William Turbill; and John Channler, Robert Alexander and John Iles (GA, P86/1/VE/2/1).

consideration of the minister and six of the 'better sort' of the parish.[221] This vestry, like others, were able to control their parishioners' experience of worship through the management of income and exerting their influence in the placing of people in seats. Moreover, they were able to enforce reform and correct perceived irreverent misbehaviour in worship, including the 'abuses' made 'by unruly boyes & children making a noyse in time of divine service & sermons'.[222] The internal politics of each parish's vestry ranged enormously, from the vestries such as Cirencester where the leading figures within the social hierarchy exerted their considerable influence and largely controlled the parish's proceedings, to more equal vestries where each voice was counted and votes were made on much of the parish's business such as St. James, Bristol.[223] The close relationships of vestrymen can occasionally be seen in the last will and testaments of the members. For example, in 1617 William Barnes, a vestryman of Temple, bequeathed 6*s*. 8*d*. 'to my brethren of the vestrie [...] to Drincke'.[224]

Occasionally, evidence shows that the vestrymen had enough authority to appoint their own ministers. For example, the parishioners of North Nibley appear to have had enough influence to arrange the appointment and secure the finances for their own minister

[221] On 9 May 1641 the vestry ordered that 'Wheras there hath byn divers abuses in the Church by unruly boyes & children making a noyse in time of divine service & sermons to the great disturbance of the Minister & Congregacion It is nowe ordered at this generall meeting that William Webbe shall from henceforth walke about in the Church at such times & see a reformacion therin, And if he find them unruly he shall pen them in the Vestry or Belfry untill sermon be ended that they may have such Coreccion for their fault as shalbe thought fit by some of the Best of the Inhabitants' (GA, P86/1/VE/2/1, p. 44).
[222] In making such an order in 1641, the vestry were clearly asserting that reverence should be kept throughout both services and sermons to avoid the disruption of others' experiences of worship (GA, P86/1/VE/2/1, f. 60r.).
[223] The vestry of St. James, Bristol, often held votes for elections to church offices, including their curate, where every voice counted as one vote (BA, P.St J/ChW/1/a). For more on their vestry and the elections for ministers, see pp. 109-114.
[224] TNA, PROB 11/130/18.

in 1637. As the church of North Nibley was technically a chapelry of Wotton-Under-Edge, the parishioners were evidently successful in petitioning the vicar of Wotton for the appointment of a chosen minister. On 23 July 1637,

> at a publike meetinge after eveninge prayer It was thus agreed betweene Master John Hame Minister there and the Inhabitantes of Nibley That the said Master Hame shall and will for three wholl years from the third of May last supply the place and cure of minister in North Nibley.

Ham was to be paid 'thirty poundes at least' annually, with the impropriate farmer paying twenty marks and the inhabitants paying the difference.[225] The meeting, attended by 'about forty Inhabitantes payers to Master Hame besides many others', shows how a vestry could use their own influence to appoint a preferred minister that reflected their religious preferences.

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[225] A clause was also inserted so that Ham had to give three months' notice prior to his departure for any ecclesiastical promotion. Ham's own religious sympathies are unclear, although he appears to have conformed to all those rites and ceremonies prescribed by the Church. It is unlikely that he would have held strong godly preferences with the prominence of staunch royalist John Smyth within the vestry, despite being in a largely godly area. Ham had been curate of Hardwick under the self-serving vicar of Standish, Walter Powell. After being ejected from his vicarage by Parliament in 1644, he protested in print stating that he had always supported Parliament (W. Powell, *Newes for Newters* (London, 1648)). William Sheppard, a puritan barrister and William Cromwell's future legal adviser, printed a rebuttal (W. Sheppard, *An Answer to the Scandalous Aspersions of Committees by Mr Walter Powell* (London, 1648)) that printed articles exhibited to the committee against Powell. Among the articles he was accused of taking little care for his four cures, being a common haunter of alehouses, exceedinly busy himself in secular affairs, being a common liar and very deceitful, and a character much affected to fighting and quarrelling. He was also accused of maintaining John Smith as a curate at Randwick under him,'a man notorious for his scandall and ill affection to the Parliament', and a Mr. Swan at Hardwick, 'as great a Cavaleere as any you cry out so much against'. He had also ensured that Smith preached the fast day following his ejection from Randwick. John Ham had been forced to sue Powell on numerous occasions for his wages as curate of Hardwick. For more on John Smith and his anti-puritan beliefs, see Russell Howes, 'John Smyth the Younger of North Nibley and His Papers, *Transactions of Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 121 (2003), p. 215; S. Lehmberg, *Cathedrals Under Siege: Cathedrals in English Society, 1600-1700* (Exeter, 1996), p. 47).

Similarly, the vestrymen of St. James, Bristol, were able to choose their own minister as a quasi-Presbyterian church. Their vestry book regularly recorded the annual passing of the accounts from both the churchwardens and the overseers of the poor, and the annual elections of churchwardens, sidemen, and the collectors for the poor. These elections were held by the minister and vestrymen of the parish, with the officers simply nominated 'by most of voyce'.[226] In addition to these regular tasks they created orders ensuring that they were receiving the exact experience of worship that they wished. For example, a vestry held on 15 June 1635 was held by seven members of the vestry, including the two churchwardens, but without the minister's presence. Those present ordered that

> whereas James Steven the Clarck doth usually read the first lesson one the Saboth daies att Morning and evenyng prayer who doth read unsemely, and unfitting both in false English Contrary to sence of the translacion, and otherwyse most unsemely, that from henceforth he shall forbear to read the first lesson eyther att mornyng or evenyng prayer and to use itt no more.[227]

This order suggests that James Stevens, the parish clerk from 1625, was reading the first lesson unsatisfactorily to the vestry, both in what he was saying and in the way it was said. The term 'false English' implies that he was either reading an incorrect translation or,

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[226] The years for which the voting record for officers survives indicates that there were between 14 and 28 individuals eligible to vote at the meetings. In the annual elections for churchwardens, there were: 14 voices in 1623; 28 in 1630; 23 in 1631; 24 in 1632; 23 in 1634; 26 in 1635; 33 in 1636; 23 in 1637; 19 in 1638; 21 in 1639; 20 in 1640; and 17 in 1641. However, the vestry's proceedings were consistently dominated by around 12 to 14 of the most prominent men within the parish throughout the period; they regularly signed their names to meetings and orders (BA, P.St J/V/1/1). They also regularly made decisions regarding worship that were common for many vestries, such as organising seating arrangements, controlling the parish's income with the leasing and renting of property, organising poor relief; and arranging the work and payment of any necessary large, extraordinary work (BA, P.St J/V/1/1).

[227] BA, P.St J/V/1/1, p. 49.

perhaps more likely, simply reading the lesson incorrectly with frequent mistakes. He may have even been incapacitated with an illness, for he was buried only five months later.[228] However, the greatest influence they were able to exert was in the appointment of their ministers.

In 1617 St. James' vestry leased the rectory and advowson of the parish from the patron, Sir Charles Gerrard, for the space of thirty years.[229] Even when the city purchased the rectory in 1627 the lease still had an additional twenty years to run, giving the vestry the unusual possibility to present their own choice in future ministers. In 1627 an agreement was made between the incumbent John Mason, the parish, and the favoured minister William Batcheler. It was agreed that 'the churchwardens and the parish haveing Master John Masons Consent do nowe nominate and make Choyse of Master William Batchler to be our minister with my Lordes approbation', with the parish agreeing to give Batchelor an annual stipend of £30 to be paid quarterly.[230] There appears to have been some internal conflict between the vestry and the outgoing minister in 1624. Whilst the reason for the conflict is unknown, it is likely that Mason's ultimate replacement was likely related to the

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[228] 'James Steevens the Clarke' was buried on 23 November 1635 (BA, St. J/R/1/a, unpaginated). Stevens was succeeded by William Eagles who was ordered to pay 50*s*. yearly to 'the widdo Steavens' for four years towards her house rent and maintenance (BA, P.St J/V/1/1, p. 52).

[229] The churchwardens of St. James paid £26 13*s*. 4*d*. to Sir Charles Gerrard in 1617 'for a new lease for xxx yeares to Come' (BA, P.St J/ChW/1/a).

[230] For his £30 stipend William Batcheler promised 'to read morninge and eveninge prayer every saboath day att due tymes, And also to preach once every saboath day, And also to read morning prayer upon the weeke dayes: saveing wednesdaye and Frydayes: to read prayer those dayes at viij of the Clock in the morninge, and the other dayes to read prayer att vj of the Clock in the morning in sommer and att vij of the Clock in wynter'. There had clearly been an agreement between the two ministers, facilitated through the parishioners. The original agreement was signed by both clergymen and a later vestry meeting shows that this was a source of dispute between them. Under the chairmanship and mediation of Bishop Wright it was agreed that £40, payable over eight quarters, would be given to Mason out of Batchelor's annual stipend of £30. In response, the parish granted Batchelor all the tithe pigs. The reason for Mason's expulsion from the parish is ultimately unclear (BA, P.St J/V/1/1, p. 11-12, 15-17).

vestry's wish to have an incumbent preaching minister.[231] Upon Batchelor's appointment, the stipend rose from £15 to £30; the parishioners were willing to increase their contributions to sustain a preacher.[232] The vestry's involvement in obtaining a preacher is clear, although the vestries' motives and intentions were made even more explicit in the appointment of Bachelor's successor John Paule in 1636.

The death of Bachelor in 1636 triggered the vestry to convene 'for the Chusing of A minister to succeed Master Bachelor'.[233] Four potential candidates for the role were nominated by the parishioners themselves: Matthew Hassard, John Paule, Mathew Haviland, and Thomas Walter. Of these, Haviland and Walter received no votes, whilst Hassard received two votes. Paule won 'the true election to be the minister of St. James' after

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[231] In 1624 17*s*. 2*d*. was paid by the churchwardens of St. James to 'Master Richards suite in Courte against Master Mason' (BA, P.St J/ChW/1/b). To compound Mason's perceived issues, he was not only a pluralist, but a member of the cathedral's choir. Given the godly community's general negative attitude towards both cathedral worship and singing within worship, let alone pluralist ministers who were neither graduates nor preachers, his incumbency may have been largely unwelcome (John Mason was admitted as a probationary singingman at Bristol Cathedral in October 1616 and was promoted on 27 November 1617 to the office of minor-canon and held this position until at least 1634. He held the office of minor-canon throughout his incumbency as curate of St. James' and beyond (BA, DC/A/12/1).

[232] Although little is known of Batchelor or his theological preferences, he was an MA and was specifically contracted by the vestry to preach once every Sunday. He was likely to have been the same individual from Oxfordshire who had matriculated at Magdalen Hall in 1621, aged 16, graduated BA in 1624, and graduated MA in June 1627. He is also likely to have ordained deacon on 17 February 1627 by Bishop John Davenant of Salisbury, and simultaneously appointed as the curate of Inglesham, in the diocese of Salisbury. He was only listed as BA at this point. Following his MA graduation he moved to Bristol, became curate of St. James' on 22 October, and was ordained a priest by Bishop Robert Wright of Bristol on 8 November 1627 (CCEd, ID 54278 and ID 115769; BA, P.St J/V/1/1). Both the churchwardens' contributions towards the St. Nicholas lectures and any additional payments for preachers ceased. It is evident that Bishop Wright was involved throughout the process and this may have been part of a city-wide effort to increase stipends throughout the city's benefices in order to maintain sufficient preaching ministers. In 1627, St. James' churchwardens paid 5*s*. 8*d*. 'at the Rose when wee went before my Lord about the minister', 3*s*. 6*d*. 'at the bell when our minister was admitted', 16*s*. 1*d*. 'for a sugar loafe for my Lord', and £1 9*s*. 8*d*. 'at the lambe at Laffars gate on a Dinner for my Lord & Master Chester'. When the Bishop's mediation was required again the following year, the churchwardens paid 15*s*. 10*d*. 'for a sugar loafe for the Lord Bishop'. A good relationship appears to have remained between the parish and Bishop Wright, with a sugar loaf presented to him annually until his translation to the see of Coventry and Lichfield in 1632 (BA, P.St J/ChW/1/b).

[233] Bachelor's incumbency was relatively short, ending with his death in 1636; he was buried in the parish of St. James of 7 June 1636 (BA, St. J/R/1/a).

receiving 18 votes.[234] The nominations alone highlight the vestry's religious convictions. Whilst little is known about Thomas Walter, by 1636 Hassard's religious affiliation was certainly more reformed than the established Church would allow.[235] Haviland was likely to have held similar religious convictions.[236] The elected minister, John Paule, was also of a similar religious sympathy and a part of a network of leading reformers within the region.

Paule's presence within a network of reformers is most clearly seen through his association with the aforementioned reforming minister, and enemy of Laud, John Workman.[237] Workman, in his last will and testament, stated that he 'doe owe unto John Paule of the Cittie of Bristoll Clerke the some of Fiftye poundes of Lawfull money of England'. He had evidently set up a payment scheme for this debt, where £3 was to be paid annually out of Workman's estates in Tarlton and Coates in Gloucestershire.[238] This significant sum of £50 was likely given by Paule as Workman's fortunes fell following his clashes with Archbishop Laud in the 1630s. It is also unlikely to be a coincidence that Paule followed in

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[234] See also J. Harlow, *Religious Ministry in Bristol 1603-1689*, pp. 154-155.

[235] After his failure to obtain the living of St. James, Hassard was instead presented to St. Ewen's in 1639, married the nonconformist widow Dorothy Kelly, stood accused of replacing the prayer against the Scots with a prayer that the King may be better advised in 1640, and fled for London whilst Bristol was held by Royalists. Throughout the interregnum he continued to hold St. Ewen's, minister in St. Mary Redcliffe, and preach throughout Bristol. He ultimately refused to conform in 1662 and was ejected from his living.

[236] His nomination was likely to have been partly due to familial and local ties, as he was likely to have been the grandson of a former Bristolian mayor and alderman, and sympathetic reformer, Matthew Haviland (c.1550-1618). Haviland would ultimately become the presbyterian minister of Holy Trinity the Less, London, between 1644 and his ejection in 1662. Calamy described Matthew Haviland as 'a man mighty in prayer, and a savoury preacher'; he was also against the proceedings of parliament in 1648. He signed and subscribed to *A Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ, and to our Solemn League and Covenant* (London, 1647), was involved in the presbyterian plot to restore Charles II in 1651, and was president of Sion College in 1660 (E. Calamy, *The Nonconformist's Memorial* (London, 1775), II, p. 646. See also Christopher Love, *Mr. Love's Case* (London, 1651) and Tai Liu, *Puritan London: A Study of Religion and Society in the City Parishes* (London, 1986), p. 87.

[237] For more on Workman, see pp. 72-87.

[238] Workman's last will and testaments was dated 5 January 1640. He is likely to have obtained the lands, messuages and tenements in Tarlton and Coates following his tenure as curate in the nearby parish of Rodmarton between 1616 and 1619. The lands, commonly known as the Langleys, were later ordered to be sold by Sylvanus Wood and Giles Greville, his executors, in order to pay debts, funeral expenses, and the legacies provided within his last will and testament. The annual payments of £3 were to be continued by Workman's wife Esther until the fifty pounds was repaid (GA, GDR R8/1641/46).

the footsteps of reforming individuals such as Arthur Saule, John Northbrooke, and John Workman in serving the cure of Berkeley.[239] However, Paule's reforming ideology can be observed most in his actions as minister of St. James. When Bristol fell under royalist control between 1643 and 1645, he took advantage of the surrender terms and fled to London with his fellow minister Hassard. He later reappeared as minister in 1645 following the ultimate Parliamentary victory and served throughout the commonwealth.[240] He was later ejected from his position in 1662 as a nonconformist, after originally subscribing to the Clerical subsidy of 1661.[241] These examples show how much influence a vestry was able to obtain and exert to ensure that their experience of worship might be preserved. The election of Paule shows how the presbyterian ideal of parishioners directly electing their own pastor, and of parishioners not only being accountable to their pastor, but for the pastor to be accountable to the parishioners, were being practiced amongst some vestries that had

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[239] John Paule was licensed to be curate of Berkeley, and the annexed chapels of Stone and Hill, on 12 July 1633. Proof that they are the same individual comes in the last will and testament of Maurice Attwood. The document, dated 18 December 1633, appears to have been unique within the surviving wills for Berkeley in having Paule's signature ascribed to it. The signature is identical to his signature that reappears throughout the surviving records of St. James, Bristol (GA, GDR R8, 1634/[unlabelled]). The vicarage of Berkeley, in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Bristol was granted to successive reforming members of the cathedral chapter, with each vicar supplying a curate, often reflecting their own beliefs. Paule served as curate between 1633 and 1635 under Edward Chetwynd, the former public lecturer in Bristol and the then Dean of Bristol Cathedral, who has been described as one of the two 'pillars of a notable evangelical revival in the West Country' (P. McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean* Preaching, p. 172).

[240] Paule was also among those that subscribed their name in *The Gloucester-Shire Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ, and to The Solemn League and Covenant* (London, 1648). He was also involved, alongside orthodox Calvinists such as the city lecturer Ralph Farmer, in the attacks upon the growing Quaker movement in the city during the interregnum. An anonymous Quaker printed a response to an attack upon Quakerism by William Grigg, a presbyterian glover and member of the city's council (W. Grigg, *The Quaker's Jesus* (London, 1658); *Rabashakeh's Outrage Reproved* (London, 1658)). In this response Grigg is claimed to have 'heaped together the scraps of Ralph Farmers Fire-balls, and the Chipps of some of John Pauls wooden Sermons' to create such a blaze in the late deformed *Pamphlet,* strutting and vaunting himself with such Magisteriall *arrogancy,* tampling upon one, insulting over another, and condemning all that are contrary to himself, as if he were Commissioned by his Ghostly fathers the Priests, to break all the bonds of truth, and sobernesse, so as that, upon the heads of the *Independents, Anabaptists, Quakers,* and other *Sectaries* (as he calleth them) he might cast all manner of *dirt,* and pronounce upon them an irrevocable curse'.

[241] J. Harlow, *Religious Ministry in Bristol 1603-1689*, pp. 3, 39.

secured their own advowsons prior to the interregnum. Whilst many vestries were ultimately not able to obtain presentation rights, they often influenced their own experiences of worship where possible.

People V: Benefactors

Individuals were also able to influence change in their experiences of worship through their own benefaction. Any gift would have simultaneously been an action to demonstrate their pious nature and an attempt to ensure their remembrance. Individuals often gave both monetary and material gifts to their church, either through their independent agency or as part of an organised communal response orchestrated by their vestry. Whilst communal projects often relied on voluntary benefaction, this form of income had increasingly developed into parish levies or taxations.[242] Nevertheless individuals continued to personally influence their own experiences of worship, either within their mortal life or from the afterlife.

Wealthy individuals were able to make some of the largest contributions towards shaping the experiences of worship. Their wealth was occasionally utilised by vestries to finance substantial sums and bear the debts incurred upon their accounts as a loan. For example, after holding the office of churchwarden in both 1638 and 1639, Richard Gregson, an apothecary and future Royalist sympathiser, was ultimately owed £253 9*s*. 3*d*. by the parish of Christchurch, following an extraordinary two years of expenditure on interior

[242] For more on parish income in general, see Valerie Hitchman, 'Balancing the Parish Accounts' in V. Hitchman and A. Foster, eds., *Views from the Parish: Churchwardens' Accounts c.1500-c.1800* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2015), pp. 15-46.

furnishings.[243] Gregson bore this debt and was not completely recompensed until 1652.[244] Similarly, at the back of St. Ewen's vestry book is a memorial to the prominent parishioner, Thomas Hobson, lauding his individual efforts in reforming the parish church. Hobson had been churchwarden three times, contributing significantly towards the church's future prosperity and beautifying its interior. The memorial epitaph ends simply: 'Lett other men follow his example'. [245] Whilst generous wealthy individuals often had common agency with the larger vestry, parishes would often not have been able to change their experiences of worship in the manner that was wished without individuals such as Gregson and Hobson.[246]

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[243] In 1638 Richard Gregson oversaw the erection of wainscot around the chancel, work on the enterclose, communion table, and the rails about it, and the erection of new seats. All of this work carried out by the joiner Whittingham cost over £130 alone. The ultimate expenditure between 1638 and 1639 was £256 16*s*. 10½*d*., for which Gregson laid out £88 5*s*. ½*d*. over the receipts. He continued in the office the subsequent year, laying out a further £157 18*s*. 6*d*. to the joiner Whittingham for his work alone. Following that year's extraordinary expenditure of £359 17*s*. 6*d*., he was ultimately owed the sum of £253 9*s*. 3*d*. Gregson was benevolent and forewent 'the odd money', asking the parish for his £250 to be paid to him, which was agreed by the minister and vestry (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/b, unpaginated).

[244] By 1641, £91 of this debt had already been returned 'out of fines made this yeere'; around £100 was raised from various individuals paying fines upon their leases of church property, although the disruption caused by the Civil Wars meant that he would not receive recompense until 1652 (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/b, unpaginated).

[245] In 1618 he built a house in Corn Street, receiving £9 10*s*. off other parishioners but laying out the remaining costs himself; this brought £4 10*s*. of rent to the church annually. The house's first occupant, Francis Creswick, was to pay £3 10*s*. of the annual to Hobson until he was paid back in full. Creswick's first full payment of £4 10*s*. rent to the parish came in 1623, showing that Hobson had approximately laid out an additional £17 above the £2 benefaction. As churchwarden in 1625, Hobson had sealed the church completely and had made and erected a new pulpit and screen. He also loaned the church over £25, which he was to receive two years later. To save the church £10, he lent the church 500 boards, poles, and masts to create a scaffold that had been previously quoted by the carpenters to cost them £10 for hire. He freely gave £1 10*s*. to the work and the church indebted to him by £25 9*s*., despite also having a church rate introduced to help secure additional income; Hobson's debt was paid off two years later. In his final appearance of churchwarden, in 1642, he glazed the great chancel window and had lead laid around the entire tower out of his purse. The tower required lead as the 'pinakells and Battlement war so sligtly bult that the wind blew them downe'. He provided this repair out of his own purse for 'the troble coming on and war begun'. He and his wife had also given a pulpit cushion and a communion table cloth to the church (BA, P.St E/V/1; BA, P.St E/ChW/2).

[246] A similar situation appears to have occurred at St. Peter, Bristol. In 1609, Alderman Richard Smith, in his last will and testament, forgave and remitted the churchwardens of St. Peter to the sum of £4 'for the which I have a bill made long sythens'. However, he requested that the rest of the money, 'upon accompt for this last yeare and other debts and sommes of money heretofore by me disbursed', should still be paid to his executor (TNA, PROB 11/114/98).

Individual benefactors were also able to act of their own accord and provide both financial and material gifts to the church's use. General monetary bequests from deceased parishioners towards their parish's churchwardens were a common form of benefaction throughout the dioceses. Whilst many spared a relatively small amount as a token, or as a means to procure their preferred burial location, large amounts of money were occasionally bequeathed to maintain and furnish their church.[247] For example, the Gentleman of Abloads Court in Sandhurst, Giles Coxe, was able to bequeath £20 annually ''for and towardes the repayringe and amendinge beautifienge or adorninge of the Cathedrall Churche of Gloucester' in 1620.[248] Another popular form of benevolence was to provide material furnishings for the use of the church and parishioners, many of which still exist today. These gifts may be an indication of experiences of worship the individual or community either wished for or were already experiencing, rather than monetary bequests where its ultimate use was left to the discretion of the church. For example, in 1618 a note within Dursley's churchwardens' accounts states that 'An new table borde geven to the Church by Margerie Morse widowe alias caled Mistress Tullie the day and yeare above Written'.[249] This came at a time when many of Gloucestershire's churches were reinforcing their communion practices in response to Laudian innovation at the cathedral. Another example can be seen in 1621,

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[247] For example, merchant Simon Thomas of St. Ewen, Bristol, bequeathed 20*s*. towards the reparation of his parish church in 1581 (TNA, PROB 11/63/75). In 1597 vintner John Bell of St. John the Baptist, Bristol, bequeathed 12*d*. to the churchwardens 'for the makeinge of the grave and breaking of the grounde and to pave againe decentlie' and 6*s*. 8*d*. to the church 'for the breaking of the ground' (TNA, PROB 11/89159). In 1613 widow Joan Sier of Gloucester gave 3*s*. 4*d*. 'to the repair of the church' (GA, GDR R8, 1613/106). In 1618 fletcher Robert Fleshall of St. Owen's, Gloucester, bequeathed 10*s*. to the parish 'towardes the Reparations of the Churche' (GA, GDR R8, 1618/165).

[248] The annual £20 was to come out of the lease of Abloads Court, bequeathed to Giles Coxe's executors. This £20 was given upon condition that the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester Cathedral used the money for its intended purpose, above and beyond their usual annual budget for such purposes (TNA, PROB 11/137/416). For more on Giles Coxe's benevolence within his last will and testament, see pp. 280-281.

[249] GA, P124/CW/2/4, f. 35v.

when Bristol's captain and merchant Humphrey Browne, 'a Bountifull Benefactor and parishioner' to his parish of St. Werburgh, gave a silver double gilt silver flagon, one silver double gilt skinker, and one silver double gilt bowl.[250] He also provided £20 to both parishes of Westbury-on-Trym and Iron Acton within his last will and testament to buy themselves communion plate.[251] These likely related to the increasing ceremonialism throughout Bristol's churches during this period and the desire to emphasise the sacrament. Occasionally these gifts could be intended to be edifying to the parishioners. For example, in 1609 John Paule, the vicar of Almondsbury and possible father of his namesake that became minister at St. James, bequeathed his parish church 'the Abridgment of the Booke of Martres conditionally that the Churchwardens do Buye a smale Chayin to fasten it in some convenient place in the saied churche where the people may best resorte to reade therein'.[252] Similarly, the cardmaker of Wotton-under-Edge John Browne bequeathed 10*s*. 'towards the buying of the Acts and monuments of the Church or some other good booke for the use of the Church' in 1629.[253] Many individuals, vestries, and parishes, sought to adorn their churches with material that would ensure the continuation and reinforce their preferred form of worship.

An increasing number of preachers were also provided for by individuals, not only towards preaching funeral sermons, but for a much more established presence within a

[250] A skinker is a jug designed to hold liquid. The flagon weighed 36½ ounces, the skinker weighed 36½ ounces, and the bowl weighed 24¼ ounces (BA, St. W/ChW/3/6, p. 24).
[251] TNA, PROB 11/157/435.
[252] TNA, PROB 11/115/593.
[253] GA, GDR R8, 1629/92.

community. For example, in 1564 John Hichens, a woollen draper from Gloucester, bequeathed £25

> Towardes the fyndinge of a preacher that shalbe able to instructe the people in godes booke and that he shall preache ones a daie for one whole yeare at suche places within the Citie of glocester as ahlbe thoughte moste Conveniente by the Judgemente of master mayor and master Recorder for that yeare beinge.[254]

These bequests were relatively common within the last wills and testaments of Bristol's wealthy citizens, but they were not solely restricted to urban areas, particularly large towns, or boroughs.[255] For example, in 1601 Simon Parratt, the rector of Eastleach Martin, a relatively small community with 82 communicants in 1603, bequeathed an annuity of 10*s*. within his last will and testament to set up an annual sermon at his parish church.[256] Similarly, in 1620 the benevolent Gentleman of Abloads Court in Sandhurst, Giles Coxe, bequeathed £30 annually 'for the mayntenance of a sufficient Preacher to preache in the Parrishe Churche of Sandhurst everye Saboth daye throughoute the yeare and everye Feast

[254] TNA, PROB 11/47/151.

[255] For example, the merchant Roger Hurte from Bristol bequeathed £5 to both parishes of All Saints and St. Nicholas on the condition that their churchwardens procure an annual sermon, 'yearely and every yeare for ever [...] in remembrance of me'. The sermon at All Saints was to be on the first Sunday afternoon in Lent, whilst the sermon at St. Nicholas was to be on the morning of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, with the preachers receiving 6*s*. 8*d*. as a fee (TNA, PROB 11/120/349). This sermon was preached at All Saints annually, at least, until the interregnum (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a). Another example is the bequest of Thomas Lovell, gent., in 1613, who laid aside an annual sum of 20*s*. taken out of his annual rents within Bristol for two sermons, upon St. Mathew's Day and the anniversary of his burial, at St. Mary le Port (TNA, PROB 11/123/476).

[256] The 10*s*. was to be taken out of a messuage or tenement in St. John's Street in Burford. It was to be paid to the churchwardens and minister of Eastleach Martin so that 'yearely every yeare on the Fryday before Easter comonly called good Fryday in the parishe Church of Eastlach martyn aforesaid provide and procure some one learned and godlye preacher to make a sermon on the same good Friday and therein shall have and use unto the people there to be assembled some comemoration or remembrance of the death and passion of our blessed Lord and saviour Christ Jesus'. The preacher was to be paid 6*s*. 8*d*. with the residue going towards the poor (TNA, PROB 11/98/199).

date of the Nativitie of our Saviour comonlie called Christmas daye'.[257] Like funeral sermons, some were evidently used as a method to commemorate and memorialise the lives and piety of an individual, particularly if the annual date of the sermon was to be upon the benefactor's date of death or burial. Bristol's Captain and merchant Humphrey Browne, for example, bequeathed the city council with his estate in Filton to procure four annual sermons. These 'learned' sermons or lectures were to be preached in his parish church of St. Werburgh on: the 24 June, 'on or aboute which daye I was borne and brought into this vale of miserye'; 1 July, on or around the anniversary of his baptism; 6 May, the day he was married; and the day of the month he deceases 'and soe freed both from this vale of miserye, and any more synning and offending my good God'. The bequest also states that the council should also provide and maintain 'a learned sermon or lecture' every Sunday afternoon forever.[258] Alderman John Whitson of Bristol also bequeathed £1 annually towards two preachers in 1629 to preach twice before the civic authorities at St. Nicholas on the feast day of Sts. Simon and Jude and on 7 November, the latter of which was to commemorate the day he was stabbed and escaped with his life.[259] Their intention was to simply provide the laity with another sermon to attend without any additional charge; it was

[257] The £30 pounds was to be taken annually from the lease of Abloads Court, given to his executors. The preacher was to be 'from tyme to tyme nominated elected and chosen' by the Bishop of Gloucester, or by the Dean of Gloucester Cathedral if the bishopric was vacant, along with Coxe's executors or their survivors.
[258] Browne was very particular about the preacher too. The Sunday afternoon sermons and two of the four anniversary sermons were to be preached 'by some godly and learned preacher, which shalbe a Batchelor of Divinitye at the least if conveinently it maye be, for the better instructing of the people in the deepe mysteries of God and of his saveing helth'. The other two anniversary sermons were to be made by the minister of St. Werburgh's (TNA, PROB 11/157/435).
[259] Whitson bequeathed £3 annually to St. Nicholas; £2 for maintenance and £1 towards the preachers. He states that on 7 November 1626 he 'was violently assaulted by one Christpoher Callowhill, who having a knife in his hand stabbed me therewith through the nose and lipp into my mouth thincking to have killed mee'. Whitson also recounts that the stabbing occurred due to him having ordered Callohill to pay £20 over a year (even though £48 was actually owed) to William Tristram in a suit in law. He dedicated that sermon 'unto the service of Allmightie god, in remembrance of my thanckfullness unto his divine majestie for his greate desliverance of mee from so eminent a danger' (TNA, PROB 11/156/93).

perceived to have been a great gift to any there present to hear the word of God propounded from the pulpit.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated some of the many agents that were able to affect experiences of worship. Whilst national religious policy was made to be followed, it was implemented variably with financial limitations, local institutions, clergy, and laity all contributing to the unique experiences encountered within each church. Any change in worship was often complex, with numerous contributing factors. Factors such as financial fortunes largely facilitated change and did not directly influence the shaping of identity; economic prosperity alone did not dictate how an individual or community should spend it. However, the economically and socially fortunate were able to provide more resources towards any chosen object or initiative. Similarly, whilst economic circumstances did not directly shape the cultural and religious identity of an individual or a community, it has been shown that there were links between economic prosperity, social expectations of civic leadership and keeping order, and religious conformity. Succession was usually the key factor behind any change of worship. As will be observable throughout subsequent chapters, changes in national religious agenda, and both local ecclesiastical and secular authority, often instigated changes in an individual's religious worship. Understanding these agents is integral to thinking about the fortunes and role of music in terms of the differing imperatives of such a diverse set of economic, political, and religious landscapes.

CHAPTER II:

Singing

In 1505 Bristol's town clerk Thomas Harding bequeathed to the parish church of St. Stephen, Bristol, 'A masse boke imprynted and ij. Bookes of prycksong whereby goddes service may be the better observed and kept in the said church'.[1] Such bequests to enhance a church's musical provision were fairly typical amongst the wealthy and pious of late-medieval Bristol. Choral singing was thriving within most parishes throughout Bristol and Gloucester. Within only a couple of generations the soundscape had completely altered. Religious reform had created division of opinion regarding the rites and ceremonies within the Church, and the role of singing and organs within worship were contested for many years. These arguments helped to build the crescendo that led to the British Civil Wars, the outright ban on organs within church worship, and the disbanding of choirs by the commonwealth. This chapter will chronologically explore the decline of post-reformation choral music and the rise of congregational singing, revealing many of the agents behind such change. It will demonstrate how active local ministry and effective diocesan authority were instrumental agents in shaping singing within worship. Whilst singing within worship was impeded through liturgical changes, the removal of financial resources, and theological controversy, it found a new lease of life in congregational metrical psalmody. Singing endured the turbulence of the Reformation and emerged in a new and inclusive form within Elizabeth's

[1] TNA, PROB 11/14/668. Although his last will and testament does not declare it, Thomas Harding was Bristol's town clerk from 1489 until his death in 1505. For a list of all Bristol elite civic office holders see James Lee, 'Political communication in early Tudor England: the Bristol elite, the urban community and the Crown, c.1471-c.1553' (PhD thesis, University of the West of England, 2006), Appendix 1.

reign. Singing was a popular component of worship for many both before and after the Reformation.

Henrician Choral Provision and Early-Reformers' Criticism

Despite many early reformers denouncing music within worship, music remained a core component within late-medieval worship and there was a broad desire to support, sustain, and augment musical provision within the late-medieval Church.[2] Polyphony was not limited to the larger religious houses, but was present throughout the regions' parishes. The scale of musical provision varied between churches, yet many parishes were able to boast choirs, comprised of chantry priests, lay-singers, and children. Chantries were particularly important in contributing to a church's musical provision, with the institutions often providing both additional financial maintenance and priests capable of augmenting a church's choir. The exact form of musical augmentation was dependent upon a chantry priest's own musical experience and proficiency; a chantry priest's musical contribution ranged from simply joining the unison plainsong chant, to improvising farburden, to performing composed polyphony.[3] Whilst many services were likely to have been chanted or said, the degree of

[2] For the state of musical provision within the late-medieval Church, see Frank Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain* (New York, 1958); C. Burgess and A. Wathey, 'Mapping the Soundscape: Church Music in English Towns, 1450-1550', *Early Music History*, 19 (2000), pp. 1-46; Caroline Barron, 'Church Music in English Towns 1450–1550: An Interim Report', Urban History, 29 (2002), pp. 83-91; Magnus Williamson, 'Liturgical Polyphony in the Pre-Reformation English Parish Church: A Provisional List and Commentary', pp. 1-43; M. Williamson, 'Parish Music in Late-Medieval England: Local, Regional, National Identities' in B. Kümin & M. Ferrari, eds., *Pfarreien in der Vormoderne: Identität und Kultur im Niederkirchenwesen Europas*. (Wiesbaden, 2017), pp. 209-244; M. Williamson, 'The Role of Religious Guilds in the Cultivation of Ritual Polyphony in England: the case of Louth, 1450-1550', in *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns*, ed., F. Kisby (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 82-93.
[3] For a summary of chantry priests' roles within a parish see M. Williamson, 'Liturgical Polyphony in the Pre-Reformation English Parish Church: A Provisional List and Commentary', p. 9. For an investigation into the financial importance of London's chantries in funding late-medieval music see Richard Lloyd, 'Provision for Music in the Parish Church in Late-Medieval London'. Despite evidence demonstrating chantry priests' involvement within their church's musical provision, there is some disagreement over the levels of musical augmentation that they, and particularly those within the parishes, provided. Bowers, for example, claims that chantry priests generally had no role in cultivating elaborate polyphonic music; with only a few exceptions

many churches' musical provision was likely to follow a pattern of what John Harper calls 'sonic ceremonial': the greater the occasion, the greater the provision of polyphony.[4] Clive Burgess has previously illustrated the rich musical traditions in many of Bristol's late-medieval parish churches, and evidence of late-medieval polyphony exists in the records of All Saints, Christchurch, St. Ewen, St. John, St. Mary Redcliffe, St. Nicholas, and St. Stephen.[5] Choirs could also be found throughout Gloucestershire.[6] However, despite its evident popularity, music remained a controversial aspect of worship to a few reformers.

Whilst much of the criticism of music's presence within worship was due to its performance in a foreign tongue, the strange ability of music to stir a listener's emotions was a prevalent concern for many generations.[7] Nevertheless, despite the significant underground presence of early reformers throughout the region, churches largely continued

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chantry priests' roles extended no further 'than the assisting of the parish priest' (R. Bowers, 'Liturgy and Music in the Role of the Chantry Priest', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 164/1 (2011), pp. 130-156).

[4] John Harper, 'Sonic Ceremonial in Sixteenth-Century English Liturgy', *The British Institute of Organ Studies Journal*, 35 (2011), pp. 6-19. The most regular experience would have been monophonic singing. This may have been provided by one or more priest or deacon, and may have been either intoned prayers, readings, or psalms, or more elaborate chants. On occasion, the improvisational method of farburden may have been used to embellish the chant. Churches with greater resources were able to maintain choirs that were able to perform composed polyphony.

[5] C. Burgess, *'The Right Ordering of Souls: The Parish of All Saints' Bristol on the Eve of the Reformation* (Woodbridge, 2018) and C. Burgess, ''For the Increase of Divine Service', pp. 46-65; M. Williamson, 'Liturgical Polyphony in the Pre-Reformation English Parish Church: A Provisional List and Commentary', pp. 25-26.

[6] For example, significant musical provision may be seen at Cirencester's parish church. Increasing the church's musical provision was a priority for clothier Robert Ricard. In 1518 his last will and testament bequeathed land for the foundation of a chantry: Robert Ricard's service, or St. Anthony's service. Amongst the directions, a priest was to found perpetually at St. Anthony's altar. He was to be discrete, honest, and 'to synge and say masses in the said Churche at the said awter of saint Antony daily for my soule and my wyfes soule and the soules of our faders and moders and other our kynne and frendes and all Christian soules forevermore'. Significantly, the priest was also to 'be a goode Syngingman and have experience in synginge of playn songe and prikked songe and descant and that he Be bounde to kepe the quere there daily the tyme of divine service as Channtry prestes within the same Churche be bounde to doo, And that he shall instructe and teche from tyme to tyme iiij Childern in synginge of playn songe and prikked songe for the mayntenance of divine service there freely without any reward' (TNA, PROB 11/19/118).

[7] For the criticisms of early reformers upon music, see Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England*, pp. 50-57.

to maintain or increase musical provision.[8] For most of Henry's reign there were no major changes in the liturgy and the desire to maintain and increase musical provision throughout England's churches largely prevailed.[9] Despite the rise of early-reforming ideas, the surviving evidence indicates that traditional musical provision remained dominant. Bristol's choirs continued to sing throughout Henry's reign. At least All Saints' parochial choir were even capable practising five-part polyphony. An inventory of church books taken in 1535 included: five anthem books for men and children, three sets of five mass books for men and children, a further five mass books of 'Regali and O bone Jhesu', an old four-part mass book, four square books, four mass books for men and children, four books of two four-part masses, an exultavit of five parts and four books of Kyries and Alleluias for men and children.[10] Besides the regular payment of singingmen, the churchwardens' accounts show that a 'Sir Loyllyam' was paid 2*s*. 4*d*. in 1536 'for his paynes in prycksong Bokes', with a further 4*s*. paid in 1539 for five 'pricksonge bokes'.[11] Moreover, the appointment of Humphrey Walley as parish clerk following noted musician and composer William Brigeman's death also demonstrates the continued desire to provide a high standard of musical provision, as Walley would later become Master of the Choristers at Bristol Cathedral in 1546.[12] Evidence of choral provision

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[8] For early reformers within the region, see J. Bettey, 'Early Reformers and Reformation Controversy in Bristol and South Gloucestershire', pp. 9-18 and K. Powell, 'The Beginning of Protestantism in Gloucestershire', pp. 141-157.

[9] For liturgical changes in Henry VIII's reign see Aude de Mézerac-Zanetti, 'Liturgical Changes to the Cult of Saints under Henry VIII', *Studies in Church History*, 47 (2011), pp. 181-192, and *ibid*., 'A Reappraisal of Liturgical Continuity in the Mid-Sixteenth Century: Henrician Innovations and the First Books of Common Prayer', *French Journal of British Studies*, 22/1 (2017), pp. 1-11.

[10] BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a; transcribed in C. Burgess and A. Wathey, 'Mapping the Soundscape: Church Music in English Towns, 1450-1550', p. 44. See also C. Burgess, *The Right Ordering of Souls*, pp. 404-405.

[11] In 1536 two singingmen were paid 2*d*. 'for ernyst servise' a singingman was also paid 4*d*., and a 'Veysey' was paid 6*s*. 8*d*. for four weeks 'syngyn' in the church (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a).

[12] William Brigeman was parish clerk of All Saints, Bristol, prior to 1524. He was likely to be a former clerk at Eton College and had his, now fragmentary, Salve Regina coped into the Eton Choirbook (F. Harrison, 'The Repertory of an English Parish Church in the Early Sixteenth Century', in *Renaissance Muziek, 1400–1600. Donum natalicum Rene Bernard Lenaerts,* ed. J. Robijns (Leuven, 1969), pp. 143-7). For more on Brigeman at All

similarly survives at Christchurch within the final years of Henry's reign. In 1545 'Richard the syngyngman' was paid 4*s*. 8*d*. for his services over an unspecified 14 days. The following year the churchwardens paid 4*d*. 'to Robert the syngyngman & to chyldryn' and a further 3*s*. 4*d*. to the same Robert for performing from Palm Sunday to Low Sunday, with Walter Jenyngns, the Katheryne Jones chantry priest, also charged with pricking out the Passion for this occasion.[13] In what was seemingly a regular occurrence, the church sought to expand their musical provision over the 14 days between Palm Sunday and Low Sunday by acquiring an additional lay-clerk in order to highlight the climax of the liturgical year sonically as well as visually.[14] This 'sonic ceremonialism' may also be seen within St. Thomas in 1544.[15] Moreover, whilst it is generally difficult to see evidence of musical adaptation to Henrician liturgical changes, it is clear that at least St. Nicholas' choir were singing in English by 1544.

Saints see C. Burgess, *'The Right Ordering of Souls*, pp. 401-404, 430. Humphrey Walley was issued licenses patent of the Office of Master of the Choristers from Bristol Cathedral's Dean and Chapter on 5 October 1546 (BA, DC/A/12/1). He had vacated the office by 31 July 1551, when Walter Gleson was granted the office (BA, DC/A/12/1). Walley's residence in the cathedral is summarised in Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1538* (Oxford, 1991), p. 33.

[13] In 1546 the churchwardens of Christchurch paid 6*d*. 'for a quyre of paper Ryall for Syr Walter to prycke owt the passyon', a service that would have otherwise gone unnoticed. In 1547 he was paid 12*d*. 'for pryckynge of the Swares and the passcion for the churche' (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated). His identity can be derived from the payment of £6 13*s*. 4*d*. to 'Syr Walter Jennyns' for his wages that year. For more on Jennynges, see M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, p. 175; John Maclean, 'Chantry Certificates, Gloucestershire', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 8 (1883), pp. 242; and C. S. Taylor, 'The Religious Houses of Bristol and their Dissolution, *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 29/1 (1906), p. 122.

[14] Like at All Saints, Bristol, the Passion may have been performed in the rood loft (M. Williamson, 'Liturgical Music in the Late-Medieval Parish: Organs and Voices, Ways and Means', in *The Parish in Late-Medieval England*, eds. C. Burgess & E. Duffy, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, XIV, (Donington, 2006), p. 212). For the additional visual ceremonialism surrounding All Saints', Bristol, see C. Burgess, *'The Right Ordering of Souls*, pp. 228, 376-377, 394, 403-404. For more on highlighting particular days of the liturgical calendar sonically, see J. Harper, 'Sonic Ceremonial in Sixteenth-Century English Liturgy', pp. 6-19.

[15] The churchwardens paid 2*s*. to a Thomas Clerke 'that served afore at saynt stevyns to helpe the Quyer the Cristmas holydays'. Clerk must have impressed as a further 3*s*. 4*d*. to him more 'to serve owte the quarter', and a further 25*s*. for a quarter after the parish clerk and organist John Lill 'went his waye'. It was agreed that Thomas Clerke would get paid 10*s*. for serving out the quarter, of which the churchwardens paid 3*s*. 4*d*. and a Mr Pikes paid the remainder (BA, P.St T/ChW/1, unpaginated).

In the same year they complied with the order to purchase Cranmer's English texted litany, they also paid 9*d*. 'For iij englyshe prosessyonalles'.[16]

Whilst the musical traditions endured throughout the parishes, the dissolution of monasteries throughout the 1530s, and select chantry colleges in the 1540s, briefly caused a large quantity of clergy and church musicians to become unemployed.[17] Choirs such as the small ensemble of the Lady Chapel of the priory of Llanthony Secunda in the suburbs of Gloucester were suddenly dissolved in 1538.[18] However, the musical provision within the parishes may have improved as a result, as a number of skilled ex-monastic priests sought employment within their chantries and services. This can be seen within the larger parishes of Gloucester, such as St. John. For example, in 1548 the former priest of the dissolved Winchcombe Abbey Richard Ambrose *alias* Boiden was their Rood service's priest.[19] This particular service also supported an organist in the church, paying 6*s*. 8*d*. yearly to an organ

[16] E. G. Cuthbert F. Atchley, 'On the Mediaeval Parish Records of the Church of St. Nicholas, Bristol', *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 6 (1906), p. 61.

[17] There were not any dissolved chantry colleges in the region, with only the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, Bristol, being 'voluntarily' dissolved in the 1540s. A full list of colleges and chantries surrendered in the 1540s to Henry is given in Alan Kreider, *English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1979), pp. 211-213.

[18] In 1533 the singingman John Hogges, late of Coventry, was appointed Master of the Lady Chapel choir at Llanthony Secunda. His contract with the priory bound him to provide for the daily performance of Lady Mass and the evening votive antiphon. Bowers suggests the lower voices were sung one to a part by Hogges and several religious, with 'foure childerne well and suffycyently enstructed that is to say too meanys and too trebles' (Roger Bowers, 'To Chorus from Quartet: The Performing Resource for English Church Polphony, c.1390-1559' in J. Morehen (ed.), *English Choral Practice, 1400-1650* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 35; R. Bowers, 'The Vocal Scoring, Choral Balance and Performing Pitch of Latin Church Polyphony in England', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 112/1 (1986-1987), pp. 56-57; TNA, PRO E315/93, f. 231v).

[19] According to the commissioner's reports in 1548, the priest holding the Rood service within the parish is listed as Richard Boyden, although he is listed as Richard Ambrose within the 1548 visitation (GA, GDR 4, p. 71). This is almost certainly the Richard Ambrose *alias* Boiden who was part of the clergy from the dissolved Winchcombe Abbey (G. Baskerville, 'The Dispossessed Religious of Gloucestershire', p. 87). According to the commissioners, 'Boidon' was also receiving an annual pension of £6 13*s*. 4*d*. besides his stipend in the Rood Service. This is the same pension that is listed by Baskerville for the dispossessed Richard Ambrose at Winchcombe Abbey (J. Maclean, 'Chantry Certificates, Gloucestershire', p. 257). Whilst Baskerville states that Richard Ambrose *alias* Boiden went on to become curate of Cound, Salop, in 1553 and rector of Woolstanton, Salop, between 1554 and 1572, it is far more likely that Ambrose remained in Gloucester as a chantry priest.

player, perhaps implying Ambrose's proficiency in music.[20] His proficiency in music may also be implied through his later appointment to the cathedral choir between 1554 and 1558.[21] However, his last will and testament, proved in 1558, gives the greatest indication of his proficiency as a musician. Ambrose's godson Richard Morris was bequeathed 'my fyve anthem bookes', whilst Gloucester Cathedral are given 'all the rest of my syngyng bookes'.[22] Nevertheless, Ambrose was one of a number of skilled musicians that took positions within chantries following the dissolution of the monasteries, consequently enhancing parishes' musical provision.

Whilst religious life and any related musical provision was clearly interrupted upon the suppression of smaller monastic houses, the refoundation of St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol, and St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, as the new dioceses' cathedrals in 1541 and 1542

[20] J. Maclean, 'Chantry Certificates, Gloucestershire', p. 257.

[21] Richard Ambrose is listed alongside many members of Gloucester Cathedral's clergy within Richard Frocester *alias* Smart's last will and testament (GA, GDR R8, 1554/100). Frocester was a senior at St. Peter's Abbey in 1539 and became a minor-canon of Gloucester Cathedral apparently from its foundation in 1541 (G. Baskerville, 'The Dispossessed Religious of Gloucestershire', p. 82). According to the statutes it was a requirement for all the senior members of the choir, that is to say the minor-canons, lay-singingmen, epistler and gospeller, to be 'Men of judgement in singing, which shall be approved of by the judgment of those who do well understand the art of music, in the same church' (Henry Gee, ed., *The Statutes of Gloucester Cathedral* (London, 1918), p. 17).

[22] It also gives an indication towards Ambrose's intellectual literacy. Amongst the bequeasts, William Morris was to receive all of his English books, including the named 'Chaucer['s] the destruction of troye'. Allen Engram received 'a table of mary & sant barnard'. Sir John Hancocks, 'sometyme prior of wynscombe' [Winchcombe Abbey], received the intriguing bequest of 'a red springse cofer wyth all that ys in yt' (GA, GDR R8, 1558/370). His godson, Richard Morris, was likely the Welsh future minor-canon of Gloucester, epistler and gentleman of the chapel royal, and later the Catholic musician at the English College at Douai. Morris was a minor-canon at Gloucester between at least 1576 and 1579; he had left the post by 1580 (GA, GDR 39, pp. 7, 211-218). Morris, a bass, was appointed epistler at the Chapel Royal on 30 March 1579 and subsequently gentleman on 9 November 1580. He had 'fled beyond the seas' in 1583 (Alan Smith, 'The Gentlemen and Children of the Chapel Royal of Elizabeth I: An Annotated Register', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 5 (1965), pp. 30-31). For more on Morris after 1579 see Andrew Ashbee 'Morris, Richard. Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, 1579-1582/3' in A. Ashbee, D. Lasocki, P. Holman, and F. Kisby, eds., *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485-1714, Volumes I & II* (Aldershot, 1998).

meant that little changed within these institutions.[23] The new statutes for the newly ordained cathedrals clearly envisaged a close community of clergy, singingmen, choristers, schoolmasters, almsmen and servants that performed much like the institutions they replaced. The new choir, a select body of singers rather than the older traditional meaning of the gathered body of monastics, religious, or secular clergy, was to be predominantly made up from the minor canons, singingmen, and choristers. These, with the deacon and subdeacon, were to be 'learned and of a good name and Honest Conversation and lastly that they be Men of Judgement in singing'. Gloucester fared slightly better upon their cathedral's foundation in terms of choir. Both institutions' statutes ordained the presence of six minor canons, six lay-singingmen, and one Master of the Choristers. However, Gloucester were to have eight choristers, whilst Bristol were to have six.[24] For both cathedrals, these numbers were fairly typical of smaller cathedral institutions, although Bristol's six choristers made it the smallest cathedral choir in the country.[25] The lack of surviving sources make it difficult to assess the musical provision within each Henrician cathedral, although Bishop Wakeman's 1542 visitation did discover that several of Gloucester's choirmen believed that services were 'not sung canonically' and were hampered by a lack of books.[26]

Musical provision was not a casualty of Henrician reform or the dissolution. Even changes to the official liturgy were largely performed in the traditional manner. A surviving

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[23] For more on the suppression of religious houses within Bristol see J. Bettey, *The Suppression of the Religious Houses in Bristol*. For more within Gloucestershire see G. Baskerville, 'The Dispossessed Religious of Gloucestershire', pp.63-122 and C. Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity*, pp. 48-49.
[24] H. Gee, ed., *The Statutes of Gloucester Cathedral*; BA, DC/A/7/1/3.
[25] See S. Lehmberg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals*, pp. 195 and 199; Dana Marsh, 'Music, Church, and Henry VIII's Reformation' (PhD Thesis, University of Oxford, 2007), pp. 88-92; and Richard Fisher, 'Three English Cathedrals and the Early Reformation: A Cultural Comparison of Hereford, Worcester and Gloucester' (PhD Thesis, University of Bristol, 2018), pp. 239-241; GA, GDR 2, p. 5; GCL, MS 34, p. 52
[26] The early musical provision for Gloucester Cathedral has been assessed by Richard Fisher in 'Three English Cathedrals and the Early Reformation', pp. 239-241; GA, GDR 2, p. 5; GCL, MS 34, pp. 4-7.

breviary from Arlingham, for example, not only contains all the blotting out and corrections to the liturgy required by Henrician order, but also shows evidence that Bishop Latimer had required his diocese's clergy to use a new vernacular text when performing the rite of casting holy water on the faithful.[27] Parishes continued to desire musical provision, particularly around days of liturgical significance, and were able to enhance their musical resources by appointing former skilled monks into their chantries. Music continued to play a vital role within the Henrician Church.

The Edwardian Church I: The Abolition of the Chantries and the Challenges of Continuity

Despite the lack of any official action taken against musical provision within worship, music found itself increasingly under threat under Edward.[28] Church music was not a principal matter of concern in the early stages of reform. However, calls from zealous reformers for its restriction grew throughout the period as reform quickly gathered pace. Whilst the Edwardian Reformation did not directly prohibit choral music, the introduction of a new uniform liturgy and the abolition of many of the foundations and institutions on which music had been traditionally financially dependent upon dramatically reduced music's performance within worship.

One of the first acts ordered following Edward's accession was the abolition of the chantries. This act continued the work instigated within his father's Chantries Act in 1545

[27] The liturgical changes enforced by Henrician ecclesiastical authorities in 1534 and 1535 meant that any reference to the pope and his authority were to be removed from the liturgy. Arlingham's edits to their 1470 breviary show not just the required blotting, but the insertion of a new noted anthem was copied into Arlingham's 1470 breviary with a translation of psalm 51. This may have been ordered to have been used by Bishop Latimer (A. de Mezerac Zanetti, 'Liturgical Developments in England under Henri VIII (1534-1547)' (PhD Thesis, Durham University, 2011), particularly pp. 202-204; the inserted anthem may be found at Salisbury Cathedral Library, MS 152, f. 159v.).

[28] C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, pp. 395-6.

which dissolved a select number of colleges and chantries, dissolving several choirs in turn.[29] The new Chantries Act of 1547 ultimately dispatched most of the remaining collegiate churches, and all guilds and chantries, forcing them to surrender their land and possessions to the Crown. This threatened many careers of professional musicians and jeopardized the capability of parishes to provide musical provision within worship.[30] The commissioners for the county of Gloucestershire, including the versifier of the metrical psalms Thomas Sternhold, surveyed the chantries, colleges, services, fraternities, guilds, free chapels, obits, lights, and lamps by parish in 1548.[31] These certificates and the subsequent episcopal visitations of the diocese of Gloucester, conducted between late May and June 1548 by Bishop Wakeman and in 1551 by Bishop Hooper, may indicate the contrasting musical resources available to parishes such as St. Michael, Gloucester, both before and after their abolition.

Some form of Henrician musical provision can be observed within St. Michael's Edwardian churchwardens' accounts through the consistent small expenditure upon cords for the organs from 1545, although payments for singingmen or pricksong are absent.[32] It was likely that the parish's chantry priests had provided the church with a degree of musical

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[29] A list of colleges and chantries surrendered in the 1540s to Henry is given in A. Kreider, *English Chantries*, pp. 211-213. See also Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*, pp. 12-13 and M. Williamson, 'Liturgical Polyphony in the Pre-Reformation English Parish Church: A Provisional List and Commentary', p. 6.

[30] Only the colleges of Oxford, Cambridge, Eton, Winchester and Windsor (St George's), and the free chapel in Newton, Cambridgeshire were excepted (M. Williamson, 'Liturgical Polyphony in the Pre-Reformation English Parish Church: A Provisional List and Commentary', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 38 (2005), p. 6). See also N. Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church. Vol. I*, p. 13.

[31] The commissioners for the county of Gloucestershire, with the city of Bristol, consisted of: Anthony Hungerford, Walter Bucler, William Sharyngton, and Miles Partridge, knights; Arthur Porter, Richard Tracy and Thomas Throckmorton, esquires; Richard Pates and Thomas Sternhold, gentlemen (J. Maclean, 'Chantry Certificates, Gloucestershire', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 8 (1883), pp. 229-308). For more on Thomas Sternhold see p. 169.

[32] For more on their organs see pp. 219-220.

elaboration prior to their abolition.[33] However, by at least 1551 their musical provision appears to have ceased as their former chantry priests had evidently became curates elsewhere in the city.[34] Whilst the scarcity of regional sources prevent further conclusions, it is likely that many churches throughout the regions suffered from the removal of such funding and forced many churches to abandon their musical practices. However, musical practices were able to continue if both the desire to maintain music and the financial resources were available.

Bristol's Edwardian churchwardens' accounts provide a clear picture that, despite the abolition of the chantries in 1548 and the decline of clerical resources, some parishes made valiant and relatively successful attempts to retain their musical traditions. Parish churches with greater endowments, such as All Saints, Christchurch, and St. Mary Redcliffe, can clearly be seen to have maintained their choir and organs throughout this period, paying numerous stipendiary priests and clerks to replace the chantry priests who had previously

[33] The visitation in 1548 indicates the presence of the rector, William Nelston, the curate Stephan Poole, and two stipendiaries in Hugh Fishepoole and Richard Burnell, although Nelson is unlikely to have been resident (GA, GDR 4, p. 71). Poole was the St. John Service priest at St. Michael from at least 1542, Burnell was the priest for St. Anne Service in the same church from at least 1544 and simultaneously listed as the curate, and Fishepoole was the priest of Our Lady Service in the same church in 1548. Maclean has erroneously ascribed both Our Lady Service and St. John Service, transcribed on pages 254-255, to St. Mary de Crypt (J. Maclean, 'Chantry Certificates, Gloucestershire', pp. 254-255). 'Sir Stevyn Pole' first appears as a witness to the last will and testament of William Stevens, a parishioner of St. Michael in 1542, and similarly appears within those of Thomas Etkyns and Adam Apowell in 1543 and 1545 respectively (GA, GDR R8, 1542/41, 1542/64, 1545/6). Burnell first appears as curate of St. Michael in the last will and testament of John Williams, dated 1544, and also witnessed the same of Thomas Edge in 1545 as a 'pryst therr beyng Curate' (GA, GDR R8, 1544/48, 1545/344). Hugh Fishpoole was likely present by 1544; amongst bequests to various altars and services at St. Michael, he was bequeathed a 'study gowne furred with fox' and 20*s*. in the last will and testament of the city recorder Thomas Lane, dated 1544 (TNA, PROB 11/30/294). It is fair to assume that at least Burnell and Fishepoole had a certain amount of musical proficiency to become minor-canons at the cathedral by 1554 (GA, GDR 16, p.13; GA, GDR R8, 1554/100).

[34] It is also unlikely to be a coincidence that the organs had ceased to be maintained upon their departure. For more on their organs, see pp. 215-222.

supplemented the churches' choirs.[35] All Saints, with their rich musical traditions highlighted by Burgess, were able to maintain a diminished choir. By 1550 the churchwardens were able to maintain a stipendiary priest, a parish clerk, two further lay-clerks, and a sexton. This was all now to be paid out of the church stock, in addition to the parishioners paying their tithes to the vicar from a separate account. Prior to the abolition of the chantries, it was estimated that the parish may have counted on the services of up to ten clerics.[36] The abolition of the chantries saw the confiscation of approximately £52 14*s*. 8*d*. worth of annual rents and, significantly, the loss of the perpetual chantry priests of Holway's Chantry and the Kalendar's Fraternity, besides any resident chantry clergy for smaller terms.[37] Two or three clerks were formerly maintained directly by the churchwardens prior to the chantries' abolition at an average annual sum of between £7 and £8.[38] However, the sudden financial demand additionally thrust upon the churchwardens to maintain a sufficient choir following their abolition saw the sum suddenly rise to between £14 to £15.[39] Meanwhile, the sudden drop in resources may be seen starkly at Christchurch. The chantry priests were formerly paid directly from the churchwardens' accounts, alongside any additional clerks. The difference in wages between 1547 and 1552 is vast. The total wage spent on chantry priests, stipendiary

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[35] This pattern can also be found in London (Anne Heminger, 'Confession Carried Aloft: Music, Religious Identity, and Sacred Space in London, c.1540-1560, Chapter One).
[36] Burgess estimates that there were likely to have been at least three chantry priests present at any one time, with the churchwardens paying for additional parish clerks (C. Burgess, *'The Right Ordering of Souls*, p. 390).
[37] J. Maclean, 'Chantry Certificates, Gloucestershire', pp. 245-247.
[38] In 1542, for example, All Saints paid their stipendiary priest Sir Richard Prince £6 for the year, the clerk Walter Phillipes £1 6*s*. 8*d*. for the year, and clerk John Webley £1 12*s*. 1*d*. for around three quarters of the year, equating to £8 2*s*. 9*d*. on additional stipendiary priests and clerks. In 1550 a stipendiary Sir David was paid £3 for the year, whilst clerk Rafe Dolle was paid £2 13*s*. 4*d*. for the year, clerk John Clarke was paid £4 for the year, clerk John Webley was paid £1 15*s*. for half of the year, and a Simon was paid 10*s*. for one quarter, equating to £11 18*s*. 4*d*. (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a).
[39] The sums spent on the clerks' and sextons' wages by the churchwardens of All Saints between 1532 and 1553 are as follows: £7 13*s*. 10*d*. in 1532; £5 4*s*. in 1533; £7 12*s*. in 1535; £6 12*s*. 6*d*. in 1536; £7 15*s*. 11*d*. in 1537; £6 12*s*. 0*d*. in 1538; £8 7*s*. 5*d*. in 1539; £9 11*s*. 1*d*. in 1542; £14 16*s*. 0*d*. in 1550; £12 16*s*. 8*d*. in 1551; £15 18*s*. 4*d*. in 1552; and £15 3*s*. 4*d*. in 1553 (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a).

priests, and clerks in 1547 was £26 17*s*., whilst the total spent in 1552 was £10 14*s*. 7*d*.[40] These differences may be seen in the averages provided in Table 5.

Table 5. The average wage spent on stipendiary priests and clerks via their churchwardens' accounts (and the proportion spent against overall expenses).

	All Saints	**Christchurch**	**St. Mary Redcliffe**
1530-1546	£6 9*s*. 5*d*. (21.679%)	£23 12*s*. 5*d*. (32.543%)	N/A
1547-1552	£13 2*s*. 10*d*. (46.439%)	£10 14*s*. 7*d*. (37.6%)	£16 7*s*. 7*d*. (48.982%)
1553-1557	£14 18*s*. 3*d*. (50.562%)	£11 18*s*. 7*d*. (31.047%)	£18 3*s*. 5*d*. (42.742%)
1558-1562	£8 15*s*. (35.824%)	£9 15*s*. 2*d*. (32.303%)	£14 19*s*. 7*d*. (33.671%)

This table portrays the expenses involved in attempting to maintain a choir following the abolition of the chantries. Presented here were two different trajectories in churches that continued to maintain choirs. Some parishes were paying more to supplement the loss, whilst some were paying less because of the cut in chantry provision. Interestingly, whilst there was a decline in the numbers within the choir at Christchurch, the average amount spent on their wages was around the same percentage of total expenditure. At Christchurch, at least, the church was prepared to spend a similar proportion of expenditure to maintain their choir after the chantries' abolition, despite the significant loss in income and personnel.

Whilst churches managed to maintain their choirs through employing an increased number of lay-clerks on significantly smaller wages than chantry priests, there was also a general decrease in the numbers maintained capable of singing. Whereas there were, according to Burgess' estimate, around ten clerics supported within All Saints prior to the

[40] BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a.

chantries' abolition, an average of five or six were supported between 1550 and 1553.[41] These figures include offices that were unlikely to have held musical roles within the church, such as the sexton, and so perhaps decreased the number with singing roles from around eight to four or five.[42] Despite these changes, the standard of parochial choirs may have remained relatively high. At All Saints, for example, figures such as John Clarke and John Webley, who would both go on to be lay-singingmen within Bristol Cathedral's choir, both contributed to the parish's choir, whilst the experienced figures of John Austen and Raffe Dolle were well experienced and performed within many of Bristol's parochial choirs throughout their careers.[43]

A similar case may be found at St. Mary Redcliffe following the abolition of the chantries. The church made a valiant effort to maintain their rich musical traditions, despite losing an annual income of around £69 9*s*. 2*d*. and the loss of at least seven musically competent priests and clerks.[44] The churchwardens managed to find the expenses within their own accounts, with almost 50% of their average annual expenditure between 1547 and

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[41] C. Burgess, *'The Right Ordering of Souls*, p. 390; BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a.

[42] All Saints' long serving sexton Roger Pickering, who served from at least 1538 to 1556, was not likely to have performed within the choir. For the duties and roles of clerks and sextons, see John Wickham Legg, ed., *The Clerk's Book of 1549* (London, 1903), pp. xix-xxxvii.

[43] John Clarke was present within All Saints between 1549 and 1551, receiving £4 per annum, and was likely the lay-singingman at the cathedral between 1565 and 1590 being paid £8 per annum. John Webley was present within All Saints between 1535 and 1551, being paid varying amounts between £1 and £3. He was likely to have been lay-singingman at the cathedral in 1565, being paid £6 for three quarters work (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a; BA, DC/A/9/1/2-4). Raffe Dolle was a clerk at Christchurch for a quarter in 1546 and half a year within Christchurch in 1547, getting paid 9*s*. 2*d*. and £1 respectively. He was a clerk at All Saints' between 1549 and 1556, getting paid £3 a year (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a; BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a). For John Austen, see pp. 160-162, 223, 233.

[44] The musical provision supported by St. Mary Redcliffe's chantries may be seen in the ordinances of the Canynges' Chantries, requiring their two priests to be 'well instructed in music'. Two clerks were also supported by the same chantry to be 'competently instructed in singing and reading' (Edith Williams, *The Chantries of William Canynges in St Mary Redcliffe* (Bristol, 1950), pp. 65-67, 260-266). One other priest served Mede's Chantry, with two also serving Eborarde le Frenche's Chantry. It is plausible that the total number of clerics within pre-Reformation St. Mary Redcliffe surpassed the ten posited by Burgess at All Saints (C. Burgess, *'The Right Ordering of Souls*, p. 390). For the chantries' income see J. Maclean, 'Chantry Certificates, Gloucestershire', pp. 238, 244-245).

1552 going towards the provision of additional stipendiary priests and lay-clerks.[45] By 1549 the churchwardens were paying an annual stipend to four figures: William Wilkins, Harry Wether, John Smythe and George Foster. Of these, Smythe was simply a sexton and was being paid the miserly yearly wage of 3*s*. 4*d*. 'for kepyn of the bells & the over syght of them'; his involvement within the choir is unlikely. Wether was the parish clerk, paid 52*s*. for his year's wages and an additional 6*s*. 8*d*. 'for kepyn of the Cloke'. Wether's possible involvement with the church's choir is unclear, as his role as a parish clerk could have seen him involved within the choir in some capacity. George Forster may have been involved in some musical capacity.[46] William Wilkins involvement within the choir, however, is almost incontestable. He was likely to have been the Canynges Clerk originally stipulated to participate within St. Mary Redcliffe's choir in 1467.[47] He received £4 6*s*. 8*d*. for his year's wages in 1548, a sum he continued to receive annually until 1556, but first appears in the church's records in 1534, holding a tenement in Redcliffe Street out of Canynges' Chantries.[48] His tenement and the annual sum of £4 6*s*. 8*d*., the same stipend that the Canynges clerk was to receive from the churchwardens in the aforementioned covenant between the parish and William Canynges in 1467, is not a coincidence. The churchwardens were now supporting Wilkins to fulfil the same role, despite the confiscation of his source of

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[45] See Table 5 , p. 132.

[46] George Foster was paid 25*s*. for serving 'from hallhallon tyde to howr lady In the lente'. His presence may indicate additional musical resources for this period (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a, p. 9).

[47] For the ordinances of Canynges' chantries and their musical requisites, see Edith Williams, *The Chantries of William Canynges in St Mary Redcliffe* (Bristol, 1950), pp. 65-67, 260-266.

[48] William Wilkins was renting a tenement within 'Redclyff Strete & the Markett place' for 13*s*. 4*d*. in 1534. It is possible that he was in employment by the church by then and renting his tenement within 'the abbey' that he would hold on to throughout his tenure. Wilkins was paid the annual stipend of £4 6*s*. 8*d*. in at least 1549, 1552, 1553, 1554, and 1556 (BA, P. St MR/ChW/1/a). Whilst he was succeeded by John Austen in 1557, he appears to have lived until 1563, where he was buried in St. Mary Redcliffe on 22 May 1563 (BA, P.St MR/R/1/1). His death is confirmed by the absence of his previous regular annual rent paid for his tenement and cellar within 'the abbey' on Recliffe Street within 1564's churchwardens' accounts (E. Williams, *The Chantries of William Canynges in St Mary Redcliffe*, p. 241; BA, P. St MR/ChW/1/a).

funding. It is also worth stating that an unidentified curate would also have been present and may have been able to offer their services to aid the choir.[49] Nevertheless, the evidence shows that some churches continued to maintain dissolved chantry priests on at full pay after the dissolution to retain their musical services.

The desire for continuity was clear, not only in terms of musical provision, but for the lifestyle of the clerks themselves. At St. Mary Redcliffe the clerks' lives would have seemed little different to before the abolition of chantries. All the stipendiary clerics maintained by the church were living within either the 'College' upon the adjacent Redcliffe Hill or 'the Abbey' on the adjacent Redcliffe Street. William Wilkins occupied 'the great tenement in the Abbey' between at least 1548 and 1565, whilst the others lived in the 'College', previously the College of the chaplains of William Canynges adjacent to the south side of the churchyard.[50] In 1549 the tenements were still listed as being occupied by the two former chantry priests, Sir John Bradley and Sir William Mosely, although their chambers are listed as 'voyde the hole yere'. It is likely that they left for other clerical roles and residences

[49] St. Mary Redcliffe's curates were never lawfully due any tithes or glebe relating the cure as it was a perpetual curacy of Bedminster. However, it is likely that the curate received some form of tithes or wage from the parishioners; the incumbent ministers' stipends are never recorded within the churchwardens' accounts. For more on Bristol's clerical income and tithes see M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy: Bristol and the Reformation c.1530-c.1570* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 93-121. The last known curate of St. Mary Redcliffe is John Ingman between 1540 and 1543 (G. Baskerville, 'The Dispossessed Religious of Gloucestershire', *Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 49 (1927), p. 97).

[50] It is likely that this 'Abbey' referred to either the chambers on the north side of the church, now used as a vestry, or some adjacent buildings; this was possibly the same tenement that he was previously renting from Canynges' Chantries in 1534 (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a; E. Williams, *The Chantries of William Canynges in St Mary Redcliffe*, p. 241).It was about halfway along what is now Colston Parade, in the space that is now occupied by Fry's House of Mercy. According to the 15th century topographer William Wyrcestre, the college was then around 150 steps to the east of the halls of residence of the said chaplains. These chambers for the chaplains were on the very southwest corner of the churchyard, on the road of Redcliffe Hill. From these chambers to the other side of the road, and to the chambers occupied by the masons who reputedly built the church, was around 40 steps. This house of Canynges' priests was reportedly 19 or 20 yards in length, had four bay windows of freestone and consisted of four rooms for the priests (James Dallaway, *Antiquities of Bristow in the Middle Centuries* (Bristol, 1834), pp. 64, 72; translated in Frances Neale, ed., *William Worcestre: The Topography of Medieval Bristol* (Bristol, 2000), pp. 61, 75).

following the dissolution of their positions. Following the chantries' abolition, these tenements were then reserved for the clerks and singingmen. Although St. Mary Redcliffe was never incorporated as a collegiate church, the whole choir of clergy held common services together, often lived together, and were evidently known as the 'college'.[51] This encouraged sober living amongst the clerics and ensured a perpetually resident ministry in the church. The churchwardens evidently wished to maintain such form of collegiate life for their clerics. This may have simply been utilising the church's current resources, or were reluctant to change tradition. However, the movement of musicians and clerics into these tenements was more likely an attempt to ensure a resident and perpetually available body of clerics and musicians that maintained a sober standard of living during an experimental period of integrating traditional musical performances within worship and a new liturgy.

The Edwardian Church II: Musical Practices

For those parishes that wished to maintain their choirs, and had the financially capability to do so, there was no real indication of what they should sing. The oft-cited letter of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer to Henry VIII on musical reform in 1544 simultaneously demonstrated his support of music in the liturgy and expressed his own preferences for musical reform. Referring to a new form of chant, rather than polyphony, Cranmer believed that 'the song that shall be made thereunto would not be full of notes, but, as near as may be, for every syllable a note'.[52] As the highest religious authority in England and one of the

[51] Thompson describes a similar situation in Grantham (A. Hamilton Thompson, *The Historical Growth of the English Parish* (Cambridge, 1911), p. 24).
[52] Most of the content in the letter from Cranmer to Henry VIII, dated 7 October 1544, is transcribed within P. Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*, p. 7; N. Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church. Vol. I*, p. 12; Hyun-Ah Kim, *Humanism and the Reform of Sacred Music in Early Modern England: John Merbecke the Orator and The Booke of Common Praier Noted (1550)* (Aldershot, 2008), p. 118.

primary architects of the *Book of Common Prayer*, his own support for music is important. Although Cranmer's beliefs were never official policy, extant examples of contemporary polyphony and certain local injunctions and articles show that Cranmer's instinct to restrict the melismatic nature of late-medieval music and his desire for syllabic music were prevalent throughout Edward's reign.[53]

The change of language into the vernacular and the new principles for clearer composition allowed the laity to hear and understand the texts. Prior to the introduction of the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1549, singing in worship was just as relatively experimental as the liturgy. The Mass at the opening of the new session of Parliament on 4 November 1547 saw the Gloria, Creed, Sanctus, Benedictus, and Agnus Dei sung in English, whilst the first official liturgical change came in 1548 with the publication of *The Order of the Communion*.[54] The introduction of the *Book of Common Prayer* ordered that 'all things shall be read and sung in the church in the English tongue, to the end that the congregation may be thereby edified', although this did not extend to universities, Royal Peculiars, or private worship.[55] Heminger has demonstrated the response of churchwardens in London to this reform, showing that at least some parishes were incorporating some vernacular music into worship in the first couple of years of Edward's reign. Examining Bristol's accounts, Heminger concludes that Bristol's parishes were musically inclined but slowly adopted Edward's

[53] The injunctions received by the Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral in April 1548 and those issued by Richard Holgate, the Archbishop of York, to his diocese in 1552 are two examples that reflect Cranmer's belief for plain and distinct syllabic music, so that the text remained unobscured. For more see A. Heminger, 'Confession Carried Aloft: Music, Religious Identity, and Sacred Space in London, c.1540-1560', pp. 33-36.
[54] Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England During the Reigns of the Tudors, from A.D. 1485 to 1569*, W. Hamilton, ed. (London, 1875), p. 187; Brian Cummings, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford, 2011), p. xxv; A. Heminger, 'Confession Carried Aloft: Music, Religious Identity, and Sacred Space in London, c.1540-1560', p. 36.
[55] H. Benham, 'Latin Church Music under Edward VI', *The Musical Times*, 116/1587 (1975), pp. 477-480.

liturgical reforms, stating that only one of the five churches with extant records within this period adopted the 1549 prayer book promptly.[56] The fragmentary nature of Bristol and Gloucestershire's accounts leaves us unable to draw such absolute conclusions, with only All Saints and St. Mary Redcliffe having surviving accounts for 1549. A similar conclusion was also reached upon the 1552 prayer book, although their purchase is evident within every church with extant accounts except St. Mary Redcliffe.

As previously examined, many of Bristol's churches continued to maintain choirs throughout Edward's reign at a greater expense to the churchwardens' budgets. Other than direct payments to clerks and singingmen, and occasional payments to maintain their organs, details into further musical provision are scarce. Between 1549 and 1550 St. Werburgh paid 6*s*. 8*d*. to the parish clerk, Edward Walker, 'for iij bokes For the quyer'.[57] These books were bought before their purchase of two 'gylt salteres & a homeles & ij bokes off sarves' for 8*s*. 8*d*., and so are unlikely to have been John Marbecke's plainsong *Booke of Common Praier Noted*, or any other music based around the new liturgy in the *Book of Common Prayer*.[58] The continued presence of polyphony is also indicated within St. Mary Redcliffe through their payment of 12*d*. in 1547 'for paper to prick songes out'.[59] In 1552 St. Nicholas similarly paid 6*s*. 8*d*. for 'iiij bokes For the quyere'.[60] The frequent purchase of

[56] A. Heminger, 'Confession Carried Aloft: Music, Religious Identity, and Sacred Space in London, c.1540-1560', pp. 330-335.
[57] BA, P.St W/ChW/3/a, unpaginated.
[58] Marbecke's *Booke of Common Praier Noted* was published in 1550 and provided musical settings for matins, evensong, the communion service, the Creed, and the burial services within the *Book of Common Prayer*. Several London parishes, such as St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, have been noted to have purchased copies of this work (N. Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*. *Vol. I*, pp. 15-16; P. Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*, p. 22; C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, p. 400). For more on Marbecke and his publication see H. Kim, *Humanism and the Reform of Sacred Music in Early Modern England: John Merbecke the Orator and The Booke of Common Praier Noted (1550)* (Aldershot, 2008).
[59] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a.
[60] Atchley, "St. Nicholas, Bristol,", p. 61.

musical books alongside service books indicates that they were providing musical embellishment to the new services with either settings or anthems. Heminger has also posited that there was a continuation of traditional choral psalm practices, albeit now in English, throughout London's parochial choirs.[61] This practice may have existed within Bristol and Gloucestershire, although the quantities of psalters purchased are nowhere near the significant numbers bought within some of London's churches that may indicate choral provision.[62] At St. Michael, Gloucester, for example, the 'boke of the communyon and iiij psalter bokes' were bought in 1548 for 10*s*. 6*d*., whilst 'A Salter booke' was bought in 1549 alongside the *Book of Common Prayer* and other unnamed 'bokes' for a total of 21*s*. 8*d*.[63] These volumes of early psalters may be evidence for a continuation of psalm singing practices, although without specific details it is impossible to determine if the psalms were said, sung in adapted plainsong by the clerk, or chanted by the choir.

Polyphony was certainly still being practised, in Bristol at least. However, given the nature of the sources, it is almost impossible to identify practices. The most solid indication of performing repertoire comes within Christchurch's remarkably small payment of 4*d*. to

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[61] Whilst the *Book of Common Prayer* does not indicate that the psalms should be sung, the purchase of English psalters specifically for three of London's parochial choirs, the purchase of numerous volumes of psalters within many churches, and the existence of service manuals designed to help parish clerks navigate and administer the new services (A. Heminger, 'Confession Carried Aloft: Music, Religious Identity, and Sacred Space in London, c.1540-1560', pp. 37-42).

[62] In addition to the two psalters bought at St. Werburgh's in 1549, All Saints' paid 4*s*. for two books of psalms in 1550, whilst St. Ewen's paid exactly the same in 1552 for two of their own 'psalter bookes' (BA, P.St W/ChW/3/a, unpaginated; BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a; BA, P.St E/ChW/1). Heminger states that St. Sepulchre without Newgate bought 14 psalters in 1549 alone, whilst St. Stephen Walbrook purchased 18 throughout Edward's reign (A. Heminger, 'Confession Carried Aloft: Music, Religious Identity, and Sacred Space in London, c.1540-1560', p. 41).

[63] The 'boke of the communyon' bought in 1548 is likely *The Order of the Communion*. The 'booke of the Communyon' bought in 1549 for 10*s*. was likely the *Book of Common* Prayer. The remaining 11*s*. 8*d*. was paid 'for bokes' (GA, P154/14/CW/1/3-4).

John Coke, 'the organ pleyer', in 1552 'for a boke called christus Resurgens'.[64] The book itself was likely referred to as such by the accounts' author as this would have been the first item on the first folio. Christus resurgens was the responsory sung before Latin Matins, when the cross was raised from the Easter Sepulchre, after Lauds and Vespers daily during Easter week, and before Mass and after Vespers on every Sunday from Easter Day to the Sunday before the Feast of the Ascension. It was a highlight and the culmination of Holy Week's ceremonies. The 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* retained the liturgy in vernacular, 'Christ, rising again', and was still sung as a processional anthem at the beginning of the Easter Matins service, whilst the 1552 edition moved it from the eliminated sepulchre ceremony and replaced the Venite.[65] As the preface to the 1549 edition had forbidden the use of Latin within regular public worship, it is possible that the work was a contrafacta, a composition that originally contained Latin text. This may have been a direct translation from an older composition of *Christus resurgens* into the vernacular, or a newly applied text to the pre-existing work. A surviving example may be Tallis' *Christ rising again*.[66] Christchurch's setting may also be a newly composed anthem that was either labelled with the original Latin title, similar to two of the settings within the Wanley Partbooks, or that the individual writing the accounts simply knew the old text better.[67] The low amount could indicate that the book

[64] BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated.
[65] Ryan Olsen, 'Christ Rising Again: Context, Function, and Analysis of an English Anthem' (PhD Thesis, Arizona State University, 2010), pp. 33-34.
[66] Le Huray suggested that Tallis' setting was likely composed prior to 1553 and posited that it may have been an English contrafacta anthem (P. Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549*-1660, p. 196). Peter Phillips thought it more likely that it was composed between 1570 and 1580 (P. Phillips, *English Sacred Music: 1549-1649* (Oxford, 1991), p. 38). See also R. Olsen, 'Christ Rising Again: Context, Function, and Analysis of an English Anthem', pp. 37-38, 65, 109.
[67] Two of the three settings of *Christus resurgens*, or *Christ rising again*, within the Wanley Partbooks retain the Latin title and are based on the Sarum chant (R. Olsen, 'Christ Rising Again: Context, Function, and Analysis of an English Anthem' (PhD thesis, Arizona State University, 2010), p. 90).

was intended for waste, particularly pertinent as Christchurch's accounts for this year are bound within a fragment of a Latin antiphonal, as shown in Figure 6.[68]

Figure 6. Fragment of Antiphonal now Binding Christchurch's 1552 Churchwardens' Accounts.[69]

[68] The fragment itself appears to be taken from Vespers on the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a).

[69] BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated.

Another possibility, given the fact that it was the purchase of a single book and bought by the organist, was that it was an organ book. In this case language was irrelevant, with the organ perhaps supporting and performing in alternatim with a diminished choir, or even providing the only means of polyphonic embellishment in their absence.[70]

It is impossible to detail exactly what Bristol's choirs were singing, although it is possible to observe that there was a change in pattern in regard to payments to the choir. Instead of receiving annual stipends, many singingmen were instead receiving payments for short periods of time or certain occasions by 1552. At Christchurch, it had become more customary to paying clerks' wages for shorter periods by 1552.[71] Whilst they appear to have attempted to maintain annual provision, turnover was high and certain occasions were prioritised for additional polyphony. That year, for example, the much-increased number of eleven clerks and singingmen were paid for shorter periods than the former annual stipends of three chantry priests and two clerks prior to 1547.[72] It is possible to estimate that there

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[70] John Harper acknowledges that a clerk playing the organ may have been the sole form of polyphonic embellishment following the loss of chantries and comparable endowments to support choirs (J. Harper, 'Alternatim performance of English pre-Reformation liturgical music for organ and voices composed c.1500-60' in D. Smith, ed., *Aspects of Early English Keyboard Music before c.1630* (London, 2019), p. 73; J. Harper, 'Continuity, Discontinuity, Fragments and Connections: The Organ in Church, c.1500-1640', p. 216).

[71] Christchurch paid their chantry priests directly from the churchwardens' accounts. In 1547 the parish paid Robert Fortser (chaplain of Grelle's service) Walter Jennings (chaplain of Katherine Jones' service) the annual stipends of £6 and £7 respectively. Thomas Perpyne (chaplain to Aloff & Lechez's Chantries) was paid £5 17*s*. 8*d*. for just under a year's service. The annual stipend of £5 also paid to John Lylle, later described as the organist. The clerks Raffe Dolle and Robert Clerke both received half a year's wage of £1 each (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated).

[72] Of the eleven clerks to be paid in 1552, only John Lewys and Walter Phillippes were paid £2 and £1 6*s*. 8*d*. respectively for the whole year. Nicholas Taylor 'the base' was paid 26*s*. for one quarter, whilst his replacement John Allys 'the base' was paid 30*s*. for the remaining three quarters. A Master Pynchyn was paid 50*s*. for three quarters service and it seems likely that his replacement was John Coke 'the organ pleyer', who received 11*s*. 4*d*. for a quarter. William Sadler was paid 30*s*. for three quarters wages, with Christopher Stackepoll and 'Jamys Taylers boye' receiving 6*s*. 8*d*. and 3*s*. 4*d*. respectively for a month's wages. Thomas Richardes was paid 5*s*. for the even shorter period 'for Syngyng in the quere for viij wekes', with 'A Strange Syngyng man' also receiving a solitary 4*d*. Interestingly, the bass Nicholas Taylor, that was replaced after only a quarter earlier in the year, also returned for eight weeks, receiving 9*s*. 'for Syngyng in the quere', suggesting that there may have been two basses present within the choir for at least eight weeks of the year (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated).

was a core group of four clerks supported at Christchurch throughout the year in 1552, excluding the minister and sexton, but an increased number were brought in specifically to bolster forces to sonically commemorate particular times of the liturgical calendar. This can be particularly seen through the payment of 8*d*. that year to John Lylle 'for playing on the organs on Chrystmas day'.[73] This can also be seen elsewhere in Bristol.[74] Whilst the churchwardens' irregular payments may demonstrate the difficulties in a church providing a choir following the abolition of the chantries and the sudden loss of musically skilled priests, many found ways to maintain them, particularly to continue the desired sonic ceremony that traditionally surrounded holidays of particular significance.

Little can be said of the two Cathedrals in this period due to the paucity of the surviving sources. Bishop Wakeman's 1548 episcopal visitation found little musically amiss at Gloucester, although the minor-canon Roger Tilar was presented on several accounts, including altering the form and order at the consecration of the eucharist.[75] Nevertheless, the early-Edwardian cathedral largely appears to have conformed with the mandated

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[73] BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a.

[74] All Saints' depleted number of clerks were paid an additional 12*d*. 'on twelff day' in what appears to have been a traditional annual festivity of carol singing (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a). For more on Christmas festivities in Bristol, see pp. 180-181.

[75] The cathedral was found to have been missing a bookcase and some of the almsmen were not performing their duties. Prebendary John Huntley and fellow minor-canons Walter Jones and Thomas Hendon presented that Tilar had changed the form and order at the consecration of the eucharist by his own rash authority. Singingman Edward Swallowe similarly reports Tilar's alterations, also implicating another minor-canon, John Cutler. Another singingman, James Braffett, reported that rumours were publicly circulating surrounding Tilar, suggesting that he lived incontinently with a Margaret Perkins (Roger Tilar was encouraged to remove the cause of suspicion and ill-fame under pain of expulsion and ordered to observe all order, mode, and form regarding the consecration of the eucharist (GA, GDR 4, pp. 3-20). The presentment made by St. Katherine's churchwardens at the same visitation was not likely to aid his reputation. They reported 'that one Elisabethe Chamber had of lat ij childerne and she saieth that one Sir roger tilar is the right father of the same childern' (GA, GDR 4, p. 23). Fisher pondered whether the portrait of Tilar painted by the evidence presented against him, as a non-celibate priest that perhaps preferred commemoration over sacrifice in the Mass, made him the cathedral's first exponent of the new religion (R. Fisher, 'Three English Cathedrals and the Early Reformation: A Cultural Comparison of Hereford, Worcester and Gloucester', p. 242).

reform. The promotion of ardent reformer John Hooper to the bishopric in 1552 may have progressed the pace of reform within the cathedral. However, unlike neighbourly Worcester Cathedral who were also under Hooper's jurisdiction, several idolatrous and superstitious paintings, altars, and screens, managed to survive undefaced, despite Hooper's orders.[76] Gloucester had managed to avoid the same level of destructive reforming zeal apparent within Worcester and thereby may have avoided some of the zealous scorn that musical provision, and particularly the organ, experienced within Worcester.

The fate of a church's choral provision throughout this period was determined by the financial capability, desire, and proactivity of a minister or the parishioners. Despite the sudden financial and physical debilitation of resources caused by the abolition of the chantries, and the lack of instruction from ecclesiastical officials following the introduction of the *Book of Common Prayer*, music could be retained to varying extents if the resources and desire were present. For many, music may have helped the transition from experiencing the Latin liturgy to the new forms of worship. Conversely, churches with a particularly zealous minister and a prior history of advocacy for reform saw this as the opportune moment to abolish all the musical elements they may have considered to be closely related to popish. Furthermore, it was much easier for parishes without great resources, or an established musical reputation, to abandon any musical elements previously practiced.

[76] R. Fisher, 'Three English Cathedrals and the Early Reformation: A Cultural Comparison of Hereford, Worcester and Gloucester', p. 244. The order concerning the removal of superstitious and idolatrous fabric in Hooper's Injunctions for Gloucester and Worcester dioceses can be found in W. Frere and W. Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions. Volume II: 1536-1557* (London, 1910), pp. 283-285.

The Marian Church: Musical Revival?

The soundscape of parish churches had become incredibly varied by Edward's death in 1553 and the reaffiliation with Catholicism and Rome under Mary was marked with varying degrees of enthusiasm and opposition.[77] The effect of the reintroduction of Catholicism upon the soundscape of worship appears immediately within most churches. At the most obvious level, services were once again to be sung in Latin, requiring churches to obtain a variety of Latin books to perform these services.[78]

The only two surviving churchwardens' accounts within the Diocese of Gloucester, from St. Michael and Minchinhampton, demonstrate complete conformity to the re-adoption of Latin liturgy. St. Michael even went further than conforming and purchased books beyond the necessary liturgical requirements. The churchwardens' accounts provide a list of books that were bought for the church between 1553 and 1554. They bought 'one hole anthiphoner in parchmente for the hole yere' for £1 13*s*. 4*d*., 'an other anthephaner in paper for the hole yere of large volume' for £1 6*s*. 8*d*., 'an anthephaner in paper nother for the halff yere' for £1, 'A masse boke in parcamente large volume' for £1, 'two grayles in parcement' for 9*s*. and 6*s*., 'a processinall in parcemente' for 5*s*., and 'an other processinall in paper' for 3*s*. 4*d*., 'a manuell in paper with notys' for 3*s*. 4*d*., and 'an hymner in paper

[77] Many parishes responded enthusiastically to the Catholic revival, providing material well above the required minimum (Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400-c.1580* (New Haven, 1992), p. 547; R. Hutton, 'The Local Impact of the Tudor Reformations', in C. Haigh, ed., *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 114-38. See also pp. 50-55.
[78] Following Mary's accession to the throne, The First Statute of Repeal was passed in the first parliament of 1553 and repealed all the ecclesiastical legislation made under Edward and, from 20 December 1553, restored the legislation that was in place in 1547, the final year of Henry VIII's reign.

notyd' for 3*s*.[79] It is clear that at least two of these books were 'noted', including music, whilst the antiphoner, graduals, and processionals are by their very nature noted.[80] The two large Antiphoners were likely purchased back from scrap, and may have even been the printed edition of *Antiphonale ad Usum Ecclesie Sarum* of 1519 and 1520 that was issued in two volumes and covered almost the entire plainsong repertory required to perform the daily cycle of Offices over the year.[81] Whilst no evidence for a Marian edition survives, the speed of such purchases suggests that these Latin texts were being brought out again after having been squirrelled away.[82] The Antiphoners were physically substantial volumes in folio that were often placed on reading desks on the north and south sides of choir stalls, their size being necessary for several singers to be able read from them at once. This would suggest that St. Michael had a choral group of around four to six singers. In addition to this evidence, following several years of apparent disuse, the organ was repaired.[83] Choral provision was provided for from at least 1553, although no payments for singingmen or musicians are evident within the accounts. Minchinhampton's first surviving churchwardens' accounts, between Christmas Day 1554 and the same in 1555, similarly demonstrate the presence of a musical aspect within worship, albeit more modest.[84]

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[79] The parchment volumes may have been manuscript, perhaps existing volumes held back from before 1549. Some of the paper volumes are likely to be printed. The half year antiphoner may be one of the 1519 or 1520 prints (GA, P154/14/CW/1/7).
[80] The clarification of the noted manual and hymnal separates them from editions without notation.
[81] For more on *Antiphonale ad Usum Ecclesie Sarum* see M. Williamson, 'Affordable Splendour: Editing, Printing and Marketing the Sarum Antiphoner (1519-20)', *Renaissance Studies*, 26/1 (2012), pp. 60-87.
[82] M. Williamson, 'Affordable Splendour', p. 84; E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 543-55. Prominent parishioners of St. Michael had originally bought various Catholic items off of the churchwardens in 1550, some of which were bought back by the churchwardens in 1553 (see C. Litzenberger, 'St. Michael's, Gloucester, 1540-80', pp. 244-245).
[83] The repairs to St. Michael's organ are also discussed within the following chapter, see pp. 226-227.
[84] An antiphoner was purchased for 16*s*. 4*d*., with 'to bokyes' also purchased for 2*s*. 6*d*. from the curate 'Sir Roger', whilst 12*d*. was spent between 1555 and 1556 for mending the organs (GA, P217/CW/2/1, unpaginated).

Gloucester's Marian bishop, James Brooks, clearly envisaged a return of late-medieval musical practices. Some of the laity that were formerly clerks and singingmen within the diocese, however, appear to have withheld themselves from performing upon the return of the Catholic liturgy. In his 1556 injunctions for the diocese, he ordered that

> the churchwardens of every parish, where service was accustomed to be sung, shall exhort all such as can sing in the choir in the time of the schism, or before, and now withdraw themselves from the choir, to exercise themselves in singing and serving God there.[85]

The limitations of St. Michael, Gloucester, and Minchinhampton's accounts mean that it is unclear how either parish found the resources for performing such music, particularly after the abolition of their chantries. However, St. Michael evidently found it necessary to replace their clerk to help with the return of this musical aspect of worship. In 1554 Lewis Craker, parish clerk from at least 1546, was replaced by John Wele, whose involvement within the musical aspect of worship can be seen in his work on the organs throughout his two to three-year tenure.[86] However, he had evidently left by 1556, the same year as the death of the incumbent minister, 'Sir Morgan', and Craker reappears as parish clerk between 1557 and 1558.[87] At Minchinhampton, it is also not clear who played the organs or was singing,

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[85] W. Frere and W. Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions. Volume II*, p. 405.
[86] In 1554 John Wele was given 4*d*. ''in Ernest to be our clerke' (GA, P154/14/CW/1/8). Craker may have left due to some personal affiliation with the outgoing incumbent Nicholas Oldisworth, or due to conflicting opinions to those of the new incumbent or liturgy; it is possible that he was one of the individuals that Bishop Brooks had targeted. It is also possible that Lewis Craker was a relative of the bricklayer, Thomas Croker, that was burned at Gloucester in 1556 for heresy. This may, in part, indicate his sudden presence back at church, although this is entirely speculation (John Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe: A New and Complete Edition*, VIII, Stephen Cattley, ed., pp. 144-145).
[87] GA, P154/14/CW/1/9-10.

other than the incumbent priest, and it is possible that the organs were providing the sole source of polyphony.[88]

Many of Bristol's parishes continued to maintain choirs and swiftly embraced the return of the Catholic liturgy. As Table 5 shows, the average wages for the choirs of All Saints, Christchurch, and St. Mary Redcliffe during this period remained constant, even increasing slightly. Many of Bristol's churches appear to have welcomed the liturgical change and swiftly provided their ministerial and musical resources with a vast array of Catholic liturgical material. For example, All Saints' churchwardens managed to purchase 'a Masse bowke A grayell And A Nantifoner' for 40*s*., 'A Sawte bowke And the Byndyng' for 6*s*. 4*d*., another 'nantifynar for the quiar' for 6*s*. 8*d*. and 'A nother Boke for the Serve the quier' for 10*s*., and 2*s*. 'for a Boke for to Serve In the quiar' in 1553. An additional mass book was also bought in 1556 for 5*s*. 4*d*. There was a clear demand for additional polyphony in 1556, for 2*s*. was also paid 'for iiij pryksong bokes'.[89] This demand was similarly evident within Christchurch and St. Mary Redcliffe.[90] This level of acquisition by far surpassed even the most musically robust parishes within London during the same period, including St. Mary at

[88] Richard Rysley appears to have been clerk, getting paid annually for watching the sepulchre and for keeping the clock, although no reference to him singing or playing the organs remain.
[89] BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a.
[90] In 1553 Christchurch purchased a particularly expensive mass book for £2 6*s*. 8*d*. and an anthiphoner for 3*s*. 4*d*. The churchwardens also paid 8*d*. 'For the pryckyng of iiij pryckesowne bockys' (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, ff. 84r.-89r.). It was not until 1554 that the churchwardens were able to complete their liturgical and musical provision, paying 6*s*. 'for ij processionars of parchement', £3 'for ij antiphoners of parchement', 5*s*. 8*d*. 'for ij processioners of paper prynted', £1 5*s*. 'For a legand & a manuall and ij hymnalls', and a further 10*s*. was spent on repairing and binding a Gradual. They also paid a further 20*d*. 'for v pricksonge bookes' in 1555 and 3*s*. 4*d*. 'for v prickesonge bookes' in 1556 (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, ff. 94r., 97r.). An inventory was taken in 1555 and listed the books present as: three antiphoners of parchment, an invitatory book, two graduals (one of parchment, one of paper), three printed hymnals of paper, a manual, a legends of paper, two processionals of paper, two processionals of parchment, two psalters, and two mass books - one of parchment and one of paper (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, ff. 84r.-89r.). At St. Mary Redcliffe the churchwardens also speedily procured 'A grayell At St James feyar for the quiar' for 8*s*., 'iiij boukes of prycksong' for 4*s*., and a manual and 'A peace of A nantifynner' for 2*s*. 4*d*. in 1554 (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a, pp. 65-67).

Hill.[91] From the payments of singingmen to the provision of musical books, it is clear that many of Bristol's churches desired both to provide and maintain choral embellishment within liturgy; music was considered a central experience to worship. The level of enthusiasm in providing the liturgical resources above the canonically required liturgy would also suggest a desire for the return of traditional religion.

However, many churches were unable to provide similar levels of musical provision following the abolition of chantries. The smaller parish of St. Ewen, Bristol, may indicate such, for there is no evidence of any extraordinary payments towards clerks' wages, additional liturgical books, pricksong, or the maintenance of organs. There was a hint of musical embellishment, however, with the sum of 1*s*. 4*d*. paid 'for bindinge of one of the quire bookes', although the choir referred to here may refer to a traditional body of priests and clerks, rather than a musical choir.[92]

For several churches, children were also present within the choirs, indicated through the payments for surplices or for their additional service at processions. For example, Christchurch paid 9*d*. 'for the makynge of iij surplesses of the olde surplesses for the children' in 1555. Three more were also made in 1557 'for the children'. Two children were paid 2*d*. annually between 1556 and 1558 for bearing the candlesticks on Corpus Christi. Christchurch also gave 2*s*. 'to the synginge childerne in rewarde upon new yeres daye'. It is likely that Harry Reynolds, a clerk at Christchurch that was paid the substantial annual wage

[91] A. Heminger, 'Confession Carried Aloft: Music, Religious Identity, and Sacred Space in London, c.1540-1560, p. 324.

[92] The churchwardens of St. Ewen purchased a processional for 2*s*. and a manual for 3*s*. 4*d*. in 1554. Their comparatively low value indicates a small practical use. It is likely that other material was purchased the previous year; the year's accounts are unfortunately missing. Only the parson and one clerk are evident within the church's accounts (BA, P.St E/ChW/1, pp. 11-14).

of £6 13*s*. 4*d*. from 1554, was organist and master of the choristers throughout this period.[93] Children were also present at St. James and St. Mary Redcliffe.[94]

Whilst the same number of clerks and singingmen were maintained within Bristol's Marian parochial choirs as under Edward, this was still a diminished number compared to the resources available to the late-medieval churches. This would corroborate conclusions that the available financial resources, significantly diminished by the abolition of the chantries, restricted churches from achieving their late-medieval musical provision.[95] The available evidence in Bristol, however, is contrary to Heminger's conclusion that the financial outlay on polyphonic music amounted to less than it had under Edward.[96] Choir numbers appear to have been maintained, the acquisition of a full range of liturgical books appears to have been relatively swift and enthusiastic in many parishes, and there is a clear increase in the pricking of new polyphony. However, such enthusiasm was not all-encompassing. The lack of musical purchases from parishes such as St. Werburgh, like the parishes of St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street and St. Benet Gracechurch in London, may be seen as indicative of a protesting and reluctant parish.[97] St. Werburgh was likely one of the city's most reformed

[93] Reynolds took over from the organists John Coke and John Lylle in 1554. He only fulfilled part of the year in 1558, which prompted the church to pay fellow clerks Thomas Deken and William Phillippes 'for kepyng the quiere & the organs' (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a).
[94] The churchwardens of St. James paid 4*d*. to four children to bear the candlesticks at Corpus Christi between 1554 and 1558 (BA, P.St J/ChW/1/a). The churchwardens of St. Mary Redcliffe paid 1*d*. to two children for bearing of candlesticks from 1554 (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a, p. 66).
[95] J. Harper, 'Liturgy and Music through the Decades of Change, c.1550-c.1690', p. 26; N. Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church. Vol. I*, p. 27.
[96] A. Heminger, 'Confession Carried Aloft: Music, Religious Identity, and Sacred Space in London, c.1540-1560', p. 63.
[97] For St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street and St. Benet Gracechurch see A. Heminger, 'Confession Carried Aloft: Music, Religious Identity, and Sacred Space in London, c.1540-1560', pp. 73-75.

parishes by 1553.[98] It would not be surprising, therefore, that the lack of any payments towards additional musical provision and minimal provision towards the return to Catholicism, indicate a form of protest or reluctance to return to the old religion.[99]

Bristol's parochial choirs continued to largely consist of four clerks, with additional resources pulled in to cater for the continued desire to provide additional musical provision on days of particular significance. This would have perhaps enabled six-part polyphony on major feast days, such as Christmas. For example, All Saints consistently paid an extra singingman at Christmas.[100] They also paid 16*d*. 'to the Clarkes for the Syngyng of the Carrelles' in 1553, whilst 12*d*. was 'geven amongst the clarkyes att crystmas' in 1554. This tradition evidently consisted of performing carols at night on Christmas Day, for the sum of 4*d*. in 1555 was paid 'on Chrystmasse day at nyght to the clarkes for syngynge of the Carolles'.[101] This traditional genre of music and their largely vernacular text may have been used to assimilate a community and bridge religious divides.[102] Sonic para-ceremonialism was also present upon the return of the traditional procession on Corpus Christi, for Christchurch paid 8*d*. for 'wyne to the Quere uppon corpis christi daye' in 1554.[103] St. Mary Redcliffe also provided similar musical provision upon Corpus Christi in 1544, although it was All Saints' choir that provided it; the churchwardens paid 6*d*. 'for too make the quiar And Syngynmen of hallhallons for the bryngyng home of the pressechyng [procession] For too

[98] St. Werburgh's Edwardian minister was the reformer Christopher Pacy from 1544; Pacy was either deprived or resigned in 1554, returning in 1560. A number of reform-minded secular elite lived within the parish (M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, pp. 116, 184, 275).
[99] BA, P.St W/ChW/3/a, ff. 13v.-20r.
[100] In 1554 All Saints' churchwardens paid 5*s*. 'to a syngyngman at crystmas', 12*d*. was paid 'for a Singingman at Christmas' in 1555, 4*d*. was paid 'to the poore man that singith in the quyre' at Christmas in 1556
[101] BA, P.St E/ChW/1.
[102] A. Heminger, 'Confession Carried Aloft: Music, Religious Identity, and Sacred Space in London, c.1540-1560', pp. 154-215; 328.
[103] BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, f. 87r.

drincke'.[104] Additional musical provision was provided at All Saints in 1555 for the presence of the bishop and on All Saints' Day. The following year 4*d*. was also paid 'to the clarkes for syngynge th Antem on All hallon eve'.[105] Christchurch paid for additional resources for a period around St. James' Day; 4*d*. was spent 'uppon them that helpe the quere at St Jamyes weke' in 1557 and 1*s*. 6*d*. was spent upon the organist John Coke and the choir 'at St Jamystyd' in 1558.[106] This provision was perhaps to sonically highlight the presence of St. James' Fair in Bristol, an annual fair held over 15 days that commenced on the feast day of St. James within St. James' churchyard and surrounding area.[107] As a prominent central church within the city, they may have wished to impress the throngs of visitors with their church and their musical provision. It is clear that it was the churchwardens who ordered additional musical provision, at times in Christchurch at least. In 1556, 4*d*. was paid to 'A poore synging man on easter daye at the Comandement of the procter'. The traditional breakfast for the priests and clerks at Easter, first observable at Christchurch in 1544, was once again also observed from 1555. The choristers also appear to have been rewarded for their services over Easter at the same time, as the annual payment in 1557 is for 'A breakefast upon easter mondaye for the clarkes & synginge children'.[108] The clear demand for the sonic embellishment for these occasions appears to have even necessitated calling upon the musical skill of the city's waits. In 1557 All Saints made a payment to 'the wayttes upon all halon day' rather than to the clerks, despite the clerks apparently still being at their

[104] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a, p. 66.
[105] In 1555 All Saints' churchwardens paid 2*s*. 'to the Clarckes for Singing to the bishope' and 8*d*. 'to the Clarkes on all hallandaye' (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a).
[106] BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a.
[107] For more on St. James' Fair, see J. Bettey, *St James's Fair, Bristol, 1137-1837* (Bristol, 2014).
[108] BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a.

regular number.[109] This would suggest that either the waits themselves were called upon to bolster forces, that some of the clerks and musicians were waits themselves, or that the author of the accounts conflated the two different bodies of musicians.[110]

It is again difficult to examine the musical provision within the two cathedrals due to a lack of surviving evidence. It is only possible to say that, at Gloucester at least, whilst two minor-canons were deprived for marriage, many were now ex-religious or former chantry priests.[111] This is relatively unsurprising as it was necessary for them to have at least known the required chants. Musical provision was therefore maintained by those churches affluent enough to afford it and which either welcomed the return of the Catholic liturgy or at the very least wished to conform. Those parishes that maintained Edwardian choirs managed to continue their provision, often enthusiastically purchasing extraordinary Catholic liturgy to perform. However, musical provision was not as prosperous as before the abolition of the chantries and the confiscation of a primary source of financially funding musical provision. Practices of musical elaboration could also vary from elaborate choirs to a sole clerk playing the organ. The Catholic 'revival' under Mary was largely unable to revive the musical practices that were widespread under her father.

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[109] BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a.

[110] For more on waits working as parish clerks see pp. 245-246. For more on waits' presence within churches, see pp. 289-293.

[111] At least four of the six minor-canons in 1554 were ex-religious or former chantry priests. Richard Ambrose *alias* Boiden was a monk at Winchcombe at the dissolution in 1539 and the final incumbent of the Rood Service in 1548 (see pp. 127-128). Roger Phygeon was formerly a member of the Bristol Austins (G. Baskerville, 'The Dispossessed Religious of Gloucestershire', *Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 49 (1927), p. 97). Henry Francombe was formerly a brother of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Gloucester, at its suppression in 1534 (May Ellis, 'The Bridges of Gloucester and the Hospital between the Bridges, *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 51 (1929), p. 202). Richard Burnell was the St. Anne's Service priest at St. Michael. Roger Stiche and Walter Jones' history is unknown.

Early-Elizabethan Choral Provision: Initial Continued Maintenance

The fate of parochial choirs within Elizabethan England has hitherto largely been depicted as an image of decay and destruction with a few pockets of continuing musical provision.[112] Whilst many parishes initially supported a small choir accompanied by an organ within the first years of Elizabeth's reign, many attempts to maintain them had been abandoned by 1580. Smith found that many of the payments to singingmen had ceased in or shortly after 1570 in cities such as London, Exeter, Oxford, and York.[113] However, there are examples of continued practice throughout Elizabeth's reign in both urban and rural parishes.[114] These examples have led to a more optimistic revision within contemporary historiography. Willis suggests that, whilst not enough evidence exists to suggest that parochial choirs were the norm, there is enough to suggest that more survived than previously thought, and that they were not confined to either the capital or urban areas.[115] Many early-Elizabethan churches sought to combine existing musical traditions with the new vernacular liturgy. The Elizabethan dioceses of Bristol and Gloucester differed greatly in their provision of singing. Whilst both dioceses witnessed the rapid dispersion of metrical psalmody early in Elizabeth's reign, evidence suggests that Bristol maintained a greater amount of choral polyphony than Gloucester. Whilst there is no evidence of a maintained choir in any of the diocese of Gloucester's Elizabethan churchwardens' accounts, Bristol's choirs that had been maintained

[112] E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 465.
[113] A. Smith, 'The Practice of Music in English Cathedrals and Churches, and at the Court, During the Reign of Elizabeth I' (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1967), pp. 265-267.
[114] For example, the rural parish of Hartland in Devon purchased partbooks for their singers between 1598 and 1599. An excellent summation on the fate of choral provision in post-reformation England is given in C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, pp. 400-403; N. Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church. Vol. I*, p. 51; J. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England*, pp. 103-131.
[115] J. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England*, chapter. 3.

throughout Edward and Mary's reigns continued to be supported early within Elizabeth's reign.[116]

Elizabeth had made a deliberate intervention to prevent zealous deans, bishops, and ministers from removing established choirs from churches within her initial set of Royal Injunctions in 1559. The 49th article states:

> Item, because in divers collegiate and also some parish churches heretofore there hath been livings appointed for the maintenance of men and children to use singing in the church, by means whereof the laudable science of music hath been had in estimation, and preserved in knowledge; the Queen's majesty neither meaning in any wise the decay of anything that might conveniently tend to the use and continuance of the said science, neither to have the same in any part so abused in the Church that thereby the Common Prayer should be the worse understanded of the hearers, willeth and commandeth that first no alteration be made of such assignments of living, as heretofore hath been appointed to the use of singing or music in the Church, but that the same so remain. And that there 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 understanded, 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 Common Prayers, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn, or such- like song, to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of

[116] Whilst there is no evidence of the maintenance of choirs, there is evidence for a continuation in the provision of organs, suggesting some musical embellishment. See pp. 228-250.

> melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be understanded and perceived.[117]

This injunction enabled the immediate security of many parochial choirs and the choirs that had been maintained throughout Edwardian and Marian Bristol continued to be supported early within Elizabeth's reign in much the same vein that they were previously accustomed. The churches of All Saints, Christchurch, and St. Mary Redcliffe all continued to maintain four regular clerks on an annual stipend with additional payments made to singingmen to fill in on occasions where they were short, or to further embellish days of particular significance. As can be seen in Table 5, these payments did start to decline, however, particularly after 1560.

There is little evidence to show that any church provided their choirs with music to accompany the new vernacular liturgy, certainly not to the levels seen at the reintroduction of the Latin liturgy. All Saints immediately bought two copies of the required *Book of Common Prayer* in 1559 for 8*s*., accompanied with three psalter books for 5*s*. 4*d*. They also bought 'two other Bokes with notes' for 4*s*. and two books of psalms 'in meter' for 20*d*.[118] Christchurch bought four psalters for 6*s*. 8*d*. at the same time as their *Book of Common Prayer* in 1559. Two more 'bokes of the salmyes' were bought for 4*s*. in 1559, and a further 2*s*. 2*d*. was paid in 1561 'for a salter Booke for the quyre'.[119] Although the *Book of Common Prayer* and injunctions were promptly bought by the churchwardens of St. Mary Redcliffe in 1559, it appears that the churchwardens did not provide any further materials for the

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[117] W. Frere and W. Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions. Volume III: 1559-1575*, pp. 10-11.
[118] BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a
[119] The churchwardens paid 2*s*. 8*d*. for two psalters and 2*s*. for the other in 1559 (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a).

choir.[120] St. John bought an unnamed 'fowre yngleshe bowkes' for 8*s*. 8*d*. in 1559, whilst St. Thomas bought three books of psalms for 6*s*. and bound two psalter books for 8*d*.[121] Whilst the metrical psalms will be dealt with later, the vast quantity of psalters provided to the churches may suggest that there was a return to chanted psalmody and improvised farburden for the choirs that were maintained within early-Elizabethan Bristol. With only the two 'Bokes with notes' purchased at All Saints to provide any potential evidence of composed polyphony, it is impossible to say whether English anthems and services returned. However, given the continued musical resources maintained by the churches, their performance seems likely, particularly on days of liturgical significance.[122]

The desire to provide additional musical embellishment and sonically mark dates of particular importance remained. All Saints' choir were still performing their traditional carols on Christmas day, being awarded with a bottle of wine in 1559.[123] Christchurch's choir continued to be rewarded with their breakfast at Easter until 1563.[124] Lent in 1559 also apparently required additional assistance at Christchurch, with the churchwardens paying 8*d*. 'For expenses uppon serten syngyng men in the lent'.[125] However, this may have simply coincided with the departure of organist Harry Reynolds, and additional resources were needed to fill the desired musical aspect of worship.

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[120] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a, pp. 155-158.
[121] BA, P.St JB/ChW/1/a; BA, P.St T/ChW/3.
[122] If present the anthems and services would most likely have been in the style of the Edwardian Wanley and Lumley partbooks. Afterall, some of the music performed under Edward may have been hidden away and the pricking of new music may often have been performed without charge.
[123] BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a.
[124] At Christchurch, the payment of 5*s*. was made 'For a Breakefaste to the quere at Ester' in 1559, 6*s*. was paid 'for a Brekfaste tot he prest & Clarkes at Ester' in 1560, and 7*s*. 4*d*. was paid in 1563 'for brekfast to those that do use singing in the churche' (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated).
[125] BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated.

At least at St. Mary Redcliffe, choristers were still part of the soundscape. In 1560 two surplices were also made for 6*d*. 'For too of the Chylldren that Dothe Syng in the quiar'.[126] That year, John Austen was also paid the customary 6*s*. 8*d*. for the rent of his tenement within the 'College' besides his annual wage of £6. The clerks and singingmen within the church continued to live together within the 'College' adjacent to the church. The two chambers formerly belonging to Canynges' Chantry priests were worth 6*s*. 8*d*. and were filled with ministers, clerks, and singingmen of the church following the abolition of the chantries. These annual rents were paid for by the churchwardens from at least 1551, being paid 'toward [their] servyce the which was Agred by the parryshe'.[127] This agreement was never specified, although the payment in 1559 details that the 6*s*. 8*d*. was 'For John Awstens howse For the techeyng of chylldern For to hellpe the quiar'.[128] This payment has seen Smith fairly classify Austen as the Master of the Choristers at St. Mary Redcliffe.[129] These were likely part of his duties as parish clerk.[130] For around four years, choirs had been able to continue relatively undisturbed. They had been maintained through the church's stock, with occasional help from particularly keen parishioners. In 1560, for example, the churchwardens of St. Mary Redcliffe received 2*s*. 8*d*. from parishioner David Mathew

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[126] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a, p. 155

[127] Quote taken from payment of 6*s*. 8*d*. to the clerk Thomas Rolles upon his entry into the church's service in 1552 (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a, p. 47).

[128] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a, p. 155.

[129] A. Smith, 'The Practice of Music in English Cathedrals and Churches, and at the Court, During the Reign of Elizabeth I' (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1967), p. 417. Skeeters defines his role and status as unclear (M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, p. 154).

[130] John Austen was likely Canynges' Chantry clerk in 1548, being paid the annual wage of £6 (E. Williams, *The Chantries of William Canynges in St Mary Redcliffe*, p. 252). He was parish clerk at All Saints by at least 1552, getting an annual £4 wage from the churchwardens. His high wage and presence amongst the church's clerks and singingmen likely signifies his presence there as master of the choristers and organist there (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a). Austen worked at St. Mary Redcliffe as parish clerk between 1556 and 1560 (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a).

'towarde the Menteyng of the Servyce In the Churche'.[131] However, as reforming ideas built momentum within Elizabethan Bristol, these practices were not to last.

Early-Elizabethan Reform: the Rise of Calvinism and the Decline of Parochial Choirs

Elizabeth had found it necessary to defend the choral presence within worship due to the ideals of reformed worship that were being promulgated and led through the returning Marian exiles. Many of them, having now experienced reformed continental worship, wished to implement such reforms within the English Church. One criticism high on their agenda was built on those highlighted by early reformers; music within worship required drastic reform. The restoration and promotion of Marian exiles within early-Elizabethan Bristol had direct consequences on parochial musical provision. More radical reformers generally rejected the notion of a select few individuals who monopolised music within worship, obscuring and distracting the congregation from the Scripture, and restricting popular participation.[132] Among the requests made by the reforming party at the 1562 convocation was 'that all curious singing and playing of the organs may be removed'.[133] When the matter came before the house in the form of six articles, the sixth simply stated 'That the use of organs be removed'.[134] Whilst these articles were marginally voted down, these beliefs were evidently still implemented within the parishes influenced and controlled by these reformers. This is particularly evident upon Arthur Saule's appointment as parson within St. Mary Redcliffe in 1559.

[131] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a, p. 154.
[132] C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, p. 402. For more on the reformers' arguments against singing and organs, see also Margaret Aston, *Broken Idols of the Reformation* (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 488-542.
[133] J. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, Vol. I, Part I., p. 500.
[134] J. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, Vol. I, Part I., pp. 502-3.

By 1561 the choir at St. Mary Redcliffe had suddenly started to be dissolved. In 1560 the choir consisted of four members. Thomas Wright, John Austen's replacement as the organist and master of choristers, was paid Austen's previous wage of £6 for his year's wages between 1560 and 1561. Thomas Longe, described as the parish clerk, was paid £3 for his year's wages. John Coke, an experienced organist and musician throughout Bristol, and Thomas Sholl were paid £2 16*s*. 8*d*. and £1 5*s*. respectively for half a year's wages each. The long-serving clerk Harry Wethers was also paid £2 for the whole year. However, by 1562 only the parish clerk Thomas Longe and Harry Wethers remained.[135] Within two years the expenditure on clerks and sextons was suddenly reduced from an annual sum of over £16 to around £7. These actions coincide with Saule's presentation to the prebend of Bedminster and Redcliffe at Salisbury Cathedral on 2 November 1559 and was installed by January 1560.[136] This made him the patron of Bedminster, and therefore also the patron of its chapels, St. Mary Redcliffe and St. Thomas within Bristol. Saule, whose own views on 'curious singing' and organs are made clear within the 1562/3 convocation when he voted for their abolition within worship, took an active interest in the church's reform and appointed himself parson. He attended at least one vestry meeting in person, signing the churchwardens' accounts as 'parson' in 1563, and appointing reform-minded curates to ensure the church's conformity.[137]

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[135] Wright served for only half of the following year, coinciding with the departure of fellow singingmen John Cook and Thomas Sholl between 1560 and 1561 (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a, p. 198).
[136] See also pp. 95-100.
[137] For more on Saule's influence over St. Mary Redcliffe, see 'Agents of Change, pp. 95-100.

By 1565, Saule had appointed John Northbrooke as curate.[138] Northbrooke's personal views upon music within worship are made abundantly clear within his printed *A treatise wherein dicing, dauncing, vaine playes or enterluds with other idle pastimes etc. commonly used on the Sabboth day, are reproved by the authoritie of the word of God and auntient writers* (1577). His views appear to, unsurprisingly, align with Saule's. On the topic of music within worship, he first warned that music should not become the whole sum of worship, saying that the papists 'almost everywhere think that they have fullye worshipped God when they have long and much sung and piped'. Secondly, he warned that merit or remission of sins should not be placed within music. Thirdly, that it should not use up so much time in worship that preaching may not occur; 'Whereby it commeth to passe, that the people depart out of the Church full of Musicke and harmonie, but yet hungerbaned and fasting, as touching heavenly foode and doctrine'. Fourthly, 'that rich & large stipends be not so appointed for Musitians, that eyther very little, or in a maner nothing is provided for the ministers which labour in the worde of God'. Fifthly, music that is 'broken and quavering' should not be used, where the listeners may not understand the words. Finally, only those things contained within the scriptures, 'or which are by just reason gathered out of them', and completely agree with the word of God may be sung. Northbrooke concludes 'that godly, and religious songs may be retayned in the Church', even though no such precept is given within the New Testament. However, if any Church does not use music on such cause,

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[138] This relationship can be seen through John Northbroke's signature at the end of each year's churchwardens' accounts. Whilst Arthur Saule signs his own name as 'parson' in 1564, the accounts between 1565 and 1572 are signed by John Northrboke 'clericum Deputatum Arthuri Saull Rectoris et prebendary de Bedmester et Redclyff' [clerk, deputy of Arthur Saul, rector and prebendary of Bedminster and Redcliffe] (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a) .

they may not be condemned. Nor may those churches condemn others that do use it for the same cause. Northbrooke finishes by considering

> that if we shall perceyve, that christian people doe runne unto the Churche, as to a Stage playe, where they may be delighted with pyping and singing (and doe thereby absent themselves from hearing the worde of God preached) in this case we must rather abstaine from a thing not necessarie, than to suffer their pleasures to be cockered with the destruction of their soules'.[139]

Northbrooke therefore occupied the quintessential Calvinist position. Music was a powerful tool and capable to move spirits, but should only be used carefully; it must not obscure or inhibit the word of God and preaching. He did not go as far to say that music should not be present within worship, criticising the position of Bullinger and the Zwinglian Church, but considered it inessential. It was better to have no music whatsoever, than to risk the laity's immortality. Given that lay immorality was inevitable, this was a de facto call for abolition.

Northbrooke was a prominent figure throughout early-Elizabethan Bristol, described as 'a learned preacher who did much good in this city' by Bristol's chronicler Adams.[140] Having first appeared as curate and preacher at St. Mary Redcliffe in 1564, a position he served until 1574, he also assisted at St. Ewen, who were lacking an ordained priest.[141] During this period he became a renowned reforming figure throughout the region, allegedly

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[139] J. Northbrooke, *A Treatise Wherein Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine playes or Enterluds with other idle pastimes, etc., commonly used on the Sabboth day, are Reproved* (London, 1577), pp. 113-114.
[140] Adams incorrectly states that Northbroke had died in the great plague of 1574; this was simply the year that Northbroke departed for Henbury (F. Fox and E. Salisbury, eds., *Adams's Chronicle of Bristol, 1623* (Bristol, 1910), p. 114).
[141] He was paid 5*s*. 4*d*. 'for ministringe the Comunion at tymes necessarie this lady quarter' in 1569; similar annual payments continue until at least 1572 (BA, P.St E/ChW/2).

joining fellow reformer Christopher Pacy in preaching that Christ did not descend to hell, and openly criticising the conservative Bishop Cheyney alongside the visiting Calvinist preacher John Calfhill in 1568.[142] He left his incumbency at St. Mary Redcliffe for the position of minor-canon in Bristol Cathedral between 1573 and 1576, continuing to preach throughout the city during this period.[143] He became vicar of Henbury in 1576, a parish just outside of the city, after which his influence within the city seems to have declined.[144] He evidently held great influence throughout early-Elizabethan Bristol and was the local clergy's representative to the convocation in 1571, in which they drew up the Thirty-Nine Articles in the Church of England, to which clergymen had to subscribe to after 1571.[145] Calvinist beliefs

[142] Northbrooke later published a work defending himself from allegations surrounding his denial of this article of the creed (J. Northbrooke, *Spiritus est Vicarius Christi in Terra: A Breefe and Pithie Summe of the Christian Faith, Made in Fourme of Confession, with a Confutation of the Papistes Objections and Argumentes in Sundry Pointes of Religion, Repugnant to the Christian Faith* (London, 1571). Northbrooke and Calfhill had disagreed with Bishop Cheyney over free will and the eucharist; Cheyney was accused of preaching against Calvin, in support of free will, preaching for caution when interpreting and using the Scriptures, and defending the Queen's position on adiaphora (M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, pp. 134-138). For more on the 'Decensus Controversy' and the conflict between puritans and conformists, see Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 192-193; P. Marshall, 'The Reformation of Hell? Protestant and Catholic Infernalisms in England, c.1560-1640', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 61/2 (2010), pp. 279-298.
[143] Between 1573 and 1576 Northbrooke was paid the annual salary of £10 for the office (BA, DC/A/9/4). Northbrooke can be seen to have preached regularly at Christchurch between 1574 and 1578, receiving half a year's wages from Christchurch between 1564 and 1565, and then receiving the full annual stipend of £13 6*s*. 8*d*. between 1565 and 1567 for 'reding the lectures' (BA, P. Xch/ChW/1/a).
[144] Northbrooke does not appear to have received any fees for any preaching within the parishes' surviving records and was certainly resident in Henbury by 1579, at the time of writing his last will and testament. For more on Northbrooke see M. Skeeters, 'John Northbrooke (fl. 1567–1589)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004). However, Skeeters claims that it is unknown if Northbrooke married and had children, although the St. Mary Redcliffe registers demonstrate otherwise. He appears was married to a 'Joane Northbrooke wife to John Northrbooke clerke', who died of the plague in 1565, and was buried on 22 August. He married Agatha Hichins on 6 September 1565. He lost two daughters to the plague in 1565, burying Joane and Elizabeth on 22 September 1565. His son, Christopher, was baptised on 17 November 1566 and his daughter, Mary, was baptised on 20 December 1567 (BA, St.MR/R/1/1&2). Agatha was clearly still alive by the time he made his last will and testament, with her and their two children each receiving an equal third of his goods. John is also stated by Skeeters as living until 1589, although his last will and testament was proved on 7 April 1578 (TNA, PROB 11/60/191).
[145] M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, p. 137.

were applied strictly within Saule and Northbrooke's St. Mary Redcliffe and the fate of their choral provision ultimately came down to the distribution of their finances.

Finances and inflation have been cited as a significant factor in the decline of parochial choirs and the disappearance of organs; this was certainly a consideration within Elizabethan Bristol.[146] By 1565 a clerical survey demonstrated that only four of the city's fifteen rectories and vicarages had an incumbent by reason of the poverty of their fruits.[147] Many curates, including those within St. Mary Redcliffe, were directly paid from a separate account, an 'Easter book', leaving no trace within the churchwardens' accounts. However, some churches, such as All Saints and Christchurch, collated this income within their churchwardens' accounts and paid their curates from them. In some churches, the collections made in the Easter Book were occasionally not enough to cover the minister's stipend and they required subsidising from the churchwardens' accounts. This is what suddenly occurred at St. Mary Redcliffe when the preachers John Eaton and John Northbrooke were appointed curates.

Issues surrounding the curate of St. Mary Redcliffe's stipend started between 1561 and 1562, when the churchwardens' accounts were charged 7*s*. 10*d*. 'more then the Estar Bouk is able to levy for the payment of the curat'.[148] However, the introduction of a more educated minister and preacher in Eaton between 1563 and 1564 clearly demanded a much larger stipend, for £13 4*s*. 2*d*. was required out of the churchwardens' accounts to pay 'more than Estars boke is able to levy for the paimentes of the curat and Precher'.[149] This

[146] P. Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*, pp. 39-40.
[147] M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, pp. 93-94.
[148] A payment of 3*s*. 1*d*. was recorded for the same purpose in 1563 (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a, p. 218).
[149] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a, p. 237.

additional charge became a regular expenditure for many years following. It becomes clear that Northbrooke's stipend was the total sum of £20 in 1566, with an additional customary 6*s*. 8*d*. for the sermon on Good Friday and the allowance of £1 annually for his house rent, when he was paid £4 'ov<u>er</u> & above his wages of xx£ in consideraci<u>o</u>n he shall s<u>e</u>rve the p<u>ar</u>ishe iiij yeres'.[150] Northbrooke's wage fell in 1573, perhaps due to a reduction of duties related to education within the church. That year the parish founded The Free Grammar and Writing School of Queen Elizabeth at the church, for which Northbrooke was a governor, and started to pay a schoolmaster's stipend.[151] A similar process of repurposing the choir's stipends towards the minister and preaching can also be observed in Christchurch.[152] The financial resources traditionally allocated towards musical provision had been redirected towards the Calvinist tenets of preaching and education.

However, this does not immediately appear to have been the case at All Saints. By 1563, All Saints' choir had diminished from around four men to one, leaving Richard Houseman as the sole clerk. He was also the parish's reader.[153] Houseman, however, initially

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[150] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a, p. 284.
[151] Northbrooke was paid the sum of £12 'for his yeares wages' in 1573. He also had his wages reduced the following year; in 1574 he was paid £9 for three quarters, at the rate of £12 a year, and £2 10*s*. for the other quarter, at the rate of £10 a year. It is unlikely to be a coincidence that these falls in stipends correspond to the foundation of the school. The school received its charter on 30 June 1571 and was set up within the Chapel of the Holy Spirit in the churchyard. It was to have a master and an usher and twelve governors who were to buy lands, maintain the school, appoint the masters and make the school's statutes, with the mayor's approval. Northbrooke was made one of the governors (Jean Vanes, *Education and Apprenticeship in Sixteenth-Century Bristol* (Bristol, 1982), pp. 15-16). The total cost for the purchasing of lands and constructing this school in 1571 was £121 6*s*., whilst the sum of £9 7*s*. 1*d*. was spent on building the school's porch in 1572. In 1574, £2 10*s*. was paid to 'M<u>aste</u>r Charelles the Skoole master For his quart<u>er</u>s dewtie dewe at Mychaelmas last at x£ the yere'. The schoolmaster's stipend would be subsequently paid directly by the school (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a).
[152] By 1562 the former choir of around four members was reduced to a solitary parish clerk. They were replaced by an unnamed priest, likely the former reform-minded minister of St. Michael, Gloucester, John Walworth, earning an annual stipend of £20. This stipend was later raised again to £25 when another reforming minister, John Eaton, was appointed one quarter into 1564 (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated).
[153] Richard Houseman was licensed as reader on 3 September 1561 (BA, EP/J/1/5, p. 266; see M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy: Bristol and the Reformation c.1530-c.1570* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 173-174). He was formerly a singingman at Christchurch between 1557 and 1560, before moving to All Saints'.

did not see much of an increase with his wages despite the cuts to singingmen. His wages were increased from £2 to £2 13*s*. 8*d*. in 1561 following his licensing as reader. Another rise did not occur until 1566, where his stipend rises to £7 as a response to his ordination.[154] Unlike the other two parishes, the money saved by All Saints through disbanding their choir did not go towards providing a greater stipend for their minister. Perhaps the ultimate aim for disbanding their choir was to be able to provide a greater stipend to a preaching minister, although the infirmity of their rector, Robert Rowe, ultimately necessitated their parish clerk to perform the services of a reader.[155] The additional money appears to have eventually made its way into the minister's hands with the arrival of William Hastyln in 1568 granted an annual augmentation of £4 to his living.[156]

Calvinist theology had become prevalent throughout the city between 1564 and 1578, inspired by influential ministers such as Pacy, Saule, and Northbrooke. The effects of the promulgation of Calvinist beliefs on music within worship is observable throughout Bristol. Contrary to the protection of musical livings within Elizabeth's 1559 Royal Injunctions, the reason for the choirs' demise is clear within Northbrooke's treatise: musicians' stipends were not to detract or deprive stipends to ministers, and more importantly, preachers. The dominance of Calvinist theology within early-Elizabethan Bristol, in particular, had led to a pretty pessimistic picture of music within worship.

[154] Richard Houseman was ordered by the consistory court on 2 December 1564 to procure letters of ordination to continue in his office at All Saints' (BA, EP/J/1/6, p. 93; M. Skeeters, *Community and* Clergy, pp. 173-174).
[155] Robert Rowe was likely rector of All Saints since 1556. He health seems to have deteriorated by 1561, necessitating Richard Houseman to act as his reader (M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, pp. 189).
[156] In 1568 the churchwardens of All Saints, Bristol, paid £4 'to Master Haslinges vyker of all Saintes at Sundry tymes in money by the order of the holl parrishners'; this augmentation lasted throughout William Hastlyn's incumbency. When John Knight became vicar in 1594 this annual augmentation was raised to £6 (BA, P. AS/ChW/3/a; for Hastlyn see M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, p. 172).

The Rise and Dissemination of Metrical Psalmody, c.1558-1603: Popularity and Enforcement

As one form of singing within worship ended for many, a new and inclusive form grew in popularity and practice. The return of the Marian exiles and their promotion to many of the higher ecclesiastical offices throughout England led to the inclusion of metrical psalms within forms of worship. The origins of the English metrical psalters came from Henry VIII and Edward VI's royal servant Thomas Sternhold, a man supposedly born in Awre, Gloucestershire, who later became a commissioner within the city and diocese.[157] Sternhold's psalms were intended for private courtly performance. However, influenced by Reformed models on the continent, Marian exiles quickly adopted them to be the central act during worship within the English communities, despite not being part of the formal liturgy.[158] The return of an exile to a position of power and influence over an institution often led to the introduction of metrical psalmody within their community. Metrical psalmody was the largest musical success story of post-reformation England. Ian Green has calculated the vast numbers of editions of the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* that were published in England.[159] Despite the practice never being dictated within the Church's order of prayer,

[157] A page within the parish register has claimed that Thomas Sternhold lived in an estate near Blakeney in the tithing of Awre, although others have attributed his birth and upbringing to have been in Hampshire. The prevalence of the Sternhold family name within nearby Lydney and other areas within the Forest of Dean and his later appointments as a commissioner within Gloucester and Master of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Gloucester, lends credence to his Gloucestershire heritage (Herbert Byard, 'A Sternhold and Hopkins Puzzle', *The Musical Quarterly*, 56/2 (1970), pp. 221-229; J. Maclean, 'Thomas Sternhold', *Notes and Queries*, s5-VII (1877), p. 476; GA, P30/IN/1/1, p. 30).
[158] For a detailed look at the development of metrical psalmody, both in their completion and their growth within the exiled communities, see T. Duguid, *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice: English 'Singing Psalms' and Scottish 'Psalm Buiks', c.1547-1640* (Abingdon, 2014), particularly pp. 13-48. See also N. Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church. Vol I*, pp. 22-38 and Rebecca Rush, 'Authority and Attribution in the Sternhold and Hopkins Psalter', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 38/1 (2015), pp. 57-81.
[159] Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 503-50.

congregational psalm-singing was clearly supported by further reform-minded circles and eventually went on to become widely practiced throughout England.[160] The first recorded performance of such congregational psalmody in England was at St. Antholin, London, on 21 September 1559, where morning prayer began 'after Geneve fassyon', noting that 'men and women all do syng, and boys'.[161] Performances within Bristol could not have been far behind.

As previously highlighted, many of those parishes in Bristol that attempted to maintain their parochial choirs early in Elizabeth's reign purchased multiple copies and version of psalters in 1559. Many of these churches appear to have provided for both forms of musical provision. It is often difficult to differentiate between the required canonical book of psalms, in prose, and their metrical counterparts. For example, between 1558 and 1559 the churchwardens of All Saints, Bristol, paid 4*s*. 4*d*. for 'two Sauter Bokes' and 20*d*. for 'two bokes of Sames in meter', whilst St. Michael, Gloucester, only paid 14*d*. 'for a psalter boke' within the same year.[162] It is likely that a reference to a psalter book refers simply to the required canonical psalms, whilst the metrical counterparts would usually be labelled more specifically as such. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify that All Saints were one of Bristol's parishes that attempted to provide for both forms of singing. Between 1558 and 1560 All Saints purchased two 'Bokes with notes', the aforementioned two 'Sauter Bokes' and two 'bokes of Sames in meter', and another 'sawtor' for 12*d*. This was followed up with the purchase of a further 'iij bookes of salmes' in 1560 for 5*s*. 1*d*. and a further 'ij sawters' in

[160] J. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England*, p. 122.
[161] Machyn, Henry., *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, from AD 1550 to AD 1563*, ed., John Gough Nichols (London, 1848), p. 212.
[162] BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a; GA, P154/14/CW/1/11.

1561 for 4*s*. 8*d*. No further books were bought for the choir. However, 'ij Bokes of the whole salmes in myter and prose' were bought for 6*s*. 8*d*. in 1565, 4*s*. was paid 'for 4 singinge Bokes' in 1568, and 3*s*. was paid in 1570 'for a boke of salmes for the churche'.[163] Between 1558 and 1570, All Saints had purchased 13 psalters. Of these, at least four were in metre and at least ten were intended to be sung in some form.

Christchurch similarly appears to have provided for both forms of singing, paying 8*d*. 'for iiij processionalls' and a further total of 6*s*. 8*d*. for three 'sawters' in 1559. This was followed by the further purchases of two more 'bokes of the salmyes' for 4*s*. in 1560, 'a salter Booke for the quyre' in 1561 for 2*s*. 2*d*., 'a spalmes booke' for 2*s*. 8*d*. in 1563, and 'a boke of the holle sallmes' for 2*s*. 4*d*. in 1564. An inventory made in 1565 included 'fower salteres bokyes two in myter & of the salmyes'. Of the eight psalters bought by Christchurch between 1558 and 1564, only four remained in 1565, with two listed as being metrical.[164] It is difficult to distinguish which of those psalters were metrical, although it is likely that the psalter bought in 1564 was a copy of John Day's *The Whole Book of Psalmes, Collected into English meter* (first published in 1562).[165] At St. Thomas, the churchwardens similarly purchased '3 books of psalms' for 6*s*. and bound two more psalters between 1559 and 1560. These multiple purchases of psalters within parishes indicate their provision for the minister and clerks within the choir. This early impetus may also be seen through Willis' research. Many early-Elizabethan parishes had bought numerous metrical psalters, suggesting that provision was being made for more than just the minister and parish clerk.[166] The presence

[163] BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a.
[164] BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a.
[165] In 1569 Christchurch also paid a further 7*s*. 4*d*. 'for a Booke of commen prayer the salter & salmes in meter' (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated).
[166] J. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England*, pp. 125-126.

of choirs within these churches may indicate not only a mixture of practices, but an amalgamation. Choirs may have attempted to sing these psalms in a traditional manner, perhaps incorporating improvised farburden and it is possible that written harmonisations to the metrical psalm tunes were performed by the choir. Evidence from the Lumley and Wanley partbooks may even indicate that the Edwardian versions of Sternhold and Hopkins' psalm tunes were harmonised, whilst there were at least three versions of harmonised metrical psalters printed in the 1560s.[167] Choirs, as literate and musically capable individuals, may have been the only ones initially singing these psalms. They may have been performed as a choral work in the traditional manner or with the ambition to help parishioners learn metrical psalmody.[168]

At St. Mary Redcliffe, metrical psalmody was not resourced until the induction of Arthur Saule. The *Book of Common Prayer* and injunctions were purchased in 1559, although no further liturgical or musical provision occurs within subsequent accounts. The choir were likely practicing traditional forms of musical provision, probably in the mandated vernacular, much as they had done under Edward. It was only in 1561 that the churchwardens purchased 'a bouk of Gallmes in miter' for 2*s*. and 'another bouke in miter' for 15*d*., coinciding with Saule's physical presence within the church and his instant zeal in reforming the church's landscape and soundscape of worship. The choir was soon abolished, and

[167] For the possible harmonisation of Edwardian metrical psalms, see Robin Leaver, *'Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes' English and Dutch Metrical Psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove 1535-1566* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 121-125. John Day printed the first four-part psalter in 1562 and a four- and three-part version in 1565. Archbishop Matthew Parker is also believed to have printed his four-part versions of nine psalms in the 1560s (T. Duguid, *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice*, pp. 192-193).
[168] John Craig suggests that there it is possible for psalm singing in some smaller and more rural parishes to have been confined to the minister, parish clerk, and a few musically inclined and literate parishioners (J. Craig, 'Soundscapes of worship in early modern English Parish Churches', unpublished paper). Choirs may have been originally utilised in a similar manner.

metrical psalmody became widely practiced; 'a psallmes Booke' was bought for 2*s*. 6*d*. in 1567, and 'a psalter & 3 psalm books' were bought for 8*s*. in 1570.[169] Saule and his curate Northbrooke were clear advocates for the use of metrical psalms within worship, and took an active role in reforming his church both materially and sonically, an alteration which many parishioners appear not to have initially favoured.[170]

Many other churches throughout early-Elizabethan Bristol without any direct evidence of maintained choral traditions purchased psalters. However, their form is often ambiguous and their provision is comparatively minimal. For example, St. Werburgh purchased their sole Elizabethan psalter in 1559, paying 2*s*. for 'a book of psalms for the church'.[171] Similarly, St. Ewen purchased their sole Elizabethan 'psalter booke' for 4*s*. in 1562.[172] Whilst these payments may have been metrical, it appears to have been more likely that these were the prose psalters bought simply to conform with the newly reintroduced liturgy. However, it is possible that the 'fowre yngleshe bowkes' that St. John paid 8*s*. 8*d*. for in 1558 included one or more metrical psalters. It is similarly possible that they may have been included in the 'serten bokes' provided by 'the boke bynder' for 13*s*. 4*d*. in 1564.[173] However, this does not equate to metrical psalmody's absence within these churches' soundscape.

[169] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a.
[170] Saule was one of the members of the 1562/3 convocation that drew up the articles stating 'That the Psalms appointed at common prayer be sung distinctly by the whole congregation, or said with the other prayers by the minister alone, in such convenient place of the church, as all may well hear and be edified; and that all curious singing and playing of organs may be removed' (J. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, p. 500). For more on Saule, his activity within St. Mary Redcliffe, and the disputes between him and his parishioners, see pp. 96-101.
[171] BA, P.St W/ChW/3/a, f. 22r.
[172] The Elizabethan churchwardens' accounts for St. Ewen, Bristol, are missing the years between 1558 and 1560, and so it is possible that more psalters were purchased at this time (BA, P.St E/ChW/2).
[173] BA, P.St JB/ChW/1/a.

The precise mechanisms of metrical psalmody's dissemination remain mysterious. The earliest churchwardens' accounts within the Diocese of Gloucester do not reveal much on their early dissemination, but suggest that most parishes owned a metrical psalter in some form by the 1570s. By the end of Elizabeth's reign, metrical psalmody had been incorporated within most church's weekly services.[174] Willis suggests that metrical psalmody was 'initially metropolitan practice', which gradually spread into the wider country throughout the first five years of Elizabeth's reign.[175] Metrical psalmody appears to have become a common practice within many parishes throughout 1560. Whilst the accounts for Tewkesbury are missing prior to 1563, their churchwardens obtained 'twoo psalter bokes for the churche' for 2*s*. 8*d*. in 1564, followed by the payment of 12*d*. for 'a sauter boke' in 1567.[176] It is likely that at least one of these psalters was metrical. An early metrical psalter is also to be found in the inventory taken within Dursley's first surviving account in 1566. Among the books listed within Dursley's inventory of church goods in 1566, shown in Figure 7, is

> A nother Book contayning the same ordre of commen prayer: & the psalmes as they are appointed to be read: with the psalmes in metre appointted to be song: & the first book of homelies appointed to be read in the church: & all these iiij contayned in one Volume.[177]

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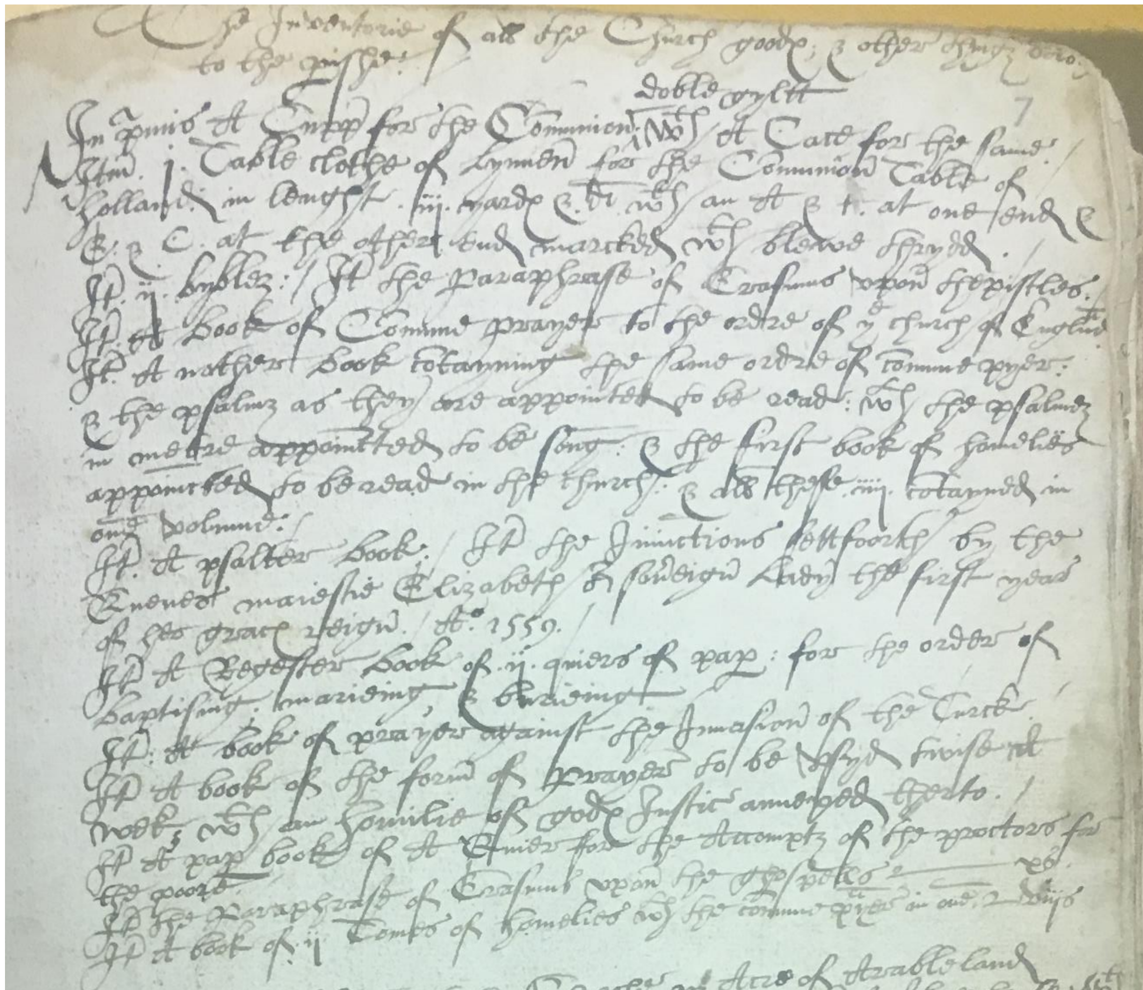
[174] C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, pp. 391-453; Beth Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 239-273.
[175] J. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England*, pp. 126-127.
[176] GA, P329 CW 2/1, pp. 6, 22.; transcribed in C. Litzenberger, ed., *Tewkesbury Churchwardens' Accounts, 1563-1624* (Stroud, 1994), pp. 4, 16.
[177] Among the other books listed within Dursley's 1566 inventory are two 'bybles, 'the paraphrase of Erasmus upon thespitles', 'A Book of Commen prayer to the ordre of the church of England', another 'psalter Book', the register book, 'A Book of prayer against the Invasion of the Turcke', 'A Cook of the form of prayer to be useyd twise A wek with an homilie of godes Justice annexed therto', the churchwardens' accounts book, 'the

Figure 7. Part of Dursley's 1566 Inventory Containing a Metrical Psalter.[178]



The detailed description of this volume, and the inclusion of the first book of homilies, indicate that the volume would have been used by Dursley's curate. The volume contained all the minister's liturgical requirements, apart from a Bible, in one convenient book.[179] It is curious that the only underlined word within their inventory is the word 'metre'. It is possible that it was simply a way of delineating the metrical psalms apart from those in

Paraphrase of Erasmus upon the ghospells' and 'A Book of ij Tomes of homelies with the commen prayer in one' (GA, P124/CW/2/4, f. 7).

[178] GA, P124/CW/2/4, f. 7.

[179] The additional *Book of Common Prayer* and another 'psalter Book' listed within the same inventory were likely to have been used by the parish clerk.

prose, or perhaps this was a mark of approval by the record's clerk. Nevertheless, it is relatively unsurprising to find the inclusion of a metrical psalter within the curate's worship manual when the rector of the parish was the diocese's Archdeacon Guy Eton.[180] It was likely Eton's own ideas of reform that introduced metrical psalmody to Dursley.

This case also highlights one of the difficulties in mapping any mechanism of dissemination; by 1566 metrical psalters were already being bound in with *Books of Common Prayer* and Bibles. This practice only continued to grow. Similarly, we are unable to observe any psalters bought by the ministers or clerks, or indeed the parishioners, themselves. For the approximate 482 editions of the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter, and the sale of perhaps a million copies to become the widest printed book of the time, they only appear occasional purchases within churchwardens' accounts, rather than regular features.[181] To combat this issue, especially with many claiming that the Crown never stipulated or enforced their purchase, it has often been claimed that the dissemination of metrical psalmody was largely an organic mechanism, moving from a domestic origin to become an institutionalised part of worship through inspirational initiative.[182] Psalm singing was a popular practice that was largely learned through memory or through techniques such as lining out.[183]

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[180] Eton was another of Gloucester's Marian exiles, formerly a chaplain to the late Bishop of Gloucester, John Hooper, and undoubtedly familiar with fellow exile Arthur Saule For more on Eton and Saule, see pp. 96-101.
[181] C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, p. 408 I. Green, '"All People that on earth do dwell, Sing to the Lord with cheerful voice": Protestantism and music in early modern England', pp. 148-164; Hannibal Hamlin, *Psalm culture and early modern English literature* (Cambridge, 2004); Beth Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme* (Aldershot, 2008).
[182] Andrew Poxon, 'The Institutionalization of the Congregational Singing of Metrical Psalms in the Elizabethan Reformation', *Studies in Church History*, 57 (2021), pp. 120-141.
[183] Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, p. 53; C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, pp. 405-453; J. Craig, 'Soundscapes of worship in early modern English Parish Churches' and

Whilst these attributions are true, assertions that metrical psalmody was never required by any ecclesiastical authority within the Church are incorrect. Whilst the Crown never directly required their provision, many late-Elizabethan and early-Stuart diocesan authorities utilised their visitation articles to ensure their presence within every church under their jurisdiction, contrary to assertions made by figures such as John Craig and Andrew Poxon.[184] One of such authorities was Bishop John Bullingham of both Bristol and Gloucester. His articles of enquiry in his 1594 episcopal visitation asks whether the churchwardens have in their parish church or chapel 'all things necessary and requisite for common prayer and administration of the Sacrament'. A list of necessary items, 'specially' requisite includes: the Book of Common Prayer with the new Kalendar, the English Bible in the largest volume, two tomes of Homilies, the paraphrases of Erasmus, and 'two Psalters'.[185] Numerous visitation articles also require the same 'two Psalters'.

Enquiries into whether a church has more than a single psalter appear relatively frequently between 1570 and 1620. Two sets of articles particularly indicate that the reference to 'two psalters' implies a prose and a metrical version. In 1599, John King, the Archdeacon of Nottingham, enquired whether each church had 'two Psalters in prose and meeter', with the very same also enquired by Anthony Watson, the Bishop of Chichester, in 1600.[186] The earliest sets of articles to include this mandate include Richard Cox's 1573

'Sounding Godly: from Bilney to Bunyan', unpublished papers. I am incredibly grateful to Professor John Craig for providing me with these unpublished papers.

[184] J. Craig, 'Soundscapes of worship in early modern English Parish Churches' and 'Sounding Godly: from Bilney to Bunyan', unpublished papers; A. Poxon,, 'The Institutionalization of the Congregational Singing of Metrical Psalms in the Elizabethan Reformation', pp. 120-141.

[185] John Bullingham, *Articles to be enquired of within the Diocesse of Gloucester and Bristoll, in the visitation of the Reuerend father in God, Iohn Bishop of Gloucester* (London, 1594).

[186] John King, *Articles Ministred in the Visitation of the Right Worshipfull Maister John King Archdeacon of Nottingham* (London, 1599); Anthony Watson, *Articles Ministred by the Reverand Father in God Anthony by the grace of God Bishop of Chichester* (London, 1600).

inquiries into the Diocese of Ely, asking whether the churchwardens have provided the 'bokes of psalmes'.[187] Richard Aylmer similarly enquires whether the churchwardens within the Diocese of London have provided 'two Psalters' in 1577.[188] There was a large increase in enquiries into multiple psalters in the early 1580s and were still present in the 1620s, with many officials across various dioceses enquiring whether the churchwardens had provided 'two Psalters'.[189] Many of the figures to have included this order are individuals with a more reform-minded confessional agenda, such as John King.[190] However, the article also appears within those published by some of the more conformable or conservative individuals, such as Richard Bancroft and Lancelot Andrewes.[191] Whilst it is difficult to discern Bullingham's personal confessional beliefs, metrical psalters were required to be provided by many ecclesiastical authorities across the Kingdom and across the religious spectrum.[192]

The corresponding visitation returns for the Diocese of Gloucester in 1594 show that most parishes had both requisite psalters. The parishes of Twyning, Colesbourne, Colne

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[187] Cox, Richard., *Articles to be inquired of, by the reverende Father in God, Richarde by Gods providence Bishop of Elye* (London, 1573).
[188] Aylmer, John., *Articles to be enquired of within the Dioces of London in the visitation of the reverend father in God, John Bishop of London* (London, 1577).
[189] The figures that enquired whether churchwardens had provided 'two Psalters' include: Herbert Westfaling, Bishop of Hereford, in 1582; Adam Squire, Archdeacon of Middlesex, in 1582; John Aylmer, Bishop of London, in 1583 and 1589; William Overton, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, in 1584; William Wickham, the Bishop of Lincoln in 1591; Richard Bancroft, the Bishop of London, in 1598; Henry Cotton, Bishop of Salisbury; Thomas Bilson, the Bishop of Winchester, in 1603; Thomas Jegon, Archdeacon of Norwich, in 1606; and William Chaderton, the Bishop of Lincoln, in 1607. Those included within K. Fincham, ed., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church*, *Volume I* include: Bishop Richard Vaughan's 1605 visitation articles for the Diocese of London, Bishop Thomas Ravis' 1607 articles for the same diocese, Bishop Tobie Matthew's 1607 articles for the Province of York, Bishop William James' 1607 articles for the Diocese of Durham, and Bishop Lancelot Andrewes 1619 articles for the Diocese of Winchester (K. Fincham, ed., *Visitation Articles of the Early Stuart Church, Volume II* (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 31, 39, 59, 61, 178).
[190] McCullough, for example, has described King as 'the evangelical Calvinistic model of the preaching chief pastor' (P. McCullough, 'John King (d. 1621)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004)).
[191] K. Fincham, ed., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church*, *Volume I*, p. 178.
[192] By 1562 Bullingham had seemingly reconciled himself to Protestantism following his exile in Rouen, France, in the later years of Edward VI's reign and he was active against nonconformity within the Diocese of Glouceseter (C. Litzenberger, 'John Bullingham (d.1598)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004)).

Rogers, Lower Swell, and Little Rissington were presented before the consistory court as they had only one of the psalters, although it is unfortunately impossible to tell which of the two psalters the churches were missing. However, Little Barrington, Nympsfield, Staunton, and Harescombe all required both psalters and were therefore certainly missing a metrical psalter.[193] There appears little to connect these parishes apart from that they were all relatively small rural livings; they may have never had the resources or the effort to implement a new aspect to worship. Conversely, all but ten parishes within the diocese appear to have had, or at least reported back to the court that they had, the requisite psalters. This suggests that almost every church, and thus every parishioner, within the diocese would have had access to a metrical psalter by 1594. Their requirement by Bishop Miles Smith in 1622 also demonstrates a sustained period of enforcement.[194] Whilst this provision does not necessarily equate to practice, as only their purchase was ordered by the ecclesiastical authorities, their necessity implies that they were deemed an essential part of worship.

Choral 'Sonic Ceremonialism' in post-Reformation Bristol and Gloucester

The pre-reformation tradition to commemorate, highlight, and celebrate a date of particular significance sonically remained engrained within post-reformation society. These significant dates had evolved into a new Protestant calendar, as outlined by Cressy, although the desire for additional musical provision remained.[195] Whilst Bristol's parochial choirs were no longer

[193] GA, GDR 76.

[194] Bancroft, Richard., *Articles to be enquired of within the Dioces of London, in the Visitation of the Reverend Father in God, Richard Bishop of London in his generall Visitation* (London, 1598); K. Fincham, ed., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church*, *Volume I*, p. 206.

[195] David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Stroud, 2004). For more see Chapter 4: Bells.

maintained, not all choral polyphony had left the parishes' soundscape. Just as Willis identified, if additional musical resources were to be employed by the parish, it was to mark a significant festival within the new calendar. Whilst evidence from elsewhere shows that the festival days or periods of Christmas, Easter, Rogation, and Queen Elizabeth's accession day were all chosen to be marked by choral polyphony within their respective parishes, the focus of Bristol's additional choral emphasis was almost solely Christmas.[196]

In Bristol, events that required additional musical provision were commemorated sonically either by the cathedral's singingmen or the waits. In 1582 All Saints the considerable sum of £1 was paid to 'the singingemene for singinge at christmas'.[197] The churchwardens of St. James also paid 10*s*. 'to the Synginge men of the Colledge at Chrystmas' within the same year. Following that payment, St. James also recorded payments of 10*d*. 'to the Singeinge men of the coledge at christmas' in 1583, and 2*s*. 6*d*. 'unto the waytes at Christmas for a Carrolle' in 1584.[198] Temple's churchwardens also paid 2*s*. in 1587 'to the waites for singinge the Carroll at christmas in the churche', whilst St. Werburgh paid 2*s*. for 'the wayttes by master mayor & master alder[men's] commandement at christmas Day at nyght' in 1587.[199] A further 2*s*. was paid by Temple's churchwardens the at Christmas the following year 'to the waytes for singinge a carroll', and in 1609 St. Mary Redcliffe paid 6*d*. 'to the singeres the 25 of December att night'.[200] Just as the pre-Reformation tradition of Plygain persisted in North Wales, Christmas carols remained a part of the post-Reformation

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[196] J. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England*, p. 117.
[197] BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a.
[198] BA, P.St J/ChW/1/a.
[199] BA, P.T, Ca2(1); BA, BA, P.St W/ChW/3/a, f. 56r.
[200] BA, P.T, Ca2(2); BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/c, p. 138

Christmas festivities.[201] Carols evidently continued to accompany Bristol's Christmas festivities over the traditional twelve days, alongside the annual decoration of their churches with holly and ivy.[202] Christmas remained an important festival in Bristol, with the festivities rigorously supported by Bristol's mayor, aldermen, and common council, who supported the performance of Christmas pageants and plays.[203] It is also possible that Bristol's singingmen and waits collaborated amongst the festivities of Christmas. A sole copy made of Bristol Cathedral's particular payments, covering 1581 to 1582, shows that 10*s*. was 'Geven at Christmas for the Dean & Chapter to the maiors and Shereifes servantes and to the waytes'.[204] With carols being largely intended for domestic devotion and public celebrations, what carols were being sung is unclear. Although many of these payments describe singing, the payments to waits may indicate that they also included the use of instruments, perhaps in the manner of a consort song. Nevertheless, parishes were contributing to the festivities surrounding Christmas.

[201] The Christian Christmas carol likely reached England in the fourteenth century (Alexander Murray, 'Medieval Christmas', *History Today*, 36/12 (1986), pp. 31-39; R. Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 58, 107, 124

[202] George Wither's early-Stuart poem *A Christmas Carol* included the customs of decking with holly and ivy, wassailing, mumming, carols, and part games (R. Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England*, pp. 164-165. For example, holly was bought alongside ivy and bays of rosemary at All Saints, whilst flowers were bought to decorate the church at Easter (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a). At Christchurch, payments for 'hollye and thistyle at christmas' were made annually (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a). Bristol's practices were not unique. For example, St. Mary at Hill, London, held five carol books within Edward's reign (A. Heminger, 'Confession Carried Aloft: Music, Religious Identity, and Sacred Space in London, c.1540-1560', p. 181).

[203] An idea of the festivities is provided by the common council's payment of 40*s*. to the schoolmaster of the free school of St. Bartholomew 'toward the payngting of his pageantes & charges of his playes at Christmas folowing at the commandment of master mayor' in 1569; similar payments are present between 1569 and 1598 (F/Au/1/9, p. 24; transcribed in M. Pilkinton, ed., *Bristol: Records of Early English Drama* (Toronto, 1997), pp. xxxii-xxxv, 78).

[204] BA, DC/A/9/1/4, ff. 286-287. For more on the waits' presence within churches and instrumental accompaniment see pp. 289-293.

These occasional payments did not solely occur at Christmas. For example, in 1609 St. Mary Redcliffe paid 6*d*. 'to the singers on alhallon day att night'.[205] Such payments to musicians by Bristol's parishes were generally quite sporadic and resemble little pattern in terms of amounts given. As Willis has suggested, it is quite possible that these references may be one-off payments or remunerations for a more regular service.[206] At Christchurch, the two payments in 1597 of 4*d*., 'for one pounde of perchers when the singinge men of the colledge were at our churche to singe', and 3s. 4*d*., 'to the singinge men for theire paynes by consent', may suggest that these payments were often largely made up of parishioners' donations.[207] The payment of 4*s*. 4*d*. at St. Thomas in 1622 'for wyne for the singers of the Colledge' may also demonstrate such an arrangement.[208] As such, the payments were unlikely to have been regularly included within the parish's accounts, only being included where such a payment required subsidising by the parish, should the vestry consent. Nevertheless, the desire for 'sonic ceremonialism' was so great that St. Thomas appears to have paid 3*s*. 4*d*. 'to the Singinge men of the Colledge the 5th Novembris' in 1627 to make up for their silent bells, which were being recast, and to ensure the festival was marked sonically.[209] It is unlikely to be a coincidence that many of the payments towards these festivities were made from around the 1580s and 1590s. These festivities may have been

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[205] BA, BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/c, p. 137.
[206] J. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England*, p. 117.
[207] BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated.
[208] Although it is not made explicit within this payment, the singers' performance is likely to have taken place at Christmas; the payment occurs relatively shortly after payments for ringing on 5 November and before 27 March (BA, P.St T/ChW/55, f. 8r.).
[209] Bellfounder Roger Purdue had cast at least two bells over the period. An agreement was made on 25 October and cast on 31 October. They were only weighed, however, after their casting on 6 November. They were hauled back to the church and into their bell frames by 10 November (BA, P.St T/ChW/60). For more on bells at this time and Roger Purdue, see pp. 329-330.

restored as the influence of hostile, hard-line reformers had died down a little after the 1560s and 1570s.

The Elizabethan Cathedral Choirs: Financial Constraints and Limited Practices

The dearth of surviving sources surrounding each of the cities' cathedrals inhibits many conclusions surrounding their musical provision. Both cathedrals were struggling financially. Bristol even attempted to use the occasion of the Queen's visit to the city in 1574 to beg for better financing. According to Thomas Churchyard, the city's hired writer and director of the pageants, the Queen visited the cathedral to hear a sermon, 'whear thear was a speetch to be sayd and an Imme to be songe, the speeche was left out by an occasion unlooked for, but the Imme was songe by a very fien boye'. The speech was nonetheless printed within Churchyard's chronicle:

> How mutch is this poer Colledg bound,
> in naked buildyngs baer.
> For to receyue so bright a Star,
> as clouds can skarce contayn:
> Who for to se so small a Sell,
> hath taken so great payn.
> The Pieps and Organs of our harts,
> shall yeld thee thank therfore:
> By sound of Psalm, and sollemp Immes,
> yea could poer Preests do moer.
> The Musicke that thy Chapel maks,

should be so sweet and shrill.

Might lull a sleep the Musis all,

and shack *Pernasoes* [Parnassus] hill.[210]

This was a clear plea for additional funding towards both the church's fabric and musical maintenance and may have been the reason for its eventual omission.[211] Bristol's cathedral was in a particularly poor state following the dissolution.[212]

The poor financial state of both Bristol and Gloucester cathedrals undoubtedly affected their musical provision. At Bristol, there were only two or three minor-canons maintained consistently until 1575, rather that the required six. This was briefly increased to four or five throughout the late-1570s but had dropped once again to the usual two or three by 1583.[213] This was likely a cost saving measure, with additional lay-singingmen employed at a cheaper rate at their expense.[214] From the surviving evidence regarding Gloucester Cathedral's resources, a similar method of cost saving is observable. Although the numbers of minor-canons and singingmen are listed at the canonically required numbers of six, some of the minor-canons were unordained singingmen, contrary to the statutes. This was certainly the case by 1605 and 1607.[215] This cost saving method persisted at both cathedrals

[210] This speech was written in fourteeners 8686 or modern Common Metre, the standard metre of many metrical psalm texts (Thomas Churchyard, *The firste parte of Churchyardes chippes contayning twelve severall labours* (London, 1575), f.103v.; Elizabeth Goldring, Faith Eales, Elizabeth Clarke, Jayne Archer, Gabriel Heaton, and Sarah Knight, eds., *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I*, Vol. 2 (Oxford, 2014), p. 209.

[211] Whilst the speech may have been missed due to an oversight, for time, for the musicians failing to wait for the correct cue, it may have been cut after a royal officer saw the text and forbade it because of the blatant bid for additional funding.

[212] For example, the incomplete nave had been demolished, with a wall erected across the end of the choir transept. For the financial state of the cathedral, see pp. 34-46.

[213] BA, DC/A/9/1/2-5.

[214] Minor-canons received annual stipends of £10, compared to the singingmen's £8 (BA, DC/A/9/1/2-5).

[215] GA, GDR 96; GA, GDR 102.

for many years.[216] The full complement of six minor-canons were not reached at Bristol until 1623. These reforms were made as part of a wider campaign in the Church to reform cathedrals and their services; the cost-saving measures that went against their statutes were no longer tolerable to ecclesiastical authorities.[217]

Musically, cathedrals were one of the few remaining institutions where skilled musicians and choirs could flourish, although declining standards were reported by contemporaries from the 1560s and 1570s as finances formerly attributed towards musical provision were repurposed towards preaching.[218] Nevertheless, music remained an integral part of cathedral worship. The music performed within the cities' cathedrals would not have been dissimilar to the new style of music that was cultivated and practiced within similar institutions.[219] In the absence of any surviving partbooks, the closest we may get to musical performances are through the individuals themselves. The most prominent figures that each cathedral was able to boast often held the office of master of the choristers. Bristol's Elizabethan cathedral was able to boast the services of John Farrant briefly between 1570 and 1571 and Elway Bevin between 1585 and 1638.[220] Gloucester were seemingly unable to

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[216] At Gloucester, the 1613 episcopal visitation revealed that there were eight singingmen and four minor-canons, compared to the six of each required by the statutes, and there had only ever been four minor-canons for the space of twenty years. Of the four minor-canons, only two of them were ordained (GA, GDR 120). In 1623 it becomes clear that two of the five named minor-canons, Thomas Tully and John Sandy, were still not ordained. Two of the ordained minor-canons, Richard Marwood and Richard Brodgate, were receiving an additional 11*s*. 8*d*. each 'for reading the last yeare for the lay singingmen who have petty canons pay'. The lay-singingmen receiving minor-canons' wages are revealed the following year: Marwood was 'readinge morninge prayer the Whole yeare for John Sandy', whilst Brodgate was 'readinge morninge prayer the whole yeare for Thomas Tully'. This arrangement carried on for many years; an annual payment of £1 3*s*. 4*d*. was made for this service until at least 1638. (GCL, TR1; GCL, TR2).

[217] For more on this reform, see pp. 289-293.

[218] J. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England*, pp. 138-139.

[219] J. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England*, pp. 138-149.

[220] W. Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1538* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 34-36.

recruit such illustrious names, with their only identifiable Elizabethan office holders being Robert Lichfield between c.1562 and 1584 and John Gibbes in 1594.[221] Visitations occasionally highlighted the musical deficiencies in minor-canons. In 1589 two of Bristol's three minor-canons, John Atkins and Robert Steward, were presented for their 'unskilfulness in Musick' and given notice to either improve or be removed from their offices. Lay-singingmen William Blomer and John Hunt were also admonished to 'Improve themselves in Musick' or face the consequences.[222] Of the remaining evidence we are also able to tell that Bristol's master of choristers was in charge for searching and providing choristers for the cathedral, as 5*s*. was given to Anthony Pryn 'for charges layed out by him in his journey in providing some mete Choristers for our Chore'.[223] This was a traditional role. The master, or almoner before the Reformation, selected children around the age of seven to be choristers from whence they'd have little choice but to join the cathedral's school and choir.[224] Nevertheless, many of the choristers consisted of members of existing cathedral office holders' families.[225]

Although Gloucester struggled to support prominent musicians, the cathedral circle was evidently broad enough to be familiar with some of the leading musicians within the

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[221] For Lichfield, see W. Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1538* (Oxford, 1991), p. 118. John Gibbes is not listed by Shaw but appears as Master of the Choristers in 1594 (GA, GDR 73).

[222] Of these four, only Atkins appears to have eventually left the cathedral (BA, DC/A/12/1, unpaginated). Robert Steward remained a minor-canon and William Blomer remained a lay-singingman until 1604, whilst John Hunte remained a lay-singingman until 1607 before becoming a minor-canon and serving until 1614. Atkins did not receive his full stipend for the year (BA, DC/A/9/1/4-5).

[223] BA, DC/A/9/1/4, ff. 286-287.

[224] Roze Hentschell, ''Our Children Made Enterluders': Choristers, Actors, and Students in St Paul's Cathedral Precinct', *Early Theatre*, 19/2 (2016), pp. 180-181.

[225] At Bristol in 1583, for example, the six listed choristers were Arthur and William Saull, John Mirro, Richard Jones, Walter Hopkins, and John Folkes. The two Saules were likely relatives of prebendary Arthur Saule, John Mirro was likely a relative of lay-singingman Richard Mirro, and Richard Jones may have been a relative of John Jones, the minor-canon (BA, DC/A/9/1/4, f. 303v.).

country. Thomas Tomkins, the renowned composer and son of Gloucester Cathedral's precentor Thomas, was clearly linked with the cathedral, especially in the consultation over the installation of a new organ.[226] Furthermore, one of the jests attributed to Richard Tarlton, the famous Elizabethan actor and clown, retells a tale surrounding the meeting of a 'Woodcocke' and a 'Bird' in Gloucester.[227] William Byrd, the famous Elizabethan musician and composer, clearly had friends and associates at the cathedral. 'Tarltons wit betweene a Bird and a Woodcocke' recalls that

> In the Citie of Glocester, Master Bird of the Chappell met with Tarlton, who ioyfull to regréet other, went to visit his friends: amongst the rest, M. Bird of the Quéens Chappell visited Master Woodcock of the Colledge, where méeting, many frindly spéeches past, amongst which, M. Woodcocke challenged M. Bird of kin: who mused that he was of his affinitie and hee never knew it: yes sayes M. Woodcocke, every Woodcocke is a Bird, therefore it must néeds be so. Lord, Sir, sayes Tarlton, you are wise, for though every Woodcocke be a Bird, yet every Bird is not a Woodcocke. So M. Woodcocke like a Woodcocke bit his lip, and mum budged was silent.[228]

[226] See p. 282.
[227] Peter Thomson, Richard Tarlton (d. 1588)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004).
[228] Tarlton, Richard., *Tarltons jests drawne into these three parts* (London, 1613), unpaginated.

This jest can only be referring to the meeting of William Byrd and Thomas Woodcock, a lay-singingman of Gloucester Cathedral.[229] Connections such as this help to demonstrate some of the musical networks that Gloucester's cathedral musicians were within.[230]

To ardent reformers, cathedrals remained 'popishe dennes [...] of al loytering lubbers [who] live in greate idlenesse [and] came from the Pope, as oute of the Trojan horses belly, to the distruction of Gods kingdome'.[231] MacCulloch has also suggested that the 'catholic structure', including the cathedrals' practices, structure, and role within it, were a 'cuckoo in the nest' of English Protestantism and represented 'a liturgical fifth column within the Elizabethan church'.[232] Bristol were certainly slow to enact reform.[233] It was perhaps this prevailing conservative outlook that had prompted the appointment of more reform-minded prebends in Saule and Pacy in 1560. Despite their presence within the Elizabethan chapter, the cathedral still hosted conservative figures such as John Cotterell, Thomas Silke, and

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[229] Two individuals within the choir had the same name. Thomas Woodcock 'senior', as the 1580 visitation refers him, was named as a lay-singingman in the earliest surviving Elizabethan visitation of the cathedral in 1576, although he was evidently in this office by at least 1569 (GA, GDR 39). The last will and testament of James Braysett, 'one of the Cathedrall churche' and dated 16 April 1569, bequeathed a new English testament to 'my fellowe Thomas Woodcock'; Woodcock was also a witness to the document (GA, GDR R8, 1569/64). Woodcock 'junior' served as a minor-canon from at least 1580 (GA, GDR 39). Both Woodcocks served until at least 1584, when both 'Thomas Woodcocke thelder of the colledge singing man' and 'Thomas Woodcocke thyounger of the same cledge singingman' were listed as being owed 6*s*. and 5*s*. respectively within Edward Gayner's last will and testament, dated 1 May 1584 (GA, GDR R8, 1585/25). They were not present at the next surviving cathedral visitation in 1594 (GA, GDR 93). Nevertheless, the meeting must clearly have been prior to Tarlton's death in 1588.

[230] William Byrd had connections with Gloucestershire, obtaining the manor of Longney, around seven miles southwest of Gloucester on the River Severn, around 1579 (John Harley, *The World of William Byrd: Musicians, Merchants and Magnates* (Farnham, 2010), p. 219). It is possible that this tale recalls Byrd's travel with Tarleton upon Elizabeth's progress to Gloucester in 1574. It is also possible that this meeting was more circumstantial and occurred whilst Byrd was staying or conducting business surrounding his lands in Gloucestershire. Many other reasons for such a meeting are plausible, such as Byrd visiting local individuals that shared common interests, such as maintaining Catholicism or simply the passion of music.

[231] John Fielde, *An admonition to the Parliament* (1572).

[232] D. MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England, 1547-1603*, p. 29; D. MacCulloch, 'The Myth of the English Reformation', p. 8.

[233] Bristol's dean and chapter had been slow to remove the roodloft and other potentially superstitious monuments, only being ordered to remove them by the Privy Council in 1561 (J. Bettey, ed., *Records of Bristol Cathedral*, pp. 33-34).

Thomas Baylie well into the 1570s. Conservative figures, and even recusants, may also be seen within Gloucester Cathedral's early-Elizabethan choir. For example, the minor-canon Richard Morris, the bass lay-singingman that became a gentleman of the Chapel Royal, eventually fled to Douai in 1583.[234] Similarly, even the aforementioned presence of Byrd within the city to visit his musical friend Woodcocke could potentially be viewed as suspicious given Byrd's own religious preferences.[235] The conservative nature of Roger Stiche, a minor-canon at Gloucester between at least 1554 and 1564, can also be seen in his bequest of 'the paynted clothe hangyng over my chymney wythe the crucyfyxe upon hit' to a Nicholas Newman within his last will and testament.[236] However, cathedrals were also able to provide a vast array of Protestant functions, such as offering patronage opportunities to reformers, and being centres of preaching and teaching, instruction, and admonition.[237] The employment of notorious Calvinist John Northbrooke as a minor-canon at Bristol by 1575 is one way that the dean and chapter may have attempted to advance reform; the maintenance of preaching ministry was of greater importance than musical provision. Despite the prominence of reformers within Gloucester's Elizabethan chapter, no such supplementation towards additional preaching is visible amongst their minor-canons. They appear to have been more concerned in filling their ranks with ordained ministers to fill the ministerial requirements of not only the cathedral, but the city's parishes.

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[234] A. Smith, 'The Gentlemen and Children of the Chapel Royal of Elizabeth I', pp. 30-31, 45; Diana Poulton, *John Dowland*, 2nd ed. (London, 1982), pp. 420-421.
[235] The recusancy of William Byrd has long been recognised. See, for example, Caryl Coleman, 'A forgotten Catholic: William Byrd, composer and musician', *Catholic World*, 49/290 (1889), pp. 235-239; Craig Monson, 'Byrd, the Catholics and the motet: the hearing reopened', in D. Pesce, ed., *Essays on the motet of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (New York, 1997), pp. 348-374; and David Trendell, 'Aspects of William Byrd's musical recusancy', *Musical Times*, 148/1900 (2007), pp. 27-50.
[236] GA, GDR R8, 1564/79.
[237] S. Lehmberg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals*, pp. 305-306; J. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England*, pp. 136-137.

Early-Stuart Cathedrals: Reforming Musical Resources and Performances

There was an increased emphasis on cathedral worship, and the musical aspects within it, throughout the successive reigns of the early-Stuarts. The advocates of church music grew in number and prominence throughout the Church from the last couple of decades of Elizabeth's reign, culminating with the 'Laudian' emphasis to improve the musical aspect of worship throughout the Church.[238] These attempts to improve musical provision within cathedrals focussed on encouraging better attendance from the choir, better behaviour, and in providing more musicians by increasing cathedrals' stipends.

Both Bristol and Gloucester's cathedrals faced a perpetual struggle to provide a level of choral polyphony that was to be deemed suitable to successive early-Stuart deans and bishops. Attempts were being made throughout James' reign to improve the attendance and behaviour of choirmen within many institutions.[239] Bristol and Gloucester were no different and the choirmen were often absent and occasionally ill-behaved.[240] At Bristol, efforts were also made to swell the number of minor-canons around 1602, with the maintenance increased to four incumbent ministers. This was again increased in 1609 to five, and in 1623 to the requisite six.[241] Comparatively, the canonically requirement of six ordained minor-canons was not met until 1640 at Gloucester.[242]

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[238] I. Atherton, 'Cathedrals, Laudianism, and the British Churches', pp. 912-914.
[239] I. Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals, c. 1547-c. 1646* (London and New York, NY, 1993), pp. 66-78; S. Lehmberg, *Cathedrals under Siege*, p. 181 ; S. Bond, ed., *The chapter acts of the dean and canons of Windsor* (Windsor, 1966), pp. 71-2, 77; Walter Peckham, ed., *The acts of the dean and chapter of the cathedral church of Chichester, 1543-1642* (Lewes, 1959), pp. 19.
[240] Suzanne Ewards has comprehensively used Gloucester's surviving chapter act book and treasurer's accounts to provide an account of early-Stuart cathedral life. This comprehensive, if frustratingly ill-referenced, work details the relatively sorry state of the early-Stuart cathedral and their musical provision (S. Eward, *No Fine but a Glass of Wine: Cathedral Life at Gloucester in Stuart Times* (Lymington, 1985)).
[241] BA, DC/A/9/1/5.
[242] GCL, TR2.

The responses of Bristol Cathedral's dean and chapter in the 1634 metropolitical visitation explain these cost-saving measures and demonstrate the efforts made to improve musical provision by the cathedral and bishop. The dean and chapter reported that there were only four minor-canons, with the wages of the two vacant places increasing each of their stipends 'by the direccion of the late bishop in his visitacion, only untill provision can bee made to fill up the number'. Of those four minor-canons, one was also only a deacon who was being paid the additional rate to act as gospeller. The gospeller's stipend itself was being used to increase the wages of the singingmen and organist 'for their incouragement untill thinges may bee better setled'. It was also reported that, after having paid only four choristers compared to the required six choristers since 1589, that had recently been reformed.[243] The cathedral, under direction of the bishop, were improvising innovations within their poor financial state to improve their musical provision through attracting better musicians with the larger stipends.[244]

Throughout this period, musical practices were inhibited at both cathedrals due to the frequent absence of choirmen. In Bristol, the dean and chapter were already attempting to control attendance by 1596, with Subdean Edward Green making a regulation 'with regard to the absence of any Ministers of the Church & also enjoin Morning Service on Sundays to being at 8 o'clock'.[245] Further attempts to enforce the choir's attendance were

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[243] The wages from the two chorister places were formerly being used to increase the master of the choristers' stipend. This type of practice was also being utilised at Gloucester in the early seventeenth century; the earliest surviving treasurer's accounts show that only two or three of those that occupied the offices of minor-canons were ordained and actively ministering within the cathedral (GCL, TR1).
[244] For more on Bristol Cathedral's musical practices and the wish for greater musical provision, see pp. 277-288.
[245] BA, DC/A/12/1, unpaginated.

made in 1605, 1607, and 1624.[246] Gloucester's chapter act books demonstrate similar attempts to reform both their services and absenteeism. As dean, William Laud sought to reform Gloucester's services immediately. In 1617 he ordered that the traditional practice of performing morning prayer in the Lady Chapel at 6 o'clock during the summer period, which had fallen into abeyance, was to be restored.[247] A further order in 1620 was aimed to encourage the choirmen to attend every service, although this appears to have been largely unsuccessful.[248] It is not until 1635 that the act books reveal the primary cause of absenteeism within Gloucester's choirmen: many were beneficed within Gloucester's parishes. This was an issue that Archbishop Laud himself evidently wished to remedy.[249] This

[246] In 1605 it was ordered 'That everie Sabaoth day morning prayer shall beginne a quarter Before nyne and everie minister & singingman, of this churche that shall be absent a whole service on the Saboathe in the morning, shall forfett for the first tyme xijd, and the second tyme other xijd which shall be Bestowed on the priseners of newgate. And if he make default the third tyme, he shall have admonicion geven him ackording to the statutes of this churche' (BA, DC/E/1/1(c), f. 48r.). In 1607 they made further regulation surrounding absence (BA, DC/E/1/1(c), f. 113v.). In 1624 it was ordered that 'Whatsoever minor or petty canon shall fail in executing his service shall have first admonition' (BA, DC/A/12/1, unpaginated). These orders were made in the middle of Deans Simon Robson (1598-1617) and Edward Chetwynd's (1617-1639) incumbencies. However, these orders appear shortly after the installation of Bishops Thornborough and Skinner, perhaps indicating their influence.

[247] The order for morning prayer in the Lady Chapel, dated 9 March 1617, states: 'Whereas the morninge prayer at sixe of the clocke hath binne for the sommer time performed in the ladie chappell and now for divers yeares past hath bin altogether discontinued, wee, holdinge it unfitt that soe goodly & faire a buildinge dedicated to the service of God should loose the use and end for which it was founded & consecrated, doe order & decree that the said prayers at sixe of the clocke shalbe sayed & celebrated yearly in the sayd chappell from the feast of Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin St. Nary unto the feast of St. Michaell tharchangell' (GCL, Chapter Act Book 1, f. 23v.; transcribed in S. Eward, ed., *Gloucester Cathedral Chapter Act Book, 1616-1687* (Bristol, 2007), p. 9).

[248] An order on 19 October 1620 stated that: 'Allso it is ordered that if any singingman or petty cannon of this church be absent from service above twentie times in any one quarter of the yeare hee shall loose the benefitt that should come unto him oute of the perditions for that quarter' (GCL, Chapter Act Book 1, f. 31r.; transcribed in S. Eward, ed., *Gloucester Cathedral Chapter Act Book, 1616-1687* (Bristol, 2007), p. 19).

[249] In 1635 an order was made 'for the absence of the curates from the church service'. It stated that 'whereas the service of this church is very much neglected by those who have cures elswhere, under pretence of their service in the said cures, yt is therefore by especiall direction from my lord Canterbury his grace ordered & decreed that such of the petty-cannons & lay-singingemen of this church as have cures in the citty or elswhere shall soe order & appoint their times & howres for divine prayers, burialls, weddings, christnings, & other ministeriall dueties in their said severall cures that they nor any of them doe by reason thereof absent themselves from the prayers of this church att the times & howres appointed therefore' (GCL, Chapter Act Book 1, f. 66v.; transcribed in S. Eward, ed., *Gloucester Cathedral Chapter Act Book, 1616-1687* (Bristol, 2007), p. 73).

issue is also illustrated in 1648 when godly Alderman and MP for Gloucester Thomas Pury petitioned parliament for the unification of certain parishes within the city. He lamented that the city's parishes were

> of very small Yearly Values, consisting of very few Families, unable to maintain Preaching Ministers, and for the most Part served by Singingmen, never bred Scholars, ignorant, scandalous, and of loose Life, whereby the People are kept in much ignorance.[250]

Pury was not being dramatic; the poor financial state of many of Gloucester's parishes saw eight of Gloucester's eleven parishes being actively ministered by members of the cathedral's choir by 1635.[251] This even included the cathedral's master of the choristers and organist, Philip Hosier, who must have held a unique position of serving in as both a cathedral organist and a minister within a parish.[252] In Bristol, many of the choir were similarly serving the city's parishes, and minor-canons were increasingly ministering within

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[250] 'House of Lords Journal Volume 10: 3 April 1648', in *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 10, 1648-1649* (London, 1767-1830), pp. 167-177. By 1642 the majority of the city of Gloucester's parishes were ministered by members of Gloucester Cathedral's choir. This was evidently a great source of annoyance for the city's municipal leaders; their godly persuasion wished for all parishioners to have access to an educated and sober preacher for their minister. For more on the financial peril of Gloucester, see pp. 44-45. For more on the city corporation's religious ambitions, see pp. 68-87.

[251] William Hulett, Richard Broadgate, Edward Williams and Richard Marwood were all minor canons, who simultaneously supplied parishes; Broadgate was curate of St. Catherine, Marwood was vicar of Holy Trinity, Hulett was curate of both St. Mary de Grace and St. Owen, and Williams was curate of both All Saints and St. Aldate. In addition to these minor canons, Peter Brookes, technically only employed by the cathedral as a lay-singingman, was vicar of St. Mary de Lode, and Master of the Choristers, Philip Hosier, was the curate of St. John the Baptist (GA, GDR 189). Whilst both Bristol and Gloucester's minor-canons had a statutory right to hold another cure, it was intended to have been a supplementary source of income, so that they 'may be encouraged the more diligently to attend their charge' (BA, DC/A/7/1/3; H. Gee, ed., *The Statutes of Gloucester Cathedral*, pp. 17-18).

[252] Philip Hosier was ordained a deacon on 23 November 1621 and a priest on 17 March 1622 (GA, GDR 142A). He was curate of All Saints' between 1623 and 1625, minister of St. Aldate between 1626 and 1628, minister of St. Mary de Crypt between 1626 and 1629, and minister of St. John the Baptist between 1632 and 1637 (GA, GDR 146; GA, GDR 157; GA, GDR 166; GA, GDR 185; GA, GDR 189; GA, P154/6/CW/2/7; GA, P154/6/IN/1/1; GA, P154/11/CW/2/1; GA, GDR/V1/110). He was master of the choristers between 1623 and 1637 (GCL, TR1; GCL, TR2).

Bristol's parishes to increase their wages.[253] However, most choirmen were instead serving them in a musical capacity, employed by the parishes as parish clerks and organists.[254]

Similarly, as Saunders has noted, lay-singingmen throughout the nation's institutions often needed to 'moonlight' and work in other trades to increase their wages.[255] Bristol and Gloucester were no different. Some lay-singingmen evidently supplied cures, presumably as readers.[256] However, ministerial duties were not the only means to increase a choirman's stipend. Saunders has shown the variety of trades that singingmen across various institutions were performing.[257] Many of Bristol and Gloucester's singingmen clearly thought it necessary to have an alternative trade.[258] The cathedral naturally paid them additional

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[253] Thomas Reade, John Jones, and Robert Steward all received payments from St. Ewen whilst it was without an incumbent in 1579 and 1587 (BA, P.St E/ChW/2, pp. 63, 89). The cathedral increasingly presented minor-canons to the city parishes under their patronage. For example, the minor-canon and precentor Clement Lewis was provided with the vicarage of St. Augustine-the-Less in 1604 (BA, DC/1/1/1(b)). The minor-canon and epistler John Goodman was provided the vicarage of St. Nicholas in 1604 (BA, DC/E/1/1(c)). Several appointments of local clergy were also made by the cathedral. For example, James Listun, the rector of St. Ewen from 1606, was appointed a minor canon in 1614 (BA, DC/E/1/1(c)). Edward Almond and John Mason, minor-canons from 1619, appear as rector of St. Mary le Port and minister of St. James respectively from 1621, although they may have served their cures prior to this date; it is uncertain which office they served first.

[254] For more on Bristol's organists, see pp. 287-288.

[255] James Saunders, 'Music and Moonlighting: the Cathedral Choirmen of Early Modern England, 1558-1649' in F. Kisby, ed., *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 157-166.

[256] If a church's Stipend was so low that no clergyman could be found to minister the cure, lay-singingmen were able to fill the office and serve as a reader. As such they were able to read the liturgy of divine service, reside over the solemnizing of matrimony and perform the sacrament of baptism. They were unable to minister the sacrament of communion, nor pronounce the absolution or blessing (J. Saunders, 'Music and Moonlighting: the Cathedral Choirmen of Early Modern England, 1558-1649'; Edward Cardwell, ed., 'Injunctions to be Confessed and Subscribed by Them That Shall be Admitted Readers' in *Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England, Vol. I* (Oxford, 1839), pp. 268-269). In Gloucester, for example, Christopher Hayes, a lay-singingman and glazier by trade, was paid 4*s*. 'for reading at Lassenton whiles Master Subdeane was imployed in Church Businesse'. Elias Wrench, the cathedral's subdean and rector of Lassington, was made otherwise unavailable through business for the cathedral, and was forced to get Hayes to read prayer for him in his stead (GCL, TR1, p. 110).

[257] J. Saunders, 'Music and Moonlighting: the Cathedral Choirmen of Early Modern England, 1558-1649', pp. 157-166.

[258] Even with additional moonlighting, many of Gloucester's singingmen struggled with poverty, and the dean and chapter occasionally paid small sums of charity towards their musicians. For example, 2*s*. 6*d*. was given to lay-singingman Peter Brooke in 1625 'in regard of his Povertie' (GCL, TR1, p. 94). Minor-canon Thomas Tully also appears to have fallen on hard times in 1630, for he was given 10*s*. 'at the lying in of his wife' and another £2 10*s*. 'in extreme Necessity' (GCL, TR1, p. 218). Tully may have remained in relative poverty, for he was given another 10*s*. in 1633 (GCL, TR1, p. 284).

payments to perform tasks related to musical provision, sourcing music books or pricking music.[259] Several of the members of the choir, including William Dounton and John Merro, were also appointed to organise the preachers throughout the year.[260] Even some of the essential provisions for the cathedral were also provided by choirmen to increase their income. Philip Hosier, for example, was paid £2 5*s*. in 1630 'for 90£ of waxe Candles'.[261] Similarly, some minor-canons sought employment largely based the cathedral itself, acting as surrogates to the serving chancellor within the diocese's consistory court.[262] Some singingmen were also apparitors for the consistory court.[263] However, even with these additional opportunities provided through the cathedral, choirmen often required

[259] The provision of musical resources was usually the responsibility of the master of choristers. In 1629, for example, Philip Hosier was paid 10*s*. 'for A sett of Bookes', and a further £1 was paid 'for A sett of bookes for the use of the Quire' in 1632 (GCL, TR1, pp. 183, 255). Hosier's successor John Okeover was also paid £1 'for a booke of Anthemes' in 1640 (GCL, TR2, p. 153). Additional payments were also made to the masters of the choristers for the creation of copies for the choir. Hosier was frequently performing this duty whilst in office. In 1626 he was paid 10*s*. for pricking Bookes by Master Deanes Appointment', a further £2 'for pricking ten quire of paper' in 1627, and another £1 10*s*. 'for prickinge Bookes for the Quier' in 1636 (GCL, TR1, pp. 109, 133). Occasionally, payments towards the provision of musical resources were made to other members of the choir. For example, lay-singingman William Dounton was paid 1*s*. 'for a Psalter' in 1625 (GCL, TR1, p. 86).
[260] William Dounton was paid 2*s*. 'for writtinge the table for Sermons' in 1625. John Merro was paid 2*s*. 'for writeing the tables' in 1626, 1628, 1629, 1631, 1633, 1634, 1635, 1637 (GCL, TR1, pp. 86, 134, 180, 184, 233, 277; GCL, TR2, pp. 15, 41, 87).
[261] GCL, TR1, p. 209. Hosier continued this provision. In 1631 he was paid the sums of £1 11*s*. 8*d*. and a further £1 'for 20£ Waxe light' and 'for Candles'. He was paid £4 'for 48£ of Wax candles att 20d the pound' in 1636 and £3 13*s*. 'for Fortye fowre poundes of waxe Candles' in 1637. (GCL, TR1, p. 233; GCL, TR2, pp. 64, 88). Richard Marwood was also paid £2 15*s*.for the same provision in 1634 and £4 1*s*. 8*d*. in 1635 (GCL, TR2, pp. 16, 42).
[262] The minor-canons Walter Jones, John Ward, Thomas Tomkins, and William Edwards all served as surrogates in Gloucester's consistory. Surrogates often managed much of the uncontentious business within the court, such as administering oaths, directly copying or validating copies of documents, proving wills, and validating depositions. They were often appointed to fulfil the duties and actions of the chancellor in their absence (Frank Hockaday, 'The Consistory Court of the Diocese of Gloucester', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 46 (1924), p. 205).
[263] For example, singingman Robert Draper was head apparitor within the diocese by 1576. An apparitor, also known as a mandatory and commonly referred to as a summoner, was a public-facing officer that acted as official messengers of the court, carrying and delivering citations to summon the parties or witnesses to court. There were one or more apparitors within each deanery, and a head-apparitor who called the parties cited within court; the head-apparitor was usually appointed by the chancellor, whilst they then named their apparitors (F. Hockaday, 'The Consistory Court of the Diocese of Gloucester', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 46 (1924), pp. 206-207).

alternative sources of income. For those that were ordained, a neighbouring benefice was often the answer. For the laymen, an alternative trade was necessary.

Some singingmen utilised their skills and entered a trade incorporating music. The only evidence of any extra-curricular musical activity from any of Gloucester's singingmen comes from John Merro, a lay-singingman between 1609 and 1639.[264] Merro has been identified as being the copyist of at least three partbooks, the copying of which was likely to have been concurrent with his time at Gloucester.[265] Given the difficulty of the works within the partbooks, Merro was clearly a competent viol player. These partbooks are likely to have been copied and used by Merro in the 1620s and 30s to teach the viol to Gloucester's choristers and are significant in their contents, particularly the works for one, two, and three lyra viols in tablature.[266] Similarly, many of Bristol's choirmen moonlighted by playing the

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[264] A biography has been provided in Andrew Ashbee, Robert Thompson, and Jonathan Wainwright, eds., *The Viola Da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music, Volume I* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 9-10.

[265] Whilst Craig Monson had estimated that Merro's earliest partbooks, the Drexel partbooks, were likely to have been copied between 1615 and 1630, David Fallows argues that evidence taken from the bindings suggests that the partbooks were bound no later than 1620. The Drexel partbooks, Drexel MSS 4180-5, are described, and their contents listed, within Craig Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650: the Sources and the Music* (Ann Arbor, 1982), pp. 133-158. Philip Brett was the first to note that they were in the hand of John Merro (Philip Brett, *Consort Songs* (London, 1967), p. 173). These are generally agreed to be the earliest of his three sets of partbooks. The binding of the Wells fragments of the Drexel partbooks was by Francis Peerse, the binder at the Bodleian between 1613 and 1622 and so may be dated to between then (J. Basil Oldham, *English Blind-Stamped Bindings* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 55; David Fallows, 'The Drexel Fragments of Early Tudor Song', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 1993, No. 26 (1993), pp. 5-18). Merro's other two partbooks, British Library, Add. 17792-6, and Bodleian Library, Mus. Sch. D. 245-7, were first noted as being from Merro's hand in Pamela Willetts, 'Music from the Circle of Anthony Wood at Oxford', *The British Museum Quarterly*, 24 (1961), pp. 71-75.

[266] In 1628 the cathedral paid 10*s*. 'to John Merro for a Rome which he rented of John Beames to teache the Children to playe uppon the Vialls' (GCL, TR1, p. 159). This arrangement continued, for 10*s*. was paid 'To Thomas Tully for the Chamber Master Merroe holdeth' in 1629, and a further 10*s*. in 1630 'To Thomas Tully for the roome Master Meroo teacheth on Violl' (GCL TR1, pp. 183, 210). The manuscript itself has been described thoroughly in A. Ashbee, R. Thompson, and J. Wainwright, eds., *The Viola Da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music, Volume I*, pp. 139-66. For more on their contents, and possible connections with the court of Prince Henry, see Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: the Violin at the English Court, 1540-1690* (Oxford, 1993), p. 208; John Cunningham, 'Music for the Privy Chamber: Studies in the Consort Music of William Lawes (1602-45)' (PhD Thesis, The University of Leeds, 2007), pp. 135-136; J. Cunningham, ''Let Them Be Lusty, Smart-Speaking Viols': William Lawes and the Lyra Viol Trio', *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America*, 43 (2006), pp. 32-68.

organ within Bristol's parishes on Sunday mornings.[267] Many more had trades or roles not necessarily related to music; their cathedral office may have been their secondary job. Gloucester's lay-singingman John Sandy was a key figure within the city and was able to utilise his expertise in both music and as a blacksmith to frequently maintain and repair the city's bells and chimes.[268] Sandy was only one of a number of Gloucester's lay-singingmen with alternative trades. Christopher Hayes was a glazier, John Freame was likely a tailor, and William Collins may have been a pewterer.[269] The absence of musical personnel at the cathedrals was a large issue for musical performance, and one that could not properly be reformed adequately without additional financial resources. The frequent orders in attempting to ensure their presence at services, and in the efforts taken to increase choirmens' stipends to attract more musically capable personnel within their mean financial

[267] For more, see p. 288.

[268] Sandy was paid occasional and infrequent extraordinary sums throughout his tenure at the cathedral, such as being paid 10*s*. 'for woorke about the Chymes' in 1624 (GCL, TR1, p. 67). Sandy rented the former shop of prominent parishioner, smith, and former singingman at the cathedral, Richard Sandy, from the parish of St. Aldate in 1595 (GA, P154/6/CW/1/29). He likely took up the family profession, for he and his wife, Margery, took on apprentices as a blacksmith between at least 1596 and 1604 (Jill Barlow, ed., *A Calendar of the Registers of Apprentices of the City of Gloucester, 1595-1700* (Bristol, 2001), p. 3). He was frequently paid to repair and maintain the bells and chimes at St. Michael's, Gloucester, and St. Aldate from at least 1603 (GA, P154/14/CW/2/1; GA, P154/6/CW/1/36-44; GA, P154/6/CW/2/7). A surviving agreement between him and St. Michael's churchwardens regarding the repairing and maintenance of the chimes lists him as a 'blacksmith' (GA, P154/14, CW 3/1, loose folio). Performing such blacksmith services within the cathedral likely saw him to be one of the 'lay singingmen who have petty canons pay' in 1610 (GCL, TR1).

[269] Hayes received various payments for glazing from the cathedral and St. Mary de Crypt and took on apprentices (GCL, TR1, pp. 187, 257, 259; GA, GBR F4/5, p. 103; GA, GBR F4/5, ff. 134v., 137v.; GA, GBR F4/5, f.195r; GA, GBR C10/1, 1/348; J. Barlow, ed., *A Calendar of the Registers of Apprentices of the City of Gloucester, 1595-1700*, p. 63). Freame is likely to be the son of Thomas Freame, a tailor of Cirencester, that was apprenticed to John Whitter in 1609 (GA, GBR C10/1, 1/177; J. Barlow, ed., *A Calendar of the Registers of Apprentices of the City of Gloucester, 1595-1700*, p. 34). He later took on apprentices by himself as a tailor in 1619, 1622, 1625, and 1631 (GA, GBR C10/1, 1/288; J. Barlow, ed., *A Calendar of the Registers of Apprentices of the City of Gloucester, 1595-1700*, p. 50). Collins may have been the pewterer who took on an apprentice in 1627 (GA, GBR C10/1, 1/357; J. Barlow, ed., *A Calendar of the Registers of Apprentices of the City of Gloucester, 1595-1700*, p. 65). It is also possible that this was the William Collins that was parish clerk of St. Mary de Lode, although the only existing evidence to suggest this is the agreement by Gloucester's common council in 1632 'that William Collins Clarke of St Maryes shall have for his paynes in ringing the Sermon Bell and seeing the poore to bee placed and kept in order the summe of xx*s*. yearly' (GA, GBR B3/2, p. 5).

situations, were intended to fulfil the growing desire for a more ceremonial form of worship championed by Archbishop Laud and his supporters.

This period also saw efforts to improve the cathedrals' musical proficiency. To do this, the choirmen needed occasional correction and their stipends ultimately enlarged to attract more proficient musicians. In Gloucester, the 1613 episcopal visitation shows that the chapter thought the choirmen to have 'tollerable skill in singing', whilst the representatives of the choir demonstrated that there may have been limited resources or minimal enthusiasm to supply the choir.[270] 'Tollerable' was certainly not a positive description of the choir and successive deans and bishops worked to ensure their improvement. Both cathedrals continued to punish their unruly choirmen. In 1606, Bristol's William Deane, a deacon supplying the place of a minor-canon, was even expelled for false ficta, contrafacta, and for not improving following a previous warning.[271] Warnings were also made at Gloucester by Dean Winniffe, admonishing three lay-singingmen 'to gett more skill in singinge'.[272] Their behaviour during service was also targeted. In 1625 it was ordered that

> Whereas the service of God is much disturbed by such of the quire that in time of devine prayers use to talke and jangle to their fellowes or others, yt is therefore

[270] The choir's representatives were the schoolmaster, John Clarke, Precentor Thomas Tomkin, and fellow choirmen, Richard Marwood, John Sandy, and Thomas Tully. They presented that they required 'the Bible of the laste translation, 8. Psalteres and Copes for the Celebration of the Communion' (GA, GDR 120, unpaginated).
[271] BA, DC/A/7/1/3, f. 75r.
[272] Lay-singingmen Christopher Hayes, John Freame, and William Collins were all required to improve their singing. The admonition states that 'Whereas at the last auditt in chapter then held it was ordered that Christopher Hayes, John Freame, and William Collins should endeavor to improve their skill in singing by this day, which thoughe they have done in some small measure, yet not soe as they might, they are nowe admonished to more endeavor in that kinde against the next auditt' (GCL, Chapter Act Book 1, f. 45v.; transcribed in S. Eward, ed., *Gloucester Cathedral Chapter Act Book, 1616-1687*, p. 40). The prior order appears not to have been noted within the chapter act book.

> ordered that, after warninge given by the chaunter to such of the said quire as shall soe offend for the feirst time, for every offence afterwards the partie offendinge shall forfeit two pence.[273]

These orders were evidently not enough to prevent the unruly singingmen, for in 1630 'the pety cannons and singinge men were admonished that none of them should not talke or reade any other bookes beinge not pertinente to the service of God, nor goe out of the quire in tyme of service unles it be uppon urgent necessity'.[274] The following month they were also ordered that they 'should comme into the quire of this church every Sunday and holyday, in the time of divine service, before the creed be read', on pain of forfeiting part of their wage.[275] Endeavours to reform the soundscape of the cathedral also saw an effort to procure greater musical talent. This can be seen through Bristol's manipulation of cathedral stipends to provide increased stipends to their musicians, outlined above and in the order to increase the stipend of Gloucester Cathedral's organist in 1639.[276] The efforts of Bristol and Gloucester Cathedrals were typical of these early-Stuart institutions; efforts were increasingly being made to improve the ministerial and musical performances within their practices of worship.

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[273] GCL, Chapter Act Book 1, f. 44r.; transcribed in S. Eward, ed., *Gloucester Cathedral Chapter Act Book, 1616-1687*, p. 37.
[274] GCL, Chapter Act Book 1, pp. 54r.; transcribed in S. Eward, ed., *Gloucester Cathedral Chapter Act Book, 1616-1687*, p. 53.
[275] The singingmen were to forfeit a penny every time they were absent after the creed every Sunday and holiday (GCL, Chapter Act Book 1, p. 54v.; transcribed in S. Eward, ed., *Gloucester Cathedral Chapter Act Book, 1616-1687*, p. 54).
[276] For Gloucester Cathedral's rise in organists' stipend, see pp. 281-282.

Metrical Psalmody, c.1603-1642: Popular Practice and Appropriation

Metrical psalmody continued to grow throughout the country. By 1600, English congregations were familiar with singing metrical psalms and were regularly singing them within services, both in the parishes and within the cathedrals.[277] However, for such a widely practiced form of worship, both within and outside of church, references to metrical psalmody are even scarcer than throughout Elizabeth's reign. This can partially be put down to the psalters commonly being bound together with the *Book of Common Prayer*. Indeed, the only two surviving contemporary *Books of Common Prayer* that are deposited within Gloucestershire Archives both contain *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*.[278] Nevertheless, several cases within the diocese's consistory court provides evidence that metrical psalmody was being practiced within parishes and had become a way for godly individuals, in particular, to outwardly show their religious identities.

Reformation historians have focussed upon the use of metrical psalmody in the construction and expression of godly Protestant identities in addition to their broader popularity.[279] The tendency to use such psalmody within private and public devotion within godly communities evidently grew throughout Elizabeth's reign. In 1589 Anthony Bridgeman

[277] C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, p. 409. Their performance in Gloucester Cathedral can be seen, for example, in 1630 when the dean and chapter ordered that the city's ministers and civic authorities were permitted to sit in a seat in front of them during sermons, although the doorkeeper was, 'if there be any rome lefte there at the psalme before the sermons, to admitt as many others as may conveniently fill up the rome' (GCL, Chapter Act Book 1, f.54r.; transcribed in S. Eward, ed., *Gloucester Cathedral Chapter Act Book, 1616-1687*, p. 54).

[278] The only surviving *Books of Common Prayer* are from Hasfield and Tirley and dated 1627 and 1631 respectively. Hasfield's *Book of Common Prayer* has the binding and the front and end pages missing but the psalter's cover is dated 1627 (GA, P166/IN/4/1, STC (2nd ed.), 2599.5). Tirley's Book of Common Prayer (GA, P334/IN/4/1, STC (2nd ed.), 2625).

[279] P. Collinson, 'Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism as Forms of Popular Religious Culture', in C. Durston and J. Eales, eds., *The Culture of English Puritanism 1560-1700* (Basingstoke, 1996), pp. 48-49; Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales, 'The Puritan Ethos, 1560-1700', in C. Durston and J. Eales, eds., *The Culture of English Puritanism 1560-1700* (Basingstoke, 1996), p. 19.

of Mitcheldean, in the Forest of Dean, presented thirteen 'branches', or proposals of religious or social reform, to the Queen. Bridgeman's godly proposals included that 'The psalmes of the prophett David being now in english meeter to be printed in folio in such sort as prophane ballades now are'.[280] Whilst not being a particularly radical proposal, the godly clearly wished for these edifying psalms to be cheap and accessible to all, replacing the prophane ballads commonly sold and performed elsewhere. Their approval amongst the godly remained throughout the period, with Tewkesbury's former nonconformist minister John Geree endorsing singing the psalms as part of the identity of godly worship within his *The Character of an Old English-Puritan or Non-Conformist* (1646).[281]

The reverence and respect given towards metrical psalmody amongst godly communities can also be seen amongst the increased efforts by Bishop Thomas Ravis between 1605 and 1607 to tackle nonconformity throughout the diocese.[282] In particular, a network of nonconformist ministers and laity within Tewkesbury and nearby Forthampton was detected and prosecuted through the consistory court, revealing metrical psalmody's revered status amongst certain godly individuals.[283] In a dispute between the two parties,

[280] Bridgemans other proposals included: 'A restraint of the profaning of the Saboth day especiallie with minstrelcie, baiting of beares and other beastes, and such like'; 'To prohibite every spirituall person to have any more then one benifice, and that they be resident uppon the same except six weekes in the yeare'; 'that there be not any admitted into the ministery but at such time as there shalbe a place voide of a Curate, And that such as can preache the word be therunto preferred rather then others'. He also proposes 'That there be no booke pamphlett sonnet ballad or libell printed or written of purpose either to be sold or openlie published without your majesties licence' (Audrey Douglas and Peter Greenfield, eds., *Records of Early English Drama: Cumberland, Westmorland, Gloucestershire*, pp. 333-334].

[281] Geree stated that the 'chiefest musick was singing of Psalms: wherein though he neglected not the melody of the voice, yet he chiefly looked after that of the heart'. The puritan also 'disliked such Church musick as moved sensuall delight, and was an hindrance to spirituall inlargements' (J. Geree, *The Character of an Old English-Puritan or Non-Conformist* (London, 1646). See also Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales, 'The Puritan Ethos, 1560-1700', pp. 14-15.

[282] For more on Bishop Thomas Ravis, see pp. 58-60.

[283] These records were utlised by Daniel Beaver to demonstrate the formation of a 'cohesive circle of godly families' and to demonstrate the ensuing conflict between groups of contrasting religious identities within the

the conformist curate of Forthampton, Richard Gardner, appeared in the consistory to give evidence against the behaviour of the former deprived nonconformist curate, Thomas Drake. Gardner reported that Drake had stated his regret in previously subscribing to the 'erroneous' Thirty-Nine articles, and that he seldom kneeled at divine service, nor stood up at the saying of the Creed. The conformist schoolmaster of Forthampton, William Restell, claimed that that Drake had come into the church many times within the last three months and

> without anye regarde or reverence of the churche & prayeres he doth come allmost to the Curates seate before he putteth of his hatt & then doth putt it of & sitt downe in a seate & putt his head uppon his hand a verye litle space as thoughe he prayed & then sitteth upp in the seate agayne & putteth on his hatt & soe weareth his hatt on his head all the tyme of divine prayeres unles there be a psalme songe & then duringe the singinge of the salme he will putt of his hatt & no longer neither doth he kneele in tyme of divine prayeres or stand upp att the sayeinge of the Creed or geve anye Reverence att all to divine prayers more then if he were a sate in an ordynarye manes house.[284]

These actions were also confirmed by other parties. The act of doffing or removing one's hat was a social custom to signal respect or reverence towards an individual or place. The 18th article from the recently introduced 1604 Canons states that 'No Man shall cover his Head in the Church or Chapel in the time of Divine Service, except he have some Infirmity; in which

communities (D. Beaver, *Parish Communities and Religious Conflict in the Vale of Gloucester, 1590-1690* (London, 1998).
[284] GA, GDR 100, pp. 84-90.

case, let him wear a Night-cap or Coif'.[285] Drake had openly refused to pay the canonically required reverence to anything except for two features at the core of godly worship: extempore prayer and metrical psalmody. One may also assume that Drake would have also removed his hat for a worthy preacher. This act shows how some godly individuals revered the psalms. This was not a simple case of paying reverence to a Biblical source, as he evidently kept his hat on during the epistle and gospel readings. His personal active involvement, and his own direct communication with God, appear to have been the only parts of public worship that he felt deserved reverence.

It is possible that an intended reform in practices of metrical psalmody was an aspect of Laudian reform.[286] Practices varied widely between churches. Some may have harmonised the tunes with composed harmonies, farburden, or discant, whilst some may have accompanied them with organs. For many churches, however, metrical psalmody would have been performed monophonically. It was often the minister or clerk that led the psalm singing, with churches and diocesan officials sometimes specifically requiring their parish clerks to be skilful in singing. In this area, the first surviving evidence of a diocesan official ordering the parish clerk to be sufficient within worship was the ceremonialist Bishop Robert Wright of Bristol in 1631.[287] Within his articles for the diocese of Bristol he enquired whether every church's clerk was at least 20 years of age, of honest conversation, 'sufficient for reading and writing, and skilfull in singing'.[288] This requisite was also repeated within the

[285] The canons also It also dictate that all persons should kneel at the General Confession, Litany, and other Prayers, and should stand up at the saying of the Belief. For more on hats and bodies at prayer, see John Craig, 'Bodies at Prayer in Early Modern England' in A. Ryrie and N. Mears, eds., *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain* (Aldershot, 2013), pp. 173-196.
[286] For discussion surrounding the term 'Laudian', see p. 9.
[287] For Bishop Robert Wright's influence within Bristol, see pp. 90-96.
[288] *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church, Volume II*, p. 67.

Laudian Bishop Skinner's articles for the diocese of Bristol in 1640.[289] No such requirement appears to have existed throughout the visitation articles of the diocese of Gloucester.[290] How parish clerks led the psalms is a matter of debate and likely varied between churches. Some may have simply provided the tune before starting, provided the first few notes, or initially gathered the congregation on the correct note before starting a line.[291] Lining-out, the practice where the minister or parish clerk says, intones, or sings a psalm's line before having them repeated back by the congregation, may have also been used. This practice was unfavoured by many. In 1636 it was condemned as an 'uncough and undecent custome of late taken up, to have every line first read and then sung by the people'.[292] Craig has argued that the practice can be found as early as the 1550s, although some scholars are sceptical.[293]

This movement of reform may have been the impetus behind the benefaction of three metrical psalters in Bourton-on-the-Water in 1635. Bourton-on-the-Water was a wealthy rectory and had been held by numerous prominent figures such as the future

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[289] Bishop Skinner enquired whether the parish clerk was 20 years of age at least, of honest conversation, 'sufficient for reading and writing, and singing' (R. Skinner, *Articles to be Ministred, Enquired of, and Answered: in the Visitation of the Right Reverend Father in God, Robert Skinner, by Gods Divine Providence, Lord Bishop of Bristol* (London, 1640). For Bishop Skinner's influence within Bristol, and particularly the soundscape, see pp. 268-277.

[290] It is also interesting to observe that the parish clerk's duties outlined at North Nibley in 1639 did not specifically include a requirement for a skill in music, although it may be implied through his duty to be serviceable to the minister and to 'doe all other dutyes as shall belong unto his place'. The parish clerk was to be: 'serviceable to the Minister, & shall ring the Bells at time, convenient of appointed; & alsoe shall be carefull to preserve the ornaments of the Church, & keepe the Church cleane, sweeping the same unto every weeke, with all the seates tharin'; ring the curfew bell at 4 o'clock in the morning and 8 o'clock at night between Michaelmas and Our Lady Day; maintain the clock to his best abilities; and to 'doe all other dutyes as shall belong unto his place' (GA, P230/CW/2/1, unpaginated).

[291] C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, pp. 419-434.

[292] Quote by Matthew Wren, the bishop of Norwich can be found in K. Fincham, ed., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church, Volume II*, pp. 148-149; also quoted in T. Duguid, *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice*, p. 195.

[293] Duguid argues that the evidence often provided for lining out may also indicate the practice of the precentor beginning each stanza before the congregation joins (T. Duguid, *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice*, pp. 195-196; J. Craig, 'Sounding Godly: from Bilney to Bunyan', unpublished paper). See also J. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England*, p. 124 for the potential example of lining out at St. Michael, Cornhill in 1592.

president of Magdalen College Nicholas Bond and Robert Wright, the Bishop of Bristol that held the rectory concurrently to his see.[294] Despite being non-resident, Wright's ceremonialist beliefs would have likely been implemented within the parish during his tenure.[295] The incumbent rector at the gifting of these metrical psalters was Thomas Temple, a Doctor of Civil Law who had obtained the rectory under suspicious circumstances and had become embroiled in numerous scandalous court cases with his parishioners.[296] He was likely a supporter of the religious reforms throughout the 1630s.[297] Nevertheless, in 1635 Andrew Laurance, a husbandman of Bourton-on-the-Water, bequeathed 3*s*.

> to the Church of Bourton [...] to buy three Psalme=bookes, that the youth of the said Towne or Congregation (as many as may or can conveniently together at once make right use of them) have the use thereof (being for present unprovided) in the Church of the said Towne only & only at the time of divine service, and godes worship: at other times to be kept in the church Chest. And such parties only to have the use of

[294] Nicholas Bond was presented to the rectory 20 April 1574 by the crown and had vacated by 20 December 1575, when his successor, Robert Awfield, was instituted (GA, GDR 27A). Bishop Robert Wright was presented to the rectory on 2 June 1624 by John Dutton of Sherborne and had resigned the rectory by 30 December 1629 (GA, GDR D1).

[295] See pp. 91-96 for evidence of Bishop Robert Wright's implementation of Arminian beliefs within Bristol. Evidence for such Arminian alterations in the church prove elusive, although Wright's own benefactions and involvement certainly stretched to spending almost £400 to rebuild the parish's rectory (C. Haigh, 'Dr. Temple's Pew: Sex and Clerical Status in the 1630s', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68/3 (2005), p. 515).

[296] Haigh reveals that Thomas Temple and his father had bought the advowson from Sir Gerard Fleetwood for £1,200. They had then conveyed it to Sir John Rowse, their relative, and had persuaded the incumbent, Bishop Robert Wright, to resign. Rowse eventually presented Thomas to the rectory in 1629. Temple's involvement with several court cases is covered in depth within Haigh's 'Dr. Temple's Pew: Sex and Clerical Status in the 1630s', pp. 497-516. A series of allegations and court cases, largely founded upon the issues over hierarchical status within a parish, ultimately saw the allegation that Temple had sex with the parish clerk's wife in church; Temple was ultimately found innocent.

[297] His religious preferences are unclear, although he became a proctor for the diocese of Gloucester in the convocation of 1640 and was also a chaplain to the Prince of Wales; this was likely an appointment that was only available to supporters of the religious reforms throughout the 1630s. Bourton-on-the-Water was also one of the few churches within the diocese not cited to the consistory court in January 1636 to certify that they had implemented the moving of the communion table 'altarwise' and had railed it in (GA, GDR 195).

> them as the Minister by his discretion shall judge most meete & convenient, that they may joyne with the congregation in Singing those holy and heavenly Psalmes wi̲th melody unto the Lord in heart & voyce.[298]

This not only demonstrates the presence of psalm singing within Bourton, but also suggests that the inclusion of all parishioners was desired. According to this bequest, for the youth to join with the congregation's singing, physical copies were necessary until they had either memorised them or procured their own copy. Lining out was either not being practiced in Bourton, or this provision was intended to help eliminate the practice. This was clearly an endorsed activity within the parish, and Laurance himself evidently found himself within Temple's conservative camp, for he names James Holloway, Temple's chosen curate and one of Laurance's 'Loveinge friendes & neibou̲res', as a supervisor of his last will and testament.[299] Evidence such as this may suggest that the Laudian faction were attempting to improve the provision and practice of metrical psalmody, an aspect of reform which would also see the reintroduction of organs into the soundscape of worship within many parishes.

Conclusion

For many, singing was a core aspect to worship in both pre- and post-Reformation Bristol and Gloucestershire. A combination of growing theological criticism, active ministry, and financial difficulties following the abolition of the chantries meant that parochial choirs had been silenced before 1570, even in the most resistant of parishes. Instead, many of Bristol's churches found those funds formerly for musical provision redistributed into providing the

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[298] GA, GDR R8, 1636/2.
[299] GA, GDR R8, 1636/2.

pinnacles of reformed worship in preaching and education. It was these very reformers, however, that repurposed music into a more inclusive and popular form. Metrical psalmody was swiftly adopted by the returning Marian exiles and was soon practiced throughout the dioceses. Metrical psalmody was also mandated by Elizabethan and early-Stuart diocesan authorities. Whilst metrical psalmody had a wide appeal, certain godly communities revered them as a particularly central part of worship. This did not mean the end for choral singing, however, with Bristol's churches paying the cathedral's choir and the waits to sonically mark important dates within their calendar. The movement in the 1620s and 1630s related to Laudianism attempted to reform the soundscape of worship within both the cathedrals and the parishes. Singing remained a central aspect of worship.

CHAPTER III:

Organs

The fate of the organs' use within worship was closely knit with that of singing. It has been estimated that there were around 7,000 church organs throughout England and Wales by 1535, yet by 1644 their use within worship was expressly forbidden when Parliament ordered that 'all organs and the frames or cases wherein they stand in all churches or chapels [...] shall be taken away, and utterly defaced, and none other hereafter set up in their places'.[1] Many reformers had rejected the use of organs within worship alongside 'curious singing'.[2] To them, clarity of scripture was paramount. They denounced the distractions created by traditional musical performances within worship, their associations with the Catholic liturgy, and their capability to generate objectionable emotions.[3] Despite their increasing influence during Edward's reign, and in the first two decades of Elizabeth's reign, their wishes to secure the abolition of organs within worship ultimately failed. Whilst the institutions that had financially resourced the maintenance of traditional musical provision within worship had been removed, organs managed to survive, even undergoing a momentary renaissance around the 1620s and 1630s, before their widespread silencing and destruction in the 1640s. This chapter chronologically traces the varied fortunes of Bristol and Gloucestershire's historic organs, observing how ecclesiastical authority and popular religion reformed the use of organs within post-reformation worship. It demonstrates that

[1] Dominic Gwynn, 'A New Pre-Reformation Organ for the Church of St. Teilo' in S. Harper, P. Barnwell, and M. Williamson, eds., *Late Medieval Liturgies Enacted* (Farnham, 2016), p. 79; ordinance from Parliament quoted in M. Aston, *Broken Idols of the Reformation*, p. 531.

[2] For more on the rejection of organs, particularly surrounding the 1562/3 convocation, see pp. 161-168, 232-237.

[3] M. Aston, *Broken Idols of the Reformation*, pp. 488-490.

the fate of organs throughout Bristol and Gloucestershire varied widely, dependant on institutional, ministerial, and societal conditions.

Henrician Organs: 'for the increase of divine service'

Organs were used frequently on the eve of the Reformation. As seen within the previous chapter, criticism of music within worship by early reformers had met muted reception.[4] Vitriol against organs from advocates of reform was growing elsewhere upon the continent. Some of this animosity found its way over to England and had gathered momentum within the 1530s. However, many churches continued to maintain and increase their musical provision throughout Henry's reign. Organs' use within worship had developed from instruments capable of providing occasional noisy festal flourishes adjunct to the liturgy, to supporting or substituting sung monophonic plainsong, to playing in alteration with the liturgical chant.[5] The instrument's technology had rapidly advanced to mirror these increasingly versatile and virtuosic demands.[6] These developments correlate directly with the increasing number of organs appearing throughout England's churches. Larger institutions may have held anywhere between three to five organs, often of differing sizes for differing liturgical roles in different locations. At least one organ was also present within most parish churches, chapels of ease, hospitals, and guilds, with richer churches and major

[4] See pp. 123-130.

[5] M. Williamson, 'Liturgical Music in the Late-Medieval Parish: Organs and Voices, Ways and Means', pp. 182-183; Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 17.

[6] Key sizes were reduced between 1400 and 1511, the keys were given a lighter and more efficient action, and stops were added to enable the division of individual ranks within the previously indivisible chorus or 'Blockwerk', a development which had been introduced to England prior to 1511. See D. Gwynne, 'A New Pre-Reformation Organ for the Church of St. Teilo', p. 87; S. Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, pp. 21, 26; M. Williamson, 'Liturgical Music in the Late-Medieval Parish: Organs and Voices, Ways and Means', pp. 182-183.

town churches often having more than one.[7] It is therefore simultaneously surprising and unsurprising that the only known fragmentary evidence of technical components from English Tudor organs, apart from the assorted fragments of organ cases, originate from two parish churches: Wetheringsett and Wingfield, both within Suffolk.[8] There is little to suggest that Bristol and Gloucestershire did not adhere to the national narrative.

Amongst the scant surviving records within the regions, numerous churchwardens' accounts within Bristol reveal the use of organs through the frequent repair and replacement of the most perishable components: the leatherwork, bellows, and cords that were pulled to inflate them. Musical provision was integral to worship for many, and improvements in musical provision were ultimately performed 'for the increase of divine service'.[9] Clive Burgess has shown that All Saints, Bristol, had previously acquired organs at some point in the early-1450s and purchased another in 1472.[10] These new organs were to stand upon the newly erected rood loft, with a desk also added on top for the singers.[11] The

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[7] D. Gwynn, 'A New Pre-Reformation Organ for the Church of St. Teilo', pp.79-89; S. Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, p. 79; M. Williamson, 'Liturgical Music in the Late-Medieval Parish: Organs and Voices, Ways and Means', p.183.

[8] Both surviving technical components of the Wetheringsett and Winfield organs are fragments of their soundboards. The Wetheringsett soundboard, believed to date from around 1520, was discovered in 1977 after being used for as a door for perhaps 300 years. It was later identified as an organ's soundboard by Timothy Easton after being used as a door. Wingfield's soundboard was rediscovered by Dominic Gwynne in 1995. See Timothy Easton and Stephen Bicknell, 'Two Pre-Reformation Organ Soundboards', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, 34/3 (1995), pp. 268-295; S. Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, pp. 30-32.

[9] C. Burgess, ''For the Increase of Divine Service': Chantries in the Parish in Late Medieval Bristol', pp. 46-65; C. Burgess, *'The Right Ordering of Souls*.

[10] All Saints had acquired organs at some point in the early-1450s for £6 6*s*. 8*d*. They also bought new organs from the organ builder Thomas Wotton in 1472/3 for the total sum of £14 1*s*. 8*d*. (C. Burgess, ed., *The Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints', Bristol: Part 2*, p. 70; C. Burgess, *'The Right Ordering of Souls*, pp. 395-396). Thomas Wotton appears also to have built organs of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1487 and Merton College, Oxford in 1489 (S. Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, p. 22).

[11] In 1472 the carpenter John Hill was paid 'for making the rood loft that the organs stand upon, and for the enterclose underneath' (C. Burgess, ed., *The Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints', Bristol: Part 2*, p. 67-70). The organ was likely to have been moderately sized, perhaps the same size as the organs built by Mighell Glaucets for St. Michael Cornhill, London, in 1475, the organ by the Jesus Altar within Lichfield Cathedral in 1482, or those built by Wotton himself for Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1487 (S. Bicknell, *The History of the*

uncommon placement of the organ in the rood loft not only indicates that All Saints had a substantial rood loft or pulpitum to bear the weight of an organ and singers, but also held a particular liturgical purpose in assisting musical provision. Nevertheless, the desire to enhance musical provision continued at All Saints, with a new organ built sometime between 1520 and 1521, and at least two organs were maintained throughout Henry's reign.[12] Unsurprisingly, organs can be shown to have been present within many of Bristol's Henrician churches, with maintenance of numerous organs also visible at St. John, Christchurch, St. Thomas, and St. Nicholas.[13]

In parishes where a greater level of musical sophistication was possible, such as All Saints, the soundscape could incorporate a varied number of deacons, subdeacons, clerks,

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English Organ, p. 22). This organ is likely to have been a single manual keyboard with only a few stops, if not only a single stop. It is also possible that the organ case itself was decorated in imagery, both in paint and in carvings, such as the surviving case of c.1530 in Old Radnor.

[12] A new organ was built in 1520 (C. Burgess, ed., *The Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints', Bristol: Part 2*, p. 253-261). The presence of two organs within the church is confirmed in 1523, with two consecutive entries within the churchwardens' accounts reveal 2*s*. was paid 'for mending the organs in the choir' and 16*d.* was paid 'for mending our old organs' (C. Burgess, ed., *The Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints', Bristol: Part 2*, p. 291). The 'old organs' were likely on top of the rood screen, with the new organs perhaps either sited within the lady chapel, besides the choir stalls in the chancel, or near another votive altar. This arrangement was common within larger parish churches, with some churches also possessing an additional portable organ (M. Williamson, 'Liturgical Music in the Late-Medieval Parish: Organs and Voices, Ways and Means', pp. 183-184; S. Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, p. 36). The organs at All Saints continued to be maintained throughout Henry's reign. The sum of 23*s*. 4*d*. was paid 'to the organ maker for new reforming the organs' in 1527, 6*d*. was paid in 1530 'for mendyng of the lyttyll organ And for glew & lether', and 1*d*. was paid in 1536 'for a cord to the organs'. A further 3*s*. 4*d*. also paid in 1538 'for mendynge of the organs', with a further 1*d*. for 'lether and glew to the same' (C. Burgess, ed., *The Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints', Bristol: Part 2*, p. 331; BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a).

[13] In 1541 St. John paid 2*s*. 'unto the organmaker for mending of the organ and the Bellows' (BA, P.St JB/ChW/1/a). In 1544 Christchurch paid 12*d*. 'for mendyng of the ij pere of Organnes' (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated). St. Thomas had their organ repaired twice throughout 1544, paying 2*s*. 8*d*. when 'Master Pekes putt a man to amende the Organs he had for his labur' and 12*d*. 'another tyme for mending the organs' (BA, P.St T/ChW/1). St. Nicholas also had two organs within their church, with another beneath them within their crypt by 1541; the accounts detailed that 6*d*. was paid 'For a new Je*re* For onn of the stopes of the new organs in the quyere', 12*d*. was paid to 'a preyst to mend the best organs', and 'the belews of the Smale organs inn the quyere' required repairing in 1542. They also had organs within the crypt, or crowd, beneath their church as they were repaired in 1531 (E. Atchley, 'On the Mediaeval Parish Records of the Church of St. Nicholas, Bristol', pp. 60, 67). Subsequent future payments for organ repair at St. Mary Redcliffe and St. Werburgh, also suggests the presence of at least one organ within their late-medieval churches.

and choristers to assist in any musical elaboration within any liturgical space. Organs were principally used in alternation with the choir in the Magnificat, Te Deum, hymns, and in both the Ordinary and Proper of the Mass. They may have also played the whole of the antiphon to either a psalm or canticle in the Office, and of the Offertory at the Mass. They essentially replaced one side of the choir, with variations of practices showing that the function of the organ could change from taking the role of the whole choir, the duty side of the choir, or solo singers that would usually stand on the pulpitum.[14] As outlined in the chapter on 'singing', available resources would have depended on the festal calendar and a desire for sonically highlighting the significance of such days. Following such patterns, certain organs were likely only used on specific feast days, with an organ on the rood screen often reserved for the greater feasts.[15]

Organs can also be seen to have been present within Henrician Gloucester and Gloucestershire. In Gloucester, St. Michael was evidently in the process of buying a new pair of organs in 1519, for Robert Lovett, in his last will and testament, bequeathed 20*s*. 'to the Bying of a newe paire of Organes in Seint mighell Church'.[16] The presence of at least one organ is also confirmed within their surviving Henrician churchwardens' accounts.[17] The

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[14] J. Harper, 'Liturgy and Music, 1350-1550', pp. 21-22; J. Harper, 'Alternatim performance of English pre-Reformation liturgical music for organ and voices composed c.1500-60', pp. 69-98.

[15] For example, the attendance of St. Michael, Cornhill's choirmaster in 1509 was only required 'at principal feasts, double feasts, feasts of nine lessons, and other such days as organs shall there be occupied' (M. Williamson, 'Liturgical Music in the Late-Medieval Parish: Organs and Voices, Ways and Means', p. 184). Similarly, the great organs upon the pulpitum at Durham were only to be played on principal feasts (Joseph Fowler, ed., *Rites of Durham: Being a Description Or Brief Declaration of All the Ancient Monuments, Rites, & Customs Belonging Or Being Within the Monastical Church of Durham Before the Suppression: Written 1593* (Durham, 1903), p. 16).

[16] Robert Lovett's last will and testament is dated 22 August 1519 and proved 12 September 1519 (TNA, PROB 11/19/296).

[17] In 1545 the churchwardens paid 1*d*. for 'a Corde for the organes', with a further 2*d*. paid the following year 'for ij cordes to the organes' in 1546. It is possible that that the 4*d*. 'paid for iiij cordes' in 1548 were also for the organs (GA, P154/14/CW/1/1-3).

presence of an organ is also indicated within the parish of St. John.[18] Elsewhere in Gloucestershire, organs can also be seen to have been maintained at Minchinhampton.[19] It is also unsurprising to find evidence of organs at the musically rich parish church within Cirencester, with Henry Tapper, a grocer of Cirencester, bequeathing £4 towards 'the bying of a new paier of organs to the saide churche of Cicestour' within his last will and testament in 1531.[20] Moreover, Cirencester's St. Christopher's Service supported an organ player by the time of its suppression in 1548, paying the incumbent organist Thomas Edmonds, the annual stipend of 100*s*. for this service by 1548.[21] Such redirection of chantry funds for additional musical provision was not uncommon at this time.[22] Organs were also evidently present in the Henrician parishes within the market towns of Chipping Sodbury and Wotton-

[18] In 1548 the returns provided to the commissioners overseeing the abolition of chantries reveal that their Rood Service was to provide a priest to sing within the church, to keep a yearly obit, to distribute money to the poor, and to provide money to an organ player 'toward the mending of his living'. This yearly amount is listed as 6*s*. 8*d*. 'accordinge to the firste foundacion' (J. Maclean, 'Chantry Certificates, Gloucestershire', pp.257-258).
[19] Minchinhampton evidently had at least one organ prior to 1516 when William Mayhue, within his last will and testament, bequeathed white cloth 'to the mayntenance of the Organyes in my parishe church [...] with this condicion yf the parishoners provyd certen Lande to the Mayntenaunce of the saide Organyes, and yf this provision Be not had I will this cloth be orderid by the wisdomys of the substanciall menne of this parish to the commen well of the church as it shalbe thought moste expedient to theme' (TNA, PROB 11/18/287). As a clothier, the cloth was likely intended be sold with the profits going towards the purchase of land with the intent to support and maintain the organs and, presumably, an organist.
[20] TNA, PROB 11/24/28.
[21] Although listed as 'St. Christopher priest and organist at Cirencester' by Baskerville, it is more likely that the funds previously allocated for a chantry priest were redirected to a lay-singer and organ player (J. Maclean, 'Chantry Certificates, Gloucestershire', p. 286). Baskerville lists Thomas Edmonds is as receiving the annual pension of £4 as the late priest and organist of St. Christopher's Service, Cirencester (G. Baskerville, 'The Dispossessed Religious of Gloucestershire', p. 106). His status as a layman is indicated through the lack of 'Sir' as a title compared to all the other priests. By 1548 the lands were used to maintain an organist 'singing & playeng in the seid parish Churche from tyme to tyme', perhaps indicating that he was required for every day that was not a feria.
[22] Another example where chantry funds were being redirecting towards funding additional musicians may be seen at St Mary at Hill, London, for example (Richard Lloyd, 'Music at the Parish Church of St Mary at Hill, London', *Early Music*, 25/2 (1997), pp. 221-226; C. Burgess, 'Shaping the Parish: St Mary at Hill, London, in the Fifteenth Century' in J. Blair and B. Golding, eds. *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Babara Harvey* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 246-286).

Under-Edge, which, like other communities in the area, were thriving through the growth of the cloth trade.[23] Organs were heard within many Henrician churches.

However, the fate of many monastic organs following the dissolution of the monasteries is uncertain. Many were sold following their confiscation, possibly giving other churches an opportunity to purchase them.[24] Following the dissolution of Tewkesbury Abbey in 1540, the Abbey Church was sold to the parishioners for £453, and most of the claustral buildings and the Lady Chapel were dissembled and sold for materials.[25] Many of the goods within the Lady Chapel, including the organ, evidently found their way into the hands of parishioner Richard Hawkyns.[26] The fate of this organ is unknown, although monuments from Tewkesbury's Lady Chapel were stripped, sold, or utilised in other ways.[27] Although

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[23] Chipping Sodbury, a parish of ease to Old Sodbury, is known to have had an organ prior to 1546 as the Brotherhood or Guild of Chipping Sodbury are recorded as maintaining an organ player within the church and their chantry for an annual stipend of 13*s*. 4*d*. (Francis Fox, 'On the Gilds of Sodbury and Dyrham', *Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 13 (1888), pp. 6-9). Despite Wotton-under-Edge's churchwardens' accounts now being lost, the early-19th century antiquarian Timothy Fosbrooke reports that John Smythe, an even earlier antiquarian of the early 17th century, had noted in some extracts of the original churchwardens' accounts that payments for blowing the organs were among the disbursements between 1496 and 1514 (Thomas Fosbrooke. *Records and Manuscripts Respecting the County of Gloucester*. Volume 1. (London, 1807), p. 486).

[24] Wing Church in Buckinghamshire purchased their organ from Woburn Abbey, whilst St. Mary, Shrewsbury, acquired theirs illegally for £13 6*s*. 8*d*. in 1549 from Strata Marcella Abbey (J. Harper, 'Continuity, Discontinuity, Fragments and Connections: The Organ in Church, c.1500-1640', in E. Hornby and D. Maw, eds., *Essays on the History of English Music in Honour of John Caldwell: Sources, Style, Performance, Historiography* (Woodbridge, 2010), p. 216; T. Reynolds, 'A Study of Music and Liturgy, Choirs and Organs in Monastic and Secular Foundations in Wales and the Borderlands, 1485-1645' (PhD thesis, University of Wales, Bangor, 2002), pp. 47-48, 206).

[25] C. Litzenberger, ed., *Tewkesbury Churchwardens' Accounts, 1563-1624* (Stroud, 1994), pp. vii-viii.

[26] Hawkyns' last will and testament, dated 29 January 1539, bequeathed 'The frontt of the altare the roodelofte the pavementt the stawles and Organes within our lady chapell' to his wife and her son, John Pert, for as long as they gave 20*s*. to the use of Tewkesbury's parish church. The will also outlines the boundaries of their property: 'Excepte the Battilment and Backe of rent bordes above the Stawles' (TNA, PROB 11/28/81).

[27] For example, the reputed memorial tomb of William La Zouche (d. 1337), formerly situated within the Lady Chapel, is currently sat within the garden of nearby Forthampton Court, formerly the residence of the abbots until the Dissolution. At the dissolution it was granted to John Wakeman, the last abbot and first Bishop of Gloucester. The tomb, now heavily weathered, was moved from the abbey's Lady Chapel at the dissolution and into the former abbot's garden (Ida Roper, *The Monumental Effigies of Gloucestershire and Bristol* (Gloucester, 1931), pp. 519-520).

large monastic abbeys such as Tewkesbury are likely to have had several organs, an organ was evidently present and being used within the new parish church in 1564, and it is possible that it may have been the same instrument. Whilst evidence is fragmentary, it appears that many organs continued to be heard throughout Bristol and Gloucestershire's Henrician churches. Whilst the preferment of reforming individuals to significant positions, such as Hugh Latimer's appointment as Bishop of Worcester in 1535, promulgated reformed beliefs and their preferences for clear vernacular scripture and preaching, there is little evidence that such thought found traction throughout the region.

Edwardian Organs: Increased Pressure, Varied Practices

For most, the changes seen in both the material and aural aspects of worship within the space of Edward's short reign were substantial. Edward's accession in 1547 marked an escalation in rhetoric against anything that held associations with traditional Catholic religion. By the end of Edward's reign, this escalation had led to the introduction of a full vernacular liturgy and to widespread iconoclasm. As outlined within the previous chapter, music's position within worship found itself increasingly under threat. In addition to the threat of organs obscuring the vernacular liturgy within Edward's reign, the late-medieval practice of replacing plainchant had made their sound alone potentially superstitious.[28] Practices within worship increasingly varied between institutions, largely dependent on an ecclesiastical official's religious preferences and a church's financial capabilities following the abolition of the chantries. Whilst some churches attempted to amalgamate existing musical

[28] Alex Shinn, 'Religious, Litugical and Musical Change in Two Humanist Foundations in Cambridge and Oxford, c.1534 to c.1650: St John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford' (PhD Thesis, University of Fribourg, Switzerland, 2017), p. 406.

practices and the new liturgy, other churches' organs were silenced and removed at the behest of ardent reformers. However, examples of the removal or destruction of organs within Edward's reign were largely isolated incidences. Most reformers were tolerant of their presence, although organs within cathedrals were particularly vulnerable due to their prominence.[29] The evidence throughout Bristol and Gloucester largely corroborates the variable practices, but suggests that there may have been an increasing number of organs silenced throughout Edward's reign.

It is possible to see a general continuation of musical provision and organ use within Bristol's parishes, particularly prior to the early-1550s. A year prior to the introduction of the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1549, St. Werburgh paid 1*s*. 2*d*. 'for a shepeskinne and glew to the organes' and a further 5*s*. 8*d*. 'for mending of the orgaynes and removing' the same year.[30] The removal, and presumably the subsequent necessity for its repair, was likely due to the vast changes in church fabric that was undertaken that year to comply with the Royal Injunctions.[31] It is unclear where the organ was moved from or to. Perhaps they were simply moved to enable such work on the fabric of the church, or that that the liturgical space where they formerly stood was now redundant and they were moved to a more appropriate space as part of the church's reorganisation into a reformed space for Protestant worship. Whatever the reason, their subsequent repair following their removal indicates that the

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[29] J. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England*, p. 140.
[30] BA, P.St W/ChW/3/a, unpaginated.
[31] Carpenters and labourers were paid 15*s*. 'for having donn the Ro[o]de. The church was white limed by four labourers over fifteen days, with a tiler specifically paid 1*s*. to wash out the imagery and 'whittlyme the awtres [altars]', only for the churchwardens to pay £1 16*s*. 8*d*. for 'peynting the churche with Read and greyne'. Wainscot was removed from the side of the church and 17*s*. was paid 'for writing bothe sides of the churche [...] with to lynnes of the xxv chapter of mathew'. The sum of £3 2*s*. 8*d*. was made for writing scripture around the five altars and the lower end of the church (BA, P.St W/ChW/3/a, unpaginated).

organ was at least intended to still be used. In addition, St. Mary Redcliffe's churchwardens paid 10*d*. 'for mendinge of the Belloyes of the Rigalles' in 1547, showing that they were at least using a small portable organ.[32] Similar efforts to continue such musical provision may have also been attempted at St. Nicholas.[33] The strong desire to continue musical provision throughout Edward's reign is particularly striking following the loss of income towards musical provision through the abolition of the chantries in 1547. Churchwardens suddenly had to bear the cost of such musical provision themselves. Nevertheless, churches continued to integrate the organ into worship prior to the introduction of the *Book of Common Prayer*, despite the removal and destruction of familiar fixtures and superstitious imagery around them, perhaps to provide an aural familiarity to worship.

The introduction of the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1549, and its revision in 1552, has been described as signalling the end of the use of the organ as a liturgical instrument.[34] Whilst it is true that remote areas distant from London may not have received these copies straight away and persisted in the meantime with the Latin Rite, the new service books arrived promptly at the metropolitan cities of Bristol and Gloucester, despite Heminger's assertions that they may not have been present within several of Bristol's churches.[35]

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[32] Regals are organs limited to a single reed stop but have a full keyboard compass, unlike portative organs. It seems likely that St. Mary Redcliffe were attempting to continue as many practices as possible, for they continued to maintain a choir and pay 3*s*. 4*d*. 'for the kepinge of our Ladye masse' (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a, unpaginated).

[33] In 1549 St. Nicholas' churchwardens paid 4*d*. on Palm Sunday, almost lamentingly, 'to preyst and clarkes and chylderne that sang the last of owr Lady mass' prior to the introduction of the first *Book of Common Prayer* (J. Bettey, *Bristol Parish Churches During the Reformation c1530-1560*, p. 11)

[34] J. Harper, 'Changes in the fortunes and use of the organ in church, 1500-1800', p. 63.

[35] Heminger asserts that only All Saints purchased the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1549, with St Werburgh in 1550 and St. Nicholas in 1551, and that St. Mary Redcliffe potentially never had one. Given the fragmentary nature of Bristol's records and the possibility of copies obtained through numerous ways, this assertion is unlikely within such a large metropolitan area (A. Heminger, 'Confession Carried Aloft: Music, Religious Identity, and Sacred Space in London, c.1540-1560', pp. 299-300).

Following the introduction of the first *Book of Common Prayer*, at least All Saints continued to use their organs.[36] However, it is surprising to note that there were no such payments for the removal or repair of the organ sat upon the rood loft when it was removed in 1550.[37] It is possible that the organs avoided significant damage and were able to be repaired by the parish clerk alone. It is also possible that they were never repaired; their liturgical function had ceased with the destruction of their space. Any other requirements for organ use could potentially be fulfilled through the remaining organ.[38] There is little evidence to suggest that the dramatic reforms that were increasingly silencing organs throughout the 1550s by figures such as Archbishop of York, Robert Holgate, were present within Bristol.[39]

Following the introduction of the second *Book of Common Prayer* in 1552, and despite the absence of the order to sing within the new prayer book anywhere apart from the psalms and the Gloria in Excelsis at the end of the Communion Service, at least the organs at Christchurch and St. Thomas were still in use.[40] Throughout this period, at least All Saints, Christchurch, and St. Mary Redcliffe all managed to maintain choirs, often with a master of the choristers or organist.[41] Whilst this may well indicate the presence of organs, it

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[36] In 1549 All Saints' churchwardens paid 6*d*. 'for makinge ij payses for the organs' and in 1550 they paid 2*d*. 'for a corde for the organs'. 'Payses' are the weights for the bellows (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a).
[37] Between 1549 and 1550 All Saints' churchwardens paid 8*d*. 'for laborares and for drinke when they toke downe the Rode loft' and 4*s*. 4*d*. 'for lynynge where the Rode loft stode and for stepinge the holes and for Brekinge downe the aulters and for pavinge where they stode' (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a).
[38] See pp. 209-212 for All Saints' Henrician organs.
[39] In 1552 Holgate had commanded York Minster 'that there be no more playnge of the orgaynes' (cited in I. Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals c.1547-c.1646*, p. 22).
[40] St. Thomas' churchwardens paid 4*d*. 'to Cla<u>r</u>kes For blowinge of the organes' in 1552 (BA, P.St T/ChW/2, unpaginated). At Christchurch, following the departure of the clerk, and apparent organist, Master Pynchyn before Christmas in 1552, the churchwardens sought to continue the tradition of sonically commemorating particular dates of liturgical significance, finding the services of John Lylle, and paying him 8*d*. 'for playing on the organs on Chrystmas day'. The churchwardens also paid 11*s*. 4*d*. to John Coke 'the organ pleyer for j quart<u>er</u>' to finish the year (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated).
[41] See pp. 215-222.

is possible that the organs were being used far less than previously. It has been noted, for example, that the organists at York Minster and St. George's Chapel, Windsor, continued despite the ceasing of their organs.[42] The payments for organ maintenance throughout Bristol's numerous parishes, however, suggests that many continued to contribute to the soundscape of worship within a largely conservative yet conforming city.[43]

Away from Bristol, evidence is scarce. However, there may be evidence that organs were silenced within in the conforming parish of St. Michael, Gloucester.[44] Between 1548 and 1553 there is a distinct lack of payments towards either the maintenance of a choir or organ, particularly following several consecutive years of purchasing cords for it. Moreover, it may not be a coincidence that in 1553, following the accession of Mary, the organ required two new cords and for 28lbs of lead to be cast for its repair.[45] It is impossible to draw firm conclusions on absence of evidence alone, although the presence of potential reforming ministers, and a number of reformers and friends of Bishop Hooper amongst the parish's elite laity, make such reforms more plausible.[46] Whilst surviving evidence remains elusive,

[42] At York Minster, for example, the Master of the Choristers and organist was instead to 'help to sing Divine Service to the uttermost of his power within the quire' (I. Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals c.1547-c.1646*, pp. 22-23; P. Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*, pp. 24-26).
[43] For an account of the city's response to Edwardian reform see J. Bettey, *Bristol Parish Churches During the Reformation c1530-1560*, pp. 8-13.
[44] For the consistent conformity of St. Michael, Gloucester, in response to the successive alterations in liturgy and worship, see C. Litzenberger, 'St. Michael's, Gloucester, 1540-80: The Cost of Conformity in Sixteenth-century England', pp. 230-249; C. Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity*.
[45] GA, P154/14/CW/1/7.
[46] Alderman William Bond, for example, was an influential member of St. Michael, and a friend of Hooper. He personally bought vestments, bells, and a chalice from the church in 1550 when the church conformed to national religious policy and adopted reformed worship (C. Litzenberger, 'St. Michael's, Gloucester, 1540-80: The Cost of Conformity in Sixteenth-century England', pp. 231-233; B. Lowe, *Commonwealth and the English Reformation*, p. 195). The rector Nicholas Oldisworthe may have also had a connection with Hooper; Edmund Oldisworth, a fellow Marian exile who was given guardianship of Bishop Hooper's son, Daniel, after the death of his mother, was likely the son of Nicholas (C. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, p. 242; B. Brodie, 'Constructing a Godly Society: The Template for a Reformed Community in the Writings of John Hooper (c.1500-1555)' (PhD thesis, The University of Edinburgh, 2016), p. 54). Gill has also potentially identified the curate Stephan Poole as

one can only wonder at how the soundscape of worship was affected following the chantries' abolition in 1547 and the introduction of the *Book of Common Prayer*, particularly within parishes such as St. John, Gloucester, and Cirencester who formerly had organists financed through these alternative means. The loss of these alternative means of funding musical provision may have forced many churches' hand into ceasing their provision. The desire to continue musical provision may also have waned given the lack of liturgical role, and the lack of musical instruction, provided by the introduction of the *Book of Common Prayer*.

Gloucester Cathedral escaped the reforming zeal that saw Worcester Cathedral's Dean John Barlow, and later Bishop Hooper, dismantle their numerous chapels and altars, along with their associated organs, rood lofts, choir stalls, and their great organs within the early 1550s.[47] Despite Hooper's presence within Gloucester, some of the cathedral's paintings, altars, and screens remained undefaced and are still present today, along with their medieval choir stalls.[48] This may suggest that the organs also survived, although the lack of surviving sources make it impossible to accurately speculate on musical provision and

an evangelical (S. Gill, 'Managing Change in the English Reformation: The 1548 Dissolution of the Chantries and Clergy of the Midland County Surveys' (PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2010), pp. 251 252).

[47] Dean Barlow undertook many of the reforming actions himself, preceding Hooper's actions upon his arrival (R. Fisher, 'Three English Cathedrals and the Early Reformation: A Cultural Comparison of Hereford, Worcester and Gloucester' (PhD Thesis, University of Bristol, 2018), pp. 161-164, 272-274). Hooper became Bishop of Gloucester in 1550, adding the bishopric of Worcester in commendam in 1552.

[48] Their survival is likely due to Bishop Hooper's reluctance to be drawn into a controversy with his conservative natured Dean William Jennings, the former Augustinian prior of St. Oswald, Gloucester, and chapter. Prebendary John Huntley was the former prior of the Augustinian convent of Tandridge, Surrey, whilst Edward Bennet and John Rodley were former Benedictine's from St. Peter's (R. Fisher, 'Three English Cathedrals and the Early Reformation: A Cultural Comparison of Hereford, Worcester and Gloucester' (PhD Thesis, University of Bristol, 2018), pp. 239-240, 243-244.

practices.[49] Even greater insufficient evidence regarding the Edwardian Bristol Cathedral make any conclusions almost impossible, although the presence of a conservative bishop, dean and chapter, and the continued practice throughout the city's parishes, may also suggest the organs' survival.

Whilst we can confidently assert the presence of organs within many churches throughout the regions, exactly how the organs were used is a more difficult to interpret. The introduction of the *Book of Common Prayer* had removed the organ's ritual function and the traditional liturgical role of alternating voices and organ. The organ's eventual function of accompanying voices was likely to be an Elizabethan development.[50] Whilst there was a loss of liturgical and ritual function, a sacred function clearly remained. It may be that organs continued to be used within antiphons to canticles, and even psalms. It is also possible that they were being played as a solo instrument at times where it had formerly been played during the Latin Rite.[51]

The surviving evidence for organs within Bristol and Gloucestershire shows the potential variation of practices between churches and institutions. For some, the sudden loss of income and musical resources that chantries, guilds, and fraternities provided prior to 1547 would have been enough to see the reduction or cessation of musical activity. There

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[49] For a summary of the development in the polyphony of Edwardian cathedrals, see I. Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals c.1547-c.1646* (London, 1993), pp. 23-31.

[50] J. Harper, 'Changes in the fortunes and use of the organ in church, 1500-1800' in I. Quinn (ed.), *Studies in English Organ Music* (Abingdon, 2018), pp. 59-72.

[51] For example, in a much later Elizabethan Chapter Act of 1570 from Lincoln, William Byrd was commanded to only play the organ before the two canticles at Morning and Evening Prayer, corresponding with where the Office hymn or antiphon may have been played alone by the organ within the Latin Rite at Lauds, Vespers, and Compline. These were likely a development from earlier practices. He was also ordered to accompany the anthem, a practice which had developed within Elizabeth's reign (J. Harper, 'Changes in the fortunes and use of the organ in church, 1500-1800' in I. Quinn (ed.), *Studies in English Organ Music* (Abingdon, 2018), p. 64).

may also have been a reduction in the use of organs following their sudden ritual redundancy after the introduction of the *Book of Common Prayer*. The rise of reformers to positions of ecclesiastical authority and the promulgation of reformed thought may have also caused a wider reduction in the use of organs. However, no existing evidence within the regions suggest that organs were removed and sold.[52] Organs continued to be used within worship and endured Edward's reign in conservative communities that had the financial means to sustain such musical practices.

Marian Organs: Continuation and Restoration

The reaffiliation with Catholicism saw the organ's reinstatement as a ritual instrument. However, its role may have taken an even greater significance in many parishes than under Henry, as many of the financial and musical resources that had previously supported musical provision within worship had been removed under Edward. The organ may have therefore taken a more significant role, potentially becoming the only form of polyphonic elaboration available to a church.[53] Both Bristol and Gloucestershire's churchwardens' accounts show either continued use, or the potential reintroduction of the instrument into the soundscape of worship.

The swift restoration of the Latin Rite was met with an enthusiastic provision for musical elaboration within many churches. Those churches that had maintained choirs and organs continued to do so, providing them with the resources necessary for polyphonic

[52] Some organs were clearly removed within Edward's reign, such as those at St. Martin, Leicester, and Smarden, Kent, in 1547 and 1549 respectively ((Thomas North, ed., *The Accounts of the Churchwardens of S. Martin's, Leicester* (Leicester, 1884), pp. 26, 35; Robert Whiting, *The Reformation of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 168-169).
[53] J. Harper, 'Changes in the fortunes and use of the organ in church, 1500-1800', p. 63.

embellishment.[54] In Bristol, All Saints continued to maintain their organ, paying for its repair in 1553, 1556 and 1557.[55] John Austen, the future master of choristers and presumably organist at St. Mary Redcliffe from 1556, was also continued to be paid the annual stipend of £4 until his move south of the river in 1556. His replacement was Roger Rise, formerly the master of choristers at St. Mary Redcliffe between 1553 and 1556, seemingly in a swap with St. Mary Redcliffe.[56] Just as the continuation of sonic ceremonialism can be shown in their payments to singingmen, this continued tradition can also be demonstrated through the payments regarding the organ. In 1555 the churchwardens paid 4*d*. 'to the man that dyd blowe the organnes in whytsone weke', whilst 1*d*. was paid in 1556 'to a boy that dyd blow the organs all whitsontide'.[57] Whitsun week was traditionally a period of festivity, with a variety of processions, feasts, games, and plays occurring throughout. These processions had been reinstated in Bristol by 1555 and the period was clearly a time of festivity, with the city council paying 10*s*. on 16 May 1556, the day following Whitsun, 'to the Waytes towerdes their Coostes home wardes'.[58] It is likely that these additional payments for provision were extraordinary payments, outside of a regular agreement. At Christchurch the choral provision similarly continued to be supplemented with the organ, although they appear to have struggled to find an organist with the churchwardens paying journeyman church

[54] See pp. 147-155.
[55] All Saints' churchwardens paid 1*d*. 'for a corde for the Byllowes of the organs' in 1553, another 2*s*. 1*d*. 'for mending of the belowes of the organs & A cord' in 1556, and a further two cords for the organs bought for 1*d*. each in 1557 (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a).
[56] Roger Rise was likely the master of the choristers prior to John Austen's appointment in 1556, being paid the highest annual stipend amongst the clerks of £5, with his rent of 6*s*. 8*d*. also paid for. At All Saints he was paid £5 per annum, serving from 1556 until 1560.
[57] Whitsun is the English name acquired for Pentecost, the commemoration of the Holy Spirit's descent upon the Apostles and followers of Christ; it is a moveable holiday falling on the seventh Sunday after Easter Sunday.
[58] R. Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 28-34; R. Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 279-281; BA, F/Au/1/7, p. 37.

musician and organist John Lylle only irregular sums of money in 1553 and 1554. In a similar fashion to which he was recruited to commemorate Christmas in 1552, Lylle was paid 5*s*. between 1553 and 1554 'for servyng the chruch be twext ester & Whytsontyde'. He then appears to have shared the post of organist with John Coke in 1554, prior to the employment of Harry Reynolds.[59] As one would expect, a greater use of the organ was deemed particularly essential to mark major festal days.

Bristol's organs were maintained throughout Mary's reign, although particular emphasis on the organs' use within worship appears to have been made in 1557. An unnamed organbuilder appears to have been present within the city that year, repairing many of the city's organs.[60] Whilst payments for standard maintenance were relatively common throughout the period, payments in 1557 detail rather more substantial repairs that likely required a skilled organbuilder.[61] In Christchurch, for example, 21*s*. 4*d*. was expended upon 'mendynge the great & litle organes', whilst 3*d*. was paid 'for tymber to sett the litle organes upon', showing that Christchurch clearly had two organs at this time.[62] The organs at St. John were similarly repaired for 10*s*. 8*d*., whilst St. Mary Redcliffe paid 21*s*. 'for the mendyng of the organes above In the lofte And the organes bynethe In the quiar' that

[59] They are able to be identified as organists due to their superior wages, their descriptions as such in earlier payments at the church, or through the known organists they are replacing (see pp. 234-236).
[60] As the Chappington family were renowned organ builders in relative proximity and were involved in the business between 1536 and 1620; it may have been one of this family. For more on the Chappingtons' organ building activities see J. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England*, p. 100.
[61] Regular maintenance can be seen, for example, at St. John, where their churchwardens paid 2*d*. to a Mr Harris 'for a plaite for the orgayns in 1553 and 1*d*. 'for a new cord For the orgons' in 1554 (BA, P.St JB/ChW/1/a).
[62] It is also clear that one was in a gallery or loft, for 21*d*. was paid 'for mendinge the whole over the stayeres goinge up to the great organes & other places of the churche & for lyme for the woorke' (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a, p. 104).

same year.[63] The precise nature of these repairs in 1557 may have been more to do with available resources than with any particular order from ecclesiastical authority.[64] These repairs may simply have been the first opportunity that Bristol had managed to attract a, presumably suddenly busy, organbuilder to the city.

The absence of payments towards organ maintenance and choral provision within St. Werburgh throughout Mary's reign is notable within the context of the musical provision occurring within Bristol's other churches. St. Werburgh, one of Bristol's most reformed parishes by 1553, certainly had an organ in 1548 and there appears to have been a choir in 1549, although no further related payments are recorded to either.[65] Poverty was unlikely to be an excuse for St. Werburgh, but it is possible that the organ and choir were silenced during the incumbency of reforming minister Christopher Pacy prior to his ejection in 1554.[66] Omission of any references to their musical provision do not, of course, equate to a lack of presence, and it is possible that any payments for repair came under the parish clerk's role. However, it should be noted that John Walker, the parish clerk from at least 1549 when he purchased three books for the choir, also appears to have suddenly left upon the readoption of the Latin Rite.[67] Walker was never replaced and some of his duties were fulfilled by Raffe

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[63] BA, P.St JB/ChW/1/a. St. Mary Redcliffe paid 10*s*. 8*d*. 'for mending of the organes' (BA, P.St JB/ChW/1/a). The payments at St. Mary Redcliffe show that there was at least two organs within the church, one in a loft and one in the choir (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a, p. 104).
[64] Any articles or injunctions written by Bristol's Marian bishop, John Holyman, have not survived. Although musical provision was undoubtedly encouraged, it is unlikely that their repair was officially commanded.
[65] M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, pp. 116, 184, 275.
[66] Of the seven Bristol parishes with Marian churchwardens' accounts, St. Werburgh ranks as the fourth highest on average, boasting over double the average expenditure than that of one of Gloucester's richest parishes, St. Michael. Pacy had been sought out by the authorities under Mary for his beliefs, and would apparently have been burned 'stump and all' (Samuel Seyer, *Memoirs Historical and Topographical of Bristol and it's Neighbourhood*, Volume II (Bristol, 1823), pp. 234-235).
[67] The usual receipt of gatherings towards the clerk's wages were interrupted in 1553 by some parishioners 'who would pay no more untill we had a Clerke' (BA, P.St W/ChW/3/a, p. 13).

Hooper, the sexton, for whom no evidence suggests any involvement in musical provision. Finding replacements for the ejected parson and the absent parish clerk clearly took precedence over musical provision.[68] Although the church outwardly conformed, their lack of resident ministerial authority may have left the parish resistant to change, especially with reformers, such as Francis Codrington, in charge of the vestry.[69] Their apparent hesitancy to readopt the use of their organ may have been a sign of a deeper reluctance at the return of the Latin Rite, and a willingness to conform only so far as they had to.

Organs were also present throughout the Marian Gloucestershire. It is unlikely to be a coincidence that payments to repair the organs suddenly reappeared within the accounts of St. Michael, Gloucester, in 1553, following four to five years without them.[70] However, these repairs were clearly not substantial, perhaps indicating the loss of the original lead weights for the bellows. Whilst they may have sat relatively unused throughout Edward's reign, they were not in a state of complete disrepair. The organ would continue to be maintained annually throughout Mary's reign and the new parish clerk, John Weale, may

[68] The parish eventually found a 'Sir Robert' to minister there frequently as a stipendiary by late 1554. Other stipendiary priests were frequently sought to perform services at the church until a rector was finally instituted until 1558. 'Sir Robert' served as the sole stipendiary priest between 1554 and 1556. Stipendiaries sought between 1556 and 1557 include 'Sir Jones' in 1556, and St. Peter's parson and a 'Sir Richard' in 1557. Stephan Popyngaye became rector in 1558 (BA, P.St W/ChW/3/a; M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, p. 187).

[69] Codrington, a merchant, was a prominent member of St. Werburgh's vestry, signing all the surviving accounts between 1552 and 1556. He was likely one of the key reformers in the parish. Upon his death in 1557, he bequeathed his soul to 'the handes of almightie god maker of heaven and earthe beleavinge and confessinge with perfaicte faythe that all the multitude of my synnes be pardoned and forgeven me Freely by an throughe thonly merittes and passion of our Savyour Jesu Christe'. He wished to be buried in a reformed manner, 'withoute eny pompe or pryde' (TNA, PROB 11/39/470). This was a relatively frequent request from the prominent vestrymen of St. Werburgh, with William Shipman requesting the same in 1552 to John Aishe in 1579 (TNA, PROB 11/35/51; TNA, PROB 11/61/277). Codrington also gave £3 to the parish 'towardes the reparacions and new glasinge of the same churche with white glasse', a stipulation against the reinstallation of coloured glass with images (TNA, PROB 11/39/470).

[70] Between 1553 and 1554 two cords were bought for the organs for 2*d*., and 10*d*. was paid 'for the castynge of xxviij£ of leade for the said organes' (GA, P154/14/CW/1/7).

have been specifically acquired for his musical abilities.[71] The parish had enthusiastically provided for the musical embellishment of the Latin liturgy in 1553 and the organs evidently required some form of skilled repair by 1555. Moreover, the organ may have played a more prominent ritual role following the abolition of many of the financial resources that formerly helped to fund additional musical embellishment prior to Edward's reign, both at St. Michael and elsewhere.[72] The organ's use and such musical provision could also potentially be seen in Minchinhampton.[73]

Despite the lack of evidence to indicate any level of provision within the Marian cathedrals, organs were clearly an important feature to many Marian churches. Just as some churches provided an enthusiastic and organised response, some were more reluctant and may have resisted the return of the controversial instrument. Organs had become a ritual instrument once again, playing in alteration with either a single voice or a chorus of voices. Where musical provision and embellishment had stalled or ceased, the organs had often remained in situ and required only minor repair to fix them. If organs required greater repair than a trained clerk was able to provide, then local organbuilders appear to have been reasonably difficult to obtain, perhaps due to their sudden increase in demand. In churches

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[71] In 1555 the bellows were repaired, whilst Weale, was paid 6*s*. 'for mendinge of the organes', perhaps suggesting musical proficiency (GA, P154/14/CW/1/8). Upon the departure of the former parish clerk Lewis Craker, Weale was likely brought in specifically for his musical skill. For Lewis Craker and St. Michael's, Gloucester, enthusiastic response to Mary's accession see pp. 149-151.

[72] The concern surrounding lay-singingmen unwilling to either return to their former choirs or to learn a potentially unfamiliar Latin Rite may also indicate the more prominent role of the organ within some parishes; they may have been the sole form of polyphony (see pp. 149-150).

[73] Minchinhampton's accounts also demonstrate the maintenance, and thereby use, of organs within this period. The accounts between 1556 and 1557 show that 12*d*. was spent 'For mendyng off the hoigones' (GA, P217/CW/2/1). As the accounts only exist from 1555, it is uncertain whether this repair indicates either a continuation of practices or a renewal, although no such payments to maintain the organ were included within 1555. This payment indicates that the organ was previously either maintained or left in a state close to a playable condition. Other than the incumbent priest, it is unclear if any more were singing but it seems possible that the organ was providing the sole form of musical embellishment.

that were now unable to maintain their former musical provision due to the abolition of various methods that were formerly used to support such aural embellishment, organs may have now provided the only polyphony within worship.

Gloucestershire's Early-Elizabethan Organs, 1558-c.1580: Silencing

The early years of Elizabeth's reign were the bleakest for the use of organs within worship prior to the commonwealth. Whilst Elizabeth's prayer book and Royal Injunctions of 1559 attempted to secure the position of music within worship, significant pressure was placed upon their use through the increased presence of Marian exiles within the Church. The growth of reformed thought, the introduction of a new liturgy, and the precarious economic circumstances had informed the former broad historiographical consensus that these signified the death of organs within English parishes.[74] Scholars have since shown that these beliefs were pessimistic; organs continued to be maintained in many churches throughout the country within Elizabeth's reign, and the reinstitution of Protestantism actually provided greater vitality within the first decade of Elizabeth's reign than they had in the final years of Mary's.[75] However, this vitality depended on many factors, such as location and local resources; the soundscape of worship had become incredibly diverse by 1580. The evidence from Bristol and Gloucestershire generally corroborates the more optimistic view posited by post-revisionists, with the additional caveat that the organs' fortunes varied significantly between ecclesiastical jurisdictions and between individual churches themselves. The early

[74] N. Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, p. 5; I. Green, '"All people that on earth do dwell, sing to the Lord with cheerful voice": Protestantism and music in early modern England', p. 152; B. Kümin, 'Masses, Morris and Metrical Psalms. Music in the English Parish c.1400-1600' in F. Kisby, ed., *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 79.
[75] J. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England*, pp. 90-103.

years of Elizabeth's reign were the most radical and saw the greatest amount of change within the soundscape of many churches. The return of Protestantism, and of the Marian exiles who now had experiences of reformed continental worship, led to a reinvigorated rise in anti-organ polemic.[76] Whilst there was a general deterioration of musical practice that coincided with the increasing anti-organ polemic and economic issues, some churches continued to maintain their organs.

The nominal surviving evidence for the Diocese of Gloucester shows that organs had become redundant within some early-Elizabethan churches, with their organs being destroyed, removed, or sold, as the anti-organ polemic grew within the 1560s.[77] St. Michael, Gloucester, sold their organs in 1562, with the churchwardens receiving 32*s*. 'of Master Waytte for the organes'.[78] Similarly, a list of debts in Minchinhampton's churchwardens' accounts in 1575 reveals that a William Webbe of Avening still owed 'the price of the Organe Case to hym solde', listed at 10*s*.[79] It is only at the 1576 metropolitical visitation that the full story becomes apparent; the case was actually removed and sold in 1567.[80] Clearly, both the organs at St. Michael and Minchinhampton were deemed to have become superfluous by at least 1561 and 1567 respectively. There had certainly been no payments for maintenance or repair for Minchinhampton's organs since 1555, and none at St. Michael since 1558.

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[76] M. Aston, *Broken Idols of the Reformation*, p. 506.
[77] S. Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, pp. 49-50; N. Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, pp. 43-44; A. Smith, 'The Practice of Music in English Cathedrals and Churches, and at the Court, During the Reign of Elizabeth I' (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1967), pp. 429-435.
[78] GA, P154/14/CW/1/15.
[79] GA, P217/CW/2/1.
[80] Webbe 'was sometyme a churchewarden within the parishe of minchinhampton at which tyme he tooke the case of one paire orgones for the which he should have paid unto the churche x*s*. Nowe deweth the payment. He was ordered to certify to the court that he had paid the 10*s*. to the parish, which he did so that year' (GA, GDR 40, f. 205r.). Webbe was churchwarden only once, in 1567 (GA, P217/CW/2/1)

The removal and sale of the organs at St. Michael and Minchinhampton demonstrate some of the various factors involved in a period where radical reforming views were rising within communities. The sales of parts of both organs were to prominent figures within the parishes' vestries. The often vague and nondescript entries at Minchinhampton do not provide much information, other than the organ's sale may have been made to help fund some contemporary expensive work.[81] At St. Michael, the organ was bought by William Waite, a prominent figure within the parish. The organ was sold as part of a larger scheme to reorganise and reform the parish; vestments, chalices, and many other ornaments related to the Latin Rites were sold to numerous prominent figures within the parish and civic leadership.[82] Waite's last will and testament in 1573 does not overtly express any confessional identity. Neither did he appear to have directly dealt with any of the materials involved with organs, appearing to be involved in the cloth trade and husbandry, although it does reveal that he was part of a network of leading parish and civic figures.[83] Like many of St. Michael's prominent vestrymen, it is likely that Waite viewed it as his own responsibility,

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[81] For example, in 1565 the parishioner John Hawk was paid the large sum of £20 12*d*. without a reason. The payment of a further 56*s*. 1*d*. for 13 weeks living in London 'for swyt of the merket' likely suggests it was for a court case regarding a market formerly held at Minchinhampton (GA, P217/CW/2/1, ff. 27r.-27v.). It was almost certainly not a response to religious change, for it was not until the 1570s that the church really started to reform. For example, in 1574 6*s*. 8*d*. was paid to John Mayow and John Hill 'for pullynge downe dystroyenge and throwynge out of the Churche sundrye superstycyous thinges tendinge to the maynetenance of Idolatrye' (GA, P217/CW/2/1, f. 54r.).

[82] For example, in 1560 the mayor, parishioner of St. Michael, and former friend of Bishop John Hooper, bought 'two of the best vestementes and the olde Coope' for 36*s*. That same year Alderman Henry King also bought 'iij cooporas cases ij endes of torches a canapie to hange the sacramente in fower poundes of waxe foure bookes & a barre of yron' for 17*s*. 4*d*. and a chalice for £4 4*s*. 5*d*. Amongst some of the sales the same year: William Hasarde bought the holy oil box for 4*d*., Richard Cugley bought four banners and two vestments for 9*s*. 8*d*., William Goldstone bought the holy water pot, a piece of brass, an albe, a bar of iron, a cushion, and the 'roode postes' for 14*s*., and the priest of Barnwood bought one book for 5*s*. (GA, P154/14/CW/1/13). Waite had civic ambition; he went on to become a member of the common council and one of the four chamberlains or stewards to the city in both 1565 and 1570. For more on the role of parish and civic elite within St. Michael, Gloucester, see C. Litzenberger, 'St. Michael's, Gloucester, 1540-80: The Cost of Conformity in Sixteenth-century England', pp. 230-249.

[83] TNA, PROB 11/56/56.

as the current churchwarden and a prominent parishioner, to buy the organ and to present the model of a conforming and reformed parish at the heart of the city.[84]

Conversely, the only other reference to organs within early-Elizabethan Gloucestershire appears at Tewkesbury, where the bellows were repaired in 1564.[85] Here, at least, musical practices had continued to some extent. This payment is the only reference to organs within their Elizabethan accounts, which start the previous year in 1563, and subsequently mention neither any further maintenance nor hint at their removal. Like most of the diocese, Protestantism was not swiftly adopted in Tewkesbury and only grew within the parish in the 1570s.[86] The parish were reprimanded at the metropolitical visitation in 1576 for still serving communion in a chalice, not having a Bible, and having several individuals still using Catholic primers and beads within church.[87] They were also still renting out players' gear and staging 'miracle plays'.[88] It was also only this year that the church finally started to sell off some of their old vestments and images. The continuation of musical practices at Tewkesbury early within Elizabeth's reign may therefore have been a result of dominant lay conservatism within the civic elite and vestry who were largely

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[84] Part of the reforms enacted within St. Michael may have also been due to the beliefs of resident curate John Walworthe in 1561. Walworthe is almost certainly the same individual that appears in Bristol, only a few years later in 1563, in the reformist parish of St. Werburgh under the godly vicar Christopher Pacy. In the absence of a rector, the methods through which Walworthe came into the parish is unknown.

[85] In 1564 Tewkesbury's churchwardens paid 3*s*. 6*d*. 'for making of a seate in the nether end of the churche & for mending of the belowes of the organs & for nayles for the same' (GA, P329/1/CW/2/1, p. 7; transcribed in C. Litzenberger, ed., *Tewkesbury Churchwardens' Accounts, 1563-1624*, p. 4.

[86] C. Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity*, p. 17.

[87] GA, GDR 40, unpaginated.

[88] For more on Tewkesbury's players' gear and dramatic traditions see A. Douglas and P. Greenfield, eds., *Records of Early English Drama: Cumberland, Westmorland, Gloucestershire*, pp. 255-256, 335-342; C. Litzenberger, 'The Coming of Protestantism to Elizabethan Tewkesbury', pp. 79-93; Sarah Lowe, 'Players and Performances in Early Modern Gloucester, Tewkesbury and Bristol' (PhD Thesis, The University of Gloucestershire, 2008), pp. 108-169.

controlling the church's affairs.[89] Nevertheless, the consequent lack of payments for maintenance or performance following 1564 may imply that their organs were silenced by the growing reforming factions in the 1570s.

Bristol's Early Elizabethan Organs c.1558-1570: Reduction

The varied responses to Elizabeth's accession are encapsulated in the differing fates of organs throughout Bristol's churches. It is unsurprising to see the continued use of organs within many churches that maintained their choirs before their abolition between 1560 and 1565.[90] At All Saints, the organ was repaired in 1559 and 1560.[91] Christchurch's organ was also repaired in 1560.[92] Their use can also be seen through the maintenance of choirs and the payments for replacement organists. At All Saints 25*s*. was paid 'to the organ player' for Our Lady quarter in 1560 following the departure of Roger Rise, evidently the previous organist. Andrew Hewick 'organ player' was also paid 10*s*. for six weeks service in 1562. Following the departure of Rise, a permanent organist is not observable and none of the existing clerks were paid anywhere near Rise's former stipend of £5. It may be that Hewick was brought in specifically to add the organ to the soundscape of worship, to enrich and embellish their musical provision, at the crux of the liturgical year at Easter. At Christchurch, in response to the departure of the resident organist Harry Reynolds, Thomas Deken was

[89] It should be noted that the curate at Tewkesbury in 1561 is listed as John Pyers, who has been conflated with 'Jacobus Pierse', a minor-canon of Canterbury Cathedral in 1570 (CCEd ID: 46941). If this is true, his musical expertise may also help to explain the continued musical provision in early-Elizabethan Tewkesbury, although the minor-canon is more likely to have been James Pyers, the vicar of nearby Bekesbourne between 1550 and 1563 (CCEd ID: 38988). It is also worth pondering if Tewkesbury's parish clerk, John Coke, could have been the same journeyman clerk and organist present throughout several of Bristol's churches between 1552 and 1560. It is possible that he was seeking a similar position within another church after the wide disbandment of choirs throughout Bristol around 1560, although the name is common within the region (see pp. 142, 154, 224).
[90] See pp. 156-161.
[91] The bellows were repaired for 2*d*. in 1559 and a cord was purchased for 1*d*. in 1560 (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a).
[92] churchwardens paid 1½*d*. for a staple and a rope to the organs (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, f. 115r.).

paid 5*s*. 'for kepyng the organs' in 1558. A William was also paid 5*s*. 'for kepyng the quere & the organs' within the same year.[93] The lack of subsequent payments to a clerk on a similar wage to Reynolds may also suggest a similar outcome to All Saints; the role of organist was in decline and smaller payments to clerks to perform upon the organs were preferred to large annual stipends. Whilst specific references to organs are absent within St Mary Redcliffe's early-Elizabethan accounts, the continued presence of the master of choristers, and likely organist, John Austen until 1560 suggests that the organ continued to be present within the soundscape.[94]

Organs had mixed fortunes within churches for which there is no evidence of a continued parochial choir. The organ was still playing in St. John by 1560, as John Spratte was paid 4*d*. for gluing parts of the organ.[95] Sts. Philip and Jacob also maintained their organ and organist into the 1560s.[96] However, there is no record of any organ maintenance at St. Ewen, St. Thomas and St. Werburgh. Whilst finances were likely an issue at St. Ewen, as it was the poorest of Bristol's parishes, the organ's continued absence at St. Werburgh may have continued to reflect the large community of reformers within the parish and their returning parson, Christopher Pacy. Nevertheless, the maintenance of organs and organists

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[93] Thomas Deken was also paid for one quarter's service, whilst the 'William' might be the clerk William Phillipes (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, f. 106r.). Thomas Deken was likely the same individual that entered an unnamed position at St. Stephen in 1540, being paid £1 6*s*. 8*d*. annually out of the church and chantries' rents (BA, P. St S/ChW/2, f. 51r). Deken was also the parish clerk of St. John the Baptist in 1553 (BA, P.St JB/ChW/1/a).
[94] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a.
[95] BA, P.St JB/ChW/1/a.
[96] The churchwardens paid 3*s*. to Master Colstone for cloth for the organ playar' in 1565. The following year they also paid 4*d*. 'for ij Ropes for the organes' and paid 12*d*. to 'the organ player' (BA, P.St P and J/ChW/3/a, pp. 14, 18). The gift of cloth or clothes to the organist may have been more of a tradition than the accounts suggest, for in 1569 the churchwardens paid 7*s*. 4*d*. 'for a coat & a pere of hose for the organ playar', 3*s*. 'for the makyng of his coat Dublet & hose', and 16*d*. 'for a payer of shues' (BA, P.St P and J/ChW/3/a, unpaginated).

within early-Elizabethan Bristol clearly show that there was a local desire amongst many conservative communities for musical provision.

However, in concordance with the disbanding of Bristol's choirs in the 1560s, the use of organs throughout the city appears to have declined and payments regarding organs throughout the city are particularly sparse between the late-1560s to around 1580.[97] With the disbandment of the parochial choirs went all occasional payments to short-term organists. As reforming parties continued to obtain influential roles within the cathedral, diocese, and city corporation, all evidence of choirs and regular organ use ceases throughout Bristol's parishes. Organs were particularly unlikely to have been used within worship in parishes such as St. Mary Redcliffe under the ministry of Northbrooke and Saule, advocates for the removal of organs from worship in 1562.[98] Indeed the only evident payments towards the maintenance of an organ within Bristol's parishes between 1565 and 1570 was the solitary payment of organ repair and several payments made in clothes to the organist at Sts. Philip and Jacob.

In churches that initially attempted to maintain their musical provision, their musical resources were often limited to a sole parish clerk by the late-1560s, potentially providing the sole form of musical provision apart from any congregational metrical psalmody. Some clerks and organists, either through voluntary or coercive means, went into ministry during the period following the dissolution of their churches' musical provision. The organists themselves, who were often simultaneously fulfilling the role of the master of choristers, are frequently difficult to trace. They were often only named as one of the clerks within the

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[97] For the disbanding of Bristol's parochial choirs, see pp. 161-168.
[98] See pp. 161-168.

church's annual payroll and are generally only detectable through their considerably larger annual stipends, or through payments that specifically described their replacements as an organist when they left the church. The aforementioned Roger Rise's occupation as organist at All Saints is made particularly clear following his departure to become an ordained minister in 1560.[99] Rise was paid 25*s*. for his service in Christmas quarter 1560 before his departure whilst he was replaced by 'the organ player' who was subsequently paid at same rate of 25*s*. for Our Lady quarter.[100] Rise's ordination records coincide exactly with his departure from All Saints as organist. By 1562 Rise was likely the curate of St. Ewen, appearing in 1564 to be the curate of both St. Ewen and of nearby Clifton.[101] He, alongside several other of Bristol's clerks and organists, such as Richard Houseman and John Lyll, entered into the ministry following the accession of Elizabeth.[102] The shortage of ministers early within Elizabeth's reign meant that many leading clerks were swiftly identified as capable and were appointed as readers within many of the city's parishes to read divine service until an able minister was found. Their own motives may have been purely financial. These examples may even be a consequence of the widespread redistribution of finances that occurred within Bristol's early-Elizabethan churches, where income formerly deployed towards additional musical provision was repurposed for ministerial and educational

[99] On 1 December 1560 Roger Rise was ordained as a deacon in Westbury church by Bishop John Jewel, in the absence of a Bishop of Gloucester; he was swiftly ordained as a priest two weeks later (CCEd ID: 101998).
[100] BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a.
[101] Whilst St. Ewen's churchwardens' paid an annual stipend of £7 to their minister from 1562, Rise was first definitively identified as the minister receiving the stipend in 1569 (BA, P.St E/ChW/2). In 1564, a consistory court record lists 'Rogerus Rise curatus sti Audoeni et Clifton' (BA, EP/J/1/6, p. 93).
[102] Houseman was formerly a singingman at Christchurch between 1557 and 1559 before moving to All Saints' choir in 1560 and becoming a reader in 1561. He was later ordained in 1564 and served at All Saints until 1567 and later appears as curate of Christchurch between 1571 and 1576. See also M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, pp. 173-174; CCEd ID: 54781. John Lylle was formerly in the choir and organist at Christchurch, appearing in 1546, 1547, Christmas Day 1552, Easter 1553, 1554, and 1557. He was reader of St. John the Baptist in 1564. See also M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, pp. 177-178.

purposes. Musicians that had lost their income, often with families to support, may have been persuaded to initially become readers before being told to become fully ordained in 1564.[103] From these positions of authority they were able to retain organs and later reintroduce their use in a less hostile environment. It is important to note that there is no evidence that any of Bristol's organs were sold within this period.

By 1570 musical practices within worship already varied hugely between churches. Churchwardens' accounts show that organs had likely declined in use from 1558, with their financial resources often reappropriated towards ministerial and educational requirements, despite the 1559 Royal Injunctions' desire to maintain musical provision. Their uncertain position within worship following the reintroduction of the *Book of Common Prayer* also added to the diversity in practices, with the inclusion of the term 'sing' within the newly distributed *Book of Common Prayer* and Elizabeth's 1559 Royal Injunctions providing choral traditions some protection. Whilst the Elizabethan demand for clarity of text certainly prohibited the organs' use to replace liturgical text, they were permitted to play during worship or within anthems before and after Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer, and a Sermon.[104] The organ once again ceased to be a ritual instrument, although it did divisively continue to be used as a solo instrument. It is also in Elizabeth's reign that organs likely began to be used to accompany singers.[105] Some churches clearly viewed the practical,

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[103] Skeeters uses the example of Rise to demonstrate the difficulties of married clergy, assuming Rise always had a ministerial function, and his search for higher wages throughout his career (M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, pp. 115-116).

[104] Harper has stressed that from Elizabeth's reign onwards there is a clear distinction to be made between liturgical and sacred music, ie. sacred music within the liturgy and music outside of it before and after services and sermons (J. Harper, 'Changes in the fortunes and use of the organ in church, 1500-1800', pp. 63-64).

[105] Harper has shown the various occasions where we know that organs were played within worship. These include accompanying the choir in full services or at the anthem, playing alone before the two canticles and Morning and Evening Prayer, and similarly playing at the time of royal movement (J. Harper, 'Changes in the fortunes and use of the organ in church, 1500-1800', pp. 64-66).

financial, or theological issues regarding the use of the organ as enough to silence them, deem them entirely unnecessary, and subsequently sold them early within Elizabeth's reign. Others attempted to continue to use them where available, whilst others left them to fall into varying states of disrepair.

Bristol and Gloucestershire's late-Elizabethan Organs, c.1570-1610: Growing Variances

Contrasting traditions and ceremonies were able to be practiced within each individual church, so long as they were ordained and approved by the Church. Surrounding the use of the organ, and indeed music, within worship was the doctrine of adiaphora, that is, things indifferent or practices that were neither prescribed nor prescribed within Scripture.[106] In contrast to such controversial rites and ceremonies as wearing vestments and signing the cross at baptism, which were deemed as necessary by the Church, organs and choral music were deemed, rather uniquely, as optional.[107] This ambiguity led to differing practices throughout England, with individual churches able to deem for themselves whether organs and choirs were necessary, allowed by scripture, or edifying as a thing indifferent. The increasing ascendency of reformed thought throughout Elizabeth's reign led the heraldist John Bossewell to lament, in 1572, that music was 'almost bannished [in] this Realme. If it were not, the Queenes Majestie did favour that excellente Science, Singinge men, and Choristers might goe a begging, together with their Maister the player on the Organes'.[108]

[106] J. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England*, p. 62
[107] Willis argues that this unique nature music occupies a third category of adiaphora; it occupied a space which was neither 'good' or 'bad'.(J. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England*, p. 64).
[108] John Bossewell, *Workes of Armorie Devyded into Three Bookes* (London, 1572), f. 14r.

This narrative certainly rings true throughout many of the churches within Gloucester. There is no definitive evidence for the organs' use within any of the diocese's churches. St. Michael, Gloucester, and Minchinhampton had sold their organs earlier within Elizabeth's reign, but they did, however, at least physically survive within some churches. One of Winchcombe's two surviving churchwardens' accounts show that 2*s*. was paid in 1602 'unto Buttler for slattinge the gratte and slates and for makinge cleane of the organs'.[109] Similarly, the organ's presence at Tewkesbury, or at least its case, can still be seen in 1627 when Thomas Wiltshire was paid 1*s*. 6*d*. 'for the falling-bord wi̲th hinges sett nere thorgan case'.[110] Their organs appear to have been left unused within worship, potentially falling into disrepair.

A more optimistic picture is gained from Bristol's surviving accounts. It has been cited that it was more likely for an organ to continue playing within the south-west region, or northern regions, than elsewhere in England due to their prevailing favour for older religious traditions.[111] It would be fair to extend this picture to Bristol. At least All Saints, Christchurch, St. James, St. John, St. Mary Redcliffe, and St. Thomas maintained their organs throughout Elizabeth's reign to varying degrees. Nevertheless, some of Bristol's churches did seemingly deem them to be unnecessary. St. Michael had sold their pipes by 1575, with Sts. Philip and Jacob also doing so in 1602, receiving 30*s*. 'for the organ pipes', suggesting a longer history

[109] GA, P368/CW/2/1. Given the former musical tradition within the nearby Winchcombe Abbey prior to the dissolution, the continued maintenance of at least an organ within the parish church would be unsurprising.
[110] GA, P329/1/CW/2/1, p. 248. There are no records of the organ pipes being sold.
[111] A. Smith, 'Parish Church Musicians in England in the Reign of Elizabeth I (1558-1603): An Annotated Register', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 4 (1964), p. 42; C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, p. 398.

of disuse.[112] Others' fates are more uncertain. At Temple the sole miserly sum of 1*d*. was paid 'for removing of the organs' within one of their first surviving accounts, dating 1587, and were not mentioned again within any of their succeeding surviving accounts.[113] Despite these instances of disuse and removal, many of Bristol's organs had not only survived physically within the early years of Elizabeth's reign, but their use was either revived or were being used more frequently within the 1570s.

It is possible that the parish of St. John continued to use their organs throughout the period. After all, they were able to brag that two of their early-Elizabethan ministers were former organists. John Lyll, who had been parish clerk and organist there from 1554, was listed as the parish's reader in 1564 and was ordered to obtain letters of ordination.[114] Despite Skeeter's assertion that he must have obtained them, he appears not to have, receiving a pay cut from 1564, with 'Sir John Cleytton the curat' likely replacing him.[115] By 1568, the former organist of St. Mary Redcliffe and curate of St. Ewen and Clifton, Roger Rise, had become rector of St. John.[116] It is possible that the organ remained maintained under Lyll throughout Elizabeth's early reign, although the only evidence of repair occurs in

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[112] It seems likely that the pipes at St. Michael had been sold by 1575, for their inventory stated only 'one Organ caisse'. This too was crossed out from the inventory at a later date (BA, P.St M/V/1/a, unpaginated). At Sts. Philip and Jacob the organ pipes weighed 56 pounds and were sold at 6½*d*. per pound (BA, P.St P and J/ChW/3/a, unpaginated). This was also enough evidence for Willis to call it an example of a de facto removal of the instrument (J. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England*, p. 93).
[113] BA, P.Tem/Ca/2/1.
[114] Lyll did not appear at consistory court and was pronounced contumacious (BA, EP/J/1/6).
[115] Cleytton was buried within the parish in July 1565 (BA, P.St JB/R/1/a, unpaginated). Skeeters also assumes that the John Lynche that appears as curate in 1567 is the same individual as John Lyll. This is unlikely given that Lyll was still being paid as parish clerk throughout the period (M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, pp. 177-178.
[116] TNA, PRO, E 334/8, fo. 149; CCed ID: 101998; M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, p. 189. Rise was minister of St. John the Baptist until at least 1584, when he appears within both the parish register and in Richard Spenser's last will and testament (BA, P.St JB/R/1/a, unpaginated; TNA, PROB 11/67/240).

1561.[117] In 1571 the churchwardens did pay 4*d*. in 1572 'to the parson for removinge the organs', although the small sum likely indicates the removal of the organs from one area of the church to another. It seems unlikely that Rise would suddenly forbid the use of organs within the church, although their movement does roughly coincide with the death of John Lyll in 1570.[118] Perhaps the new parish clerk, Richard Spenser, was unable to play or maintain them and they became more of an obstruction in their current position. Alternatively, they may have simply been organised to have been moved due to the painting that had recently been undertaken within the church.[119] Either way, the organs did not require to wait too long before they were once again repaired.

From 1570, some ambiguous entries within Bristol's churchwardens' accounts hint at the potential use or reuse of organs. Their use appears to have been predominantly down to a church's minister or available musical personnel. At Christchurch, for example, 2*d*. was paid in 1571 'for openynge the locke to go to the Great organs'. This was followed up in 1573 with the purchase of 'a new key to the Dore of the organs & for mendynge the locke'.[120] These payments to force a lock for access to the organs in 1571 may suggest that the organ had not been maintained and played for a while, possibly since the parish's choir was disbanded around 1564, and the key had been lost. Nevertheless, an important factor at Christchurch for this apparent reintroduction of the organ appears to have been the appointment of Richard Houseman as curate in 1571. Houseman, formerly a hooper by trade

[117] The churchwardens paid John Spratte 4*d*. 'to John Spratte for glewinge the Organ leves' (BA, P.St JB/ChW/1/a).
[118] BA, P.St JB/ChW/1/a.
[119] In 1572 a painter was paid £2 5*s*. by the churchwardens for 'paynting of the churche' (BA, P.St JB/ChW/1/a).
[120] In 1573 20*d*. was paid 'for mendyng the locke of the vestry dore & settynge hym on and for A new key to the dore of the organs & for mendynge the locke' (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated).

and a lay-musician within the choirs of All Saints and Christchurch from at least 1557, became curate of Christchurch in 1571.[121] His presence within the parish coincides precisely with the sudden reintroduction of the organ. Although he appears not to have formerly been the organist at All Saints, his prior musical experience may have been a personal motive to reintroduce the organs within worship. Whilst there are no further payments regarding the organ or its maintenance until another payment for a new lock and key for the organ door in 1607, the desire within the parish for their presence within worship can be seen in the appointment of Roger Churche as parish clerk following Ball's death in 1573.[122]

Churche was a key figure in the restoration of organs, bells, and chimes throughout Bristol in the 1570s. He was clearly sought after by Christchurch. Alongside the payment of £3 10*s*. for three quarters of his service between 1573 and 1574, at the accustomed yearly clerk's stipend of £4 13*s*. 6*d*., Churche was also provided five weeks' worth of 'meate Drynke & lodgynge for he & his wyf at the consent of the paryshe' at the cost of £2 10*s*. He was also paid 20*s*. 'at the consent of the paryshe' and 4*s*. more 'for his paynes' that year.[123] His value to the parish was clear in successive years' payments. Churche was provided with one of the parish's tenements in Corn Street, worth £1 6*s*. 8*d*. a year, whilst his annual wage of £4 13*s*.

[121] Houseman was within Christchurch's choir between 1557 and 1559 before moving to All Saints' choir between 1559 and 1561. In 1561 All Saints' churchwardens' accounts appear to list the occupations of two of their clerks; Richard Houseman is listed as a hooper and William Williams is listed as a painter (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a). Houseman was licensed as a reader in 1561, likely ordained a priest in 1565, and served at All Saints until 1567. From there he served as vicar of Bathampton between 1567 and 1571, before appearing at Christchurch in 1571. Houseman was likely the same individual that was instituted perpetual vicar of Bathampton on 31 October by the Dean and Chapter of Bristol, and who had resigned by June 1571; the churchwardens' accounts of both All Saints and Christchurch line up perfectly with this appointment. He is also likely to be the individual listed as stipendiary curate in 1578 at Chew Magna and at Wraxall between 1579 and 1582. See also M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, pp. 173-174 and CCEd IDs: 54781, 57444, and likely 57443.
[122] Christchurch's register records that James Ball 'sexten' was buried on 25 May 1573 (BA, P.XCh/R/1/a, unpaginated).
[123] BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated.

8*d*. was supplemented through a wide range of payments. For example, in 1574 he was also paid £2 2*s*. 6*d*. 'for Ringing and dressing of the Kolodg agaynst the Quens majesties comyng' and another £1 'for his paynes for dressing the Kolodg and other things which the parishe alowed him'; he was appointed to organise the ringers and decoration within the cathedral prior to Elizabeth's visit. Churche was also paid additional sums on numerous occasions for ringing and for mending the chimes. By 1578 his wage had risen to £8, a comparatively high wage for a contemporary parish clerk within the city and more than some parochial ministers were receiving.[124] This wage likely reflected his skills, ability, and the roles he performed within the church. Whilst he continued to maintain the clock and chimes alongside his other regular duties as parish clerk, he was likely tasked with maintaining the church's organ, and perhaps even for performing upon it. Just as musical provision had been one of the primary concerns of many late-medieval parish clerks, it still was within certain churches. Whilst Churche's role in maintaining the organs within Christchurch is not definitive, his efforts in repairing and maintaining organs across the city is made clear within many churchwardens' accounts.

In the late-1570s there was a significant trend throughout many of Bristol's parishes that saw them repair their organs and once again pay individuals to play them, with the procurement of Churche to Bristol undoubtedly acting as a catalyst. The organ at St. James had survived but required repair in 1577.[125] The churchwardens paid £1 6*s*. 8*d*. 'unto Roger

[124] Many clerks were receiving between £2 to £4 per annum. For example, St. John the Baptist were paying their clerk 40*s*. annually, St. Mary Redcliffe were paying £4, and St. Thomas was paying £3 6*s*. 8*d*. with additional payments for ringing and bell mending. Roger Churche did only serve one quarter in 1575, being replaced by Harry Nowell and Robert Aye briefly, before returning in 1576.

[125] 'A payr of organes' is included within an inventory made by the churchwardens in 1571. In another inventory in 1573 and 1575 it was described as 'a paire of Organs with ij Billowes'. Following the repairs in 1577

Churche for to mend our Organs & settinge them in order'.[126] That same year St. John also paid 16*s*. 10*d*. 'to churche for mendinge the organns & bellframes'.[127] In 1579 St. Thomas similarly paid 10*s*. 'to Churche the orgayne mender the vij of December', although this repair was evidently not enough for another payment of £2 13*s*. 4*d*. was made 'for mendigne the organes' in 1582.[128] The organs at All Saints were also repaired for 2*s*. 6*d*. in 1577, and again in 1582 by Churche for 10*s*.[129] Christchurch's procurement of Churche had enabled the levels of maintenance necessary for the reintroduction of organs throughout many of Bristol's parishes. It is possible that this was the ultimate intention for Christchurch's leading parishioners, many of whom were also leading civic authorities. The appointment certainly came in a period of particular investment. Perhaps buoyed after the departure of Calvinist ministers such as Northbrooke from the city, the churchwardens invested towards their preferred experience of worship.[130] The appointment of Churche and the reintroduction of organs was an effort to invest into the sonic aspect of worship alongside the visual. Such an appointment also provided the necessary skilled resources to repair organs throughout the city.

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the inventory made in 1578 records 'a peyre of Organes with his Bellows to them' and 'a peyre of organes bellows in the vestrye' (BA, P.St J/ChW/1/a).

[126] BA, P.St J/ChW/1/a.

[127] It was likely Churche who was paid the 6*d*. the following year 'for the mendinge of the organs' (

[128] BA, P.St T/ChW/17; BA, P.St T/ChW/19.

[129] BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a.

[130] Christchurch, for example, built a new pulpit, built pews above the enterclose, purchased new pewter pots to serve the communion, railed about the communion board, decorated the chancel, and painted the church. In 1572 the churchwardens paid £9 6*s*. for 23 tonnes of timber. Some of this went towards the making of a new pulpit, which cost £3 10*s*., whilst some went towards making 'the pues above the enterclose' that cost £16 17*s*. 9*d*. Most of the charges in 1573 and 1574 concerned the building of a new house for the parish, possibly adjacent to the chancel. In 1575 'pewter pottes to serve the Comunyon' were bought for 10*s*., and £4 6*s*. 8*d*. was spaid 'For peynting the Churche'. Over £2 was also paid for 'the Railles abowt the [communion] borde', with trippets, wainscot, decorative stars for the chancel, and new pews within the chancel cost around £10 more (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated).

In many cases it is uncertain as to who was playing the organs, but a significant increase in payments to organists is notable in the late-1570s and early-1580s. In 1577 St. James paid 3*s*. 'unto the skolemaster for to playe on our organs from Alholhontyd to St. Andrewes tyde'. In 1579 they also paid 6*s*. 8*d*. to the experienced organist John Lylle 'from Christmas to our ladye daye to kepe playinge on our organs'.[131] In 1580 St. Mary Redcliffe also paid Lylle 15*s*. for a quarter's wage 'for playinge on the Organs', and a further 35*s*. 'to Oldfeildes sonne for halfe a yeres wages for playinge on the Organes'.[132] In 1581 St. Thomas paid 4*d*. 'to a poore [sic] to blow the belloys at christemas', although the organist is not apparent. By the second half of 1582 they had hired a permanent organist; John Blundell 'the organ player' was paid £4 annually between 1582 and 1586.[133] During this period, however, any musical embellishment and organ playing was often down to the parish clerk.

The musical expertise required from some parish clerks within this period has often gone unnoticed. Their musical requirements did not necessarily consist solely of leading the congregation in metrical psalmody. The oft quoted accusation of Kingston-upon-Hull's parish clerk, William Stead, in 1570 for playing the organ too much, 'four times at the morning prayer and four times at the evening prayer of the organs', shows the possibility for a parish clerk's role within worship to also include playing the organ.[134] The potential role of the parish clerk as an organist, however, often gets overlooked due to their roles within the

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[131] BA, P.St J/ChW/1/a.
[132] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/b, p. 27.
[133] BA, P.St T/ChW/18-22.
[134] A. Smith, 'Parish Church Musicians in England in the Reign of Elizabeth I (1558-1603): An Annotated Register', p. 73; N. Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* p. 45; C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, p. 423; J. Harper, 'Changes in the fortunes and use of the organ in church, 1500-1800', p. 64. Smith also identified Stead as Hull's parish clerk, who was 'charged to find two boys to sing divine service in the said church' and paid £4 per annum by the town's chamberlains (A. Smith, 'Parish Church Musicians in England in the Reign of Elizabeth I (1558-1603): An Annotated Register', p. 73).

parish often being nondescript. There is certainly evidence to suggest that some of Bristol's parishes actively sought musicians to serve them as parish clerks and to play their organs throughout this period.

The abovementioned Roger Churche was brought in to be parish clerk in Christchurch in 1573 and was likely charged within the maintenance and playing their organs amongst his other duties. Similar roles are observable in both St. Mary Redcliffe and St. Thomas. In 1578 both St. Mary Redcliffe and St. Thomas coincidently lost the services of their parish clerks around the same time. Both James Sargent, the parish clerk of St. Mary Redcliffe, and Thomas Shayle, the parish clerk of St. Thomas, were formerly paid considerable annual wages of £4 and £3 6*s*. 8*d*. respectively.[135] Their roles are not made clear, but it is likely that their role included that of organist. Their loss appears to have necessitated the procurement of temporary organists within both churches. St. Mary Redcliffe's churchwardens suddenly had to pay 30*s*. 'to Lill for his wages from Chrismas to Easter' in 1580.[136] In 1581 they also paid Lyll for the same quarter, with Oldfield's son paid for the half year.[137] Similarly, St. Thomas paid 4*s*. 5*d*. 'for to wekes table for Steven Dye organ player by consent' following Shoyle's departure in 1579.[138] This may have been with the intent for him to continue within the parish, although there is no further trace of him serving there; William Chubb instead became parish clerk in 1581. Sargent was clearly a proficient musician and was likely more than capable to play the organ. He was described as a 'musytian' when he was admitted to

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[135] James Sargent served St. Mary Redcliffe between 1573 and 1578. Thomas Shayle served St. Thomas between at least 1559 and 1578.

[136] The churchwardens had found the experienced organist John Lyll and procured his services to cover at least the most liturgically significant period that spanned over Christmas and Easter (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/b, p. 9).

[137] Lyll was paid 15*s*. for a quarter's wage 'for playinge on the Organs', and a further 35*s*. was paid 'to Oldfeildes sonne for halfe a yeres wages for playinge on the Organes' (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/b, p. 27).

[138] BA, P.St T/ChW/17.

the liberties of the city in 1577, and was listed as one of the city's four waits in 1582.[139] This is almost certainly the same individual that had their composition, *A New Sonnet upon the Arrival of Richard Ferris at Bristol*, printed in celebration of the adventurer's feat of rowing in an open boat from London to Bristol around 1590.[140] Sargent's successor appears to have been Thomas Browne in 1583, being paid the same annual wage of £4; Browne was also a fellow musician and wait.[141] Browne served as parish clerk until at least 1588. It may not be too much of a stretch to imagine that the 'Lawrence' who served as clerk between 1570 and 1574 may be William Laurence, another of the four named waits in 1582. If so, it is possible to track a largely complete linear chronology of parish clerks who were clearly competent in music from the start of Elizabeth's reign, three of whom were also wait players.[142]

Such musical expertise and resources were not always abundant and in some circumstances the curate took it upon themselves to play the organ where they wished to incorporate it within worship. James Listun, for example, was paid directly by the churchwardens for playing the organs following his appointment as curate of St. Thomas around 1599.[143] In 1601, 10*s*. was paid by the churchwardens to 'Master James for playinge

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[139] James Sargent 'musytian' was admitted to the liberties of the city as he married Alice, late daughter of Darby Garrat, shoemaker and burgess. James Sargent was named as a wait in 1582 alongside William Laurence, Thomas Browne, Harry Ditty, and John Amorgan (M. Pilkinton, ed., *Bristol: Records of Early English Drama*, pp. xli, lxiii, 116, 126, 146, 286-288).

[140] James Sargent's sonnet was printed in his own prose account of the voyage (Richard Ferris, *The most dangerous and memorable adventure of Richard Ferris* (London, 1590), cited in M. Pilkinton, ed., *Bristol: Records of Early English Drama*, pp. 139-141).

[141] A Thomas Browne was also admitted to the liberties of the city in 1580, being listed as a 'musitian'. He was also listed among the four waits of Bristol in 1582 (M. Pilkinton, ed., *Bristol: Records of Early English Drama*, pp. xli, 122, 126).

[142] Their continued presence within the parish is somewhat unsurprising given that Waits' House, located on Tucker Street, would likely have fallen under the jurisdiction of St. Mary Redcliffe. The city council paid the rent of the waits' house in Tucker Street between at least 1531 and 1583 (M. Pilkinton, ed., *Bristol: Records of Early English Drama*, pp. xli, 40, 42, 44-45, 49-50, 52, 54, 56, 59, 60-62).

[143] Thomas Listun first appears as minister for St. Thomas' within their parish register, for 'James Listun son of James Liston the 24 day minyster of the parishe' appears within the Christenings for April 1599 (BA, St T/R/1/a, unpaginated).

on the Organes', whilst the following year 10*s*. 4*d*. was simply paid 'To Master James'. In 1602 Listun received his final payment as organist from St. Thomas, with 10*s*. being 'paid Master James our Curate for playing on the organes for one year'.[144] In 1606 Liston appears as parson of St. Ewen, one of Bristol's poorest parishes.[145] Although there is no evidence of any increased musical activity within St. Ewen's during his occupancy, his personal musicality and affection for it can later be seen in his appointment as lay-singingman at Bristol Cathedral in 1610. He was later paid as a minor-canon from 1615.[146] Listun clearly desired the organ's sound within worship but was forced to play the organ himself in the absence of a capable individual. This was certainly one way of controlling the entire soundscape of worship, despite any potential logistical issue with any movement. This may be one of the reasons that the organ appears to have been repositioned in 1600.[147]

Besides their general decline in use within the parishes, organs were also restricted, removed, or suppressed throughout England's cathedrals.[148] They were certainly permitted to play during worship or within anthems before and after Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer,

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[144] BA, P.St T/ChW/34-36.

[145] James Liston acts as clerk and records his name annually within St. Ewen's vestry minute book at the annual audit of the parish's churchwardens' accounts between 1606 and 1619 (BA, P.St E/V/1).

[146] The lack of additional musicality within St. Ewen is likely due to their financial limitations. It is possible that there was an increase or edification in the practise of metrical psalms, although no evidence exists within the parish's churchwardens' accounts or vestry minutes (BA, P.St E/ChW/2 and BA, P.St E/V/1). James Liston was admitted as a lay-singingman, beside Thomas Prince, on 6 December 1610 (BA, DC/E/1/1(c)). Listun later served as minor-canon between 1615 and 1619. He was also the epistler in 1613 and gospeller between 1614 and 1619 (BA, DC/A/9/1/5). Throughout his occupancy at the cathedral he continued to be parson of St. Ewen. He also briefly served the parish of All Saints, in the patronage of the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral, in 1611; he was paid for reading prayer during the period of vacancy between the death of Francis Arnold and the institution of Robert Markes (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a).

[147] In 1600 St. Thomas' churchwardens paid 10*s*. 'for a new wheelbarrow & Removing the Organs with Tymber & Boordes for them' (BA, P.St T/ChW/33).

[148] Their use was restricted in Lincoln Cathedral in 1570, suppressed at Winchester College in 1571 and Magdalen College, Oxford, around 1561, and removed at Worcester Cathedral in 1560 and King's College, Cambridge around 1570 (J. Harper, 'Changes in the fortunes and use of the organ in church, 1500-1800', p. 217). See also I. Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals c.1547-c.1646*, pp. 54-57.

and a Sermon. An agreement between the Bishop of Hereford John Scory, Lord President of the Council of the Marches Henry Sidney, and the exceptional parish of St. Laurence, Ludlow, in 1581 likely reveals wider tendencies in both cathedral and parochial music. On Sundays and greater festivals Ludlow, who maintained musical resources similar to some cathedrals, were to say all the prayers apart from the psalms. These psalms 'as well before the chapters as after' were to be 'songe in plaine songe in the quier'. The pricksong anthems were allowed to continue as in their previous fashion, whilst the organs were 'to be used betwine the psalmes or wi̱th the psalmes and wi̱th the Antheme or hymme'. They were not to be played the rest of the week, with those services to be said and sung in plainsong.[149] There is little evidence in either parish or cathedral to aid these suggestions, although it is possible that the development in the organ's function as an accompanying instrument did help to pacify moderate reformers, particularly if they were assisting or accompanying the practice of congregational metrical psalmody, or to drive their use since the development of the verse anthem. Marsh has suggested that the organ's primary role within the parishes where it was maintained would have been to accompany metrical psalmody.[150] This is certainly a convincing argument given the significant presence of metrical psalters throughout Bristol's churches at this time.[151] The latter reason likely contributed to the increase in organ provision within cathedrals, and it is possible that such practices were also compelling greater use within the more musically adventurous parishes.[152] However, the lack of

[149] Transcribed in A. Smith, 'Elizabethan Church Music at Ludlow', *Music & Letters*, 49/2 (1968), p. 113. Also quoted in B. Kümin, 'Masses, Morris and Metrical Psalms. Music in the English Parish c.1400-1600', p. 80.
[150] C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, pp. 422-424.
[151] See pp. 169-179.
[152] I. Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals c.1547-c.1646*, pp. 66-67.

payments to any singers by Bristol's churchwardens mean that any performance may have been voluntary or resourced through other means. Bristol's Elizabethan organs were likely to have played solo voluntaries at specific points within worship, perhaps before and after the first and second readings, to fill in any potential moment of transition, and to either accompany or assist congregational metrical psalmody.[153]

One is left to wonder why there was such a sudden and significant revival in organ use. The initial patterns of decline are similar to Willis' findings throughout the country, although many churches appear to have silenced their organs a little earlier than others, by the mid-1560s rather than between 1570 and 1580.[154] However, this study has shown that many of Bristol's churches had reintroduced the organ within the 1570s and 1580s, with such musical provision continuing to be maintained by the turn of the century.[155] Harper's assertion that a change in 'diocesan bishop, cathedral dean, head of college or parish incumbent could have a significant impact on choral practice and the use of the organs' is undoubtedly true.[156] Their lull in activity can be traced to the introduction of figures such as Arthur Saull and John Northbrooke into the city and parishes. Despite the growth of reformed beliefs throughout the city, the conservative nature of diocesan authorities and the presence of former church musicians amongst the parochial clergy ensured the survival of organs within the city. Their revival between 1570 and 1580 is likely to be due in part to

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[153] For more on the organ's transition into an accompanying instrument see A. Shinn, 'Religious, Litugical and Musical Change in Two Humanist Foundations in Cambridge and Oxford, c.1534 to c.1650: St John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford', pp. 414-415.
[154] J. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England*, pp. 90-103.
[155] For example, in 1595 St. Mary Redcliffe's churchwardens paid 12*d*. to Godfrey Bassett 'for mendinge the organes' (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/b, p. 346). A 'strannger [...] & his man' was paid 11*s*. by the churchwardens of St. Thomas in 1597 'to mend the organs' (BA, P.St T/ChW/32). In 1599 the churchwardens of St. James paid 2*d*. 'for a Corde for the Organs' and £1 8*s*. 'for makinge the scaffold for the Organs' (BA, P.St J/ChW/1/a).
[156] J. Harper, 'Continuity, Discontinuity, Fragments and Connections: The Organ in Church, c.1500-1640', p. 217.

the sudden departure of Northbrooke from the city in 1576.[157] Northbrooke's influence clearly ran deep within Bristol, having been an active minister and preacher throughout the parishes, cathedral, and on behalf of the corporation. Similarly, changes in parochial ministry, such as the numerous former clerks and organists turned ministers, enacted change within their cures. Additionally, the procurement of Churche also enabled such a renaissance in activity. Finances were similarly an issue, with many choosing not to continue an unnecessary financial burden and some even cashing in on the pipes. A possible further reason for their acceptance and use was their potential repurposed function into accompanying metrical psalmody.

Bristol's Organs, c.1610-1620: 'Avant-Garde Conformity'?

Following a period of largely intermittent and sporadic use across Bristol after their resurgence in the 1570s, many of Bristol's churches experienced an even greater period of organ provision within the early-seventeenth century. These increases can be viewed as part of a national revival in organ use within worship, particularly within cathedrals and colleges, that would eventually incorporate most of the churches within Bristol.[158] This has often been linked to and presumed to have been part of a 'Laudian' revival under the approval of Laudian bishops.[159] It is possible to observe such a revival and increased provision in organ playing across Bristol from around 1610, originating within the churches south of the River

[157] Northbrooke left Bristol to be instituted into the rectory of Henbury in 1576 (CCEd ID: 59111).
[158] I. Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals c.1547-c.1646*, pp. 80-109; S. Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, pp. 69-90; A. Shinn, 'Religious, Litugical and Musical Change in Two Humanist Foundations in Cambridge and Oxford, c.1534 to c.1650: St John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford', pp. 200-225, 320-353, 412-418.
[159] C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, p. 398; Julian Davies, *Charles I and the Remoulding of Anglicanism 1625-1641: The Caroline Captivity of the Church* (Oxford, 1992), p. 244, n. 202; K. Fincham and N. Tyacke, *Altars Restored*.

Avon. Within the city itself, the sporadic payments for organ use largely continued between 1600 and 1620.[160] However, some churches had seemingly decided to sell their organs after periods of disuse; in 1614 St. John received £1 10*s*. 'for organ pipes which we soulde'.[161] Variable musical practices continued across Bristol. However, a revival becomes clear as payments for organ maintenance and organists at St. Mary Redcliffe and St. Thomas suddenly become yearly disbursements compared to the relatively patchy provision over the prior thirty years.

Whilst the organs at St. Mary Redcliffe and St. Thomas had both been relatively regularly maintained throughout the previous three decades, and perhaps played on by Bristol's waits as parish clerks, both churches suddenly started to pay regular stipends to specified organists between 1611 and 1613 alongside their parish clerks. This would continue until the Civil Wars. In 1611 William Bishop was paid 10*s*. at St. Mary Redcliffe 'for his playing on the Organs'. This was evidently his wages for half a year's service, for he was paid two sums of 10*s*. the following year and £2 annually between 1611 and 1613.[162] In his absence in 1614, the churchwardens were forced to pay 1*s*. 'to the Organ player of St Thomas for playinge on the Kinges Tryumph day' to provide a form of sonic ceremonialism. Bishop returned between 1615 and 1617 upon the same wage that he occupied previously. An anonymous organ player was paid the increased wage of £3 between at least 1617 and

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[160] For example, St. James recorded the sole payment of 1*s*. 'to the organiste on All Saints daye' in 1619 (BA, P.St J/ChW/1/a). The will of organbuilder Ralph Chappington also suggests that he was maintaining the organ at St. Augustine-the-Less by at least 1617, declaring that he was owed 20*s*. 'From St. Augustines Church in Bristoll for two yeares wages'. It is unclear whether this was regarding annual maintenance of an organ within the cathedral, formerly called St. Augustine, or St. Augustine-the-Less. There was certainly an organ at the cathedral, although the fate of any organ in the parish in unknown (TNA, PROB 11/135/430; S. Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, p. 55).

[161] BA, P.St JB/ChW/3/a, unpaginated.

[162] William Bishop was paid 10*s*. on the named 29 July. The date for his other payment of 10*s*. is unspecified, but is surrounded by payments within January (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/c).

1618 and the payment of 15*s*. to 'Percy the organ player for a quarter' in 1619 could suggest that this was the same musician.[163] Similarly, St. Thomas suddenly repaired their organs and started paying an annual wage of £3 6*s*. 8*d*. to an organist, John Vowell, in 1613. This wage was increased to £4 in 1616 before he departed in 1619. He was replaced by St. Mary Redcliffe's former organist William Bishop in 1619 at £2 10*s*. per annum.[164]

The vestrymen appear to have called upon local resources that had some skill in performing upon a keyboard. William Bishop was likely a parishioner of St. Mary Redcliffe or St. Thomas throughout his life.[165] His last will and testament reveals him to be a parishioner of St. Thomas, a clothworker, and member of the trained militia within Bristol. However, the contents of his shop, revealed within his probate inventory, reveal him to be more suited as a fishmonger.[166] He can be identified as a musician due to the pair of virginals with a frame to stand on found within his bed chamber.[167] Relatively little is known about St. Thomas' organist John Vowell. He may have been local, with many of the same surname appearing

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[163] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/c.
[164] BA, P.St T/ChW/46-52.
[165] William Bishop, the son of Thomas, was baptised in St. Mary Redcliffe on 6 April 1586 (BA, P. St MR/R/1/1). Thomas Bishop was elected churchwarden in 1599 and 1601. He was a core member of the vestry by 1600, signing his hand at the end of every yearly account following until his death and burial on 15 November 1613 (BRO P.St MR/ChW/1/c and BRO P/St MR/R/1/1). Bishop married Marie Webbe on 26 October 1613 in St. Mary Redcliffe. Similarly, the William Bishoppe that was recorded as being buried on 23 January 1630 was likely him (BA, P. St MR/R/1/2).
[166] His total goods were worth £167 11*s*. 8*d*. Both Bishop's last will and testament and his probate inventory describe him as a clothworker of the parish of St. Thomas. Bishop desired to be buried in the parish of St. Mary Redcliffe and for Abel Loveringe, the minister of St. Thomas, to preach his funeral sermon for 20*s*. Thomas Palmer, the vicar of St. Mary Redcliffe, would also receive 5*s*. 'for his sufferance'. Bishop gave twenty dozen of bread between the parishes of St. Thomas and St. Mary Redcliffe. He was clearly involved with the Company of Clothworkers, bequeathing them 6*s*. 8*d*. if they appear at his funeral. The 'squadron of the Company which I my selfe was of' was bequeathed 5*s*. The remaining goods were bequeathed to his wife, Mary (BA, EP/J/4/6).
[167] Transcribed in Edwin George, Stella George, and Peter Fleming, eds. *Bristol Probate Inventories Part I: 1542-1650* (Bristol, 2002), pp. 71-72.

within the registers of St. Mary Redcliffe and St. Thomas, in particular.[168] Vowell was, in contrast to Bishop, a musician by trade. He was made a freeman of the city in 1614 as a musician.[169] His skill is perhaps reflected in his superior wage.

Both organs required very little repair prior to both organists' tenure. At St. Mary Redcliffe they were repaired for the relatively small sum of 1*s*. 6*d*. in 1609, suggesting a prior period of good maintenance. As Bishop began to play, the payment of 6*d*. was also necessary 'for j Cay for the Organs'.[170] The organ at St. Thomas was in slightly worse shape, but it was by no means a great expense to repair them. The churchwardens paid 5*s*. in 1613 'to the virginall maker for working ij daies and half on the Organes', whilst £1 was paid to 'Master Vowell for tunening the Organes and setting of pipes'.[171] The required resources were local; the virginal maker was almost certainly Isaac Bryan, who had moved to the city in 1608 and was granted the liberties and freedom of the city by the common council in 1609 as 'virginall maker'.[172] Bryan was also involved in the maintenance of St. Mary Redcliffe's

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[168] For example, Michael Vowell was buried at St. Mary Redcliffe in 1575, as was Anthony Vowell and Alice Vowell in 1583 and 1590 respectively (BA, P. St MR/R/1/1). Katherine Vowell was baptised at St. Thomas in 1566, as was John Vowell in 1567 (BA, P. St T/R/1/a).

[169] Vowell was made a freeman of the city of Bristol on 20 December 1614. The common council decreed that 'It is this daye agreed that John Vowell of the Cytie of Bristoll Musition shall be admitted into the libertyes of this Cytie for his owne lyeffe only payenge iiijs vjd but none of his children to be freed Provyded that hee not any other under him shall keepe any Alehouse or victuallinge at any tyme here after nor shall take any apprentices nor his wyfe to be free after him and that he doe putt in suertyes to discharge the parish of St Thomas of his children that they shall not be burthensome to the same at any teym hereafter' (BA, M/BCC/CCP/1/2; transcribed in M. Pilkinton, ed., *Bristol: Records of Early English Drama*, p. 201).

[170] Bishop was also capable of minor repairs himself, being paid 1*s*. by the churchwardens of St. Mary Redcliffe 'for mendinge of the organs' on Christmas Eve that year, likely in preparation for their use the following day (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/c, p. 164).

[171] The organ case may have also needed some repair in 1614, for the joiner John Thorne was paid 1*s*. 11*d*. 'for mending the Organs' (BA, P.St T/ChW/47).

[172] Isaac Bryan moved into the city around 1608, for he took his first of four apprentices on 14 July 1608 and was granted the liberties and freedom of the city by the common council on 19 December 1609 as 'virginall maker', 'only to use the trade of makinge of virginalles and instrumentes' (BA, 04352(3), f.280v; BA, M/BCC/CCP/1/2, f.13; both transcribed in M. Pilkinton, ed., *Bristol: Records of Early English Drama*, pp. 169-170; see also C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, p. 138 and Michael Fleming and John Bryan, *Early English Viols: Instruments, Makers and Music* (London, 2016).

organs in 1616, when 1*s*. was paid 'to Isaack for tunynge the organs'.[173] Nevertheless, the resources for organ maintenance were largely available within Bristol and it was a rare occasion when a professional organ-builder was required to come from outside the city, although one may have been required after the organ at St. Thomas was moved onto a gallery in 1615.[174] In the first visible occasion when one was necessary, St. Mary Redcliffe paid £1 16*s*. in 1618 'to the Organist of Bathe for a newe paier of Bellowes for the Organs and for setting them in Tune'.[175] This is almost certainly referring to the region's prolific organ-builder John Hayward.[176]

The motivation for the increased provision in organ use is unclear. These changes were clearly part of a broader pattern of increasing church expenditure and a concentration on physical alterations of liturgical space, likely instigated by the two churches' likely 'avant-garde conformist' vicar, Samuel Davies. In 1611, the same year that St. Mary Redcliffe started to pay for a regular organist, the churchwardens paid the considerable sum of £21 'for the screene', with additional payments made towards setting up both James I and Elizabeth I's Arms, painting the ten commandments, and painting the chancel.[177] Work in

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[173] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/c, p. 251.

[174] In 1615 the churchwardens of St. Thomas paid £3 7*s*. 'to Parfett the Carpenter to the mackeing the gallary for the Organs', 1*s*. 8*d*. 'for Drinck for those that did helpe to reare the Organs', 3*s*. 'to the Joyner for mending them', and 1*s*. 2*d*. 'to the Freemason for mendinge of the pipes'. This movement required the payment of £3 2*s*. 6*d*. 'for mendinge a tuneing of the Organns' (BA, P.St T/ChW/48).

[175] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/c, p. 263.

[176] For more on John Hayward, see pp. 259-260.

[177] Additional work to the screen and the chancel included payments of £2 'to the paynter for guilting of the kings Armes' and £3 'for painting Queen Elizabeths Armes and for painting the x Comanndments and other painting in the Channcell'. It may also have involved the relocation of individuals originally seated within the chancel, for a new gallery and four new pews were also erected. The churchwardens paid £3 15*s*. 'for timber & worke belonging to the Gallery', whilst £5 14*s*. 6*d*. was paid the same day as the payment for the screen 'for iij pewes and the Collectors pewe'. There is no indication whether the screen and gallery were linked or separate entities. The lack of subsequent payments for organ repair suggest that they were not for the organs (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/c, pp. 160-167).

this nature was similarly carried out by St. Thomas. In 1612 the churchwardens paid £34 12*s*. 6*d*. in 'Raizinge the Channcell & the two Chappelles'. The sum of £4 10*s*. was also paid 'for paynting the kings armes and that whole pane of worke in the chancell with the Branches and place for the sword & for gould'.[178] This physical work was likely intended to reemphasise the chancel as the most sacred part of the church, something that may have been disregarded under previous regimes. Screens appealed to many different groups of Protestant; they could simultaneously be viewed as either enclosing the nave and excluding the chancel or enclosing the chancel and excluding the nave.[179] Such work was therefore unlikely to have necessitated too much persuading, particularly when both churches were able to afford all such work within their means. As organs had been incorporated within their soundscapes of worship throughout the late-sixteenth century, their increased provision may too have met little resistance. A renewed focus on the visual and aural aspect of worship, embellishing the church fabric and ornaments, continued within both churches throughout the early-seventeenth century.[180] These significant alterations, in both the landscape and soundscape of worship, appear to have been encouraged, and possibly instigated, by the two churches' vicar, Samuel Davies.

[178] As in St. Mary Redcliffe, it also appears that seats were cleared out of the chancel and new ones were made. On 15 November 1613, the joiner David Williams was paid £3 4*s*. 2*d*. 'for the two newe pewes of waynscott being xvij yardes and six foot att iijs the yarde; & for working the inside at vjd the yard, and for vij foote of Bordes at thends of the pewes at iiijd the foote'. Additional work to old seats was undertaken by Edward Parfett, being paid £3 for timber and 19*s*. 1*d*. 'to repaire the ould pewes', amongst various other payments. These new and newly repaired seats were also furnished, with £9 5*s*. spent on 'Cloth & worckmanshipp for tryminge of vj seates in the Church' (BA, P.St T/ChW/45).
[179] Susan Orlik, 'The 'Beauty of Holiness' Revisited: An Analysis of Investment in Parish Church Interiors in Dorset, Somerset, and Wiltshire, 1560-1640' (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2018), pp. 206-225.
[180] This visual aspect also concerned the organs, for St. Thomas' churchwardens paid 14*s*. 4*d*. in 1619 'for paintinge the belfrey and aboute the organs' (BA, P.St T/ChW/52).

When the alterations to St. Thomas' chancel occurred in 1612, Samuel Davies was the sole extraordinary benefactor. Davies gave 13*s*. 4*d*. 'for a gifte given in towardes the raysinge of the Chansell', and in doing so endorsed and encouraged this work as being worthy to undertake. It is possible that his appointment, and therefore the increased significance on the visual and aural aspects of worship, were due to the churches' patron, Giles Thornborough.[181] Thornborough was a keen supporter of music within worship, yet he does not appear to have often directly intervened with either churches' affairs apart from occasionally preaching.[182] Indeed, Bristol-born clergyman Samuel Davies was instituted as perpetual vicar of Bedminster in 1592 after the advowson had been presented to or purchased by the unknown layman William Gadle by Thornborough.[183] Whilst Davies was instituted as vicar in 1592, he appears not to have immediately taken a direct ministerial role within any of these churches, performing only a few sermons himself annually, leaving the brunt of them to other preachers within the city.[184] However, his direct involvement within

[181] The potential complexity of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority is particularly evident within the churches of Bedminster, St. Mary Redcliffe, and St. Thomas. These churches, formerly of the Diocese of Bath and Wells, were transferred into the Diocese of Bristol at its creation. Nevertheless, they remained under the patronage of the Prebend of Bedminster and Redcliffe at Salisbury Cathedral. Whilst the church was under the ultimate jurisdiction of the largely absent Bishop of Bristol, John Thornborough, between 1603 and 1617, his brother Giles Thornborough was patron of the churches between 1593 and 1637 as Prebend of Bedminster and Redcliffe (J. Horn, ed., *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541-1857: Volume 6, Salisbury Diocese* (London, 1986), pp. 23-24).

[182] Thornborough may have had a personal friendship with both Giles and Thomas Tomkins. Thomas Tomkins was the son of Thomas Farington Tomkins, the eventual precentor at Gloucester Cathedral, and prominent composer. Giles was the half-brother of Tomkins junior and fellow musician (Anthony Boden, *Thomas Tomkins: The Last Elizabethan* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 116, 136, 138). He likely visited the churches to preach at least once. In 1616 the churchwardens of St. Mary Redcliffe paid 1*s*. 4*d*. 'for a pottle of wyne on parsone Thornburie' and the churchwardens of St. Thomas paid 2*s*. 8*d*. 'for one potell of seck & one potell of clarrats that same tyme the bishop brother preched at St Thomas' in 1616 (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/c, p. 251; BA, P.St T/ChW/49).

[183] Samuel Davies was of Bristol, pleb. He obtained both his BA and MA at University College, Oxford, between 1583 and 1587 (CCEd ID: 56435).

[184] At St. Mary Redcliffe, ministers had fairly short incumbencies. Thomas Rider initially continued as minister until 1598, before it was served by numerous ministers in short succession. A Mr Sturtvant served the church in 1598, James Listun possibly served in 1601, a Mr Fry served in 1602, and John Foster and Thomas Woodcock served in 1603. In 1605 John Powell, the curate of Bedminster from 1582, moved the short distance to St. Mary Redcliffe and held the post until 1612. Thomas Woodcocke was then minister between 1615 and 1623. At St.

at least St. Thomas may be seen after 1612, where he starts to sign the annual churchwardens' accounts alongside the vestry. This coincides directly with his presentation to a prebend at Bristol Cathedral. His own beliefs are unfortunately unclear, yet his last will and testament from 1622 reveals that he certainly had an affinity with St. Thomas and was potentially an 'avant-garde conformist'. He requested his body to be buried under the communion table at St. Thomas or in the cathedral's choir and gave £36 towards funding an annual sermon at St. Thomas the Sunday before rogation week. He also gave a velvet cushion for the cathedral's communion table for £3, potentially showing his own tendencies towards ornamenting and embellishing the most sacred of spaces and acts.[185] Nevertheless, it was Davies' increased involvement within Bristol around 1611 that is likely to have either encouraged or coerced his churches' parishioners to increase their attention to both the visual and sonic enrichment of worship.

Bristol's Organs: Bishop Wright's Effective Authority and Lay-Enthusiasm, c.1620-1632

When Lieutenant Hammond, a soldier of Norwich, passed through Bristol on his tour of England in the mid-1630s, recording the primary sights and sounds of locations he passed through, he discovered that Bristol's 18 parish churches were all 'fayrely beautify'd, richly adorn'd, and sweetly kept, and in the major part of them, are neat, rich, and melodious

Thomas William Best was minister in 1592, James Listun appears as minister between 1599 and 1605, Samuel Powell was minister between 1608 and 1615, and Abel Loveringe was minister from 1616 (BA, P St MR/R/1/1; BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/b-c; BA, St T/R/1/a; BA, P.St T/ChW/28-72). Their parishioners received a variety of beliefs through their varied preachers, hearing the varied messages propounded by figures such as Nathaniel Baxter, John Goodman, his brother Toby Davies, Robert Markes, and Abel Lovering, amongst others throughout his incumbency. Other preachers include William Hill, Robert Temple, Mr Parr, a Mr Cole, Mr Marlowe, Mr Floide of Dundry, Mr Warren, Mr Shipman, William Lewis, and Mr Wilkinson (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/b-c; BA, P.St T/ChW/28-72).

[185] TNA, PROB 11/141/271.

Organs, that are constantly play'd on'.[186] Bristol's surviving churchwardens' accounts support this claim. By 1641 organs were present and maintained within seven of the ten parishes for which these records survive, with at least five of these organs built after 1620. Additionally, the cathedral obtained a new organ in 1630 and sold their old organs to St. Stephen. This movement was closely linked with what has been labelled as 'the Laudian revival'.[187] Throughout this period, Bristol's ecclesiastical authorities actively encouraged and enforced organs within worship, in line with their desire to see their churches 'beautified' in a movement of ceremonial revival. Their reintroduction, however, was met with both great enthusiasm and equal detestation by the laity.

A pivotal moment for the use of organs throughout Bristol's churches proved to be the years 1623 and 1624. Organs had continued to be played within St. Mary Redcliffe and St. Thomas. At St. Mary Redcliffe 'Lukins the Organist', likely John Lukins, was paid £1 6*s*. 8*d*. for the year in 1621, an anonymous organist was paid £2 in 1622, and William Bishop returned as organist in 1623, receiving £2 13*s*. 4*d*.[188] Bishop had also played St. Thomas' organ in 1620 and 1621 receiving £2 10*s*. and £2 for his year's wages respectively. As he left for St. Mary Redcliffe in 1622, the vestry were initially forced to pay smaller contributions to able musicians, notably paying 1*s*. to 'the blinde man for playinge on the organs'. They eventually managed to find an anonymous replacement, later revealed in 1623 to be William White, who received £2 per annum for his wages.[189] However, in 1623 the adjacent parish of Temple suddenly renewed their organ use after over 30 years of disuse. The churchwardens

[186] L. G. Wickham Legg, ed., *A Relation of a Short Survey of 26 Counties* (London, 1904), p. 92.
[187] S. Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, Chapter 5.
[188] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/d.
[189] BA, P.St T/ChW/53-56.

paid the total sum of 9*s*. 6*d*. to repair the organ, started to pay 4*s*. annually for an organ blower, and paid their parish clerk an augmented salary of £4, rather than the previous £2, to likely reflect the added role of organist. This is confirmed the following year, where it is revealed that John Lukins, once organist for St. Mary Redcliffe and current lay-singingman at Bristol Cathedral, was parish clerk.[190] The reintroduction of the organ into the soundscape of worship was similarly infused within a period of increased expenditure in the church's material fabric and ornaments. This movement, including the raising of the chancel, the erection of a screen between the chancel and the nave, and the enlarging of the rails about the communion table, was likely encouraged by the new Bishop, Robert Wright, whose influence is discussed above.[191]

Over 1623 and 1624 the organs at St. Mary Redcliffe and St. Thomas underwent significant additions and repairs, properly introducing the organbuilder John Hayward into the increasingly expanding market within Bristol. In 1624 St. Mary Redcliffe paid £10 to 'Master Haward Organist in parte of paymente of makeing & settinge upp a new Organ in the Church'.[192] That same year, St. Thomas similarly paid £9 10*s*. 'to Hayward the organist for his workemanshipp aboute the organs'.[193] Hayward was a prolific and renowned Bath-

[190] John Lukins was organist at St. Mary Redcliffe in 1621 and 1622 (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/d). He was parish clerk and organist at Temple between 1623 and 1642 (BA, P.Tem/Ca/9-15/1). He was also lay-singingman at Bristol Cathedral between 1623 and at least 1634, although he is likely to have served this office for a greater period. He was paid an annual stipend of £8 for performing the office of lay-singingman at Bristol Cathedral from 1623 until the final surviving pre-Commonwealth Computa in 1631 (BRO DC/A/9/1/5). The extracts from the chapter act books state that: he was admitted as a singingman, on probation, on 5 July 1623; he was confirmed a singingman on 26 June 1624; and he was given his first admonition on 2 March 1628, presumably for absenteeism and tardiness (BRO DC/A/8/1). He was among the choir members to present an answer to Archbishop Laud's 1634 articles for the cathedral (J. Bettey, ed., *Records of Bristol Cathedral*, pp.58-69).
[191] See 'Agents of Change', pp. 90-95.
[192] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/d, p. 78.
[193] Other charges that year include 2*s*. 2*d*. 'for xxvj foote of bourds for the Organs' and 3*d*. 'for glewe to mend the organs' (BA, P.St T/ChW/57).

based organ-builder and the primary figure in any organ building or maintenance in the region between 1620 and 1642. The leading vestrymen of St. Mary Redcliffe had clearly sought out Hayward's expertise in organ-building, for they also spent 1*s*. 'in Charges twise to Bathe & horshire in gyveinge directiones about the saide Organ'. Their organ was finished in 1625 and a further £5 was paid to 'the organist [Hayward] for his workemanshipp aboute the organes'.[194] These sums of money would not necessarily have been enough to have bought an entire new organ. It is possible that these comparatively modest sums may indicate a reworking of their current organs, similar to Hayward's rebuilding of St. Mary, Swansea, in 1631 for £17.[195] Alternatively, it is also possible that a deal for new organs included the exchange of the old organs, similar to Hayward's future contract with St. James, examined later.[196] The 6*d*. paid by St. Thomas 'for makinge of the Bond for keepinge of the organs' also shows that Hayward was bound to repair them within a fixed time should they break at his default, perhaps similar to the two year guarantee given at Swansea.[197] Following Hayward's involvement in making and installing St. Mary Redcliffe's new bellows in 1618, these may be some of the first organs that John Hayward was involved in rebuilding.[198] By 1624, all three of Bristol's parishes south of the River Avon had either new or newly repaired organs and were maintaining organists to play upon them.

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[194] A painter was also paid £1, and a joyner 4*s*. 6*d*. about the same work (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/d).
[195] Sally Harper, *Music in Welsh Culture before 1650* (Abingdon, 2007), p. 363. Matthews states that Hayward had repaired the organs at Wells Cathedral, St. Martin in Salisbury, Minehead. He had also built the organ at Shepton Mallett for £60 in 1638. This was not the John Hayward that was a harpsichord maker in London (Betty Matthews, 'The Haywards of Bath', *British Institute of Organ Studies*, 19 (1995), pp. 48-51). It is also highly unlikely to be the same John Hayward, son of the silkweaver John Hayward of Bedminster, that was apprenticed to the musician and city wait William Johnson in 1625 (M. Pilkinton, ed., *Bristol: Records of Early English Drama*, pp. 225, 265).
[196] See pp. 274-276.
[197] BA, P.St T/ChW/33-72. For Swansea's organ see S. Harper, *Music in Welsh Culture before 1650*, p. 363.
[198] This is a conclusion shared by Betty Matthews, although the churchwardens' accounts were not searched thoroughly enough on her behalf to make a sound conclusion. Matthews states that the then city archivist was

This increase in organ provision can be directly linked to the rising desire for a more ceremonial form of worship and, more specifically, the installation of Robert Wright as Bishop of Bristol in 1623. Wright placed a particular emphasis on the soundscape of worship. In a letter to Archbishop Laud, dated 29 March 1637, Wright declared his pride that he had 'got all the churches in the citty so well repaired and beautified, that I dare say noe parish in London excells them' and that he had procured 'organs to be set up in seven of those parish churches there and the meanes to maintain the organist in three of four of those'.[199] Surviving evidence suggests nothing to dispute his claim. If the newly rebuilt organs in St. Mary Redcliffe and St. Thomas are included, the reintroduction of organs within six parishes can be observed throughout his tenure as bishop, between 1623 and 1632.

Wright immediately exerted his influence as bishop upon his appointment, particularly in the appointment of a new vicar of Bedminster, St. Mary Redcliffe, and St. Thomas. Samuel Davies died early in 1623 and his last will and testament willed that his executor, his brother Eustace Davies, 'shalbe directed by my Lord Bushoppe of Bristoll for presentacion of a sufficient man to my benifice of Bedminster and Redcliffe'.[200] Davies had essentially passed the advowson to the newly elected Bishop Wright. Sure enough, on the presentation of Eustace Davies, Thomas Palmer was instituted as vicar of Bedminster, and thereby of St. Mary Redcliffe and St. Thomas, on 19 April 1623.[201] Wright had ensured the

unable to locate the reference to Hayward building a new organ around 1626 that several writers had referred to from 1930 onwards. She instead concludes that the organ may have been a gift from a wealthy merchant in Bristol. The earliest evidence Matthews found for Hayward was the repair of the organ at Holy Trinity, Coventry, in 1632 (B. Matthews, 'The Haywards of Bath', p. 47).

[199] TNA, PRO, SP 16/351/38; quoted in M. Reynolds, *Godly Reformers and their Opponents in Early Modern England*, p. 262.

[200] TNA, PROB 11/141/271.

[201] Thomas Palmer was a pensioner of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and was BA by 1616. He was MA from Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1620 (CCEd ID: 147358).

appointment of a minister that would support his views. Palmer's own views on music are made certain within an epigram printed within the sole publication of Elway Bevin, Bristol Cathedral's organist and Gentleman of the Chapel Royal:

> Musicke breaths heaven, nay more, it doth disclose it,
> If old Judicious *Bevin* doe compose it.
> Astronomy stares high, and doth not feare
> To draw heavens curtaine, and unfold a Spheare:
> But Musicke climbes as high as *Jacobs* Scale,
> Out-vies a *Jacobs* Staffe: it doth unvaile
> Three for her one, or rather three in one:
> A mystery that Art ne're thought upon.
> Three parts in one, are no Trichotomy
> Of one in three, but a sweet Trinity
> Combin'd in one. This may (with wonder) make
> An Atheist (if hee'le lay his eares to stake)
> Sing Trinity in Unity, when he shall
> Heare that (which he thought harsh) prove musicall.
> Church Musicke finds applause, then why not Hee
> That sets forth Canons of a Trinity?[202]

Here, Palmer clearly expressed his support of music within worship, with his enthusiasm likely to have been a factor in obtaining the new organs at St. Mary Redcliffe and St.

[202] E. Bevin, *A Briefe and Short Instruction of the Art of Musicke* (London, 1631), p. 3.

Thomas'.[203] However, Palmer's own religious identity may serve as an example to muddy the traditional Laudian narrative and the link with organs. Whilst his churches were undoubtedly part of a wider movement of increased expenditure and church beautification that may have been formerly described as 'Laudian', it is unlikely that Palmer himself was one of these followers. By 1635 Palmer was chaplain to Philip Herbert, 4th Earl of Pembroke, who favoured the godly cause and was not well-disposed towards Laud.[204] As such the increased focus on organs within worship in these churches may not be fairly considered as an aspect of Laudianism, or even perhaps of the wider movement that encompassed 'avant-garde conformity', often used as a cipher for pre-Laud Laudianism.

Following Bishop Wright's appointment, some of Bristol's churches, including St. Mary Redcliffe and St. Thomas, appear to have required little prompting to obtain an organ. The first inner-city parish to reinstall an organ appears to have been St. John, only ten years after they had sold their organ pipes.[205] In 1624 the churchwardens noted that 'This yeare the Organes was made & putt up in the Churche which Costes the Some of fortie poundes'. An organist was paid the annual sum of £4 the following year, with the sexton receiving an additional 6*s*. annually for 'draweinge', or blowing, the organ. Unsurprisingly, these payments appear once again as part a wider pattern of increased expenditure. An unusual cruciform stone font with depictions of heads and roses was purchased in 1624, whilst £60 0*s*. 5*d*. was spent in 1627 'for other necessary disbursementes as by a particular note

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[203] Even though the records are missing for the parish of Bedminster, it is likely that their organs were also repaired or rebuilt by Hayward around 1624.
[204] Palmer reveals that he is chaplain to Philip Herbert, 4th Earl of Pembroke and Lord High Steward of Bristol, within the preface of his published sermon *Bristolls Military Garden* (London, 1635). For Herbert see David Smith, 'Philip Herbert (1584–1650)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004).
[205] See p. 251.

appeareth whearof the most part was laid out uppon the new Buylding of the chancell'.[206] Christchurch appear to have been one of the next parishes to follow suit; an organist was first paid 10*s*. for Our Lady quarter in 1628. Unfortunately, the rest of 1628's accounts are missing, but an organist was receiving an annual wage of £3 by 1629. As the accounts are also missing for 1626, it appears that either a new organ was built or their existing one was repaired within that year.[207] St. Stephen also obtained the cathedral's old organ in 1630 for £30.[208]

The last will and testament of merchant Thomas Wright, dated 1630 but proved 1632, may reveal that St. Nicholas was one of the parishes where Bishop Wright claimed he managed to secure funding for an organist. Thomas Wright bequeathed an annuity of £5 out of a lease and the wine licence from the tavern and inn called The Lambe in Tucker Street to the churchwardens of St. Nicholas. From this sum 'Fower pounds thereof per annum to him that shalbe the organist and shall play on the organs in the said Church of St Nicholas in such forme now the same is used'.[209] Whilst the organs were apparently already being used, this secured the organist's wage, at the now regular Bristol-wide annually wage, of £4.

The reintroduction of the organ at Christchurch around 1628 may also have been one of the parishes where Bishop Wright claims that he managed to obtain funding for an

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[206] The only particular reference within that year's accounts shows that £30 14*s*. was 'paied for makinge the organ besides the payntinge', although £6 was paid the following year 'for painting the organs'. The accounts reveal that in 1624 'the new fonte was made with other good workes aboute the Church amounting to the sume of Fowerr Score poundes' (BA, P.St JB/ChW/3/a-b, unpaginated). This font still stands today.

[207] The last mention of an organ was in 1607, when the churchwardens paid 1*s*. 4*d*. 'for a locke & key for the organ dore' (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/b).

[208] Bishop Wright's beautification accounts from 1630 show that £30 was received by the cathedral 'for their old Organs sould to St Steevens' (BA, DC/F/1/1).

[209] The remaining £1 was to go towards an annual sermon on Ash Wednesday at St. Nicholas at 10 o'clock in the morning; 15*s*. was to go to the vicar for preaching, ten groats were to go to the clerk, and 20*d*. to the sexton. Thomas Wright does not appear to be a relative to Bishop Robert Wright (TNA, PROB 11/162/121).

organist. An inventory taken at Christchurch in 1620 includes 'the Organes standing in their place' and '136 organ pipes'.[210] It is difficult to speculate too much on the size of this organ simply on the number of pipes. However, given the apparent common long compass of around 46 notes it may have been a relatively small instrument of around three ranks – providing that none of the pipes were missing or unaccounted for at the time.[211] At this point, it is unclear whether it was regularly being played, although they seem to have required little repair before the first payment towards an organist in 1628. A regular organist was able to be maintained predominantly through the significant alderman and vestryman of Christchurch, Henry Yate. By 1629 £1 was annually 'Reseaved of Master Yatt to pay the organest'.[212] These receipts occur annually until his death in 1636, although his influence extended beyond his mortal life, for Yate's last will and testament provided additional sureties for future provision. He bequeathed two messuages or tenements in Temple Street, and their two adjoining gardens, to Christchurch with two conditions. Out of the total annual rent for the property, currently being leased at 40*s*., 20*s*. was to go towards a sermon to be preached annually at Christchurch on the Thursday before Easter day, for which 10*s*. was to go to the preacher and the other 10*s*. to go towards the poor. The other 20*s*. was to go

> towardes the maintenance of one experte and skilfull musitian to laude and praise god upon the organs in Christchurch aforesaid before and after Sermons there

[210] BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/b, p. 164.

[211] Bicknell states that the English long compass was 'forty-six notes or so'. An organ listed within a 1532 inventory in Calne, Wiltshire, gives 123 pipes. This was potentially three stops of 41 notes – also the same compass as the Wingfield fragment. In contrast the organ at St. Mary, Nottingham, was listed as having 255 pipes in 1588. St. Mary Woolnoth, London, had a compass of 44 pipes and five stops (S. Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, pp. 46, 58, 69). It may be possible that the organ had four stops and was comprised of a smaller compass of 34 notes, although evidence for such a compass is not extant. It may be more likely that the total number of pipes was 138, giving three complete ranks at the key compass of 46.

[212] BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/b, f. 277r.

> preached and after the first and Second lessons att devine Service every morninge and eveninge upon the saboath daies and all other festivall and Solempne daies to move and stirr upp the peoples affecions the more cheerefully with holy david to laude and magnifie gods most holy name as it hath formerly beene used in the most florrishinge and peceable estate of the church both before and since the Incarnacion of our lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Following the expiration or surrender of the current lease, an additional sermon should be preached upon the feast day of St. Thomas the Apostle, with an additional 10*s*. going to the preacher. The total sum of 40*s*. should then go towards the poor, with 20*s*. being distributed on each feast day. Finally, the organist's stipend should also be doubled, with them receiving 10*s*. quarterly.[213]

Yate's directions outline some of the organs' musical practices within worship. On Sundays and other festival days, the organs were to play voluntaries before and after sermons, potentially covering any movement from both the preacher as he moved towards or away from the pulpit, and from any incoming or outgoing congregation.[214] They were also to play after the first and second lessons at both Morning and Evening Prayer. This practice entirely corroborates with the orders given to William Byrd in 1570 at Lincoln Cathedral.[215]The music would also have served in highlighting the most important parts of

[213] TNA, PROB 11/173/272.

[214] For example, the 1634 metropolitical visitation of Bristol Cathedral discovered that it had 'long been a comon practice' in Bristol that if the Mayor and Aldermen arrived at the cathedral for a sermon but divine service had not yet ended, 'divine service is ended, abruptly to breake off service'. If they were late to arrive, then the congregation stayed and waited for their coming before the sermon could begin (transcribed in J. Bettey, ed., *Records of Bristol Cathedral* (Bristol, 2007), p. 68).

[215] Byrd was told to only play the organ before the two canticles at Morning and Evening Prayer. At Morning Prayer, the first Lesson was to be followed by either the canticle Te Deum laudamus or Benedicite omnia opera, whilst the second Lesson was to be followed by either the Benedictus or the Jubilate Deo. At Evening

Protestant worship: scripture and preaching. The music itself may have been either improvised or composed. After all, St. Thomas paid 2*s*. 6*d*. in 1614 'for a new booke for the organs' and St. John paid the total sum of 9*s*. 6*d*. in 1626 'for worke done on the Organs and a booke for the Organiste'.[216] Either way, so long as such music was not too long as to inhibit the time meant for preaching, this may have been palatable for most, even the less radical members of the godly community. Whilst the intention was, admittedly, to do what many reformers had earlier feared – to 'stirr upp the peoples affecions' – it was not obscuring scripture, financial resources had been secured from outside of the church's stock, and it was not inhibiting preaching. Moreover, it is possible that the request to play before or after a sermon alludes to accompanying metrical psalms, to 'stirr upp the peoples affecions the more cheerefully with [literally] holy david to laude and magnifie gods most holy name'.

Evidence of organs accompanying congregational metrical psalmody at Christchurch may conclusively be found in a later bequest. The last will and testament of Humphrey Andrewes, a clothier of St. Augustine the Less, dated 1636 and proved 1638, also bequeathed three tenements and three gardens within the parish of St. James to Christchurch. Andrewes stipulated that these were to be used

> To maintaine an able musitian or one well skilled in musicke to playe uppon the Organs in Christ Church [...] on Sundayes and Holydayes or att any other tyme as

Prayer, the first Lesson was followed by the Magnificat or Cantate Domino, whilst the second Lesson was to be followed by the Nunc Dimittis or the Deus misereatur. This would have corresponded to the Office hymn or antiphon in the Latin Rite at Lauds, Vespers, and Compline (J. Harper, 'Changes in the fortunes and use of the organ in church, 1500-1800', p. 64).

[216] BA, P.St T/ChW/47; BA, P.St JB/ChW/3/a, unpaginated. The necessity for the organist at Morning Prayer may be seen at St. Thomas, for the payment of 4*d*. in 1617 for some weights and 'for a pownd of Candells for to light the organ plaier at morninge praier' shows that the organ was certainly required and likely playing composed music at morning prayer at least (BA, P.St T/ChW/50).

> need shall require at the singing of such psalmes as the Minister or Clarke of the sayd Church shall nominate and appoint to be sung at Divine service or sermons in the sayd Church.[217]

As previously mentioned, the organ had been reintroduced at Christchurch around 1627, and so an organist was already being maintained on an annual salary of £3, partially funded through Yate's previous bequest.[218] Andrewes' bequest shows that the organs may have been predominantly used to accompany metrical psalmody potentially before and after services and sermons. The bequest allowed the churchwardens to pay the regular £4 per annum towards an organist from 1638, potentially enabling a more able musician.[219] Whilst this is evidence for the continued desire for some laity to maintain these instruments within Bristol, it may also be evidence for the continued desire to increase their presence throughout Bristol's parishes by one of Laud's protégés in Bishop Robert Skinner.[220]

Bristol's Organs c.1632-1642: 'the Laudian Revival' and Reaction

The efforts to beautify Bristol's churches continued under the authority of Bishops George Coke, between 1633 and 1636, and Robert Skinner, between 1637 and 1641.[221] These

[217] TNA, PROB 11/176/435.
[218] Whilst the organist was anonymous between 1627 and 1633, the organist between at least 1634 and 1636 was Henry Dighton (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/b). Dighton was likely the chorister at Bristol between at least 1621 and 1623 (BA, DC/A/9/1/5). He is likely to be the son of Isaack Dighton, baptised at St. James in 1609. He married Katherine Pen in 1632 and was buried within the same parish in 1674 (BA. P St. J/R/1/a-b). He reveals himself to be a brewer within his last will and testament (PROB 11/344/397). His marble memorial is still prominent within, what is now, the Roman Catholic Church of St. James Priory.
[219] Whilst Henry Dighton initially continued in 1638 with an increased annual wage, the organist for the following four years remains anonymous (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/b).
[220] For more on Skinner, his career, beliefs, and his relationship with Laud see Vivienne Larminie, 'Robert Skinner (1591-1670)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008).
[221] Robert Wright was translated to the bishopric of Coventry and Lichfield in 1632, with his replacement George Coke consecrated as Bishop of Bristol on 10 February 1633 (Ian Atherton, 'George Coke (1570–1646)', *Oxford Dictionary of National* Biography (2004)). Coke was translated to Hereford and Skinner was

beautification efforts included the increased provision for music within worship and the continued reintroduction of organs into churches. Under Bishop Coke Bristol's churches appear to have experienced little drastic change.[222] Those that had enthusiastically started to increase their attention on the ceremonial form of worship and the importance within the material objects of the church continued to do so, whilst those who had not made any such changes prior to Coke's appointment similarly continued. The appointment of Bishop Skinner, however, led to the reintroduction of organs within several more parishes, perhaps through underhanded means, and in a manner that riled the more radical godly communities within Bristol.

Organs continued to be played within worship throughout those churches that had reintroduced them, with even further increased provision following Skinner's appointment as bishop in 1637. The increased annual wage for Christchurch's organist in 1638 was met with an uncertain, yet relatively substantial, repair or addition to the organ by John Hayward.[223] This work once again coincides with extensive visual beautification work and interior renovation, including the sizeable payment of £290 to a single joiner in several instalments over 1638 and 1639.[224] St. John continued to pay their £4 wage to an organist

consecrate bishop on 15 January 1637 (V. Larminie, 'Robert Skinner (1591-1670)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008).

[222] Bishop Coke does appear to have owed part of his appointment to William Laud, although he likely owed his elevation to the support of Sir John Coke, his brother (K. Fincham, 'William Laud and the Exercise of Caroline Ecclesiastical Patronage', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 51/1 (2000), p. 78). Coke was described as more moderate than either Wright or Skinner by William Prynne (William Prynne, *The Antipathie of the English Lordly Prelacie, both to Regall Monarchy and Civill Unity* (London, 1641).

[223] The churchwardens paid £6 'to Master Hayward for the organnes' in 1638 (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, p. 463).

[224] In 1638 Whittingham was paid: £50 'towards the makeing of The settes att 2 paymentes as may apeere by a bill of his hand'; £70 10*s*. 'as will apeere by a scoore kept betwixt us'; £6 15*s*. 'for the waynscoote aboute the Chauncell'; and £4 16*s*. 6*d*. 'for the Grate as by his note apperes and mending the Rayles aboute the table'. Whittingham was also paid £157 18*s*. 6*d*. in 1639 for his work 'from the 25 of June 1639 untill the 10th of maye 1640'. The sum of 16*s*. was also paid in 1638 to Serle 'for freestone and his worke a boute the stepes goeing in

throughout the period, even securing the services of Bristol Cathedral's singingman and both the stepfather and master to the Bristol-born composer William Child, Thomas Prince, between at least 1628 and 1633.[225] The organs also appear to have been moved onto a gallery in 1630 amongst other beautification work.[226] Similarly, Temple's organist John Lukins and the organ blower continued to be paid annually.[227] The visual aspect of the organ was also beautified in 1630 and 1632.[228] Regular payments for repair and an annual wage to an organ blower at St. Mary Redcliffe show that they also continued to use their organ, although the organist is not entirely certain immediately after David Oldfield in 1631.[229]

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to the Chancell'. The interior of the church, and the chancel in particular, was undergoing extensive renovation during 1638 and 1639.

[225] Child was apprenticed to Prince in 1620 (BA, 04352(4); transcribed and translated in M. Pilkinton, ed., *Bristol: Records of Early English Drama*, pp. 215, 264). It is cited that Child had married Prince's daughter Joan, as Prince names his 'welbeloved sonne in Lawe William Childe' as his executor in his last will and testament (BA, will Thomas PRINCE 1634; partly transcribed in M. Pilkinton, ed., *Bristol: Records of Early English Drama*, p. 240). Equally, it is often cited that this Joan must have died prior to his marriage of Anne Keene on January 1631 at New Windsor parish, following his appointment as a lay clerk at St. George's Chapel, Windsor (Ashbee, Andrew., 'Dr William Child' in A. Ashbee, D. Lasocki, P. Holman, and F. Kisby, eds., *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485-1714, Volumes I & II* (Aldershot, 1998); Ian Spink, 'William Child (1606/7-1697), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004). However, the 'Joanna Child' listed within his will, to whom he bequeaths the many contents of the 'Lowerfare streete Chamber where I nowe lodge', is evidently still alive in 1634 and is listed as both 'my daughter in lawe' and 'my said daughter'. Despite the lack of clear evidence within the city parishes' registers, it is clear that it was Thomas that married into the Child family. This is supported in the Mayor's Audits for 1615, that show 'Thomas Prynce musition is admitted into the Liberties of this Citty for that hee married with Elizabeth Childe the daughter of William Burte cooper and hath paide iijs iiijd' (BRO F/Au/1/18). Amongst Prince's bequeaths two lutes to Isaac Brian, an instrument maker and one of the overseers of his will, and four books of music 'which are bound upp together and her name putt upon the same by my appointment' to his daughter Johanna Brian.

[226] The churchwardens paid £3 10*s*. 'for timber and Carpinteres worke for the galarey to sett the Organes'. The following year £38 5*s*. 9*d*. was 'Laid out on the church as appereth by a note of particulars', although what work was exactly undergone is uncertain (BA, P.St JB/ChW/3/a, unpaginated).

[227] BA, P.Tem/Ca/9-15/1. For more on John Lukins see pp. 258-259, 288.

[228] The churchwardens paid 5*s*. 'for writting in the skreene under the organes' and £2 10*s*. paid 'for painting the organes & the queenes armes' respectively (BA, P.Tem/Ca/13/2a; BA, P.Tem/Ca/13/5a).

[229] David Oldfield was organist at St. Mary Redcliffe in at least 1631, receiving £3 for the year. It is possible that the parish clerk, Thomas Bigges, continued to play them after, especially as he was paid 1*s*. in 1632 'for amendinge the organs'. This is unlikely, however, as he was parish clerk when the church required Oldfield as organist, and later when an organist is paid a yearly wage again in 1639 (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/d). This is likely the 'David Ouldfield Clearke' that was buried at St. Stephen on 7 May 1636 (BA, P/St.S/R/1/a). He describes himself as a mercahnt within his last will and testament, whilst his probate inventory confirms that he was 'late parishe Clarke of the parrishe of St Stephens'. His inventory included one ould small lute, and one small paire of Virginalls, decaied and broken' in the hall, appraised to be worth just 3*s*. 4*d*. (Transcribed in E. George and S.

St. Thomas likewise continued to maintain their organ, although the church expended a considerable amount in further development on their organ in 1637. They continued to pay an annual wage to their organist William Sam between 1626 and 1641.[230] In 1637 the organs were once again renovated following the work done in 1624. The churchwardens paid £1 1*s*. to John Hayward 'in earnest', before paying him £26 13*s*. 4*d* 'at severall times in full'. Unsurprisingly, this work was again part of a larger scheme of beautification within the church, with charges for 'setting upp the organs Gallerie Skrean & the wainescott over the Commandements' costing over £50 for the year.[231] By 1639, there was clearly enough business within Bristol for John Hayward to travel to the city regularly and maintain many of the city's organs annually.[232]

Organs continued to be reintroduced into parishes that may not have had them since their silencing within the sixteenth century. All Saints, for example, underwent another significant period of beautification in 1636, including the purchase of an organ.[233] Large sums

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George, eds., *Bristol Probate Inventories, Part 1:1542-1650*, pp.97-98). There is one intriguing payment where £1 was paid by the churchwardens in 1634 to 'Deane for teachinge Daniell on the Organs'. It is possible that 'Deane' was the same 'Deane' that was head chorister at Bristol Cathedral between at least 1627 and 1630, although Deane is a common name. It is unclear as to who either 'Deane' or 'Daniell' are, although it may suggest that the parish struggled to obtain a skilled organist following Oldfield's departure, and either wished or required Daniel to improve upon the organs to play within worship. The annual payment of 4*s*. for an organ blower shows that they were being used. Nevertheless, the churchwardens did start to pay an anonymous organist £2 per annum once again from 1639 (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/d).

[230] Sam received the comparatively poor wage of £2 until it was augmented to £5 13*s*. 4*d*. when he became parish clerk in 1637. This fee would often be augmented by 4*s*. for 'his man', the organ blower, whenever they were not paid directly by the churchwardens. In this role, Sam was more involved within the parish affairs, besides playing the organ. He was paid an additional 2*s*. for making the rent roll in 1631, making a bond for the parish in 1632, and helping to organise the parish's poor with the parish clerk John Betterton from 1633, for example (BA, P.St T/ChW/59-74).

[231] The organist William Sam was also paid 1*s*. 'to goe to Bathe'. John Thorne was paid £12 3*s*. 4*d*. 'at divers paiements For worke & for timber', and the painter was paid £7 15*s*. 'For paineting Guilteing of the same worke' (BA, P.St T/ChW/71).

[232] Hayward received the annual sum of 6*s*. 8*d*. from Christchurch in 1639 'for one yeares lookeing to the organnes' (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, p. 487). Hayward was similarly paid 6*s*. 8*d*. annually from 1640 for the same service at St. Thomas (BA, P.St T/ChW/73).

[233] For their first period of extensive beautification, see pp. 94-96.

of money were once again spent on new windows, painting, wainscoting, and carving figured friezes within the chancel. A piece of prospective art for the chancel was also commissioned for £10 and new communion table was made, with new 'rayles about the Communion Table' surrounding them.[234] As had often occurred throughout Bristol, these changes were also met with a change in soundscape, and the total sum of £86 11*s*. 4*d*. was paid to 'Master Hayward of Bathe for the organs'.[235] The organ was operational for the final quarter of 1637, with £1 being paid to 'Master Pery for his boye playinge on the organs to Crismas' and the organ blower receiving 2*s*. 6*d*. for their quarterage.[236] From 1638 an anonymous organist was paid £4 per annum, with the sexton earning an additional £1 per annum for blowing the organs.[237] Several factors behind their sudden erection may be posited. The first is simply the possibility of inter-parish competition, potentially explaining the comparatively large organ purchased compared to other parishes. However, it is likely that the new Bishop,

[234] For the previous beautification work seen in 1627, see pp. 94-96. Some of the beautification work in 1636 includes payments of: £1 5*s*. 'for the freestone window'; £1 15*s*. 'to Richard Lowell the painter for mending the tomb cleaning the pulpitt screene & font; 6*d*. 'for cutting the Frize over the lower vestrie dore'; £1 4*s*. 'For 25 yardes of canvas for the prespertorie in the channcel'; £4 12*s*. 'for makeing 69 yardes of wanieskott in the lower vestrie'; £10 to 'the painter For the peece of prospertive in the Chancell'; 10*s*. to 'him more for the painteing of the canopie or covering over the same peece'; £2 10*s*. 'For painteing the Figures in the Chauncel and the seates in the chauncell three times over'; £5 19*s*. 2*d*. 'for makeing of 55 yards of waineskott in the chayncell'; and £4 15*s*. 3*d*. 'for cutting the Figures the Frizes and all other the carveing worke about the waneskott in the chauncell, and for makeinge the communion table' (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a).
[235] This sum included the payment 10*s*. given in earnest to Hayward, £6 1*s*. 4*d*. for 100 pounds of tin, and £80 for Hayward's labour and other materials. These relatively significant parochial organs were placed in a newly erected organ loft, with 'two large curtains' made 'before them', a new stool made for the organ blower, a new candlestick, and wainscot made 'at the backe of the organ'. It is not entirely clear where the organ and organ loft were located, but they appear to have been over the minister's and clerk's pews, for £4 2*s*. was paid to 'Robert North smith for Iron posts to support the organ loft in the ministers & the Clarkes pues'. The old organ pipes, that weighed 51 pounds, were sold in 1638 for £1 14*s*. (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a).
[236] 'Master Pery's boy' may have been the son of Robert Perry, a lay-singingman at the cathedral.
[237] The organ was also frequently repaired. The churchwardens paid 1*s*. 6*d*. in 1638 'for putting the Organes in tuene', with a further 1*s*. 6*d*. also paid 'for mending the organ att 2 severall times'. In 1639 John Hayward was also paid 6*s*. in for their repair (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a).

Robert Skinner, a seemingly more forceful authoritarian than Bishops Wright and Coke, oversaw such reform to the parish's soundscape.

Bishop Skinner, later described by Prynne as a 'great creature' of Laud's and 'a great Patriot of Arminianisme', ensured that organs were installed within all the churches that could afford them.[238] This direct involvement may best be observed in the resistance shown by the vestrymen of St. James. Prynne described how Skinner 'threatned to interdict a Faire kept in the Parish of S. James in Bristoll, if they would not set up a pair of decayed Organs in that Church'.[239] Prynne's claim appears to have credence. By 1630, the parish of St. James had become one of the most reformed in Bristol, with the parishioners themselves able to nominate their choice of minister.[240] As such, the parishioners also controlled their soundscape of worship. The last entry regarding the organ, other than a fleeting mention of a seat under the organ loft, was the payment of 1*s*. given 'to the organiste on All Saints daye' in 1619 and the churchwardens had neither maintained an organist nor repaired the instrument since.[241] However, on 21 June 1638, a vestry was held by the minister, churchwardens, overseers of the poor, and other parishioners 'to setle & order matters as followeth':

[238] William Prynne, *The Antipathie of the English Lordly Prelacie, both to Regall Monarchy and Civill Unity*.
[239] W. Prynne, *The Antipathie of the English Lordly Prelacie, both to Regall Monarchy and Civill Unity*.
[240] See pp. 111-114.
[241] An organ loft was certainly present in 1631, when John Winter was granted the seat next to the clerk's seat, 'being under the Organ loaft'. However, the organs were unlikely to be used (BA, P.St J/V/1/1, p. 9). The parish clerk's duties listed in 1632 similarly do not state that he should play the organs; James Stevens was to be allowed his £3 annual wage 'to Ring the 6 aclock bell mornings & morning prayer & keeping of the cloke & keepinge Church yeard gattes fast every night & chayned' (BA, P.St J/V/1/1, p. 42; BA, P.St J/ChW/1/a-b).

Item it is ordered by my Lord Byshope that Master Prygge & Master Winchcome shall peye 30*s*. per Annum for the house att east end of the church for & towardes the keepine & newsetting upe of the organes.[242]

Here, Bishop Skinner can be clearly observed to have directly interfered with the parish's rent for the sole purpose of providing and maintaining some organs.

The vestry did not hesitate to act when faced with the bishop's authority, particularly if the threats to interdict a fair, crucial to not only the parish but to the city, were true. An agreement was met on 30 July 1638 with the organbuilder:

John Hayward of Bath hath Agreed with the minister & Churchwardens & the Rest of the vesterye men of St James in Bristoll for the newe makine of A fayer payer of organes of fyve foote pipes for the which he is to have 28£ & the ould organ or 30£ iff it be worth it & he is to have fyve poundes more in hand & he is to make them Readye by alhollandtyde next & to this agreement he hath sett to his hand with the Churchwardenes & the rest of vesterye.[243]

There was a clear resistance and reluctance to install an organ within St. James. It is particularly interesting to note the crossed-out word, 'minister', within this agreement. This word was likely crossed out following the sentence's completion at the earliest, for the following ampersand is not crossed through with the word itself. The wording follows the general formula followed by Thomas Lloyd, the author of this agreement, with any order,

[242] BA, P.St J/V/1/1, p. 73.
[243] BA, P.St J/V/1/1, p. 73.

act, or agreement indicating the presence and consent of all parties.[244] John Paule, the minister, was not, nor wished to be, involved in their erection, and he did not sign his name to the agreement, as was customary for him throughout his incumbency in the parish. It may even have been his hand that crossed through the word, indicating his personal disapproval. Paule's own opinions on organs are not overtly made. However, his many professional connections and career path show him to have been of a reforming and anti-Laudian belief.[245] The quasi-Presbyterian community that had been able to form within St. James may have likewise agreed with their chosen minister, yet their hand was ultimately forced through the threat of financial impairment.[246] Skinner's attention is likely to have turned towards St. James' the previous year when he had personally visited the parish.[247] Skinner evidently found more than their soundscape of worship wanting, for a new communion table was hastily made, with the now canonically required altar rails, following his visit.[248]

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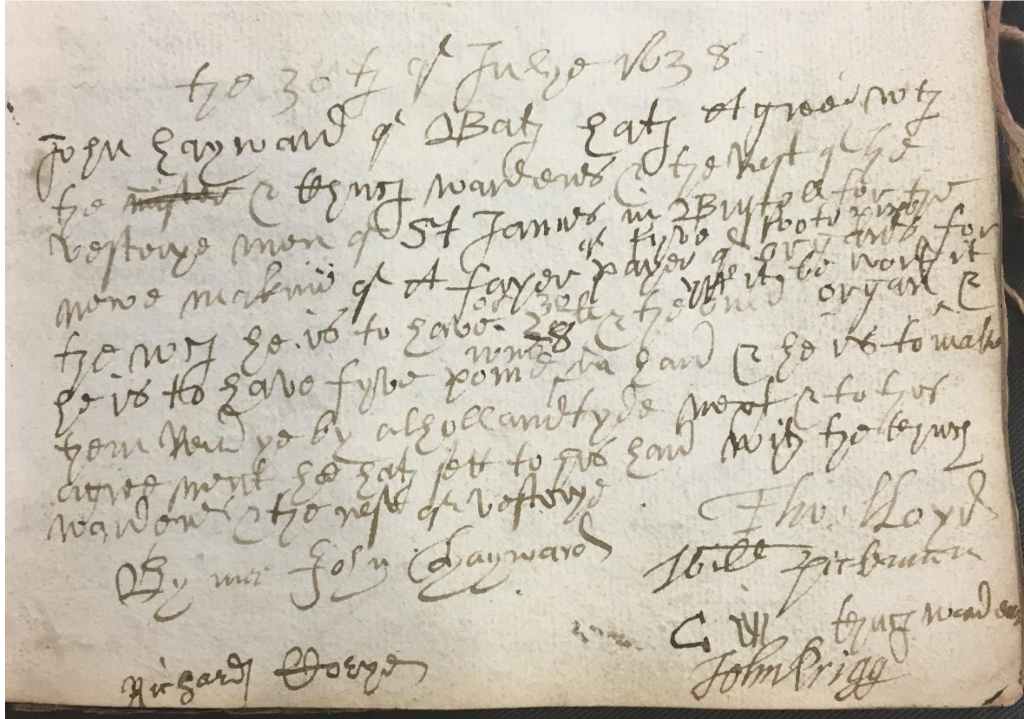
[244] For example, the entry above this one indicates that 'A vestry houlden by the minister & Churchwardens & the overseers of the poore & other the parishners' (BA, P.St J/V/1/1, p. 73).
[245] For more on Paule and his circle of reformers, see pp. 113-114.
[246] The agreement and concession of the vestry is reflected within the churchwardens' accounts. The churchwardens' accounts include the payments of: £30 to 'John Heywood for makeinge the Organes'; 6*s*. 'for Charges goinge to Bath'; £2 17*s*. 9*d*. 'for Timber and Boardes for the Organ loft & the Stayres'; 9*s*. 1*d*. 'for playstringe the Organ lofte & for stuffe'; 9*s*. 'for turninge the Balisters that went aboute the Communion table & the organ loft'; 3*s*. 'for Iron Worke for the Curtaynes in the organ loft'; and 7*s*. 'for the Curtaines for the organs for makeinge them & for Ringes & Incke' (BA, P.St J/ChW/1/b). This work also necessitated a sudden extraordinary levy upon the parishioners, for £22 18*s*. 11*d*. was received 'towards the Organs as by that note appeareth' (BA, P.St J/ChW/1/b).
[247] Between 1637 the churchwardens had paid 17*s*. 4*d*. for a sugar loaf 'to give to my Lord Bishop', and 6*s*. 'for wine and sweatmeates when Mr Lord Came downe' (BA, P.St J/ChW/1/b).
[248] The sum of 11*s*. was paid 'for a Communion Table and for Cuttinge the Frame shorter', whilst 6*s*. 8*d*. was paid 'for 5 Dossen of Balists for the Communion Table', 9*s*. was paid 'for turninge the Balisters that wente aboute the Communion table & the organ loft', and a further 9*s*. 6*d*. was paid 'for worke aboute the Rayles aboute the Communion table and for 16 Balisters' (BA, P.St J/ChW/1/b).

Figure 8. The Agreement between St. James, Bristol, and John Hayward to Build an Organ (1638).[249]



Prynne's accusation that Bishop Skinner had threatened to interdict St. James' fair, thereby threatening the economy of both the parish and the city through its significance, gains even greater credibility on 10 September 1638. A vestry note for that day simply states that 'It is more over agreed that there shall goe out of the proffitts as is gathered att St James fayer 4£ per Annum towards the goinge & repayeringe & for on to playe on the organs'.[250] A vestry meeting was held only four days later 'for & towardes the setling of An order for the peyment of the new organ & for 4£ a yeare for on to playe on them accordinge

[249] The agreement reads: 'the 30th of Julye 1638. John Hayward of Bath hath Agreed with the ~~minister~~ & Churchwardens & the Rest of the vesterye men of St James in Bristoll for the newe makine of A fayer payer of organs ^of fyve foote pipes^ for the which he is to have 28£ & the ould organ ^or 30£ iff it be worth it^ & he is to have fyve pound ^more^ in hand & he is to make them Readye by alhollandtyde next & to this agreement he hath sett to his hand with the Churchwardens & the rest of vestrye. By me John Hayward. Thomas Lloyd. William Pickman. C[hristopher] W[hitson] Churchwarden. John Prigg. Richard Corye (BA, P.St J/V/1/1, p. 73).
[250] BA, P.St J/V/1/1, p. 74.

to the order of the Church', although no other notes were made regarding these orders at the meeting.[251] It was not until 21 May 1639 that it was agreed that John Mallat 'shall play on the orgones and shall doe All thinges that he Cane doe toward the Reparinge and mendinge of them and shall have three poundes per anno by the yeare for his paines'.[252] This is reflected within the churchwardens accounts, with John Mallard receiving £3 'for one whole yeares wages playing on the Organs' between 1635 and 1641.[253] It likely speaks volumes that following the 15*s*. payment to the organist for the first quarter of 1641, 15*s*. was paid 'to the Organist on other quarter though he did not play'.[254] As soon as episcopal authority had deteriorated prior to the Civil Wars, the church of St. James abandoned the organ once again to practice their own preferred form of worship. Ecclesiastical authority was a driving force for the introduction of organs throughout this period, even forcing them upon reluctant parishes and fuelling the building tension that would soon erupt into civil war.

Organs in the Early-Stuart Cathedrals

The only surviving evidence of organ use within worship throughout the early-Stuart Diocese of Gloucester is within the cathedral itself, and even that organ appears to have been in a sorry state at the turn of the century. Perhaps the organ's association with Laudianism can

[251] BA, P.St J/V/1/1, p. 75.
[252] BA, P.St J/V/1/1, p. 79.
[253] Not too much is known about Mallard himself. He first appears within the churchwardens' accounts in 1635, receiving 3*s*. 'for keeping the clocke & putinge the hammer to the tenor'. He appears to have kept and maintained the clock annual from then, receiving 2*s*. plus an amount for any other repairs. In 1638 he was paid an additional 6*s*. 'for settinge Diall at the end of the gallery & for mendinge the other'. He was then paid £3 annually for playing on the organs between 1638 and 1640, and only receiving two quarterly payments of 15*s*. in 1641, the second payment being 'to the Organist on other quarter though he did not play' (BA, P.St J/ChW/1/b).
[254] BA, P.St J/ChW/1/b.

be best illustrated in Gloucester Cathedral when Laud himself was dean; the regional emphasis allows a much earlier examination of Laudianism and the movement he would later thrust across the country as Archbishop. Laud was installed as Dean in 1616, an appointment to a deanery that he himself acknowledged to be 'a shell without a kernel'.[255] Immediately following his appointment he infamously ordered the communion table to be moved 'altarwise', enforced bowing to the altar, added additional emphasis on repairing the church's fabric, and restored daily morning prayer at six o'clock in the Lady Chapel throughout the summer.[256] Laud also recognised the need for a new organ to achieve his preferred style of worship. In 1617 the chapter act book noted that 'The organs of this church being in greate decay and in short time likely to be of noe use' required either 'the speedy repaire of the oulde or makinge of a new'.[257] Both options were apparently outside of the church's usual financial capabilities and required extraordinary donations from benefactors. This method was inspired through the example of neighbouring Worcester Cathedral, whose direct appeal for benefactions to the diocese's gentry and citizens enabled the erection of the new double organs built in 1613 by Thomas Dallam for the total sum of £381 2*s*. 8*d*.[258]

A copy of Laud's letter, sent to 'the gentry and others of this countie and citty of Gloucester for their aide and assistance therein', was inserted within the Chapter Act Book.

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[255] *Laud's Works*, Volume III, p. 136.

[256] GCL, Chapter Act Book 1, fos. 4v, 23v.; quoted in S. Eward, ed., *Gloucester Cathedral Chapter Act Book, 1616-1687*, pp. 3, 9.

[257] GCL, Chapter Act Book 1, fos. 24v.; quoted in S. Eward, ed., *Gloucester Cathedral Chapter Act Book, 1616-1687*, pp. 9-10.

[258] Thomas Dallam received the sum of £211 for his work alone. The particular sums for the erection of the new double organs at Worcester are printed in S. Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 77-78 and C. Beswick, *The Organs of Worcester Cathedral* (Worcester, 1967), p. 6.

It desired their 'lawful favor in a case that concernes the good and the ornament of our poore church at Gloucester', stating that 'The organs in that church are verry meane, and beside that verry farr decayed, which is a great blemish to the solmnity of service of God in that place'. It was argued that, due to the necessary repairs to the fabric of the cathedral, the cathedral can only afford £30 towards the cause. Given the successful appeal for contributions at Worcester, and the fact that 'The countie of Gloucester is farr larger', they had 'noe cawse to doubte but that this countie and citty wilbe as forward and bountifull as their neighbours have beene'.[259] It is uncertain whether an organ was built between 1614 and 1623 as the Treasurer's Accounts are lost. Nevertheless, the requirement for a new organ may have been recognised by the earlier dean and chapter prior to Laud's arrival. Dallam certainly came to visit Gloucester several years prior to the order, in 1614, to view the organs.[260] As such, Laud's wish may have been simply to ensure the continuation of musical provision, rather than be viewed as a desire for great musical expansion.[261] As identified by Payne throughout the selected institutions utilised within his study, the peak of organ building activity appears to have been between 1594 and 1610.[262] The desire for a new organ at Gloucester Cathedral is part of such trend.

Eward suggests, given the annual repairs to the organs from 1623, and the necessity for a new organ in 1639, it seems likely that a new organ was not obtained, and repair work

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[259] The letter is signed by Dean William Laud and the two experienced prebendaries, Elias Wrench and Thomas Prior. GCL, Chapter Act Book 1, fos. 24-24v.; transcribed in S. Eward, ed., *Gloucester Cathedral Chapter Act Book, 1616-1687* (Bristol, 2007), pp. 9-10.

[260] In 1614 the cathedral paid 22*s*. to 'Master Dallam that came to viewe the organs (S. Eward, *No Fine but a Glass of Wine*, p. 4).

[261] P. Webster, 'The Relationship between Religious Thought and the Theory and Practice of Church Music in England, 1603-c.1640', pp. 147-148.

[262] I. Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals c.1547-c.1646*, pp. 71-72. See also P. Webster, 'The Relationship between Religious Thought and the Theory and Practice of Church Music in England, 1603-c.1640', pp. 147-150.

was instead taken out at a lesser expense.[263] However, the repairs undertaken in 1623 and 1624 are minimal and constitute little more than repairing some of the more perishable components of the organ.[264] Whilst it is probable that a new organ was not obtained, the cathedral likely made significant repairs to the old one. It is possible that the cathedral were in the process of obtaining a new one, or even that the cathedral did in fact purchase a new one alongside the old organ, as 2*s*. was paid in 1628 'To my Lord Organist when he came to vewe the old Organ'.[265] More significant repair was necessary in 1634, with Thomas Bull being paid £1 10*s*. 'for mendinge the Organs'.[266] It would be unsurprising if funding towards a new organ was not obtained, as Eward suggests, given the animosity shown by the large and dominant godly faction within the city of Gloucester towards Laud and his actions.[267]

Whilst there is no evidence for any response to Laud's plea, there was certainly some support for a new organ at Gloucester Cathedral within the country's gentry. In 1620, for example, the last will and testament of Giles Coxe, the benevolent Gentleman of Abloads Court in Sandhurst, bequeathed £5 'either towards the beautifienge of the Organs in the

[263] S. Eward, *No Fine but a Glass of Wine: Cathedral Life at Gloucester in Stuart Times*, pp. 4-5.
[264] The cathedral's treasurer paid 3*d*. 'For wyer for the Organ' in 1623 and 7*s*. to Edward Mason 'for lether and his woorke about the Organs' in 1624 (GCL, TR1, pp. 41, 65). The bulk of repairs between 1623 and 1639 were to the bellows. In 1627, 7*s*. was paid 'For leather & labor aboutt the Bellowes of the Organ'; 5*s*. was paid to 'Mr Bull', later named as Thomas Bull, 'for mendinge the Bellows of the Organ' in 1629; 6*s*. 8*d*. was paid to Edward Mason 'for mending the bellowes of the organ' in 1630; 2*s*. 6*d*. was paid 'To Mr Bull for mendinge the bellowes of the organ' in 1632; and 10*s*. was paid 'For mending the Bellowes of the organs' in 1637 (GCL, TR1 and GCL, TR2).
[265] GCL, TR1, p. 159.
[266] GCL, TR2, p. 19.
[267] Peter Heylyn, reflecting on Laud's time as Dean of Gloucester Cathedral, describes the city 'at that time much pestered with the Puritan faction, which was grown multitudinous and strong by reason of the small abode which the Dean and Prebendaries made amongst them, the dull connivance of their Bishop, and the remiss Government of their Metropolitan, so that it seemed both safe and easie to some of the Rabble to make an outcry in all places that Popery was coming in; that the translating of the Communion Table into an Altar, with the worship and obeysance which were done to it, were Popish superstitions' (Peter Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus, or, The History of the Life and Death of the Most Reverend and Renowned Prelate William, by Divine Providence Lord Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1668), p. 70). For more on the response to Laud's actions as Dean of Gloucester Cathedral, see p. 117.

Cathedrall churche of Gloucester or otherwise to be imployed aboute the said Churche'. Coxe was clearly a supporter of Laud and his ambitions of ecclesiastical and aesthetic reform. He may have even been a personal acquaintance, for he also bequeathed £10 'unto Master Doctor Lawde Deane of Gloucester [...] And also Twenty shillinges to buye him a Ringe', besides a mourning gown.[268] This bequest simultaneously confirms the link between the movement of church beautification and shows that there was some level of support for organs within Gloucestershire.

The musical aspect of worship fell increasingly under scrutiny following Godfrey Goodman's appointment as bishop of the diocese in 1625 and the growth of 'Laudian' beliefs throughout the dean and chapter. One would have expected organs to have become an increasingly important part of worship within the cathedral, especially with its increased use as an accompanying instrument and examples of other cathedrals investing in their instrument elsewhere are considered.[269] However, financial constraints constricted both the choral forces and the organ's provision. This is perhaps no more visible than in the apparent necessity of organist, Philip Hosier, to obtain a second job throughout his tenure, for which he chose active ministry within the city. Such absence by choirmen within cathedral services on account of their parochial cures were to remain a significant issue for successive deans

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[268] Despite these bequests demonstrating clear support of Laud's aims, it is not possible to entirely place Giles Coxe's ideological position neatly, as he also bequeaths the godly city lecturer, John Workman, 20*s*. for a ring. Additionally, Coxe names renowned godly sympathiser Sir William Guise as an executor of his will (see pp. 102-103). For more on Coxe's benevolence within his last will and testament, see pp. 117, 119, 280-281 (TNA, PROB 11/137/416).

[269] For the increasing number of organs being built within England, see S. Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, pp. 74-91; P. Webster, 'The Relationship between Religious Thought and the Theory and Practice of Church Music in England, 1603-c.1640', pp. 146-147. For the increased use as an accompanying instrument, see J. Harper, 'Changes in the fortunes and use of the organ in church, 1500-1800', pp. 64-65; A. Shinn, 'Religious, Litugical and Musical Change in Two Humanist Foundations in Cambridge and Oxford, c.1534 to c.1650: St John's College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford', pp. 414-415.

and chapters.[270] The death of Hosier in 1638 led to an opportunity for Laud's friend and President of Magdalen College, Dean Accepted Frewen, to improve the musical provision within the choir through increasing the organist's stipend.[271] In 1639 the order was made to increase the organist's stipend, formerly £10, by £6 13*s*. 4*d*. 'for his better maintenance', should they be deemed 'an able and very sufficient organist'.[272] This sum managed to attract the attention of Well's organist John Okeover, who was appointed later that year.[273] The acquisition of a skilled organist, however, required a suitably impressive instrument.

Preparations were made for the new organ in 1639 under the guidance of Worcester Cathedral's organist, and Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, Thomas Tomkins.[274] Although no description survives, nor payment to Dallam exists, the accounts show that a new organ loft was erected in 1640 and Tomkins came to approve of the new organ.[275] This work was

[270] For the choral aspect of Gloucester Cathedral and for Philip Hosier, see pp. 190-199.
[271] Accepted Frewen was made President of Magdalen College in 1625 and oversaw the college's 'Laudian' beautification, partly at his own cost. He was appointed Dean of Gloucester in 1631. For more on Frewen at Magdalen College and the organs erected under him, see J. Harper, 'The Dallam Organ in Magdalen College, Oxford: A New Account of the Milton Organ', *Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies*, 9 (1985), pp. 51-64: J. Harper, 'The Organ of Magdalen College, Oxford 1: The Historical Background of Earlier Organs, 1481-1985', *The Musical Times*, 127/1718 (1986), pp. 293-296; S. Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, pp. 80-84. It is a coincidence that the larger organ case eventually found its way to the current area of study and is now located at Tewkesbury Abbey. Whilst Berkeley Wrench was initially admitted as organist and master of the choristers in 1638, this was to be a short-term post (GCL, Chapter Act Book 1, f. 72r.; transcribed in S. Eward, ed., *Gloucester Cathedral Chapter Act Book, 1616-1687*, p. 83). Wrench was organist at Ludlow in 1636 and between 1642 and 1645. He appears never to have been paid by the treasurer and the post is left blank within that year's accounts. Instead, 10*s*. was paid 'To John Roberts my Lord Bishopps servant for playing on the organs att severall tymes' (GCL, TR1, pp. 110).
[272] GCL, Chapter Act Book 1, f. 73v.; transcribed in S. Eward, ed., *Gloucester Cathedral Chapter Act Book, 1616-1687*, p. 85.
[273] GCL, Chapter Act Book 1, f. 75r.; transcribed in S. Eward, ed., *Gloucester Cathedral Chapter Act Book, 1616-1687*, pp. 86-87. For more on Okeover see John Irving, 'John Okeover [Oker] (bap. 1595?, d.1663?), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004).
[274] In 1639 Jerome Cooke was paid 2*s*. 'for measuring the Organ loft and goeing three or fowre miles to newe timber for it', 10*s*. 9*d*. 'for taking downe the old Organ and other worke done'. A messenger was also paid 6*s*. to go to Worcester 'two severall tymes to Master Tomkins about the agreement with Dallam for the new Organ' (GCL, TR1, pp. 132-133).
[275] In 1640 the treasurer paid 8*s*. 'For entertaynment of Mr Tomkins of Worcester when hee came to approve the new organ'. The sum of £13 was paid to Thomas Elbridge, a joiner, 'for making the new organ loft', with a further £2 0*s*. 1*d*. paid 'for boords & other worke done about the organ lofte', and £2 'for waynescott carried

carried out as a wider effort to beautify the cathedral, undoubtedly through the encouragement of both Dean Frewen and Bishop Goodman.[276] Under their administration the cathedral had undergone such beautification work from around 1633.[277] Both the bishop and dean were advocates of organs within worship. A new organ at Magdalen College was part of the beautification that took place under the direct supervision of Frewen.[278] Meanwhile, Goodman bequeathed an organ to the parish church of Windsor in 1633, had an organist amongst his servants, and was a patron of Bristol Cathedral's organist and Gentleman of the Chapel Royal Elway Bevin.[279] A suitable organ at Gloucester Cathedral was likely a high priority for both individuals.

Little is known of practices within the cathedral. The sole surviving bassus partbook, likely dating from around 1640 and copied by the organist John Okeover, contains a wide range of Preces and Festal Psalms, Services, full anthems, and verse anthems composed by many of the composers from the Chapel Royal and several by provincial musicians from

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about the organ loft before the organ case'. 'Dallams man' was also paid 2*s*. 'for blowing the bellowes of the new organ att the Assizes and other tymes' (GCL, TR1, pp. 153-157).

[276] For the beliefs of Godfrey Goodman, and the bequests of crucifixes and organs, see pp. 89-90.

[277] In 1633 the cathedral's treasurer paid £6 to Lewis Springe in full for the Raile before the Communion table'. The sum od £24 19*s*. 6*d*. was paid in 1635 'To the Gouldsmith for the Bosses & a silver Bason & other Gouldsmiths worke'. In 1636 Robert Porter was paid £7 15*s*. 7*d*. 'for severall Collors used for the paintinge of the Church' and Richard King was paid £14 10*s*. 'in payment of his bargaine for the Whitinge & payntinge of the Church'; around a further £20 was given to these the following year to finish. In 1638 £2 6*d*. was spent on 53 'yardes of Canvas to goe round about the quire' (GCL, TR1).

[278] J. Harper, 'The Dallam Organ in Magdalen College, Oxford: A New Account of the Milton Organ', pp. 51-64

[279] Goodman was also a canon of St. George, Windsor, and one of their inventories includes 'an organ given by the Right Reverend Father in God Godfrey Bishop of Gloucester'. The organs were placed in a newly erected organ loft and 'Mr Bull the Bishopp of Glosters man' was paid £2 10*s*. between 1635 and 1637 'for his paines in setting upp of the organ in the parish church'. This fee was returned to the parish by Goodman too (Robert Tighe and James Davis., *Annals of Windsor: being a history of the castle and town; with some account of Eton and places adjacent. Volume II* (London, 1858), pp. 70, 99). One of Goodman's servants, John Roberts, was evidently an organist and was paid to perform at Gloucester Cathedral in 1638 (GCL, TR1, pp. 110). Elway Bevin's *A Briefe and Short Instruction of the Art of Musicke* describes Goodman to be a 'worthy and powerfull Patron [...] unto whom I have beene much bound for many favours'. Goodman was clearly a lover of music, for he was also attacked by the citizens of Gloucester in 1641 for 'maintaining fidlers in his howse on the Sunday, & dancing in the cittie' (BL Harley 162, f. 219a; transcribed in A. Douglas and P. Greenfield, eds., *Records of Early English Drama: Cumberland, Westmorland, Gloucestershire*, p. 329).

Hereford, Wells, Winchester, and Westminster. All the services are verse settings. The repertory includes two seven-part anthems, and several substantial verse anthems, which may suggest that the choir were of above average ability.[280] All the contemporary services included are verse services, requiring the significant voices of the organ as a solo and accompanying instrument. The desire to enhance the soundscape of worship is made even more clear when a sackbut was also introduced to the soundscape in 1636, and a cornet added in 1639.[281]

The desire to enhance the soundscape of worship through purchasing and enhancing organs, alongside the wider movement of beautification, may also be seen within the early-Stuart Bristol Cathedral. Around 1630, as part of his city-wide effort to beautify churches and establish organs within their soundscape, Bishop Robert Wright's influence extended into the cathedral. He personally oversaw 'the erecting of the goodly Organes in the Cathedrall Church, The greate windowe in the weast end thereof, The horaloge, The Beautifying of the Quire and finishing those greate and pious workes'.[282] Wright's language demonstrates his own personal view that this was a pious project; he wished to beautify both the liturgical landscape and soundscape. His personal account details both the work completed within the cathedral and the 'free and voluntary' contributions made towards them. The total sum of £258 2*s*. 7*d*. was paid 'to Thomas Dalam for making the greate Double Organ and Cheire Organ and to Master Thomas Hobson by his appointment for tinn and for other

[280] John Morehen, 'The Gloucester Cathedral Bassus Part-Book MS 93', *Music & Letters*, 62/2 (1981), pp. 189-196.
[281] For more on other instruments within worship, see pp. 289-293.
[282] BA, DC/F/1/1; transcribed in J. Bettey, ed., *Records of Bristol Cathedral*, pp. 52-56. Although the date given is 1630, the work is likely not to have been complete until around 1632 as John Langton and Humphrey Hooke, listed as aldermen amongst the benefactors, were not made aldermen until 20 March 1631/2 (BA, M/BCC/CCP/1/3, f. 34v).

necessary'.[283] The erection of this organ was clearly part of an effort to beautify the churches throughout Bristol, as Wright explained to Archbishop Laud in a letter dated 29 March 1637,

> I caused to be sett up as goodly a pair of organs and as richly gilded as any be in this Kingdom, and made a goodly window in the west end of the Church where before was a plaine stone wall and noe light. I richly beautified the east end of the quire and the entrance thereto. I sett up on of the finest stone pullpits in this Kingdom. Whereas the clock stood upon pillars of wood in the face of the Church, I made a new clock-house of stone in the interior of the Church, with the fairest and most artificual horologe in these parts.[284]

The works within the cathedral were described by the visiting Lieutenant Hammond in 1634 as comparing 'for strength and beauty with any other' and 'In her are rich Organs, lately beautify'd and indifferent good Quiristers'.[285] However, this intrusion into Dean Chetwynd's jurisdiction may not have had the full support of the dean and chapter, for Prynne describes that Wright 'had a great contestation with the Deane and chapter of Bristoll, and Master George Salterne, Steward of the City, for opposing him in setting up Images in the Cathedrall and other Churches, which gave great offence to the people'.[286] Such a contestation may not have been fought over the organ itself, however, with the only surviving contemporary evidence for these organs demonstrating at least some level of collaboration and support.

[283] Thomas Dallam's son, Robert, was also likely to have been involved in the work, for £5 was 'given unto him, his sonn, and his servantes for their most honest paines and their Charges from London to Bristoll and Backe againe'. The joiners William Tyler and William Wathen, alongside the carver William Hill, were paid £60 'for Timber, and workmanship and Carvinge of the Organ Case'. This 'great and goodly organ' was gilded and placed within a newly erected gallery with stone stairs made to reach them (BA, DC/F/1/1).
[284] Quoted in J. Bettey, ed., *Records of Bristol Cathedral*, p. 56.
[285] L. G. Wickam Legg, ed., *A Relation of a Short Survey of 26* Counties, pp. 94-96.
[286] W. Prynne, *The Antipathie of the English Lordly Prelacie, both to Regall Monarchy and Civill Unity*, unpaginated.

The two highly decorative corbels, dated 1629 and currently placed on either side of the sacristy near the Berkeley chapel, were originally used to support this organ on the cathedral's screen and incorporate both the arms of both Bishop Wright and Dean Chetwynd into their design.[287]

Figure 9. One of Bristol Cathedral's Former Corbels to Support the 1630 Organ.[288]

The benevolence of Bristol's citizens should also be noted here. It is unsurprising to see many of the city's elite donate substantial sums towards the project, no matter what their own personal religious preferences. The total of £363 19*s*. 4*d*. was obtained from

[287] Henry de Candole, 'Arms of the Dean and Chapter of Bristol', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 54 (1932), pp. 141-142.
[288] The prominent arms upon this corbel are those of Bishop Wright. Chetwynd's are on the other corbel.

donations from within the city, a further £76 was obtained from 'such Religious and bountifull and worthy noble men and Gentlemen', and £40 was contributed by the cathedral's dean and chapter, alongside the £30 raised from the sale of the old organ to St. Stephen. Many individuals likely saw this as their civic duty to donate some of their personal wealth to a cause initiated by their bishop, with whom they were largely on good terms. Nevertheless, some of the most enthusiastic benefactors can be identified as being part of the growing Laudian community within Bristol's elite. For example, Laud's kinsman and city alderman Robert Aldworth donated £20 towards the cause, only to be matched by fellow Aldermen John Barker and Robert Rogers. Amongst these benefactors are also all three individuals listed earlier that helped to financially maintain organs within their own parishes: Thomas Wright gave £6 13*s.* 4*d.*, Alderman Henry Yate gave £2, and Humphrey Andrewes gave £1. Even those who may have held sympathy for a more reformed church amongst Bristol's elite may be seen as contributing. The organ seems to have caused little resistance in their erection amongst Bristol's civic elite.

The standard of music within Bristol Cathedral is unclear. By 1638 the desire for a greater musical provision saw the long serving Elway Bevin 'removed, expelled, and dismissed from his office as organist and master of choristers'.[289] This was likely to have been through performance and health related issues. The metropolitical visitation in 1634 had revealed Bevin to be a 'skillfull' organist, but 'disabled by age to execute his place' and 'a verie olde man, who, having done good service in the church is not now able to discharge

[289] Elway Bevin held the post of organist and master of the choristers between 1585 and 1638 (BA, DC/A/9/1/4-5; see also W. Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1538*, pp. 36-37).

the place, but that hee is holpen by some of the quire'.[290] Bevin was replaced by Arthur Phillips, who was to become organist of Magdalen College, Oxford, from 1639.[291]

Like at Gloucester and numerous other cathedrals, absenteeism among Bristol's choirmen was a large issue due to many of them having second jobs.[292] Whilst many at Gloucester were frequently absent due to their duties in either actively ministering Gloucester's parishes or various other jobs, many of Bristol's choir were serving as organists within Bristol's parishes.[293] The 1634 metropolitical visitation revealed that the cathedral's services were not performed as required as 'the Letany beeing said every Sunday and holieday morning at six a clocke praiers, is not usually sung againe at ten a clocke praiers for wante of a full quir, some of the singing men being clercks of parrishes or organistes in the cittye'.[294] The surviving parish records help to corroborate this report. From the lay-singingmen listed in 1634, at least Thomas Prince can be identified as being organist at St. John from at least 1628 to 1633, more likely to have been between 1625 and 1640, and John Lukins was organist at St. Mary Redcliffe in 1621 before becoming parish clerk and organist at Temple in 1623.[295] Their continued presence within their respective parishes might suggest that there were continued issues surrounding the choir's attendance at some of the cathedral's services, as the cathedral and parishes fought each other for the city's able musicians.

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[290] Transcribed in J. Bettey, ed., *Records of Bristol Cathedral*, pp. 61, 66.
[291] W. Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1538*, p. 37; Louisa Middleton and David Knight, 'Arthur Phillips (1605-1695)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2009).
[292] J. Saunders, 'Music and Moonlighting: the Cathedral Choirmen of Early Modern England, 1558-1649', pp. 157-166.
[293] See pp. 269-271.
[294] Transcribed in J. Bettey, ed., *Records of Bristol Cathedral*, p. 61.
[295] See pp. 257-259, 269-271.

Other Instruments: Sackbuts, Cornetts, and Waits

Occasionally, other instruments were part of the soundscape of worship. References to such occur only a few times during the sixteenth century but appear increasingly frequently throughout the early-seventeenth century.[296] The use of sackbuts, cornetts, and viols have been noted within many cathedrals and colleges, although evidence for the practice is heavily weighted towards the presence of cornetts and sackbuts alongside the organ, rather than the viols.[297] Their use within worship, and any controversy surrounding them, was largely tied into the same arguments for and against the use of organs. Broadly speaking, additional instrumentation within worship was linked to Laudianism. Instruments had gone from being absent within worship, or occasionally contributing to a church's sonic ceremonialism, to a regular sonic fixture for many.

The presence of additional instruments within worship is most regularly documented within cathedrals and colleges. Although the lack of detailed evidence prevents any conclusions being made surrounding the use of instruments within Bristol Cathedral, Gloucester Cathedral were increasingly keen to enhance their musical provision under Dean Accepted Frewen during the 1630s. The first evidence for additional instruments within Gloucester's choir is in 1632, where 5*s*. was paid 'To some of the wayts for playinge in the Quire per Consensum Mr Decani'.[298] In 1636 the cathedral hired Richard Broadgate, former chorister and son of a lay-singingman of the same name, paying him £3 'for playinge on the

[296] This pattern has been noted by Andrew Parrott, ''Grett and Solompne Singing': Instruments in English Church Music before the Civil War' in A. Parrott, *Composers' Intentions? Lost Traditions of Musical Performance* (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 369-370.
[297] A. Parrott, ''Grett and Solompne Singing': Instruments in English Church Music before the Civil War', pp. 369-370.
[298] GCL, TR1, p. 262.

Sagbott the whole yeare'.[299] This payment occurred annually until 1640, the final account prior to the Civil Wars, although to various players.[300] The cathedral must have shown a particular desire to enhance their instrumental provision in 1638, for two of the city's gentlemen gifted the cathedral with a sackbut each.[301] The treasurer also paid 10*s*. the same year 'To the Oxford musicke for playing on their Cornetts at the Summer Assizes by the appointment of the Prebendaryes'.[302] The chorus of instruments was again enhanced by 1639, with Thomas Smyth being paid £2 'for playing on the Cornett two yeares granted by peticion', although a musician was not paid for playing the cornett the following year.[303] Within the space of five years, Gloucester had gone from hiring out the city's waits to play in the choir upon special occasions, to annually maintaining a cornett player and at least one sackbut player to presumably play within the choir upon every Sunday and holiday.[304]

Whilst musicians were occasionally paid by churchwardens to perform roles outside of worship, some musicians were hired as parish clerks for their musical abilities.[305] This may

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[299] GCL, TR2, p. 64.
[300] Richard Broadgate was paid £3 for playing the sackbut in 1636 and 1637, whilst Henry Vizard played from 1638 to 1641 (GCL, TR2).
[301] Abraham Blackleech, gent., gave the cathedral 'an Instrument called a Saggebutt', with Richard Machin, gent., also giving 'alike Instrument called a Saggbutt' (GCL, TR2, p. 119).
[302] GCL, TR2, p. 110.
[303] GCL, TR2, p. 132.
[304] Although viols were being taught to the choristers at Gloucester Cathedral by John Merro, there is no evidence to suggest their use within worship. See p. 289.
[305] For example, civic festivities associated with holidays were occasionally supplemented by churchwardens, with St. Mary Redcliffe's churchwardens paying 1*s*. 4*d*. 'to the Trumpeters Gunners and Drummer upon the Queenes hollidaye' in 1586 (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/b, p. 162). Waits were also often employed by the vestries to accompany their festivities and annual dinners upon the day that their churchwardens' accounts were passed. In 1580, for example, the churchwardens of Christchurch paid 2*s*. 'to the wayghtes of Harford [Hereford] for musycke at the last Cownpt dyner' (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated). The vestry of St. Mary Redcliffe were also fond of music to accompany their account dinners, occasionally supplementing voluntary contributions for musicians and waits. For example, in 1603 the churchwardens paid 2*s*. 'to the Waits' at the account dinner, and 2*s*. 6*d*. in 1612 'towards the payment of the musicions att his Count dynner' (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/c, pp. 72, 179). Temple can also be seen to have paid 5*s*. in 1605 'to minstrells at Mr John Barnes feast' following his account dinner (BA, P.Tem/Ca/6/1). They may have also been paid as part of a church's effort to raise money. In the only occasion that a church within the diocese of Gloucester appears to have directly paid for musicians, Tewkesbury's churchwardens paid '3 trumpetters' 15*s*. and 33*s*. 4*d*. 'for musicions all the tyme' in payments

have been to lead congregational metrical psalmody or to act as organist. There is no evidence that any used alternative instruments within worship. Nevertheless, additional forces were often sought to ceremonially enhance the sonic aspect of worship upon days of particular importance. The unusual custom for either singingmen or waits to sing or play carols at Christmas, or contribute upon other significant holidays, in Elizabethan Bristol was discussed earlier.[306] However, the frequency of payments to musicians increased concurrently with the reintroduction of organs within churches. For example, St. Thomas paid 3*s*. 'to the musissions for to play with the organs' at 'the confirmation of children by the Bishopp' in 1623.[307] St. Mary Redcliffe similarly paid 3*s*. 4*d*. that year to 'the waite players when my Lord Bishopp came to our Church'.[308] In 1633 St. Thomas' churchwardens also paid 2*s*. and 3*s*. to 'Johnson & Company', Bristol's waits, on All Saints' Day and Twelfth Day respectively.[309] It is not likely to be a coincidence that these payments were present the same year that the church spent a significant sum 'for the Bewtifyinge of the Churche' and the wages for the organist were increased.[310] The waits sonically highlighted the festivities surrounding these holidays, either playing on their own or even with the organ.

'Laid out aboute the playes'. These three plays were performed between 1600 and 1603 with the intention of raising money towards the setting of a 'battlement of stone uppon the topp of the tower'. The plays were a relative success in raising the necessary finances, raising approximately £18 in profit. Unfortunately, the battlements were to cost almost £55 (GA, P329/1/CW/2/1, p. 130-131; transcribed in C. Litzenberger, ed., *Tewkesbury Churchwardens' Accounts, 1563-1624*, pp. 93-94).

[306] See pp. 179-183.

[307] BA, P.St T/ChW/56. For more on confirmation, the importance placed in the rite by certain bishops, and the association with 'Laudianism', see James Turrell, ''Until Such Time as He Be Confirmed': The Laudians and Confirmation in the Seventeenth-Century Church of England', *The Seventeenth Century*, 20/2 (2005), pp. 204-222. Bishop Robert Wright of Bristol was evidently an enforcer of this right, just as Bishop of Gloucester, Godfrey Goodman, would be later within his diocese.

[308] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/d, p. 73).

[309] BA, P.St T/ChW/66. William Johnson was the leader of Bristol's waits. For more on Bristol's waits see M. Pilkinton, ed., *Bristol: Records of Early English Drama*, pp. xl-xlii.

[310] The beautification of St. Thomas' church in 1633 included carving and decorating the pulpit, wainscotting the church. The churchwardens paid the significant sums of £27 to 'John Morgan the Painter for his first Bargaine', £8 to 'Morgan for his second Bargaine for the Pillers', £6 15*s*. to 'William Hill the Carver for Cuttinge

Gradually, the use of additional musicians had increased so much that some churches paid annual wages for their continued service. For example, the churchwardens of Temple paid 5*s*. to 'the young man that plaid one the Cornute' in 1636.[311] The unusual regular addition of a cornet was also made to the soundscape of worship at St. John, Bristol, in 1635. That year, the organist's wages were reduced from £4 to £2 to accommodate the extra musical provision, and £1 6*s*. 8*d*. was paid to 'the Cornet player for one years wages'. Both wages were increased in 1639; the organist was paid £2 13*s*. 4*d*. for their year's wages, whilst the cornet player received £2.[312] In certain parishes, therefore, there was a desire to utilise available musical and financial resources and enhance the musical aspect of worship with not only the organ, but with instruments too.

The question of what and how instruments were played within worship is much harder to answer. Scholars such as Bowers have questioned the musical ability of the instrumentalists present at Canterbury and Lincoln between the 1590s and early 1600s, suggesting that they would have likely been unable to play with the singers or organ, but were there primarily to play suitable pieces from their repertory solo at appropriate moments.[313] However, this has been challenged by Parrott; Bowers has likely underestimated the capabilities of the best waits.[314] Even at Gloucester, Richard Broadgate junior was a chorister at the cathedral between at least 1623 and 1630 and appears as a lay-

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the Kinges Armes & other thinges aboute it and for Timber', £6 'For paintinge the x Commandements and for the wainscott', £3 'For textinge the Church walls & for paintinge the vestery & doing other thinges aboute the Church, and £1 'For paintinge the Figure of St Thomas' (BA, P.St T/ChW/66).

[311] The payment is outside of any context within the accounts, but the reasonable sum of 5*s*. suggests that this was for more than one occasion (BA, P.Tem/Ca/14/2a).

[312] BA, P.St JB/ChW/3/b, unpaginated.

[313] R. Bowers, 'The Liturgy of the Cathedral and its Music, c.1075-1642', p. 441; R. Bowers, 'Music and Worship to 1640', p. 74.

[314] A. Parrott, ''Grett and Solompne Singing': Instruments in English Church Music before the Civil War', p. 376.

singingman at the Restoration.[315] His likely apprenticeship and later trade as a barber-surgeon may also point to his musical proficiency; Broadgate was capable of accompanying organs and singers.[316] These instruments were potentially used in a variety of ways. They were able to play repertory alone, or with the organ. They were also used to accompany the choir. Many references within secondary literature restrict cornetts and sackbuts to playing the top and bottom parts on both sides of the choir, particularly within the texture of the full choir, and similar in practice to the *bicinium*-style organ accompaniment suggested by Andrew Johnstone. A practice-led study by Helen Roberts has drawn similar conclusions.[317] In a parish with only a single cornett and an organ, their primary use was likely to have been to reinforce the melodic line within metrical psalmody.[318] Nevertheless, an increasing desire for additional instruments within worship is observable within both early-seventeenth century Gloucester Cathedral and some of Bristol's parishes. These were intrinsically linked with the increased use of organ and the desire, from both ecclesiastical authority and lay authority, for a more ceremonial form of worship.

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[315] GCL, TR2, p. 203.

[316] This Richard Broadgate was likely the individual that was apprenticed to Richard Fleminge, a barber surgeon in 1627 and was taking on his own apprentices as a barber by 1640 (GA, GBR C10/1, 1/352 and 1/529; J. Barlow, ed., *A Calendar of the Registers of Apprentices of the City of Gloucester*, pp. 65, 95). For more on music within barbershops, see Margaret Pelling, 'Occupational Diversity: Barber-surgeons and Other Trades, 1550-1640' in M. Pelling, *The Common Lot: Sickness, Medical Occupations and the Urban Poor in Early Modern England* (Abingdon, 1998), pp. 223-224.

[317] For example, this arrangement is mentioned in passing by P. Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549–1660*, p. 127 and John Cannell, ed., *William Smith: Preces, Festal Psalms and Verse Anthems* (Middleton, 2003), p. xv. For *bicinium*-style accompaniment, see Andrew Johnstone, ''As It Was in the Beginning': Organ and Choir Pitch in Early Anglican Church Music', *Early Music*, 31 (2003), p. 511. For a greater examination of possible performance practices, see Helen Roberts, 'Wind Instruments in Provincial English Cathedrals, c.1580-c.1680: Towards a Performance Practice' (PhD thesis, Birmingham City University, 2019).

[318] Just as cornetts were used within cathedrals to support a voice, they were likely used to perform the same role within metrical psalmody within those parishes that adopted them. Whilst it is possible that the cornett acted as an obbligato instrument in organ voluntaries, there is a lack of surviving manuscript evidence to support such practices.

Conclusion

The fortunes of instruments' use within post-Reformation worship in Bristol and Gloucestershire vary significantly. By 1570, the organ's use within worship had largely ceased, alongside any particularly persistent choirs, throughout both regions for various reasons, including significant theological, practical, and financial motives. Within much of Gloucestershire, where many godly communities had grown significantly, they would not be heard within parochial worship again until beyond the Restoration. However, their use persisted in parts of Bristol, particularly after the radical reformers had left the city and the movement lost its dominance. The use of the organ was largely used for sonic ceremonialism, highlighting the importance of a particular festal day. Their use was particularly influenced by musically inclined conservative ministers, some of whom had formerly been singingmen or organists themselves. This continuation of practice aided the dramatic reintroduction of regular organ use throughout Bristol between 1610 and 1640. The financial prosperity, available local musical resources, and the development of the organ to become an accompanying instrument also aided their resurgence. Perhaps the greatest influence, however, was an extended period of effective ecclesiastical authority. Bishops Wright and Skinner, in particular, clearly encouraged parishioners within their jurisdiction to beautify both their physical and aural liturgical spaces. This encouragement was often executed outside of church courts and organs may have occasionally been forced upon reluctant churches through illicit means. Their reintroduction was also accompanied by the introduction of other instruments. The growing focus on beautifying the soundscape of worship was met with equally fervent approbation and disapproval. Nevertheless, the evidence from Bristol shows that 'avant-garde conformity' may lie at a more local level than

in the beliefs expressed by such figures as Lancelot Andrewes or William Laud.[319] Whilst sympathetic ministers within that circle undoubtedly contributed to the spread of ceremonialism and organs, they had been present within many parishes throughout the seventeenth century.

[319] Similar conclusions were also reached by John Craig within his unpublished papers (J. Craig, 'Soundscapes of worship in early modern English Parish Churches', unpublished paper; J. Craig, 'Sounding Godly: from Bilney to Bunyan', unpublished paper).

CHAPTER IV:

Bells

Fears of superstitious use meant that bells were the most heavily restricted musical component of worship's soundscape throughout the Reformation.[1] Nevertheless, bells remained essential for practically all churches throughout the period and were increasingly invested in throughout Elizabeth's reign and beyond. Contemporaries certainly saw bells to be musical. The new bells set up at Dursley in 1639, for example, were to be 'sufficient musicall Bells', whilst a bell hanger in 1627 defended his proficiency within consistory court by stating his expertise in 'setting of bells musicall according to Arte and is & so hath beene during all the tyme aforesaid well experienced in Musick'.[2] This chapter will support and help nuance arguments made by figures such as Cattermole, Cressy, and Marsh, in both demonstrating the bells' practical reformation and in revealing the combinations of factors that were involved in such change.[3] The particular desire for musicality and for the

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[1] It should be noted here that this chapter does not address chimes within churches. This is largely due to two reasons. The chimes' functions were similar to that of a clock, a musical elaboration of a single bell chiming, and so were not directly pertinent to worship. The second reason is simply material; whilst there are chimes within Bristol and Gloucestershire, there is little to deduce. Chimes can be seen in Christchurch in Bristol, whilst both the cathedral and St. Michael had them in Gloucester. The only points of interest may be that *Christe Redemptor Omnium* and *Chorus Novae Jerusalem* rang out from Gloucester Cathedral's chimes in 1525 twice daily, reminding the townsmen of the prayer-cycles (R. Fisher, 'Three English Cathedrals and the Early Reformation: A Cultural Comparison of Hereford, Worcester and Gloucester', p. 75). There is no indication on what they played after the Reformation. Neither is there any indication of what was played on the others, but they were regularly maintained. Christchurch was evidently made up of ten notes or more, for 8*d*. was paid in 1559 'For makyng of x notes to the chyme' (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated). The most noteworthy records pertaining to St. Michael are the individuals performing the repairs and maintenance. In 1575, the newly acquired parish clerk of Christchurch, Bristol, and skilled musician Roger Churche found himself in Gloucester to repair their chimes. He was paid £4 'for the translatynge of the chymes' and £3 'for the makynge of the quarter cloke' (GA, P154/14/CW/1/27). Throughout the early-seventeenth century Gloucester Cathedral's lay-singingman and blacksmith John Sandy was frequently paid to repair the chimes at both St. Michael and the cathedral (GA, P154/14/CW/2/1; GA, P154/14/CW/3/1; GCL, TR1; GCL, TR2).

[2] GA, D9125/1/9779; GA, GDR 168, unpaginated.

[3] D. Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*; C. Marsh, ''At it ding dong': recreation and religion in the English belfry, 1580-1640' in N. Mears and A. Ryrie, eds., *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain* (Farnham, 2013),

increasing levels of provision across late-Elizabethan and early-seventeenth century churches was ultimately due to a combination of improving resources, advances in technology, the easing fear of superstition, the reformation of ringing practices, competition between neighbouring churches, the rise of recreational ringing, and diocesan pressure.

Early Reform: Criticism and Restriction

When the influential reformer Hugh Latimer proclaimed that 'if the holy belles wold serve against the devyll [...] no doute we would soone banish him oute of all England', his views appear to have made little influence upon practices. Latimer calls out their popularity and associated superstition:

> For I thynke if all the belles in England should bee rongen together at a certayne houre, I thynke there would be almoste no place, but some belles might be hearde there. And so the diuel should haue no abyding place in England, if ringing of belles would serve: but it is not that that wyll serve against the divell: yet we have beleved such fooleries in tymes past, but it was but mockyng: it was the teachyng of the devill.[4]

Church bells had developed many functions. Amongst them, bells were rung to call to worship, to invoke prayers for the community, and to pray for and in commemoration of the dead. The sacring bell was also solemnly knolled at the Elevation of the Host and bells had developed considerable protective power to protect parishioners from adversities and the

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pp. 152-171; C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*; Paul Cattermole, *Church Bells and Bell-Ringing: A Norfolk Profile* (Woodbridge, 1990).

[4] Hugh Latimer, *27 sermons preached by the ryght reuerende father in god and constant matir [sic] of iesus christe, maister hugh latimer, as well such as in tymes past haue bene printed, as certayne other commyng to our handes of late, whych were yet neuer set forth in print* (London, 1562), unpaginated.

work of the devil, such as thunder and plague. One of Winchcombe Abbey's former bells demonstrates such use reviled by Latimer, having the inscription: 'MICHAELE TE PULSANTE WYNCHELCOMBBAM A PETENTE DEMONE TU LIBRA' [Michael, when thou art struck, free Winchcombe from the seeking devil].[5] These magical abilities meant that bells were consecrated, baptised, and provided with names prior to the Reformation. These qualities were openly deemed superstitious by reformers within Henry's reign. However, their views do not appear to have inspired the reform of national religious policy nor the popular practices of bell ringing, even within parishes under their direct jurisdiction.[6]

Although many of the payments for ringing in late-medieval churches appear to have been extranumerary and largely absent from the churchwardens' accounts, regional evidence illustrates no change in practice. Instead, bells remained a large part of commemorating significant events in the church calendar.[7] Bells also continued to be rang as part of national days of thanksgiving and celebration. For example, in 1537 the bells of Christchurch, Bristol, were rung during a procession to mark the birth of Prince Edward, and

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[5] This bell is now hanging at Stoneleigh in Warwickshire (Translation provided by Francis Witts, 'Old Bells in Gloucestershire Belfries', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 7 (1882), p. 59). The sexton at St. Nicholas, Bristol, also had to perform the unenviable but required ringing for protection from thunder (J. Wickham Legge, *The Clerk's Book of 1549,* pp. 66-70).

[6] Latimer certainly had supporters amongst Bristol's laity and civic elite, although it is unclear how much his views ultimately influenced the area. He was an active preacher within Bristol, from whence he made his name amongst the controversies and conflict created from opposing pulpits. He later became Bishop of Worcester, between 1535 and 1539, having jurisdiction as such over the area (M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, particularly Chapter 3, 'Community and Conflict: The 1530s', pp. 34-56). Arguments for reform held little sway amongst those forming national policy, although there are some limited instances where bell ringing was restricted in the 1530s. Henry VIII's 1536 Royal Injunctions restricted the number of saints' days to be celebrated, thereby restricting bell ringing on those days. In 1538 Henry further restricted the use of bells in another set of royal injunctions, this time specifically forbidding the use of the Pardon, or Ave, bell (W. Frere and W. Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions. Volume I: Introduction and Index* (London, 1910), pp. 5, 42).

[7] For example, the churchwardens of St. Thomas, Bristol, paid 4*d*. in 1544 'to the Ryngers' on St. George's day (BA, P.St T/ChW/1). Similarly, the churchwardens of St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, paid 6*d*. to the ringers on Whitsunday and on their dedication day in 1547 (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a).

also in 1545 and 1546 as part of the processions demanded by Henry VIII.[8] They can also be seen to have rung to recognise authority, for Christchurch's bells also rang out when Archbishop Cranmer visited the church in 1534.[9]

There are even suggestions that some churches were increasing their provision for bell ringing, despite the increasing criticism over their use. Although there is a relative dearth in payments for performance, the payments for bell maintenance and repair alone indicate their significant use and popularity. Three churches hired a bellfounder's services to repair their bells between 1530 and 1546. In 1533 All Saints, Bristol, procured the services of bellfounder John White to recast their first four bells into five new ones.[10] St. John, Bristol, similarly augmented their peal from four to five in 1542.[11] In 1546 St. Michael, Gloucester,

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[8] The churchwardens of Christchurch, Bristol, laid out a total of 2*s*. 2*d*. for both the ringers and the children that were bearing the copes 'to the mynster when the presestiols was commanded for the kyng' in 1545. In 1546, the churchwardens paid 14*d*. 'for Ryngynge of the bellis at the generall precessyon for the kyng when peace was taken at Hollen', or when the Treaty of Ardres signalled the end of the Italian War of 1542-1546 (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated).

[9] The churchwardens of Christchurch paid 4*d*. to the ringers 'for Ryngen a genste the comen of the Byshop of cantorbyrre to chorch' (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated). Latimer also recounts a story where a Bishop was heartily offended and punished a parish when their great bell's clapper fell down and so prevented ringing. This story should be taken lightly, for it may have been but an excuse for the parish to dispute the 'unpreaching Prelate', as they argued that he should be more concerned that the pulpit had lacked a clapper for the past twenty years; their parson was absentee (H. Latimer, *The preaching bishop reproving unpreaching prelates being a brief, but faithful collection of observeable passages, in several sermons preached by the reverend father in god, mr hugh latimer, bish. of worcester* (London, 1661), pp. 99-100).

[10] The churchwardens carefully recorded the valuable material objects and the valuable metal itself as it was worked by the bellfounder. Prior to the recasting, the bells' weights were: 6-3-5, 9-10-0, 11-0-0, 15-0-0. A further 2-0-0 in hard tin was provided to John White. Following their casting their weights were: 4-3-6, 6-0-11, 8-0-19, 10-3-11, 13-1-20. White was paid at least £6 16*s*. 10*d*. for his services (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a).

[11] John White, senior, died in 1541; he left 100lbs of bell metal to his wife in his last will and testament and made his son, John White, executor (TNA PROB 11/28/366). It is possible that Christchurch's casting was simply payment in arrears, or perhaps it was perhaps John White, jnr., who took up the family business. There was also a bellfounder named John White, based in Reading, active in the early sixteenth century (H. Walters, 'Gloucestershire Bell Foundries Continued. II. The Bristol Foundry', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 41 (1918), p. 59; for John White of Reading see also Jeannette Martin, 'Leadership and Priorities in Reading during the Reformation' in P. Collinson and J. Craig, eds., *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500-1640* (Basingstoke, 1998), pp. 120-123. St. John's churchwardens similarly painstakingly record the bell's weights before and after recasting. Prior to casting they were 6-3-14, 7-2-0, 10-2-0, and 11-0-14. After White's casting they were: 5-2-0, 6-2-18, 8-2-18, 6-0-14, and 12-0-0 (BA, P.St JB/ChW/1/a).

also hired the services of a bellfounder to repair their bells.[12] The weights given at All Saints in 1533 show that technological advancements meant that bells were already getting lighter; churches were able to get more bells out of their extant bell mettle. Bells also continued to play significant roles in Henrician worship. It was likely a case for many, particularly the more financially affluent, churches that the more bells the better. Despite increasing calls from reformers, bells continued to be used frequently.

There was, of course, a loss of bells that started with the Dissolution of the Monasteries. Bells and their metal were among the most valuable material properties of such institutions and were carefully monitored by the king's commissioners. Many were impounded and used as gunmetal, some were sold by nearby parishioners, whilst some found themselves on the market through both legal and illegal methods.[13] The bells from Tewkesbury Abbey and Leonard Stanley Priory, for example, both found themselves remaining in situ. When 'the bailiff, burgesses and commonalty of the borough and town of Tewkesbury' paid £483 for 'the said abbey church', this also included 'the bells etc. and the churchyard etc.'.[14] Leonard Stanley Priory's bells were sold by Abbot William Malvern *alias* Parker to the parishioners of Leonard Stanley, following the priory's dissolution in 1538, for £30 'to the use and Behove of the monastery'.[15] However, Winchcombe Abbey's eight bells

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[12] They also took this opportunity to significantly repair their bell frames and the chimes over two years (GA, P154/14/CW/1/2-4).

[13] M. Aston, *Broken Idols of the Reformation*, pp. 451-455.

[14] GA, TBR B2/1, 1; Alexander Pyrry bequeathed £150 'toward the redempcion of the late abbey churche of Tewkesbury', also providing a further £84 for 'the leddes and belles of the same of the Kinges magestie for a parishe church' (TNA PROB 11/30, f. 335; see also C. Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity*, p. 50; C. Litzenberger, ed., *Tewkesbury Churchwardens' Accounts, 1563-1624*, pp. vii-viii; M. Aston, *Broken Idols of the Reformation*, p. 453.

[15] The priory at Leonard Stanley, a Benedictine cell of St. Peter, Gloucester, found itself leased to Sir William Kingston in 1538 following the Benedictine priory's dissolution. The sale of the bells to the parishioners and the lease to Kingston meant that an awkward deed was required between Kingston and the parishioners in order for them to 'have use & exercise the tower of the Church of the priory [...] with free ingresse & egresse

were sold for £60 by the commissioners, two of which apparently ended up at Stoneleigh, Warwickshire, and Hailes Abbey's five bells were sold to the town of Stratford upon Avon in Warwickshire.[16]

Edwardian Reform: Further Restriction

In 1547 the future Bishop of Gloucester John Hooper embodied the reformed position, bemoaning the alterations in perception of church bells. He complained that the sound of ringing bells, instituted to call together the congregation of the church to hear to word of God and to use the holy sacraments, is now perceived to pull souls out of purgatory, can drive away the devil, cease all tempests and inspires devotion through its sound alone.[17] Reformers, in general, were struggling to conceive a means to reform the sound of bells within a reformed church, or find an alternative method to fulfil their incredibly effective purpose to communicate.[18] These were the issues that the rising reforming parties within

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throught the same [...] at all tymes Convenient for the only using exercisinge & Ringinge of the Bells & Clocke now hanged & Beyng in the tower' (GA, P201, CW 3/1-3). The parishioners were also tied to maintain and repair the bells and clock at their own costs. The agreement was later deemed unnecessary following the dissolution of St. Peter's Abbey and the translation of the lease into the hands of the crown. For more on the dissolution of Leonard Stanley Priory's dissolution see 'Houses of Benedictine monks: The priory of Stanley St Leonard', in Wwilliam Page, ed., *A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 2* (London, 1907), pp. 72-73; K. Morgan and B. Smith, 'Leonard Stanley: Churches', in C. Elrington, N. Herbert, R. Pugh, eds., *A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 10, Westbury and Whitstone Hundreds* (London, 1972), pp. 264-266.

[16] J. Maclean, 'Inventories of, and Receipts for, Church Goods in the County of Gloucester, and Cities and Gloucester and Bristol, with Notes', pp. 106; Henry Ellacombe, *The Church Bells of Gloucestershire* (Exeter, 1881), pp. 11-12; 113.

[17] Bells were 'institutid to convocat and call together the congregacion of the church at a certayne oure to hyre the worde of god and to use the holy sacramentes, [is now perceived by people] that the sounde hathe poured in the soule of man the ring so diligently for the dead that the breake the Ropes to pull the soules out of purgatorie. they say that the sound candryue [can drive] away the deuyll, and Cease all Tempestes. othere say that the sounde mouythe and storyth unto deuocion, doutles thei iudge amysse, if deuocion cum whyle the bell Ryngith, it commyth not there by, but by Godes sprit, for it is not the nature of the sound to yeue it, it may be asigne of deuocion, as the comete or blasyng starre, may be callid a signe of godes ire or angre, thowgh the starre of is nature is not to be feryd' (John Hooper, *An Answer Unto My Lord of Winchesters booke intitlid a detection of the devils Sophistrye* (Zurich, 1547); quoted in Robert Hill, 'The Reformation of the Bells in Early Modern England' (PhD thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2012), p.94).

[18] C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, p. 467.

the Edwardian Church attempted to negotiate. Their rise in power and influence unsurprising led to the first injunctions and articles to explicitly seek the inhibition and restriction of bell ringing.

The Edwardian injunctions of 1547 immediately sought their restriction, dictating that 'all ringing and knolling of bells shall be utterly forborne' at the time of the Litany, Mass, sermon and reading of scripture, except for 'one bell in convenient time to be rung or knolled before the sermon'.[19] This injunction notably forbade the ringing of the Sanctus, or sacring, bell.[20] The reformers' repudiation of transubstantiation obviously translated into a lack of acknowledgement by not ringing this bell. Particularly zealous iconoclasts may have targeted and defaced these Sanctus bells. However, many parishes appear to have conformed, silenced, removed them, or reformed their use within the liturgy instead. Many of these bells were reformed into sermon bells. The parish was at liberty to choose which bell was to signal the sermon, and the Sanctus' convenience of often being small, easy to ring, hung separately to the other bells within a separate bellcote, and having their bell rope within the body of the church, made them prime candidates for such a use. However, it is also the very function that they performed prior to the Reformation, the intention to highlight, solemnise and alert parishioners to a key part in the service, which was retained; reformers had replaced the Elevation of the Host with the sermon, the most significant

[19] W. Frere and W. Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions. Volume II*, p.124.
[20] The sacring bell was originally ordered in 1281 to 'be tolled at the elevation of the Body of Christ, that the people who have not leisure daily to be present at Mass, may, wherever they are, in houses or fields, bow their knees in order to the having the indulgences granted by many bishops'; the physical presence of the Lord was announced, silence was demanded, and all were to pay due reverence both inside and outside of the church (Archbishop John Peckham's *Constitutions of Lambeth* in John Johnson, ed., *A Collection of the Laws and Canons of the Church of England, Volume II* (Oxford, 1851), p.273).

event within the reformed service, as the climax of public worship.[21] However, this reform appears not to have been an instant change. For example, the churchwardens of St. Michael, Gloucester, needed to repair the 'saunce' bell's frame and buy a bell rope for it in 1553, suggesting that it was not performing any role prior to Mary's reinstatement of the sacring bell's original function.[22] Similarly, it is not a coincidence that St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, found it necessary to pay 2*d*. 'for the Settyng up of the Sannctus bell' and a further 18*d*. for a rope for it in 1553 following Mary's ascension to the throne.[23] These bells may have initially been silenced in Edward's reign, rather than reformed for a more Protestant liturgical use.

The 1547 injunctions further warned against the use of bells to 'discharge of the burden of synne, or to drive awaye Devilles, or to put awaye phanttasies, or in puttinge truste and confidence of healthe and salvacion in the same Ceremonie'.[24] Whilst no further royal injunctions built upon these restrictions in bell ringing, it was further restricted within the jurisdictions of reforming bishops. For example, Bishop John Hooper's diocesan injunctions, and his attitudes towards bells, were shaped profoundly by his friend Heinrich Bullinger.[25] Hooper's 1551 set of injunctions for the Dioceses of Gloucester and Worcester indicate that he believed that the consecration of bells and tolling for the dead in commemoration were particularly superstitious and required reform. Hooper ordered the bell only to toll when an individual 'is in extremes', to both 'admonish the people of their danger, and by that means to solicitate the hearers of the same to pray for the sick person',

[21] R. Hill, 'The Reformation of the Bells in Early Modern England', pp.110-111.
[22] GA, P154/14/CW/1/7.
[23] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a, pp. 65-66.
[24] W. Frere and W. Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions. Volume I: Introduction and Index*, p. 126.
[25] For more on Bullinger's attitudes towards bells, see R. Hill, 'The Reformation of the Bells in Early Modern England', pp. 97-105.

and to ‘ring out with one bell’ to announce that the individual has died.[26] Bells were also inhibited to be rung to noon on Saturdays, or other eves of holidays, nor in the evenings to curfew. The threat of Aves being said at the sound of the curfew bell obviously outweighed any threat from not fulfilling the civic function. It was also forbidden to ring during the time of services at the church, ‘for the oppressing of the sound of the minister that readeth the word of God’. However, whilst restrictions were placed on ‘superstitious’ ringing and obscuring the liturgy, ringing to invite people to worship via a single bell, the oldest and most efficient way of doing so, was endorsed.[27] It is difficult to determine how these injunctions reformed bells’ use within churches. However, the only church within the Diocese of Gloucester that has surviving Edwardian churchwardens’ accounts, St. Michael, Gloucester, suggests that there was a reduction in use at least some churches. There is a clear decline in the maintenance and provision of bell ropes from 1549, and very little maintenance occurred between 1550 and 1552.[28] This reduction is unlikely to have been a coincidence, with Hooper instituted as Bishop of Gloucester in 1550 and was frequently present within the city.[29]

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[26] W. Frere and W. Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions. Volume I: Introduction and Index*, p.287.
[27] Churches were allowed to warn people to gather before service ‘by as many peals or ringings as they think good’ and were able to toll a single bell ‘to advertise the ministration of the Holy Sacrament’ if there was any gap between Morning Prayer and a Communion service (W. Frere and W. Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions. Volume I: Introduction and Index*, p. 286.
[28] There were three bell ropes bought in 1545, two in 1546, three in 1548, nought in both 1549 and 1550, one in 1551, and two in 1553. There is also a decline in the payments for regular bell maintenance such as baldricks and wheels within this period. The significant number of repairs between 1553 and 1554 would also help to suggest a decline in use during this period, before they were routinely used once again following Mary’s accession (GA, P154/14/CW/1/3-7).
[29] Hooper frequently resided within Gloucester and personally attended and oversaw the vast majority of consistory court cases. For more on Hooper within Gloucester and Gloucestershire, see C. Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity*, pp. 66-75.

These growing reforming attitudes and the Edwardian confiscation of plate appears to have led to many parishes selling their bells, or even having them become embezzled by individuals.[30] The parish of All Saints, Gloucester, reported back to the commissioners in 1553 that they had sold a bell for £14 the prior year.[31] Two small bells worth £2 13*s*. 4*d*. in the chapel of Shepperdine were 'conveyed and stolen awaye'.[32] In 1550, St. Werburgh, Bristol, also sold £17 3*s*. 3*d*. worth of bell metal, alongside three chalices for a further £25 17*s*. The sale of these items, now deemed unnecessary or even contrary to reformed worship, largely covered the costs incurred in reforming the church, such as whiteliming the walls and buying a communion table.[33] However, the government never explicitly attempted to reduce the number of bells or silence them completely, and many churches continued to have three or four bells within their towers.[34] Indeed, Ellacombe's list of surviving bells throughout Gloucestershire in 1883 listed at least 75 surviving medieval bells, with 30 churches retaining more than one.[35] Although these returns are not quite as high as those surviving in Norfolk and Suffolk, this high survival rate of medieval bells, and their intact Latin inscriptions, stand as a testament to their practicality, perhaps overlooked by authorities and iconoclasts due to their very nature as not being visible to the vast majority

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[30] M. Aston, *Broken Idols of the Reformation*, p. 455.
[31] The sale was likely to help fund the new seating within the church, reporting that they had paid £22 to seat the church amongst other requirements. They still owned three bells and a saunce bell following this sale. J. Maclean, 'Inventories of, and Receipts for, Church Goods in the County of Gloucester, and Cities and Gloucester and Bristol, with Notes', pp. 79-80.
[32] J. Maclean, 'Inventories of, and Receipts for, Church Goods in the County of Gloucester, and Cities and Gloucester and Bristol, with Notes', p. 111.
[33] BA, P.St W/ChW/3/a, f. 8r.
[34] M. Aston, *Broken Idols of the Reformation*, p. 456; see the many entries within J. Maclean, 'Inventories of, and Receipts for, Church Goods in the County of Gloucester, and Cities and Gloucester and Bristol, with Notes', pp. 70-113.
[35] A full list of Gloucestershire's bells in 1883 with dates and inscriptions is compiled in Appendix A of H. Ellacombe, *The Church Bells of Gloucestershire*.

of the population. They may also have prevailed due to their popular and familiar sound at a time when many of the visual aspects of an old religion were being removed.[36]

Nevertheless, some churches were able to continue their bell ringing practices largely undisturbed or continued to ring their bells in defiance of growing national trends. In Bristol, for example, some churches continued to endorse bell ringing in whatever manner they could, whilst others reduced their use. Payments for ringing and maintenance notably dropped off under Edward's rule in churches such as Christchurch and St. Werburgh, yet St. Mary Redcliffe appeared to provide for bell ringing whenever they could, continuing to maintain their peals and ringing annually on Christmas day.[37]

Marian Reversal: 'rynggyng the Bellis for the poppe'.[38]

The practices and provision of bell ringing throughout most churches under Mary were rejuvenated, with many churches swiftly readopting the Catholic practices. There is no evidence for any ringing within the region at the news of Lady Jane Grey's claim of the throne. However, many churches rang, either dutifully or joyously, at the proclamation of the renowned and steadfast Catholic Mary.[39] In Bristol, St. Mary Redcliffe welcomed the news and paid over two times the regular amount to ringers on holidays, paying 2*s*. to 'the Ryngars at the proclymacion for the Quene'.[40] Christchurch similarly paid 12*d*. 'For Ryngyng

[36] Raven found 78 churches that had more than one pre-reformation bell within Norfolk and 81 within Suffolk (John Raven, *The Bells of England* (London, 1906); M. Aston, *Broken Idols of the Reformation*, pp. 456-8; John Blatchly, 'In search of Bells: Iconoclasm in Norfolk, 1644', in T. Cooper, ed., *The Journal of William Dowsing* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 107-122).
[37] BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated; BA, P.St W/ChW/3/a, ff. 3v.-12r.; BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a, pp. 1-55.
[38] BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated.
[39] P. Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation*, p. 359.
[40] St. Mary Redcliffe's ringing at Christmas cost 4*d*. annually (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a).

when the quenes grace was proclaymed at the hey crosse'.[41] Mary's first proclamation, 'England's first declaration of tolerance' where subjects should live together quietly and in charity, was not issued until 18 August. This allowed Catholics to practice their old religion safely and openly, even if it was strictly illegal.[42] Some did not need such an official proclamation to reinstate former practices. St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, evidently jumped the gun and paid 4*d*. 'to the Rynggars for the Ryning Agaynst the Dedicacion Day' for the first time since 1547.[43] For some churches, Mary's assession to the throne was met with fervent glee and enthusiasm for the return of the old religion.

Mary's coronation and subsequent landmarks were celebrated widely. In Bristol, St. Mary Redcliffe again expended an above average payment of 20*d*. 'to the Rynggars at the Coronacion for the Quences grace', St. Thomas paid 12*d*. 'For Rynggynge at the Crownasyon of the quen', whilst Christchurch paid 2*s*. 'For the Ryngyng of the bellys at the crownacyon of awre quenes grace'.[44] Mary's marriage to Philip was similarly celebrated. In Bristol, St. Mary Redcliffe paid 3*s*. 4*d*. 'to the Rynggars at the marriage of the Quenes grace And the prince of spayne the which is now our kynge' and St. John paid 2*s*. 'for the Ryngyng of the kynges Comyng'. This ringing was accompanied by the former custom of processions, with Christchurch paying 2*s*. 4*d*. 'to the Rynggers when the procession was for the kyng'.[45] Local saints' days were openly celebrated, with Christchurch ringing on their dedication day and

[41] BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated.
[42] P. Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation*, p. 363.
[43] The Assumption of Mary is celebrated on 15 August; Edward had died on 6 July, Lady Jane Grey was deposed on 19 July, and Mary was not crowned until 1 October. St. Mary's Redcliffe's bells rang three days earlier than Mary's declaration of tolerance (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a, p. 49).
[44] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a, p. 49; BA, P.St T/ChW/2; BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated.
[45] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a, p. 65; BA, P.St JB/ChW/1/a; BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated.

on St. George's day between 1553 and 1554.[46] The festivities surrounding this occasion are similarly recorded in Gloucester, with St. Michael paying 20*d* to five ringers 'for to rynge at the kynges and the quenes marayge', with a further 6*d*. paid 'for ther drynkynge'.[47] Local processions also returned to Bristol in 1554 alongside these festivities, for St. Mary Redcliffe paid 5*s*. to 15 ringers on the traditional procession day on Corpus Christi. Corpus Christi was joined by a procession at rogation in 1555, after 8*d*. was paid to the ringers 'to Ryng in the prossechession in the Rogacion weke', with a further 12*d*. given for them 'too drinke'. They also paid the ringers to ring upon Allhollan day in 1556.[48] At the very least, this was a very audible celebration of the physical presence of Christ within the Holy Sacrament. Perhaps the most audible and poignant indication that England had reunited with the wider Catholic Church were the payments of ringing to mark such an occasion. On 30 November 1554 the realm was absolved from the sin of schism and the Pope announced their reunification. Bristol's bells welcomed such a change with the churchwardens of St. John paying 2*d*. to the sexton 'to Ryng for our holy father the pope' and Christchurch paying 10*d*. 'For rynggyng the Bellis for the poppe'.[49]

Practices in bell ringing came full circle under Mary. By 1554 many churches had spent extraordinary sums in repairing their bells. This often included the repair of a sacring bell, the requirement to suddenly provide a bell rope to it, or the acquisition of additional small bells to fulfil its function. For example, St. Michael, Gloucester, had to buy a bell rope for 'the sacarynge Bell' and to mend its frame in 1553. Repairs that had not been performed

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[46] BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated.
[47] GA, P154/14/CW/1/7.
[48] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a. Mary had instructed her bishops that processions were to be restored on 4 March 1554 (P. Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation*, p. 373.
[49] BA, P.St JB/ChW/1/a; BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated.

since 1549 were also required; the frames of the fourth and tenor bells necessitated repairing and new baldricks for three of the bells were purchased. They had also bought a bell back from prominent parishioner William Bonde for 4*d*., alongside a vestment of red velvet and a chalice.[50] In Bristol, St. Werburgh, recorded their first payments regarding bell provision and maintenance since 1548, with the sexton Raphe Hopper paid 6*d*. in 1554 'for Ringing & for singing the last yere'.[51] All Saints also had to buy a rope 'for the lyttell Sallve Bell'. This bell also required work 'for to Ryng hym in the towar'. The church evidently also bought a small bell, paying 2*s*. 4*d*. 'for a bell that mastyr Passye bowght'.[52] These levels of maintenance remained throughout Mary's reign; more bells were used, and they were used more often, throughout Marian Gloucestershire and Bristol than under Edward.

Ringing in early-Elizabethan Bristol and Gloucester: 'Extraordinarie Ryngynge'.[53]

When Haresfield's churchwardens were presented to Gloucester's consistory court in 1576 for 'Extraordinarie Ryngynge', they were one of no fewer than 77 churches within the diocese to be hauled before the ecclesiastical authorities that year for offences regarding bell ringing.[54] The Edwardian articles regarding ringing were reinstated upon Elizabeth's assession to the throne in 1559, with an additional order for warning to be given to the laity for the curate's compulsory recitation of the Litany and prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays by the knolling of a bell. The fate of bells early within Elizabeth's reign was again in the balance. Returning Marian exiles such as John Parkhurst revealed prevalent wishes amongst

[50] GA, P154/14/CW/1/7. See also C. Litzenberger, 'St. Michael's, Gloucester, 1540-80: The Cost of Conformity in Sixteenth-century England', pp. 230-249.
[51] The church also purchased three new bell ropes (BA, P.St W/ChW/3/a, ff. 15r.-16r.).
[52] BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a.
[53] GA, GDR 40.
[54] GA, GDR 40.

the godly communities to reduce ‘oft or long peals at the burial of the dead’, and those who ‘use much jangling in festival days, in ringing noon or curfew’.[55] Prior to the 1580s many of the regions’ churches reflected such anxiety surrounding their connotations and use.

The return of Protestantism meant that bells, and particularly those that held a deep sacramental association with Catholicism, were broken, defaced, and sold. By 1576 only Stoke Orchard throughout the whole Diocese of Gloucester reported back that they still owned two small bells, alongside a cross, censor, two candlesticks, copes, and vestments.[56] For some, the potential reduction in the uses of bells, combined with the turmoil created through yet another religious reversal, was an opportunity to sell their valuable assets for either an individual’s benefit or for other profitable uses within churches. National concerns were once again raised following cases of bells being removed from steeples for financial gain.[57] By 1576 the impropriator of Nympsfield, William Smith, had bought two bells from the church for £16 8*s*. 4*d*., with the money raised being ‘for the use of the church’. Similarly, Hawkesbury’s patron William Butler was presented to consistory court for taking down one bell in 1576.[58] The sale of bells was seen as a necessary act within some parishes to maintain or repair the fabric of their churches. Leonard Stanley’s parishioners, for example, sold three of their bells in the later sixteenth century ‘to be imployed to the reparacions of the tower &

[55] W. Frere and W. Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions. Volume III: 1559-1575*, pp. 98, 105.
[56] GA, GDR 40.
[57] See *A proclamation against breakinge or defacing of monumentes of antiquitie, beyngset up in churches or other publique places for memory and not for supersticion* (London, 1560); W. Frere and W. Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions. Volume III: 1559-1575*, pp. 77, 109.
[58] GA, GDR 40.

Churche & to the setting up of a clocke'.[59] However, such cases appear to have been relatively uncommon. Bells were steadily maintained throughout Elizabeth's early reign.

Part of bells' continued maintenance was due to continuations in practices. Whilst bells were still required to communicate and call communities to services, the metropolitical visitation of the diocese of Gloucester in 1576 discovered that many of its churches were not conforming with the reformed practices of bell ringing, amongst a variety of other faults.[60] When the 77 churches were presented before the consistory court upon accusation of extraordinary ringing, these offences consisted of three general failings: the passing bell was not being tolled, there were more peals than authorised following any death, and there was forbidden ringing on festival days. Of these 77 churches: 46 had been presented for alleged misdemeanours in ringing practices for burials, 15 were presented for ringing on festival days, 15 were presented for offending in both, whilst one parish was presented for ringing between Morning Prayer and the Litany. These offences occurred throughout the diocese and ranged from the larger parishes, such as Bishop's Cleeve's offence for 'Rynging on Sts Eves', to the much smaller parishes, such as Elmore who were presented as 'they ringe more peales than one after burialles'. Even the parishes within the city of Gloucester had been negligent for many years. Both St. Aldate and St. Mary de Lode were presented for ringing more peals than one following a burial. Even the influential parish of St. Michael was also presented for ringing more than one peal after a burial and for ringing on festival days.[61] These failures to conform show that traditions and unreformed ideology on bells, funerals,

[59] The document is unfortunately undated, although the hand and individuals involved suggest a date of the late-sixteenth century (GA, P201, CW 3/3).
[60] GA, GDR 40.
[61] GA, GDR 40.

and holidays were still present throughout Gloucestershire in 1576. Despite the very few surviving court records from Bristol, it is also possible to observe at least some continuation of ringing upon traditional festival days within the city. Christchurch, for example, continued to pay ringers to chime their bells on their dedication day on Trinity Sunday until at least 1560.[62] At St. James, bell ropes were specifically bought in 1566 and 1567 'at sannt James tide', presumably rang to specifically celebrate their parish's dedication day and their accompanying fair.[63]

Reforming ringing practices at the death of any individual remained a significant focus to reformers. As Marsh recognises, it is unsurprising that there was a degree of confusion surrounding the theology of the passing bell and death knell.[64] The 1566 Advertisements made the precise procedure clear for ringing at a burial:

> that when any Christian body is in passing, that the bell be tolled and that the curate be specially called for to comfort the sick person, and after the time of his passing to ring no more but one short peal and one before the burial, and another short peal after the burial.[65]

Whilst this continuation could be understood as superstitious to reformers, the passing bell was to call others to pray for the departing individual, to encourage others to commend the departing soul into God's hands, and thus conferred no benefit to their soul.[66] The ringing after death was more controversial, although the official function was to both encourage

[62] BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated.
[63] BA, P.St J/ChW/1/a. For more on ringing at St. James' Fair, see pp. 340-341.
[64] C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, p. 472.
[65] Gerald Bray, ed., *The Anglican Canons 1529-1947* (Woodbridge, 1998), p. 167.
[66] M. Aston, *Broken Idols of the Reformation*, pp.469-475; C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, p. 471.

others to offer thanksgiving to God for the deliverance of their neighbour's soul and to simply proclaim the start of the burial service.[67] These 'short' peals were around 30 to 60 minutes in length.[68]

Individuals occasionally delineated the ringing they wished to have at their funerals within their last will and testaments. For example, in 1583 John Legge of St. Ewen, Gloucester, gave 12*d*. apiece to the four men that carried his corpse to the grave and a further 12*d*. a piece to 'the three Ringares in requitance of theyre paynes'.[69] In Gloucester, it appears particularly common for individuals associated within the cathedral and choir to bequeath money specifically to the ringers there.[70] Certain individuals that identified as godly made their wishes and beliefs clear following their passing. For example, when Alderman Thomas Pury died in 1591, he requested his body to be laid in St. Mary de Crypt, his funeral and his 'funerall sermon to be made by my good frinde Master Doctor Rudd the nowe Deane of Glocester or Master Ball parson of Estington or some other godly preacher with the usuall ringinge of one bell to congregate the people and noe more before or after'.[71] In 1602, the last will and testament of Thomas White, a merchant of Bristol, requested that

[67] C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, p. 472.
[68] P. Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England*, p. 163.
[69] GA, GDR R8/1583/52.
[70] Minor canon Roger Styche gave 13*s*. 4*d*. to the ringers in 1564, Master of the Choristers Robert Lichfield gave 6*s*. 8*d*. to the ringers in 1584, Edward Gayner gave 3*s*. 4*d*. 'to the ringers that use to ring at the college' in 1585, and the miller John Longe that resided within the cathedral precinct bequeathed 20*s*. 'unto the quire [...] unto so manie as shall fetch me fro my house to the church [...] & the sexton to have his parte in the same for the ringinge' (GA, GDR R8/1564/79; GA, GDR R8/1584/217; GA, GDR R8/1585/25; GA, GDR R8/1596/60).
[71] TNA, PROB 11/77/439. Dean Anthony Rudd was sympathetic to puritans (Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, p. 21; P. Collinson, *Richard Bancroft and Elizabethan Anti-Puritanism* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 194-196, 213). Robert Ball was a preacher with nonconformist tendencies within the godly network outlined within Agents of Change (see p. 105).

> My hartie desire is to be partaker of the prayers of the Churche which is the faythfull Companie of Godes Children, therefore in my sicknes I desyer the passing bell to goe for mee, but immediately so soone as I am departed the bell to ring out to signifie my departure that so prayer may ceasse one halfe hower onely allso before my Bodie shalbe layd in the Earth the bell to ring three quarters of an hower onelye but afterwarde no more ringing at all.[72]

White also requested no one to wear any black in mourning for him, and as 'for feasting, I utterly forbid it as a thinge most absurde and ridiculous'.[73] Bells' roles at death were still clearly a contested issue by the end of Elizabeth's reign.

Pre-reformation parishes had seen these knells and peals as opportunities to make money. These practices continued almost uninterrupted in many parishes. The monetisation of ringing at burials may be seen vividly at St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol. In a custom that seemingly started, or restarted, in 1553, following the accession of Mary, individuals paid varying sums of money for a particular bell to perform an individual's death knell with the rate increasing with the size of the bell.[74] Options were also available to have multiple bells.[75] This practice continued throughout the period, notably not facing intervention even when their incumbents were staunch Calvinists, such as John Northbrooke. St. Stephens'

[72] TNA, 11/99/218.
[73] He also bequeathed to his son and daughter in law two rings which were given to him and his wife by Sir Francis Drake (TNA, 11/99/218).
[74] The great bell cost 12*d*., 'Our Lady bell' (the fifth bell) was 8*d*., the fourth bell was 4*d*., the third bell was 3*d*., the second bell was 2*d*., or there were options for more than one bell. The convention of the fifth bell being named 'Our Lady Bell' is presumably from the bell's prior use as ringing for the service of Our Lady within the church (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a).
[75] In 1560 'on holle Ringe for Richarde Wynnall' cost 4*s*. 8*d*., whilst 'hawlffe A Ring for Harry Sessell' cost 22*d*. These sums for multiple bells were inconsistent, with 'all the Bels the half Ring' for Joane Millettes burial costing 4*s*. and 'all the Bels a hole Ring' costing 5*s*. in the following year (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a).

vestry book similarly outlines the fees incurred in 'theyre knills or passing' in 1576.[76] This form of monetisation was certainly a widespread practice. Nearby, St. Thomas had the very same method and same pay scale. Their records show that this was a continuation from pre-Reformation practices, where individuals paid roughly the same values as their post-Reformation counterparts for the 'Crosse and Bell'.[77] However, this notably does not consider the significant inflation that occurred during the period, perhaps suggesting that this matter was customary or token, rather than solely pegged to economic factors. Nevertheless, the churchwardens of St. Aldate, Gloucester, charged parishioners 'for waste of Bell ropes' at burials, and Tewkesbury's churchwardens charged 2*s*. for ringing at a burial.[78] The vestry of St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester, also decreed in 1579 that there was to be 'no Ringing of the Belles for any stranger that shall happen to die out of the same parish, unlesse they paie to the Churchwardens towardes the maynetenance of the Bell ropes, Twelve pence'.[79] The income generated from the practice may have made superfluous ringing at burials harder to cease for many churches. Although it is often difficult to detect the continuation of such payments, as they became increasingly under the responsibilities of

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[76] The forebell was 2*d*., the second bell was 4*d*., the great bell was 6*d*., 'The whole Ringe' was 2*s*. Moreover the command was 'not to Ringe above several 3 peales: The Ringers to be Founde be the demannders of the same', of which 'The clarcke to be one of them & to have his equall parte therein' (BA, P.St S/ChW/2, unpaginated).
[77] In 1544 St. Thomas' churchwardens charged 12*d*. for cross and [great] bell, 10*d*. for the cross and third bell, 2*s*. 8*d*. for cross and 'half ryng', 4*s*. for 'a whole ryng' (BA, P.St T/ChW/1). By 1566 it appears relatively customary only to record payments for the great bell, which had been reduced to 8*d*. without the cross (BA, P.St T/ChW/5-6)
[78] GA, P154/6/CW/1/1-44. Many of the payments at Tewkesbury are likely to often occur under the parish clerk's own extra-numerary accounts; parish clerks across most churches were certainly responsible for the care and organisation of the bells and ringers (GA, P329/1/CW/2/1; C. Litzenberger, ed., *Tewkesbury Churchwardens' Accounts, 1563-1624*).
[79] GA, P154/11/CW/2/1, unpaginated.

the parish clerk or sexton, the bells throughout Gloucestershire and Bristol continued to perform this function, despite the controversies surrounding their potential prophane use.[80]

After the initial citations in 1576, bells throughout Gloucestershire largely conformed to the wishes of the diocesan authorities, with the number of presentations to the consistory court declining throughout the remainder of Elizabeth's reign. Only five churches were presented in 1581 for ringing contrary to the orders of the Church, whilst three were presented in 1594 and two in 1597. Of the five presentments in 1581, a Mr. Carpenter of Maisemore was presented for disturbing the service by ringing bells, whilst the churchwardens of Cherington, Quinton, and Tibberton appeared before the consistory for not tolling the passing bell, indicating either negligence of duties or a godly influence, refusing to ring due to bells' connotations. Meanwhile, Weston Subedge's churchwardens were cited for their conservative nature, for still having 'Bells & copes not defaced'.[81] None of the parishes presented in 1576 were cited for the same offences in 1581, and vice versa. Gone were the presentments for extraordinary ringing and ringing which could be deemed superstitious, with only Weston Subedge allegedly harbouring some bells, likely to be either handbells or sacring bells deemed too pertinent to the old religion. These presentments contribute to the impression provided by Litzenberger, that the Reformation in the Diocese of Gloucester was slow and largely directed through effective court administration, from

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[80] For example, St. Mary Redcliffe was still consistently receiving between £1 and £2 until the 1650s at least, whilst St. Thomas was similarly receiving around £4 annually (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/d; BA, P.St T/ChW/73-82).

[81] Whilst a Mr. Carpenter of Maisemore was presented to consistory in 1581, as 'he jangleth the bells & plaieth with the ropes in time of common praier', the churchwardens of Cherington, Quinton, and Tibberton appeared before the consistory for not tolling the passing bell, whilst Weston Subedge's churchwardens were cited as 'they have Bells & copes not defaced' GA, GDR 50, unpaginated. For more on the reformation of the passing bell and for Puritans who neglected to toll at death, see R. Hill, 'The Reformation of the Bells in Early Modern England', pp. 140-163, 225 and C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, pp. 471-476.

above.[82] None of the citations in 1594 or 1597 were related to superstition but were solely focussed on the increasing emphasis on the bells' physical maintenance and repair. This emphasis continued throughout the early-seventeenth century.

It may also be pertinent to add here an additional possible development in a bell's function. Numerous churches within Bristol refer one of their bells as a 'psalm bell', a term not to be found within any secondary literature. In 1577 St. Mary Redcliffe paid 5*s*. 'for stockinge and whelinge of the salmes Bell'.[83] Later, in 1638, William Martin was paid 4*s*. by the churchwardens of Sts. Philip and Jacob 'for unhanging the Treable & the psalmes bell and Timber about the leds'.[84] In 1639 John Wetheridge, the parish clerk of St. John, was paid 1*s*. 'for trusing of the Psalmes Bell & hanging the Clapper with a baldred'.[85] Whilst no further evidence is given into their use, it is likely that this particular bell was used to signal the start of a congregational metrical psalm. Given their usual positioning as either before or after services and sermons, the term 'psalm bell' is likely the equivalent to other churches' sermon or service bells. Nevertheless, this change in nomenclature demonstrates the reformation of bells in terms of both practice and in individuals' perceptions.

Late-Elizabethan Ringing: Celebration & Commemoration

There was a gradual increase in both the provision of bells and in payments towards their use between 1570 and the 1600s. Two reasons have been posited as the primary reasons for such an increase: the advent of recreational change ringing and the popular adoption of a

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[82] See C. Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity: Gloucestershire, 1540-1580* (Cambridge, 1997); C. Litzenberger, 'The Coming of Protestantism to Elizabethan Tewkesbury', pp. 79-93.
[83] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a, p. 470.
[84] BA, P.St W/ChW/3/b, unpaginated.
[85] BA, P/St. JB/ChW/5/1.

new Protestant calendar. Before assessing the evidence for the advent of change ringing and recreational ringing, it is important to recognise the development of a new national and local Protestant calendar. David Cressy has skilfully elaborated the narrative behind the nation's development of a new celebratory calendar. Some of the devotional energy once attributed to days dedicated to saints transferred into those associated with dates relating to monarchs or moments of national deliverance.[86] The ringing of bells continued to be a ritualistic part of celebration, albeit with a new role within largely secular festivities. Of course, these festivities were not entirely secular, but were intertwined with public feasting and worship; the bells themselves must have lent such festal days a sacral quality. Whilst some churches continued to ring their bells on the approved festival days, such as Christmas, Easter, Whitsontide, and New Year, the origin of this new Protestant ringing calendar was the anniversary of Elizabeth's accession upon the death of Mary, the 17 November, otherwise dubbed 'crownation day' or the 'Queen's holiday'.[87] Whilst ringing occurred on non-superstitious holidays such as Christmas or New Year's Eve and were sporadically celebrated by ringing in diverse parishes, 'crownation day' became the first almost universal celebratory holiday within England. Although not an official holiday, the celebrations grew to include bonfires, bells, services, music, food, hospitality, and entertainment.[88] In Bristol, for example, by 1578 the city council were paying for trumpeters to play at their procession out of the sermon at the cathedral until they reached the high cross, where they had placed a

[86] D. Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*.
[87] St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, is one such church that rang on these holidays. In 1578, for example, 5*s*. was paid to the ringers 'att Christmas, easter, whitsontyde, and att the byrth daye of our queene' (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a).
[88] D. Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, p. 50.

bonfire.[89] By 1580 other entertainments were also provided, such as players and bear baiting.[90] The region's bells swiftly swung to the new national rhythm of the year and 'crownation' became an annual event celebrating another successful year of Elizabeth's reign, another year's deliverance from Rome, and was a 'convenient vehicle for expressing loyal enthusiasm'.[91]

The first evidence of commemorating this event within the region occurs in 1565, with the churchwardens of St. Ewen, Bristol, paying 2*s*. 6*d*. 'to the Ryngers besides their meate & drinke at the daye of the queenes Change'.[92] This payment suggests that the day was being commemorated in Bristol earlier than Cressy's estimates within London, but a year later than recognised by Mears.[93] It is likely that other churches were ringing alongside St. Ewen in 1565, with the ringing either being voluntary or extranumerary. By 1570, however, many of Bristol's city parishes were paying their ringers for performing such duties in commemorating the date. In 1570, the churchwardens of St. James paid 2*d*. to their ringers 'at the Triumffe uppon the daye of the quenes maiesties reigne'.[94] Similarly, St. Mary Redcliffe had embraced the new celebratory date and paid 11*s*. 2*d*. 'to Ryngers that ronge at

[89] In 1578 Bristol's council paid 10*s*. 'at the commandment of master mayer & the Aldermen to v trumpeters which came in the Shipps that came from Cataya [Cartaya, Spain], for sownding their Trumpettes before master mayer the Aldermen and common counsell comyng from the Sermon which was preached at the Colledge the 17 day of November in skarlet untill they came to the highe crosse in remembrannce of her majesties entry which made then 20 yeres'. A further 1*s*. 3*d*. was paid for dry wood and faggots 'to make a bonfier at the highe crosse' (BA, F/Au/1/11, p. 215).
[90] In 1580 Bristol's city council paid 13*s*. 4*d*. 'to my Lord Berkleyes players at thend of their play in the yeld hall' and 6*s*. 8*d*. 'to the Quenes Berewarde for his Fee for cowrsing of his beares in the marshe' besides the usual bonfire (BA, F/Au/1/12, p. 23).
[91] D. Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, p. 52.
[92] This payment is atypical of St. Ewen's churchwardens; no prior payments to ringers appear within this source, nor are any further payments to ringers made until 1574 (BA, P.St E/ChW/1, p. 25).
[93] Cressy's earliest citation of such commemoration was at Lambeth in 'as early as' 1567 (Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, p. 52). Mears has shown the earliest known bell ringing to celebrate this occasion to be at St. Boltoph Aldersgate and St. Peter Westcheap, London, in 1564 (N. Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 250).
[94] BA, P.St J/ChW/1/a.

the tyme of the tryumph for the queene, and for meate & drynke', whilst ten men were paid for ringing the bells at St. James, accompanied with payments for their beer, food and candles.[95] In Gloucester, St. Michael also embraced this new date of thanksgiving in 1570, paying 2*s*. 'to the Ryngers the xvijth daye of Novembre last in tokyn of our dewtie towardes the quene highnes prosparous Raygne'.[96] Many other city parishes were swift to follow suit the following year.

At least in Bristol, the celebration appears to have taken place over a couple of days, taking the pre-Reformation form of celebrating on both the traditional Saints' days and their eve.[97] In 1571 Christchurch paid 20*d*. 'for byre & ale to make the ryngers Drynke at sondrye tymes' and 4*s*. 'more paid to the ryngers for ryngynge all nyhte for the preservacyon of the quenes majestye'.[98] That same year, St. Thomas paid 2*s*. 6*d*. 'to the Ryngares at two tymes for Ryngynge at the tryomffe of the quynes magesttyes presarvatyon', whilst All Saints paid 4*d*. 'for Drinck for the Ringers feast'.[99] In 1574 St. James' paid 9*s*. 'unto the Ringers for Ringinge for the Quenes majestie the 16 & 17 daye of november for her graces good success'.[100] Perhaps the amount of time spent ringing is best shown at St. Mary Redcliffe in 1573 when 16 ringers were paid the sum of 8*s*. in money and 17*s*. 9*d*. 'for ther meate & dryncke from the xvi daye of this moneth from noone untyll xvij daye at xj of the clocke at mydnyte'.[101] As the day was never an official holiday, with workers therefore not released

[95] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a, p. 346; BA, P.St J/ChW/1/a.
[96] GA, P154/14/CW/1/23.
[97] Cressy provides the single example of St. Martin Orgar, London, in 1587 paying their ringers 'on the coronation eve and the night following for candles, bread and drink' (D. Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, p. 55).
[98] BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated. All Saints, Bristol, also paid 16*s*. for ringing on the Queen's holiday in 1592 and a further 5*s*. for ringing the day after. They also paid 10*s*. 'to the ryngers for the quenes holydaye & for the next day after' in 1595 (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a).
[99] BA, P.St T/ChW/9; BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a.
[100] BA, P.St J/ChW/1/a.
[101] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a, p. 374.

from work, one wonders at who was ringing during those daylight hours on 17 November. The importance of sound in celebration and the growth of the festivities can also be seen in 1586, when St. Mary Redcliffe contributed to the civic festivities, paying 1*s*. 4*d*. 'to the Trumpeters Gunners and Drummer upon the Queenes hollidaye'.[102] Whilst the growth of such festivities as civic events, and the gradual secularisation thereof, has been linked by Katherine Butler to the series of threats to Elizabeth within the 1580s, these events within Bristol were clearly a significant occasion prior to any such threat.[103] Mears and Williamson have partially attributed its earlier spread within the 1570s due to the date's inclusion within the new editions of the *Book of Common Prayer* from 1570 and the distribution of special forms of prayer to mark the occasion.[104] These factors may have encouraged such early practice within Bristol.

From these urban centres, the practice gradually disseminated throughout the country during the subsequent decade, likely influenced through the practices within the cathedral cities and through Elizabeth's royal progress in 1574 that saw her pass through both cities and regions. Minchinhampton, for example, followed the examples set within the cities and paid 12*d*. 'to the ryngars for the Queenes majestie' in 1572.[105] The increased fervour and popularity surrounding the day can perhaps be seen in Minchinhampton's entry the first year following Elizabeth's progress. In 1575 the churchwardens paid 9*d*. 'to the Ryngers for ryngenge the daye of the Quenes majestyes enterynge unto the Crowne Whom

[102] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/b, p. 162.
[103] Katherine Butler, 'Creating Harmonious Subjects? Ballads, Psalms and Godly Songs for Queen Elizabeth I's Accession Day', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 140/2 (2015), pp. 273-312.
[104] N. Mears and P. Williamson, 'The 'Holy Days' of Queen Elizabeth I, *History*, 105/365 (2020), pp. 201-228.
[105] GA, P217/CW/2/1, p. 48.

god longe tyme we beseche to preserve'.[106] These festivities were to remain throughout Elizabeth's reign, for which the ringers received varying rewards for their services, including tangible money and the provision of bread, cheese, and beer.[107] Bell ringing clearly played an integral part in the celebrations and were supported by the community. The additional expenses incurred were occasionally required to be footed by additional contributions from the parishioners. St. Michael, Gloucester, for example received an annual sum between 4*s*. and 5*s*. 'of the Inhabitanntes of this parishe towardes the Reingeinge for the Queene upon the Daie of her Graces coronacion' from 1584.[108] Such contributions, particularly within such a central parish, may be viewed as both the individuals and the parish expressing their loyalty to the monarch in ensuring the bells were sounded and acting as an example throughout the city within a relatively cash-strapped parish.

Whilst bells continued their role in ringing for authority, the bells and their ringers had no better an opportunity to demonstrate their fervent loyalty and celebrate the monarch than when the Queen progressed through both cities in 1574.[109] As Thomas Churchyard stated in his narration of the Queen's visit to Bristol,

As loe, a custom is,
whear humble subjects dwels:

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[106] GA, P217/CW/2/1, p. 57.

[107] For example, All Saints', Bristol, paid their ringers 9*s*. in money and a further 3*s*. 4*d*. for bread, cheese, and drink in 1576. A year later their 10*s*. payment appears to have also incorporated the provision of gloves for them (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a). St. Mary Redcliffe often paid for gloves, bread, meat, and drink for their ringers (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a-c).

[108] GA, P154/14/CW/1/35.

[109] Bells throughout Bristol rang when Sir Henry Herbert, the 2nd Earl of Pembroke, visited in 1585 (BA, AS ;). In 1589 the bells at All Saints', Bristol, rang at 'the Bishopes comynge out Brystow' and again in 1603 and 1618. All Saints' bells also rang in 1638 upon the visit of Lord Cottington (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a). Minchinhampton paid their ringers when Lord Chandos went to the town in 1594 (GA, P217/CW/2/1, p. 107).

When Prince aprocheth neer their vew,

for joy to ryng their bels.

So all that beareth lief,

in *Bristow* now this day:

Salutes the Queen from deepth of breast,

with welcom every way.[110]

In preparation for the Queen's visit to Bristol, St. Mary Redcliffe had ensured that the bells were in good form. Two new wheels were made, three others were amended, and they were all newly hung, with the bellfounder William Gefferies recasting and enlarging some of the bells. These bells were then practiced on twice prior to the Queen's arrival. Fourteen ringers were paid 12*d*. each 'to Rynge the bells at the Quenes Majesties coming to this cyttie', whilst £1 was paid 'at that tyme for the iiij meales which xv men had at iiijd the pece'.[111] St. James similarly paid 12*s*. 'to nyne Ringers for Ringinge when the Q majestie Came in which was the xiiij of Awgust And all the while she was here till her departing which was the 21 Awgust'.[112] In Gloucester, St. Michael likewise paid 7*s*. to the ringers 'at the tyme of the quene mayestie beynge here'.[113]

Bells became a customary sound at any celebration of national or local thanksgiving. Some of these occasions were one-time performances, whereas some became engrained within the new Protestant calendar alongside 'crownation'. Many of Bristol's churches

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[110] Thomas Churchyard, *The firste parte of Churchyardes chippes contayning twelve severall labours* (London, 1575), p. 101. For more on the Queen's progress to Bristol see F. Wardell, 'Queen Elizabeth I's Progress to Bristol in 1574: An Examination of Expenses', *Early Theatre*, 14/1 (2011), pp. 101-120.
[111] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a, p. 396.
[112] Meat and drink were also provided by the churchwardens (BA, P.St J/ChW/1/a).
[113] GA, P154/14/CW/1/26.

added further annual celebrations of Elizabeth's reign within the 1580s. All Saints' celebratory ringing for the monarch had branched out by 1582 to also incorporate ringing on her birthday, on 7 September, as it did elsewhere nationally. St. Mary Redcliffe also started to pay their ringers 'att the byrth daye of our queene' in 1578, whilst Sts. Philip & Jacob were also among the first in Bristol to pay for ringing on 'the Queenes Byrthe Daye' in 1579.[114] The majority of Bristol's churches had added this date to their ringing calendars by 1590.[115] These festivities would soon be joined by ringing on the 19 November in 1588, both regionally and nationally, at the deliverance from the Spanish Armada.[116] Little did the parishioners of St. Michael, Gloucester, know that the payment 'to the Ringers agayne uppon one other hollydaie solemnized for the victorie god gave us againste the spaniardes' in 1588 would become an annual payment.[117]

Some annual payments largely continued from pre-Reformation practices. Bells were rung at Easter, Christmas, New Year, Twelfth day, and Whitsuntide within certain churches. For example, in 1581 St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, paid their ringers 5*s*. for ringing 'att Christmas, easter, whitsontyde, and att the byrth daye of our queene'.[118] In 1578 St. James paid 4*d*. to the ringers on the 29th of May, later described as 'St Assention daye'.[119] Ascension Day, rogation, or perambulation was a reformed continuation of a pre-

[114] BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a. The ringers were paid 4*d*. for their pains at Sts. Philip and Jacob (BA, P.St P and J/ChW/3/a).
[115] St. James' ringers started being paid for ringing for the Queen's birthday in 1580 (BA, P.St J/ChW/1/a, unpaginated). St. Thomas had joined in 1581, St. Werburgh started in 1584, Temple were ringing for the same by 1587, and Christchurch and St. Ewen had joined by 1590 (BA, P.St T/ChW/18; BA, P.St W/ChW/3/a, f. 51v.; BA, P.Tem/Ca/2/1; BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated; BA, P.St E/ChW/2, unpaginated).
[116] The churchwardens of St. Aldate, Gloucester, started paying their ringers for the coronation day and, simply put, 'the thursday after' in 1589. Only later did it become known as 'the treiumphant day for the over throw of the spayneyerds', or 'tryumfanday' (GA, P154/6/CW/1/24).
[117] GA, P154/14/CW/1/39.
[118] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/b, p. 27.
[119] BA, P.St J/ChW/1/a.

Reformation practice. Just as bells were a part of the pre-Reformation processions, they formed a part of the canonically required post-Reformation perambulation around the boundaries of the parish by the minister and parishioners. The payment in 1587 at Temple, Bristol, shows that the ringers also rang on Ascension Day as part of their ritual.[120]

Ringing bells in celebration and thanksgiving to God for deliverance became a common practice across the nation. Bristol and Gloucestershire were no different and many of the payments for additional ringing are included within Cressy's 'Compendious Chronology of Joyful Occasions, 1558-1702'.[121] In 1572 the churchwardens of Sts. Philip & Jacob were at the vanguard of an ever-increasing practice in paying their ringers for celebrating such occasions through paying 20*d*. 'to the Ringers in Rejoyssing the Quene esscaped her enemies'. This was a celebration of Protestant expression not included within Cressy's 'Compendium'; the ringing marked Elizabeth's delivery from the Ridolfi plot, an assassination attempt to put Mary, Queen of Scots, upon the throne.[122] Other occasions that were included within Cressy's compendium include the ringing for the failed Babington plot in 1586, where the ringers at All Saints, Bristol, were paid 6*d*. for ringing 'upon the newes of taking the trayters' and the ringers at St. Michael, Gloucester, were paid 6*s*. 'for Ringeinge of the Bells upon wedinsdaye which was appoynted hollydaye by mastee maior for joye of takeinge of the Traitors of England'.[123] In 1587 the death of Queen Mary I of Scotland was

[120] The churchwardens paid 4*s*. 6*d*. 'for a breakefast to them which trymmed the crosse on the Ascension daye and to the ringers the same day' (BA, P.Tem/Ca/2/1). This is their only payment for ringing on this date, but it is unlikely that this was a one off. It is more likely that ringing accompanied the annual perambulation but either usually covered via an alternative source or provided free of charge.
[121] D. Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, p. 90.
[122] BA, P.St P and J/ChW/3/a, unpaginated.
[123] BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a; GA, P154/14/CW/1/37. The bells were also rang for this occasion at St. Aldate, Gloucester, 'for the Quien' on 31 August, whilst the churchwardens of St. Mary Redcliffe similarly paid 12*d*. for the ringers on 'all hallond daye' (GA, P154/6/CW/1/20; BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/b, p. 162).

also celebrated, with St. Aldate, Gloucester, ringing 'at the proclimacion about the Quen of skottes' and Temple, Bristol, paying 12*d*. 'to the Ringers the day that the Scottish queene was proclaimed a woman convicted of Treason against our noble quene Elizabeth'.[124]

Other events not mentioned by Cressy are likely due to their particular significance to the local context. In 1580, for example, St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, paid 12*d*. 'for ringinge att the rejoysinge of the good newes out of Ireland'.[125] The good news was presumably regarding one of the major victories in the Second Desmond Rebellion, likely the defeat of the Spanish and Italian forces at Smerwick. These celebrations were perhaps more widely celebrated within Bristol due to the city's role in transporting thousands of soldiers to and from Ireland and the significant military presence throughout the campaign. In 1597 Christchurch also paid 1*s*. 'for ringing at the return of the Earle of Essex [Robert Devereux]', perhaps following the significant civic figure's venture in the Azores.[126] Celebratory ringing, and the popular response to the new calendar, secured the position of bells within the Church.

The Advent of Change Ringing in Bristol and Gloucester: Technology and Resources

Technological advances in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century allowed ringers to exercise much greater control over their bells, making it possible to change the sequence of bells more frequently. This period generally saw bells get lighter and the wheels develop

[124] GA, P154/6/CW/1/20; BA, P.Tem/Ca/2/1.
[125] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/b, p. 12. This occasion was similarly celebrated at All Saints, with 1*s*. 8*d*. paid 'to the ringers uppon the newes owt of Ireland' (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a).
[126] BA, M/BCC/CCP/1/1, p. 15. Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex and Earl Marshal of England, held significant influence within the region, and was granted a patent of High Stewardship of Bristol by the city's council in 1598 (For more on Devereux see Paul Hammer, 'Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex (1565–1601)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004)). The bells were perhaps ordered to be rung as a mark of respect, authority, and thankfulness upon their return. He may have physically returned to the port of Bristol too.

into three-quarter and later full-circle wheels. Churches also sought additional bells to extend their rings. According to Woodger and Cattermole, the development of three-quarter wheels enabled ringers to control their bells enough to make change ringing possible. Woodger dates the introduction of this technology to around 1570, corresponding to a trend in recasting in Huntingdonshire.[127] Evidence within Bristol also corroborates this evaluation, with a trend in recasting and replacements of bell ringing mechanisms starting around 1570.

Early technological advances in bellfounding are relatively easy to track. The region was fortunate to have several medieval foundries based within the cities of Bristol and Gloucester. Bellfounding in Elizabethan Bristol was dominated by the Gefferies family, a Bristol-based bellfounding family that were active from at least the 1530s. Whilst Walters asserts that the foundry at Bristol ceased around 1560 with the death of Henry Jefferies, the churchwardens' accounts show their dominance within the Elizabethan city.[128] A Mr Gefferies recast bells at St. James in 1571 and 1575, and recast a bell at St. John in 1571.[129] Henry Gefferies cast the fourth bell at St. Mary Redcliffe in 1571, although it required recasting again in 1576 and William Gefferies recast it once again in 1577.[130] A Saints bell was also cast at St. Mary Redcliffe in 1578 before Robert Gefferies once again cast the fourth bell in 1581.[131] To accompany the identifiable casting done by the Gefferies, many bells were cast by unidentifiable bellfounders. Both the second bell at St. Mary Redcliffe was recast in

[127] Andrew Woodger, 'Post-Reformation Mixed Gothic in Huntingdonshire Church Towers and its Campanological Associations', *Archaeological Journal*, 141 (1984), pp. 282; P. Cattermole, *Church Bells and Bell-Ringing: A Norfolk Profile*, pp. 95-96; see also R. Hill, 'The Reformation of the Bells in Early Modern England', pp. 171-182.
[128] H. Walters, 'Gloucestershire Bell Foundries Continued. II. The Bristol Foundry', p. 68.
[129] BA, P.St J/ChW/1/a; BA, P.St JB/ChW/1/a.
[130] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a.
[131] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a-b.

1593, and the treble in 1598, by unknown bellfounders.[132] Anonymous bellfounders also cast a Saints bell for St. Werburgh's in 1583, recast a bell at Temple in 1587, at St. Thomas in 1589, and at St. James' in 1590.[133] Meanwhile the Axbridge bellfounder Thomas Mary cast a bell at St. Thomas in 1585 and at Temple in 1589.[134]

This concentrated activity was also accompanied by the installation of new bell lofts and ringing mechanisms. Bell lofts were floored, carpeted, and repaired at Christchurch in 1575, at Sts. Philip & Jacob in 1593, and at St. Ewen's in 1597.[135] Roger Churche, the carpenter, organ mender, and parish clerk of Christchurch between 1573 and 1578, appears to also have been a significant figure in maintaining, repairing, and setting up new bell frames and bell wheels. In 1577 he was paid 16*s*. 10*d*. for fixing both the organs and bell frames at St. John.[136] Sts. Philip & Jacob also paid Churche 26*s*. 8*d*. 'in consideracion that he should mend the Bells duryng his lyffe' and was paid a wage of 12*d*. annually thereafter to keep them in repair until 1584.[137] Churche was clearly a significant figure throughout all musical aspects of worship within Elizabethan Bristol.[138] The developments of technology here may have enabled greater control of the bell, enabling the development of change ringing.

The provision for bell ringing and the development of technology was not as pronounced within both Elizabethan Gloucester and Gloucestershire than Bristol. This is

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[132] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/b.
[133] BA, P.St W/ChW/3/a, f. 50v.; BA, P.Tem/Ca/2/1; BA, P.St T/ChW/26; BA, P.St J/ChW/1/a.
[134] BA, P.St T/ChW/22; BA, P.Tem/Ca/2/2.
[135] BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated; BA, P.St P and J/ChW/3/a, unpaginated; BA, P.St E/ChW/2 p. 126.
[136] BA, P.St JB/ChW/1/a.
[137] BA, P.St P and J/ChW/3/a, unpaginated. At St. Mary Redcliffe Church and two other carpenters were also paid to 'new hange' the first, second, and third bells and 'to sett up Right the great bell' in 1585 (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/b, p. 148.
[138] For more on Churche, see pp. 241-243.

perhaps partly down to the lingering pre-Reformation practices still occurring widely throughout the diocese as discussed earlier, their general financial inferiority, or perhaps due to the lack of resources within the county. The region did not see as much bellfounding activity, perhaps in part due to the sudden disappearance of a Gloucester-based bell foundry after the deaths of Robert Hendley, William Henshaw, and Richard Atkyns. Instead, churches sought resources from further afield in John Baker of Hereford, Joseph Carter of Reading, and possibly a Bryan Mason of Worcester.[139] Developments in bell ringing mechanisms and bell lofts are visible but occur on far fewer occasions than within Bristol. Minchinhampton, for example, had a period of increased activity in the early-1570s, made a new bell loft in 1579, and acquired several new bell wheels in successive years.[140]

The greatest changes in bellfounding technology within early-Stuart Bristol and Gloucestershire were largely facilitated by Roger Purdue, a bellfounder of Bristol. The son of bellfounder William Purdue of Closworth, Somerset, Walters claims it probable that Purdue did not settle in Bristol before 1611.[141] However, he was a parishioner of Sts. Philip & Jacob from at least 1607, likely taking over Robert Gefferies' bell foundry within the parish following his death in 1603.[142] He was a prolific bellfounder within the region, founding bells

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[139] There is a surviving bell at Huntley cast by Hereford-based John Baker that is dated 1580, and a surviving bell at Lechlade cast by Reading-based Joseph Carter that is dated 1590. Two surviving bells at Sandhurst were also cast by Worcester-based founder John Greene in 1596. St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester, cast their great bell in 1595, paying a Bryan Mason for the casting besides many trips to Worcester about the casting (H. Ellacombe, *The Church Bells of Gloucestershire*; GA, P154/11/CW/2/1, unpaginated).
[140] GA, P217/CW/2/1.
[141] Roger Purdue was one of four sons to William Purdue that all went into bellfounding (H. Walters, 'Gloucestershire Bell Foundries Continued. II. The Bristol Foundry', pp. 68-69).
[142] 'Robert Gefferyes the Bellfownder' was buried 24 October 1603 after dying 'of the plague'. Margery 'the wyfe of Roger Purdewe' was buried 20 April 1607. He the remarried on the 7 January following to Joane Frye, 'boothe of this parishe'. Purdue had paid 8*d*. to the churchwardens of Sts. Philip & Jacob in 1607 for his wife's pew, but Joane later died and was buried 10 March 1608. Her death was likely to have been due to complications in childbirth; William Purdue, the son of Roger, was baptised on the same day as his mother's

in Bristol, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Somerset, and Wiltshire. Whilst the material evidence suggests that his bells were all similar, 'devoid of ornament' and usually cast with only the date and a Maltese cross, the archival evidence shows that he was highly practical.[143] He was often tasked with recasting bells and making them a greater number, or with simply making them lighter, enabling ringers to have greater control as change ringing techniques advanced. For example, at Temple, Bristol, Purdue recast three bells originally weighing 52-1-10 and made them 8-0-1 lighter in 1625.[144] He was often partially paid in the bell metal taken out of the bell; this was a common arrangement with bellfounders at this time.[145] Through both the surviving material and archival evidence it is possible to attribute Purdue's name to casting at least 32 bells within Bristol and Gloucester, although the actual figure would have been a lot larger. Despite his demand throughout the region, Purdue was clearly not in a great financial state around 1625, claiming poverty following a failed casting at Frampton Cotterell.[146]

The sudden availability of bellfounding resources within the region was equally met with skilled wood workers turned bell hangers. These individuals made frames, bell wheels, and all associated furniture pertinent to facilitating change ringing. The two Covants, for

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burial. Purdue remarried at some point prior to the birth of more children in 1610 (BA, P.St P and J/ChW/3/a, p. 159; BA, St P and J/R/1/1, unpaginated).

[143] H. Walters, 'Gloucestershire Bell Foundries Continued. II. The Bristol Foundry', pp. 68-70.

[144] BA, P.Tem/Ca/11/1a.

[145] When he recast two of St. Thomas' bells in 1627, for example, £1 of the £10 5*s*. payment he received was in 'the mettaile he had out of fifthe Bell' (BA, P.St T/ChW/60). Part of the agreement between John Lott, a bellfounder from Warminster, and Frampton Cotterell to cast three of their bells and make them four in 1627 also states that he was to receive £14 'either in money or mettall which should be left at the casting of the bells' at the rate of 8*d*. per pound. He was eventually paid £12 10*s*. in mettle alone (GA, GDR 168, unpaginated).

[146] A bell was cast by Purdue around 1625 at Frampton Cotterell with the promise that he would repair and amend the bell should it be new cast faulty. When the bell was 'cast nought' and proved faulty, the parishioners of Frampton Cotterell sued Purdue on his bond after he failed to provide upon his promise. Purdue alleged poverty and was released from his bond by the court (GA, GDR 168, unpaginated).

example, were an influential pair of bell hangers throughout the region. They were paid £12 2*s*. 5*d*. by St. Mary Redcliffe in 1621 for new stocks and wheels for the bells.[147] William Covant, or Covey, was paid £6 by Sts. Philip & Jacob in 1622 for six new wheels, three new stocks, and a new frame for the treble.[148] In 1634 Covant was also paid at St. Thomas for setting up their bell frame, costing them around £70 in total.[149] In 1627 William Covant, whilst working on the ring of bells in Chewton Medip, Somerset, was approached and asked to go and view the bells at Frampton Cotterell and do what was necessary to frame their new ring of five bells within their tower. Appearing at a consistory court case regarding unpaid rates by a parishioner, he claims that 'he is by his profession a Milwright and for these twenty yeares last past hath byn and yet is an Artist and well experienced in frameing and hanging & setting of bells musicall according to Arte and is & so hath beene during all the tyme aforesaid well experienced in Musick'.[150] Upon viewing the bells his judgement was that the frames, wheels, iron hangings and other appurtenances were old but as good as they were around 40 years prior. However, 'the worke in that kynde was not done in such sorte as newe worke in that kynde is made nowe'.[151] Besides providing evidence into the perceived contemporary musical nature of bell ringing, this appears to confirm that Covant was setting up new and innovative bell frames conducive to change ringing greater numbers of bells within churches.

[147] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/d, p. 25.
[148] BA, P.St P and J/ChW/3/a, unpaginated.
[149] Covant was paid £33 5*s*. for the frame and the timber was bought for £15 10*s*. 6*d*. alone (BA, P.St T/ChW/60).
[150] GA, GDR 168, unpaginated.
[151] GA, GDR 168, unpaginated.

Similarly based in Bristol, John Roome was also a leading figure in designing and producing bell frames and wheels conducive to full-wheel ringing. In 1613 he was paid £3 by the churchwardens of St. James for timber and his workmanship about the bells and was paid an annual sum of 4*s*. thereafter for 'kepeing the bells'. The fee increased to 6*s*. 8*d*. in 1623 but he remained having oversight of their bells until 1637. In 1634 Roome paid the churchwardens £18 to cut down 21 elm trees in the churchyard for a new bell frame, for which he was ultimately paid £30 that same year.[152] The churchwardens of St. Mary Redcliffe hired his services in 1636 for the same reason, paying him £72 'for makinge the frame of the bels'.[153] Elsewhere Sts. Philip & Jacob paid £2 18*s*. 6*d*. to a carpenter for three new wheels and for rehanging all five bells in 1616, and a new frame was made for St. Werburgh in 1639 for £11 6*s*. 6*d*.[154] However, these increases may not only be seen as a reflection of developing technology and increasing popular practices, but as a part of the growing movement throughout Bristol that focussed upon the fabric of the church and sought their beautification; these aspects are examined later.

Evidence therefore shows that there were significant advances in technology around 1600, with many parishes within the two cities purchasing new sets of, presumably relatively experimental, bell wheels every couple of years. This technology was later perfected, and the wheels were fit into new frames between 1610 and 1640. New three-quarter wheels were at least present within Gloucester's city parishes by 1618, with St. Mary de Crypt and St. Michael both purchasing a complete set of five bell wheels.[155] Tortworth followed suit

[152] BA, P.St J/ChW/1/a-b.
[153] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/d, p. 250.
[154] BA, P.St P and J/ChW/3/a, unpaginated; BA, P.St W/ChW/3/b, p. 98.
[155] St. Mary de Crypt paid £14 to the carpenter Owen Downe 'for makeing new frames for fyve Bells & for tymber for the same', 40*s*. was also paid 'for fyve three quarter wheeles' (GA, P154/11/CW/2/1, unpaginated).

around the same time, with Stroud amending their frames and wheels in 1625.[156] Such developments then filtered out of the cities, with many churches throughout Gloucestershire appearing to extend their rings and fit the newest bell hanging technology into the towers between 1625 and 1640.

The New Protestant Calendars of Early-Stuart Bristol and Gloucester

The patterns of commemorative and celebratory ringing that had developed under Elizabeth continued within early-Stuart England. The bells dutifully rang at James' accession and coronation in 1603 and for Charles in 1625. Both new Jacobean dates of commemoration within the calendar included potentially superstitious dates. Many churches celebrated either James' assession, on Our Lady's Eve (24 March), or his coronation on St. James' Day (25 July), as an annual day of thanksgiving. Nevertheless, saints' days were still engrained within the calendar of many churches, with many churches associating new dates in the Protestant calendar with the old.[157] The very same year as James' accession, ringers also swiftly adopted the new holiday on 5 August to commemorate James' escape from the

In 1619 St. Michael paid £5 'for Five new wheeles and for trussinge the bells and settinge of them in order' (GA, P154/14/CW/2/1, unpaginated).

[156] GA, P338/CW/2/7, unpaginated. Stroud paid the same carpenter that had made the frames and wheels at St. Mary de Crypt in 1618; they paid £10 10*s*. to Owen Downe 'for making the frames and the wheeles for the bells and for Timber and worke' (GA, P320/CW/2/1, p. 5).

[157] For example, Christchurch, Bristol, paid 5*s*. 'to the Ringers for Ringinge on our Ladye Eave' to mark James' assession (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/b, unpaginated). Churches similarly commemorated his coronation on 25 July, St. James' Day. Minchinhampton paid their ringers to ring on St. James' day between 1603 and 1605, alongside 24 March, celebrating both the King's accession and coronation. In Gloucester, St. Michael paid their ringers for ringing on 'the kinges holie daie being St James daie' in 1603, whilst St. Aldate also paid for ringing 'one St James Day' in 1604 (GA, P217/CW/2/1; GA, P154/14/CW/2/1, unpaginated; GA, P154/6/CW/1/36). Additionally, North Nibley's churchwardens paid 3*s*. 'for Ringing on St James Day and for the lyke the 5 of August' in 1617 and continued to do so throughout James' reign (GA, P230/CW/2/1). At Minchinhampton expenses were still being paid in 1623 'for ringing on St James his day and other holidayes' (GA, P217/CW/2/1, p. 169).

Gowrie conspiracy.[158] From 1605 the failure of the Catholic gunpowder plot caused the creation of one of England's most engrained Protestant holidays. The fifth of November began to be commemorated in 1605 and annual payments for ringing on said day may be found in practically every surviving account.[159] Many other events of national importance not worthy of annual remembrance throughout early-Stuart England named by Cressy are present within a large proportion of churches. For example, bells rang in 1623 'at the Prince his Cominge home' and in 1630 'at the Birth of prince Charles'.[160]

A particularly noteworthy trend of annually celebrating the memory of Queen Elizabeth I on the anniversary of her accession started in the 1620s. In Bristol, both St. Thomas and Temple had started paying for ringing on 17 November in 1623 'in memory of Queen Elizabeth'.[161] All Saints had joined them by 1627, St. James had joined by 1631, and Sts. Philip & Jacob also commemorated the day by 1632.[162] This ringing was not restricted to Bristol. Stroud were similarly commemorating Elizabeth by 1627.[163] Occasionally, the

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[158] In 1603 All Saints, Bristol, paid 'the Ringers at the kinges proclamatyon of the delyverance of him from treason from the skottes', whilst Christchurch paid 14*s*. 4*d*. 'to the Ringers for ringinge on Friday being the fyfte of August for the great deliverance of our kinge' (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a; BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/b, unpaginated).

[159] Payments for ringing on this date, and indeed on other thanksgiving and festival days, are only absent within the churchwardens' accounts for St. Werburgh in Bristol, Barnsley, Bromsberrow, Daglingworth, Dursley, Eastington, Tewkesbury and Tortworth. Many of these churches only had one or two bells and it is likely that ringing payments must have been made through a separate source for these churches.

[160] In Gloucester the churchwardens of St. Michael paid the ringers to rang 'at the Prince his Cominge home' in 1623; St. Mary de Crypt paid 4*d*. in beer 'for ringing at the returning home of Prince Charles' (GA, 154/14/CW/2/1, unpaginated; GA, P154/11/CW/2/1, unpaginated). Stroud also rang their bells at 'the welcome of the prince' in 1623 (GA, P320/CW/2/1, p. 1). Likewise in Gloucester, St. Michael's churchwardens paid 3*s*. 4*d*. to the ringers 'for Ringing at the Birth of prince Charles' in 1630, St. Mary de Crypt paid 6*d*. to the ringers 'at the Birth of our Prince', St. Aldate's paid 12*d*. for ringing 'after the princes Byrth', and Gloucester Cathedral paid 6*s*. 8*d*. to the ringers at the 'birth of the young prince' (GA, P154/14/CW/2/1, unpaginated; GA, P154/11/CW/2/1, unpaginated; GA, P154/6/CW/2/7, unpaginated; GCL, TR1,p. 183). In Bristol, All Saints paid 6*s*. to ringers 'at the beath of the prince', St. Mary Redcliffe paid 5*s*. 'when the Prince was Borne', Sts. Philip & Jacob paid 2*s*. for ringing 'at the birth of prince charles', Temple paid 2*s*. 6*d*. to the ringers for 'Charles Birth day' (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a; BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/d, p. 163; BA, P.St P and J/ChW/3/a, unpaginated; BA, P.Tem/Ca/13/3).

[161] BA, P.St T/ChW/60; BA, P.Tem/Ca/9.

[162] BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a; BA, P.St J/ChW/1/b; BA, P.St P and J/ChW/3/a, unpaginated.

[163] GA, P320/CW/2/1, p. 8.

payments for ringing on 17 November were larger than those dedicated to the current King, suggesting more enthusiasm on the former Queen's Day; Charles had suddenly found himself competing with a deceased predecessor. For example, Stroud's payments for 5 and 17 November were over double that commemorating coronation day.[164] In such cases the ringing was intended to be a gesture of respect to Elizabeth's memory, but also one of disrespect to the current monarch. Stroud had a significant godly community. By 1576 their churchwardens had godly tendencies, reporting 'idolatrie in the churchwindoes & on tombes' and that 'they fynde faulte wi̲th magnificat & nunc dimittis & wi̲th the surplesse & crossing in Baptisme' to the consistory court.[165] Their minister and preacher within the 1620s, Walter Sweeper, was also under the patronage of the godly sympathiser Philip Herbert, 4th Earl of Pembroke, and published several works promoting a godly life and confuting Arminianism.[166] Stroud's gesture was intended to commemorate a time of greater religious toleration and mark their disapproval of the current regime.[167] In Bristol, however, the payments to commemorate Elizabeth's coronation were minimal and payments to commemorate the King remained steadfast and of greater value in payment, perhaps demonstrating their support, or their deference in authority at the least.[168]

The increasing popularity of celebrating such days with ringing led some churches to limit such payments. In 1605 Christchurch, Bristol, ordered that 'fro̲m hence forwardes there

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[164] The ringers were often paid 2*s*. 6*d*. for both 5 and 17 November, whilst the payment for coronation day was only 1*s*. (GA, P320/CW/2/1).
[165] GA, GDR 40, f.205v.
[166] Walter Sweeper, *A briefe treatise declaring the true noble-man, and the base worldling* (London, 1622); W. Sweeper, *Israels redemption by christ wherein is confuted the arminian universall redemption* (London, 1622).
[167] Concerns over the political connotations of such ringing naturally unsettled the authorities. For more, see C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, pp. 482-483.
[168] For example, Sts. Philip & Jacob were paying 2*s*. for ringing on 17 November, compared to 5*s*. on coronation day and 5 November (BA, P.St P and J/ChW/3/a, unpaginated). These payments may be linked with the erection of Elizabeth's Arms and monuments for her within the 1620s and 1630s (see pp. 94-96).

shalbe no excessive ringinge but that which is necessarie & convenient'. The charges for the whole year were also capped at 20*s*. as payments for ringing at Christchurch had regularly exceeded £1 from around 1591, rising to £1 11*s*. 6*d*. in 1605.[169] However, this order was short lived and was already broken by 1607. The introduction of further festival days and the enthusiasm for ringing led to further increases, although the vestry did attempt to keep ringing payments to around £1.[170] The frugal vestry restricted payments further in 1621, bluntly stating 'Ther is but xiij*s*. Iiij*d*. Allowed for Ringeng', after the accounts briefly went into arrears.[171] Festive ringing was popular and celebrated on an increasing number of dates. Whilst many churches found the funds, either through the churchwardens' accounts or through other means, even the more affluent churches found it necessary to control and restrict payments.

Late Elizabethan and Early-Stuart Occasional Ringing and Parish Politics

The sound of bells continued to acknowledge authority, respect, compliance, and loyalty throughout this period. Just as Bristol's bells marked the visit of Elizabeth in 1574, they marked the only other royal visitor within the period, when Queen Anne visited the city in 1613. A contemporary account tells us that, after two 'thund'ring peals' of shot and half an hour of firing their cannons

> The bells most joyfully did ring, with music's symphony;

[169] The cap of 20*s*. was to consist of 6s. 8*d*. for coronation day, 3*s*. 8*d*. for the day of James' nativity, and 5*s*. apiece for 'the other two festivall daies of thankesgevinge for the preservacion of his majestie from his enemyes' (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a-b, unpaginated).
[170] The churchwardens resigned themselves to paying 10*s*. for each the coronation day and 5 November between 1609 and 1621. Any ringing on additional days must have been paid from a different source or voluntary (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/b, unpaginated).
[171] BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a-b, unpaginated.

And still these words, "God save our Queene", re-echoed in the sky,

With horrid voice that flying fowls amazed fell to ground

Through voice great astonishment and fear of this their thund'ring sound.[172]

The city's churchwardens' accounts similarly show the churches' enthusiasm and it is likely that every church within the liberties of Bristol would have been ordered to ring out their bells on such a significant occasion.[173] However, their sound was not solely reserved to honouring monarchs; it was common for bells to be ordered to ring should any nobility be present within the community.[174] The Earl of Worcester was greeted with bell ringing throughout Gloucester in 1588, Lord Chandos was honoured with ringing upon his visit to Minchinhampton in 1595, and All Saints and Sts. Philip and Jacob in Bristol rang when Francis Cottington, 1st Baron Cottington and Chancellor of the Exchequer, was present in Bristol in 1639.[175]

Bells throughout Bristol and Gloucestershire also acknowledged ecclesiastical authorities by ringing for bishops, archdeacons, vicar generals, and ministers.[176] This could be either at a bishop's induction into the diocese, a bishop's return from afar, or a visit to

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[172] Robert Naile, *A Relation of the Royall Magnificent, and Sumptuous Entertainment Given to the High, and Mighty Princesse, Queene Anne, at the Renowned Citie of Bristoll* (London, 1613); transcribed in M. Pilkinton, ed., *Bristol: Records of Early English Drama*, p. 193.

[173] All Saints paid 5*s*. on 4 June to the ringers at 'the queenes cominge to Bristowe', St. James paid 9*s*. to the ringers 'at the Queenes coming to Bristoll', St. Mary Redcliffe paid 14*s*. 'when the Quene was here', St. Thomas paid 7*s*. for the same 'at the Queenes Cominge', and Temple paid 4*s*. 'on the queenes Beinge heer in Bristoll' (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a; BA, P.St J/ChW/1/a; BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/c, p. 193; BA, P.St T/ChW/46; BA, P.Tem/Ca/8/1).

[174] D. Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, p. 73.

[175] St. Mary de Crypt paid 10*d*. 'to Ringers when the Earle of worcester came thorowe the Cytye' (GA, P154/11/CW/2/1, unpaginated). Minchinhampton paid 6*d*. 'to the Ringars when the Lord Chandoys came to the towne' (GA, P217/CW/2/1, p. 107). In 1637 Tewkesbury also paid 4*s*. 'for ringinge for my Lord of Middlesex' (GA, P329/1/CW/2/1, p. 284). For Cottington see BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a and BA, P.St P and J/ChW/3/a, unpaginated. St. Thomas' bells also rang for the presence of the Earl of Arundel's son in 1634 (BA, P.St T/ChW/67).

[176] See also D. Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, pp. 73-74.

their church. For example, in 1629 St. Thomas, Bristol, paid 2*s*. to the ringers on 9 May 'for Ringinge the Bells when the bishoppes came to this Citty' and 1*s*. six days later 'when the Bishopps came to see the Churche'.[177] Their bells similarly rang in May 1634 upon Sir Nathaniel Brent's visit to conduct the metropolitical visitation.[178] Similarly, St. Aldate, Gloucester, also paid 8*d*. in 1635 for ringing 'for the vicker generall', Nathaniel Brent.[179] Insistent officials often demanded their due reverence and respect, and parishes were even punished through the courts if they were deemed to have deliberately not rung their bells to a particular individual. Chipping Campden were forced to pay 2*s*. 6*d*. in the consistory court 'for not Ringing the Bells' in 1636, whilst Elmstone were presented 'for not ringing the belles when Sir Nathaniel Brent went throughe the parishe' the same year.[180] It did also not necessarily have to be that diocese's ecclesiastical authority, for Gloucester Cathedral rung for the Bishop of St. David's on numerous occasions in 1624 and 1625, at a visit by the Bishop of Bristol in 1628, and at the visit of the Bishop of Hereford in 1634. At Gloucester Cathedral, the prebends themselves may have even performed a peal as an even greater mark of respect when, in 1635, a peal was 'given to master Lord Bishop of Oxford by the Prebends'.[181] This was meant to be an enjoyable experience and part of the entertainment provided for the individual. Chipping Campden paid 7*s*. 2*d*. 'for wine & Beere & to the

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[177] BA, P.St T/ChW/62.

[178] BA, P.St T/ChW/67. Christchurch also paid 3*s*. to the ringers 'at the visiting of Sir Nathaniell Brint the vyckar generall to vyssitt for my lorde of Canderberree his grace' (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/b, unpaginated).

[179] GA, P154/6/CW/2/7, unpaginated.

[180] GA, P81/CW/2/2, f. 31v.; GA, GDR 174.

[181] The cathedral paid 6*s*. 8*d*. 'For Ringinge for my Lord of St Davids the 16 of August' 1625 and a further 4*s*. 'For ringinge for the Bishopp of St David' later that year. They paid 3*s*. 4*d*. 'For Ringinge for the Bushopp of Bristoll in 1628 and 6*s*. 8*d*. 'To the Ringers for a peale given for a peale given my Lord Bishopp of Hereford'. In 1635 they also paid 6*s*. 8*d*. 'To the Ringers for a peale given to my Lord Bishopp of Oxford by the Prebends'; It is of course possible that the order was just given by the prebends (GCL, TR1, pp. 64, 85, 160; GCL, TR2, p. 16, 42). St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, also rung at a visit from the Dean of Salisbury in 1639, paying 5*s*. to 'the Ringers when the deane of Salisbury was here' in 1639 (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/d, p. 5).

ringeres, to entertaine my Lord Bishop' in 1637. Some churches even hired the services of local musicians to help entertain and impress their visitors.[182] Ringing to welcome incoming ministers was also common. For example, St. Michael, Gloucester, paid 12*d*. 'for ringing at stalling our new Parson' in 1625.[183]

Just as bells had marked the presence of ecclesiastical authority, they were increasingly used to show respect to secular authorities. For example, Bristol's churches rang at the installation and presence of the city's mayor. Temple rang on the 'day of election' in 1605, All Saints rang at the swearing in of the new mayor in 1633, whilst St. Thomas rang in 1639 and 1641 at the presence of the mayor.[184] Gloucester's records are surprisingly silent when it comes to evidence of ringing for civic authority. It is possible that this lack of evidence suggests a much more muted sense of civic pride and ceremony, or even that Gloucester's bells served a much more liturgical and national use. However, given the nature of payments of ringing and their tendency to be extranumerary, this is largely conjecture.

Nevertheless, Bristol's church bells were increasing their performative functions throughout the period with a rising sense of secularisation. Whilst the bells were being used to help imbue communities with a sense of legitimacy in a quasi-religious fashion, the bells were being rang increasingly for civic occasions. For example, the Bristol's bells suddenly rang for officials of secular courts in the early-seventeenth century, with St. Mary Redcliffe and St. Thomas frequently marked the arrival and departure of judges.[185] However, when St.

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[182] St. Mary Redcliffe, for example, paid 3*s*. 4*d*. in 1624 to 'the waite playors when my Lord Bishopp came to our Church' (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/d, p. 73).
[183] GA, P154/14/CW/2/1, unpaginated.
[184] For example, in 1641 St. Thomas' churchwardens paid 1*s*. to the ringers 'For Ringing a peale att the Mayors being here' (BA, P.St T/ChW/74).
[185] Unfortunately, the accounts alone do not elucidate whether the ringing was specifically for Assizes, Quarter Sessions, of any other secular court. St. Mary Redcliffe started to pay their ringers annually 'att the comynge of

James paid 2*s*. for ringing 'that daye Maste r Gerrard kept Coorte' in 1616, they may have had an ulterior motive as they were attempting to woo Sir Charles Gerard, their patron and impropriate rector, to obtain a lease for their church and churchyard. This would allow them ultimate control over the affairs of the church.[186]

Bristol's church bells were also being increasingly used for other civic, and even secular, occasions. Bells were rung as part of several churches' annual election of new churchwardens and church officers, with St. Mary Redcliffe, All Saints, and Temple all having such a custom.[187] Some of these occasions helped to blur the boundaries between religious observance and thanksgiving and secular festivities. For example, ringing was paid for annually by the churchwardens of St. James on their dedication day from 1614. Whilst the date could potentially have been harbouring enduring superstition, the bells' sound had been reformed to a much more celebratory, festive, and secular use in marking the famed St. James' fair.[188] A further example of bells' increasing secularisation in Bristol is the payment of 2*s*. by St. Thomas 'to the Ringers att Mrs Pitts Feast' in 1614.[189] Bells were also rung as the mayor of Bristol and his entourage annually perambulated Bristol's shirestones,

the Judge' from 1628 (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/d). In 1626 St. Thomas also paid 1*s*. 6*d*. for ringing 'at the Comminge of Sir John Walter into the Cittie' (BA, P.St T/ChW/59). Sir John Walter was a judge and politician, being made Chief Baron of the Exchequer in 1625 (see Wilfrid Prest, 'Sir John Walter (bap. 1565, d. 1630)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2013)).

[186] The attempt by the parishioners of St. James, Bristol, to lease the church and churchyard was ultimately successful. The following year the churchwardens paid £26 13*s*. 4*d*. to 'Sir Charles Gerrard for a new lease for xxx yeares to Come' (BA, P.St J/ChW/1/a). For more on St. James' micropolitics and quasi-presbyterian vestry, see pp. 111-114.

[187] For example, at St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, the bells were to ring as the vestry would gather to sort the church's affairs, often followed by a dinner, accompanied by either minstrels or the city's waits. In 1603, for example, St. Mary Redcliffe paid 12*d*. 'for ringinge theaccompte daie', also paying 2*s*. 'to the waites' (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/c, p. 72).

[188] Whilst the annual sum of around 1*s*. was paid on St. James' day from 1614, the terminology changed to paying the ringers on 'Fair day' from 1625 (BA, P.St J/ChW/1/a-b). For St. James' Fair, see J. Bettey, *St. James's Fair 1137-1837*.

[189] BA, P.St T/ChW/47.

the boundary markers of his jurisdiction, with St. Mary Redcliffe paying 2*s*. 6*d*. to the ringers in 1629 when the mayor 'went aboute the sherestones'. Although payments did not occur again until 1637, it became an annual payment thereafter, suggesting that the ringing had been an annual occurrence from at least 1629.[190] Perhaps the connected payment of 3*s*. in 1634 by St. Mary Redcliffe 'for ringinge att the Duckhuntinge' best illustrates such secularisation of ringing.[191] Such secularisation was not limited to Bristol, however, for in 1627 the ringers of St. Michael, Gloucester, were paid 12*d*. in beer 'when the Bishoppes venison was eaten'.[192] It is difficult to ascertain why the bishop had gifted them venison on this occasion, but the bishop had maintained good relations with the city's civic elite often exchanging gifts. Nevertheless, the churchwardens of St. Michael evidently wished to commemorate the day. Similarly, Tewkesbury's bells rang in 1640, with the churchwardens paying 5*s*. 'for ringing when the kings majestie did Condescend to the parliament', a damning display of disrespect for the monarch's rule.[193]

The development of a new national calendar of observance is difficult to untangle amidst a wealth of local enthusiasm and a dictatorial state.[194] Evidence throughout the region shows that much of the ringing was being dictated by civic, ecclesiastical, or parish authorities. The mayors of both Bristol and Gloucester often ordered their city's bells to ring. In 1596 All Saints, Bristol, paid 1*s*. 5*d*. 'to the ryngers uppon Symon and Judes day at Master Mayers requeste for returne of the shipes'.[195] Similarly, in 1636 Sts. Philip & Jacob, Bristol,

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[190] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/d.
[191] Annual duck hunting took part at Treen Mills, now the Bathurst Basin near St. Mary Redcliffe, as part of the traditional perambulation of the shirestones following a mayor's election (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/d, p. 220).
[192] GA, P154/14/CW/2/1, unpaginated.
[193] GA, P329/1/CW/2/1, p. 296.
[194] See D. Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, p. 56.
[195] BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a.

paid 2*s*. 'to the Ringers to ring in a Lord by Master Mayers appointment'.[196] Occasionally the Bishop's influence may be seen. In 1593 the Christchurch paid 4*s*. for ringing on the Queen's birthday but were made to pay a further 1*s*. to the parish clerk 'for the next day being commanded by my Lord Bysshopp to ryng'.[197] Vestrymen often had control of the belfry. In 1580 All Saints, Bristol, paid 1*s*. 8*d*. 'to the ringers uppon the newes owt of Ireland by consent of Mr Langley & master Cole'. The belfry was evidently under the control of two of the most senior figures within the vestry, Philip Langley and Richard Cole, both aldermen and mayor of Bristol in 1582 and 1586 respectively.[198]

To control the belfry was to exert considerable authority throughout the parish. This made belfries significant areas of dispute, some of which may be seen within Gloucester's court records. Occasionally these disputes were founded on religious identity and preferences over experiences of worship, such as in a case contested between William Parr, the curate of Tetbury, and several of his parishioners in 1594. Parr was likely a Protestant of the hotter sort and his parishioners accused him of refusing to read divine service on holidays, refusing to wear the surplice, saying that the parish had offended God through keeping a fair on St. Mary Magdalene's day, and railing against bowling and other idle pastimes. He was also accused of forbidding any bell to be rung before both Morning and Evening Prayer apart from the sermon bell.[199] Some of his parishioners were evidently against such godly practices and reported him to the consistory. Bells were also used to

[196] BA, P.St P and J/ChW/3/a, unpaginated.
[197] BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a, unpaginated.
[198] Philip Langley and Richard Cole were prominent vestry men. In 1571 the preacher John Huntingdon was paid 20*s*. for a sermon 'at the Request of Mr Langleye and of Mr Coolle'. In 1578 a preacher was paid for a sermon 'by the Commandement of MR Colston beinge mayor Mr LAngley & Mr Cole'. They were also pivotal in securing property for the church (BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a).
[199] GA, GDR 79, f. 119v.

disrupt, as seen within the parish of Harescombe and Pitchcombe in 1606. Following the deprivation of John Rowles as rector, Richard Smith, the vicar of nearby Brookthorpe was appointed to act as curate until an incumbent was appointed.[200] Smith had initially remained curate after the appointment of Peter Hogg as the new vicar. Following prior altercations at communion, where Rowles refused to be served by the new incumbent, and many attempts to block the reading of service within the church, he sought to disrupt Hogg's delivery of a sermon.[201] The Sunday following Easter Day, Hogg had caused the sermon bell to be rang for a sermon at Morning Prayer. According to Smith and divers parishioners Rowles,

> to hinder the sound of the sermon bell, did ring one of the other bells himself & doubting leas that would not prevayle tooke holte of the sermon bell rope & held the rope of the other bell allsoe and wold suffer neither of the bells to be runge, but sayde that the said Hogge sholde not preache there, nor reade service, & that he was noe lawefull Incumbent there but an Intruder & that he had Bothe solde that benefice of Harscombe & bought it.[202]

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[200] John Rowles was likely deprived due to his nonconformity. Although the order of deprivation does not appear to be extant, he was presented 'For preaching without licence & he doth not read the homilies & goeth not the perambulacion & useth not the signe of the Crosse in Baptisme' in 1599 (GDR 87, f.351r.). In 1605 he had also been presented for only administering the communion twice in the past twelve months, for preaching unlicensed, for not bidding holidays or fasting days, for not wearing the surplice, for teaching school unlicensed, for allowing the chancel to fall into disrepair, and for letting the parsonage barn fall down in his default. He was ordered to conform by Bishop Ravis and to subscribe to 'all other rites & Ceremonies of the churche' (GDR 97, f.26v).

[201] John Knowles had come to receive communion the Thursday before Easter. Peter Hogg, the new incumbent, came to preach and helped Richard Smith to administer the communion; Smith was to serve the bread and Hogg was to serve the wine. Knowles refused to receive the wine from Hogg, 'not respecting the reverence of the place nor of the sacrament which he then came to receave but in disturbance of others godlye disposed that were then assembled'. He was then accused of railing against Smith for suffering Hogg to administer the wine and that it was wrong to divide the sacrament. Smith then served Rowles and his wife, 'for quietness sake'. On several other occasions Rowles had withheld the keys to the church, interrupted services to demand to see Hogg's licence to preach, block entry to the pulpit, leant against the back of the church door to prevent Hogg's entry into the church, and even snatched the mandate to induct Hogg into the benefice out of the Archdeacon of Gloucester's hands (GDR 100, pp. 39-54).

[202] GDR 100, pp. 39-54.

In an effort to stifle the authority of the new incumbent, Rowles had sought to forcefully disrupt the parish's primary form of sonic communication. To prevent the sermon bell was a challenge for control of the pulpit. A similar event appears to have occurred at St. Mary Redcliffe in 1591 when 4*s*. was paid 'for goodman Owyns dischardg at Sante Astine for the complaynt of Master Gullyferd for shuting of the church doores & causinge the bell not to be Rong'.[203] Goodman Owen, perhaps the John Owen that was parish clerk in 1602, appears to have refused the city lecturer Robert Gulliford access to the church and refused to ring the bell to a sermon. These battles of the belfries were fought much more broadly, incorporating disputes between ministers and parishioners alike.

The Popular Rise of Ringing: Recreational and Liturgical

The increase in the provision of bells can be illustrated within the three adjacent churches of North Nibley, Dursley, and Wotton-under-Edge, within the Diocese of Gloucester, between 1639 and 1640. In 1639 North Nibley paid around £120 for 'the settinge up of two new Bells with their frames and furnitures, And for new frames for the former three Bells'.[204] Similarly, the adjacent parish of Dursley, and North Nibley's mother-parish church of Wotton-under-Edge, both expended around £140 each to set up rings of five bells in 1639 and 1640 respectively.[205] These significant amounts of expenditure, approximately equivalent to between £14,000 and £16,500 today, were funded largely by taxations and levies aimed at the parishioners; these increases in expenditure equate to almost five to eight times the

[203] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/b, p. 271.
[204] GA, P230/CW/2/1, unpaginated.
[205] GA, P124/CW/2/4, ff. 72v.-74.; GA, GDR 205.

average annual amounts contributed since 1630.[206] These three churches, clustered at the foot of the Cotswold escarpment, played only a small part in a much grander narrative and encapsulate the large-scale reform of bells within the two dioceses throughout the 1620s and 1630s.

The increased provision for bell ringing throughout Bristol in the early-seventeenth century is accompanied by an increase observable throughout the Diocese of Gloucester roughly between 1620 and 1640. This increase may be seen within Appendix 3, with many churches recasting the bells and increasing their peals to provide for the increasingly popular recreation of change ringing. Their popularity may be seen through many individuals' benefactions in both life and death. In 1605 John Tunckes, a pewterer from Gloucester, bequeathed £3 'towardes the reparacion of' St. Mary de Crypt within his last will and testament.[207] Meanwhile the churchwardens entered the receipt of the £3 as 'John Tounckes bequeast to the Church paid to buylde a lofte for the Ryngers in the Tower'.[208] In 1633 Sir Thomas Windsor, 6th Baron Windsor, gave £10 out of his rents as Lord of the Manor and patron of Minchinhampton 'toward the mackinge and new castinge of the belles'.[209] Generous donations 'of free gifte toward the settinge Upp of our bells' were also made by 45 individuals at Dursley in 1638. These gifts between £5 and 1*s*. were on top of a significant extra taxation made for the same purpose.[210] Ringing was widely popular, and many

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[206] These figures are based off the parochial income of Dursley and North Nibley. Dursley's average annual income from 1630 was around £16 15*s*. and North Nibley's was around £18 10*s*., giving percentage increases of 736% and 549% to the amounts raised for the bells.
[207] TNA, PROB 11/105/148.
[208] GA, P154/11, CW2/1, unpaginated.
[209] GA, P217, CW2/1, p. 186.
[210] GA, P , ff.73r.-73v.

churches and parishioners wished to extend their rings and provide for the new fashionable trend of change ringing.

Bell ringing swiftly became a popular activity and auditory sensation in late-Elizabethan and early-Stuart England; it had even become a recreational sport in London by at least 1598.[211] This popular social activity meant that most parishes had formed a close-knit group of ringers, relative to the number of bells the church owned. The numbers involved within several of Bristol's churches are occasionally observable. Six ringers rang consistently at Temple, seven to nine ringers rang at St. James, eight ringers consistently rang on the Queen's holiday at Christchurch, between eight and 12 ringers consistently rang at St. Thomas, and between 10 and 16 ringers consistently rang at St. Mary Redcliffe although this had risen to as many as 19 in the 1620s.[212] Occasionally visiting groups were paid to perform, likely due to their particular skill in the art. In 1592 All Saints, Bristol, paid 'Fyve Ayshton men' 8*s*. 6*d*. 'For Ringing uppon the queenes hollyday'.[213] Temple paid 1*s*. 'to William Eatton & his company for Ringinge divers tymes to drinck' in 1625, and St. Mary Redcliffe paid £1 'to Bedminster men for ringing on the kinges holiday' in 1639.[214] St. Thomas also paid 2*s*. 'to Nicholas & his Company for Ringinge on the queenes hollydaye' in

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[211] For more on recreational ringing and change ringing, see in particular C. Marsh, ''At it ding dong': recreation and religion in the English belfry, 1580-1640' in N. Mears and A. Ryrie, eds., *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain* (Farnham, 2013), pp. 152-171; C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 484-504.
[212] Six pairs of gloves were bought every year for the ringers prior to the Queen's holiday at Temple (BA, P.Tem/Ca/1 -15/1). At St. James, seven ringers rang for the Queen's holiday in 1571, eight rang in 1572, nine rang in 1573, At Christchurch eight ringers were paid to ring for the Queen's holiday in 1573, 1581, and 1582 (BA, P.St J/ChW/1/a). At St. Thomas, eight ringers rang in 1581 and 12 ringers rang in 1574 (BA, P.St T/ChW/12-18). At St. Mary Redcliffe 10 ringers rang on the Queen's holiday in 1578, 13 ringers rang in 1576, 14 ringers rang in 1571, 15 rang in 1575, and 16 in 1572 (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a-b).
[213] BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a.
[214] BA, P.Tem/Ca/11/1a; BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/d, p. 291.

1625.[215] Societies of keen bell ringers, such as The Antient Society of St. Stephen's Ringers in Bristol, were also formed and active throughout the period.[216] These societies bred camaraderie which may be seen within the last will and testament of William Eyton, a yeoman of St. Stephen's in Bristol, dated 1636. Eyton bequeathed £4

> to such of my neighbours and parishioners that doe use to Ringe att the Church and bee of the Company of Ringers of Saint Stephens parrishe towards the increase of theire Stock and continuance of theire good fellowshipp.[217]

Those being paid to perform by the churches were likely the best ringers within the community, or elite groups of ringers, that were able to perform to the best ability according to each church's resources. The total number of individuals that rang recreationally must have been much greater.

Pealing for pleasure became a popular past-time and had to be regulated by many churches. In 1614 Cirencester's vestry ordered 'that if Anie Strainger be desirous to heare the bells for plesure That he geve three shillings for every peale' and no peal was to ring after 8 o'clock at night nor before 4 o'clock in the morning.[218] Recreational ringing was even

[215] This was no doubt the company of bellringers attached to the tanner Thomas Nicholas who helped many of the city's churches in their regular repairs and maintenance to their bells (BA, P.St T/ChW/58). Nicholas is described as a tanner at Christchurch in 1608 whilst fitting baldricks (BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/b, unpaginated). He also helped maintain and repair bells at All Saints, St. Mary Redcliffe, and Temple. He was sexton at St. Mary Redcliffe between 1603 and 1619, and was paid as both clerk and sexton between 1620 and 1625 (BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/c-d).
[216] It is impossible to ascertain the date of formation of this society. The date 1620 which is affixed to their name is most certainly incorrect, only being the date attributed to the earliest extent ordinances. Tradition has it that the skill of St. Stephen's ringers impressed Elizabeth I so much on her visit in 1574 that she promised to grant a charter, which was not fulfilled until 1620 by James I. It is likely that the society originated as a Guild of Bellringers prior to the Reformation, perhaps coinciding with the building of the tower around 1470 (H. E. Roslyn, *The History of the Antient Society of St. Stephen's Ringers Bristol* (Bristol, 1928)).
[217] TNA, PROB 11/172/383.
[218] Of that 3*s*., 12*d*. was to go to the churchwardens 'for and toward the mayntenance of the ropes', 6*d*. was to go to the clerk, 18*d*. was to go 'to the Ringers and every Townseman' for every peal (GA, P86/1, VE 2/1, f. 43r.).

popular amongst senior clergy. In 1620 Dean William Laud at Gloucester Cathedral ordered 'that if any prebendary of this church shall in the absence of Mr. Deane desire eyther for himselfe or his friends to have a peale, he shall acquainte the subdeane or senior prebendary then at home with his desire, but in case they or either of them refuse his motion it shallbe lawful for the same prebendary of his owne authority to cawse the bells to be runge'.[219]

This popularity occasionally led to outbursts, perhaps often fuelled by alcohol, of unwanted ringing.[220] At Kingswood in 1610, Henry Welsteed and two other boys, Thomas Ine and John Shipton, were presented for 'Janglinge the Bells [...] the Christmas last past at unreasonable tyme in the night'.[221] In 1638 Richard Capenhurst and Richard Knight were presented for going into the church at Saul around midnight on Christmas day and 'ringeinge the Bells disorderly, sweareinge and curseinge and breakeinge downe a seate to the ground'.[222] In 1638 Charles Fennell of Wheatenhurst was presented 'for ringeinge the Bells at unseasonable times and overturneinge them & Beinge reproved for the same replyed that he would breake them all in peeces and then the parrishoners should buy new and bad a fart for one in the church'.[223]

The popularity of bell ringing had become such an issue in urban centres that the city councils attempted to regulate it, particularly within times of plague. In 1636, just as Bristol's civic authorities were attempting to shut down the city's fairs and to quarantine all

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[219] GCL, Chapter Act Book 1, f. 31r.; transcribed in S. Eward, ed., *Gloucester Cathedral Chapter Act Book, 1616-1687*, p. 19.

[220] Marsh provides numerous of such examples where individuals were punished for not ceasing as requested by a church authority (C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, pp. 485-490).

[221] GA, GDR 111.

[222] GA, GDR 201, f.6r.

[223] GA, GDR 135, unpaginated.

individuals and goods outside of the city gates for the space of 30 days, the funeral knells were limited by the council. They ordered that no knell was to be rung any longer than two hours, neither were the bells to ring for longer than two hours before and after the corpse was interred. An individual was also restricted to having their knells at only one church unless they were to be buried in another parish from wherever they died.[224]

The sheer length of ringing at burials within Bristol is hinted at within St. Mary Redcliffe's accounts, with the payment of 12*s*. made to the sexton William Sankie 'for ringinge 13 hourse for Master Rogers'; the churchwardens evidently wanted to provide a fitting farewell to Robert Rogers, a merchant, former mayor and alderman, who died in 1633 and left benevolences to the parishes of St. Mary Redcliffe, St. Thomas, and Temple.[225] Similarly Humphrey Andrewes' last will and testament, proved in 1638 but written in 1636, was presumably written prior to this order's creation as it dictates 'that the Bell shall ring from eight of the Clocke in the morning until eight in the evening on the daye of my funerall at the parish Church of Christchurch aforesayd whereof I was baptised'.[226] Gone were the days were funerary ringing was deemed superstitious and many early reformers' wishes of only one 'short' peal before and after the funeral.

[224] Bristol's council ordered that 'all knells & funeralls within this Cittie the Clerkes of every parish by the direcion of the Churchwardens of each parish shal observe this forme and manner in ringing hereafter following that is to saie noe knell shalbe runge longer then two howers, and at the time of the funerall to ring two howers before the Corps be brought to be interred & two howers after the enterment, and noe longer, and that at one Church onlyy unles the Corps be buried in anie other parish then where he dyeth, and then in that case one hower before and another after where the Bodie is buried & noe more' (BA, M/BCC/CCP/1/3, f.68r.

[225] BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/d, p. 193; TNA, PROB 11/163/452.

[226] TNA, PROB 11/176/435. His request for particularly extraordinary ringing is particularly intriguing given his bequest to maintain the organ at Christchurch (see pp. 267-269).

Rising Early-Stuart Provision: Bells, 'the Beauty of Holiness', and Parochial Competition

Prior to discussion on ringing techniques and technology, Marsh states that the increasing level of investment into bells during the early-seventeenth century was 'one aspect of a broader trend towards higher expenditure on the fabric of the church' without further elucidation.[227] This is undoubtably true. For example, many of the developments within Bristol's increasing provision of bells in the early-seventeenth century occur within the context of a growing movement emphasising the material fabric and ornamentation of the church. These popular forms of investment would have undoubtably been encouraged by ministerial and diocesan authorities with such preferences. However, the influence of diocesan authorities in implementing such change has often been underplayed. In 1639, for example, the decaying frames and bells of Wotton-under-Edge were replaced and repaired 'by order from the right worshipfull the Judge of this Courte as alsoe by an unanimous consent of the major parte of the said parishe'.[228] The subsequent work incorporated the making of new frames and the acquisition of a new bell, ultimately costing the significant sum of £140. The additional provision for bells was being encouraged by ecclesiastical authorities and being ordered by the courts.

Hill has noted how, in his 1624 visitation articles for the Diocese of Durham, Bishop Richard Neile enquired whether each church's 'bells [were] in tune'.[229] This is the first occasion where bells were not enquired to be simply kept, preserved, and maintained in any of the articles or injunctions from 1536. This addition shows that proper bell maintenance to

[227] C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, p. 462.
[228] GA, GDR 205, unpaginated.
[229] R. Hill, 'The Reformation of the Bells in Early Modern England', p. 120; K. Fincham, ed., *Visitation Articles of the Early Stuart Church, Volume I*, p. 85.

Neile included their relative tonal quality to the other bells within the ring. Hill correctly notes how Neile's enthusiasm towards the aesthetic and material aspects of worship, earning him his characterisation as the 'great patron of the Arminian faction' during the 1620s, may be detected within this brief article.[230] However, he does not show how the influence exerted by Neile and his court process may have effected change throughout his diocese.

The records of Gloucester's consistory courts show that there were a number of churches presented in the late-1630s for their bells not being in tune. For example, in 1637 Oxenton were, amongst several faults, presented to the consistory court for that 'One of the bells beeing the first is out of tune'. Wapley were similarly presented that year as 'the bells are not in tune' and in 1639 Wheatenhurst were ordered by the chancellor to 'make the belles tuneable'.[231] The courts were increasingly concerned in the bells' states. It was no longer sufficient for them to be working and maintained; they were to be in tune with each other. Perhaps the greatest example of such enforcement is at North Nibley. The churchwardens' accounts vividly describe the authorities' influence in the investment of around £120 towards expanding their ring. Their defaults in the bells were initially detected and they appeared before the chancellor in 1638. However, they clearly struggled to carry out the work as they appeared in court on three further separate occasions before the chancellor, archdeacon, and bishop. They eventually completed the necessary improvements in 1640.[232] These orders came during a period of greater scrutiny regarding

[230] R. Hill, 'The Reformation of the Bells in Early Modern England', p. 121.
[231] GA, GDR 202, unpaginated; GA, GDR 201, 29v.
[232] Their churchwardens' accounts show that they were forced to pay 8*s*. 2*d*. in fees when they were called to the Chancellor's court in Painswick in 1638 'aboute the bell'. They laid out a further 2*s*. at a further court day 'when we went to glocester about the bell and theare was longer tyme given'. In 1639 they were again called

the church's fabric. Within the same year the parish was required to send two certificates to 'Master Archdeacon, about the takinge downe of seates and settinge up of the Screene'.[233] This example is typical of those throughout the court records; parishes were presented for their bells being cracked, out of tune, and needing bell ropes at the same time as they were presented for wanting screens, pulpit cloths and cushions, surplices and for their communion tables to be railed in.

The reformation of bells was increasingly being encouraged and enforced by Bishop Godfrey Goodman and Archdeacon Hugh Robinson. Their support for such provision can be seen in their own personal contributions towards the setting up of the bells at Dursley in 1639. Goodman's theology is uncertain, but he was certainly an avid supporter of the ceremonial reforms introduced by Laud and the concentration on the material fabric of the Church.[234] Robinson, the incumbent at Dursley from 1634, has also been labelled as a moderate favourer of the 'Laudian' reforms.[235] Both Goodman and Robinson endorsed the

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before the Chancellor 'about the Bells' forced to pay 1*s*. 9*d*. They were later forced to lay out another 1*s*. 4*d*. 'for fees of appearance concerninge the Bells'. On 8 October they were called before the Bishop, paying 3*s*. 6*d*. 'in goeinge to the Lord Bishopp about the Bells, in puttinge in of our presentment, and the hire of a horse'. This appears not to have been enough either, for they paid a further 1*s*. 'in expences at Dursley when wee went to Doctor Robinson [Archdeacon of Gloucester] about our Bells for the obtayninge of longer tyme or to put it off'. They were eventually set up by 1640 (GRO P230 CW 2/1, unpaginated).

[233] GRO P230 CW 2/1, unpaginated.

[234] See pp. 89-90.

[235] Robinson was certainly preferred under Laud and was a chaplain to Charles I (Rosemary O'Day, 'Hugh Robinson (1583/4-1655)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008)). Robinson, as incumbent, did ensure that Dursley's interior made the swift material alterations demanded in 1636, paying 3*s*. 6*d*. 'for 2 postes and settinge up the Rayle at the Communion Table' and 8*d*. 'for a payre of Jemells for the Raile Doore that goethe before the Communion Table', despite a large contingency of the hotter sort of Protestant. There was also a greater proportion of investment into the fabric of the church in subsequent years, particularly focussed upon the chancel. The significant sum of £7 4*s*. was paid in 1637 for working on the chancel wall and elsewhere in the church. The church was tiled for over £8, glazed, with the chancel potentially extended in 1641 (GA, P124/CW/2/4, ff.63r.-80r). His support for episcopacy, and likely the Laudian reforms, ultimately saw Robinson 'seized at his living of Dursley' at the outbreak of Civil War by the godly parishioners, 'set on horseback with his face to the horse's tail, and thence hurried away to Gloucester prison' (Quoted in John Blunt, *Dursley and its Neighbourhood* (Dursley, 1877), p. 61; Arnold Matthews, *Walker Revised: Being a Revision of John Walker's 'Sufferings of the clergy during the Grand Rebellion 1642-60* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 176-177).

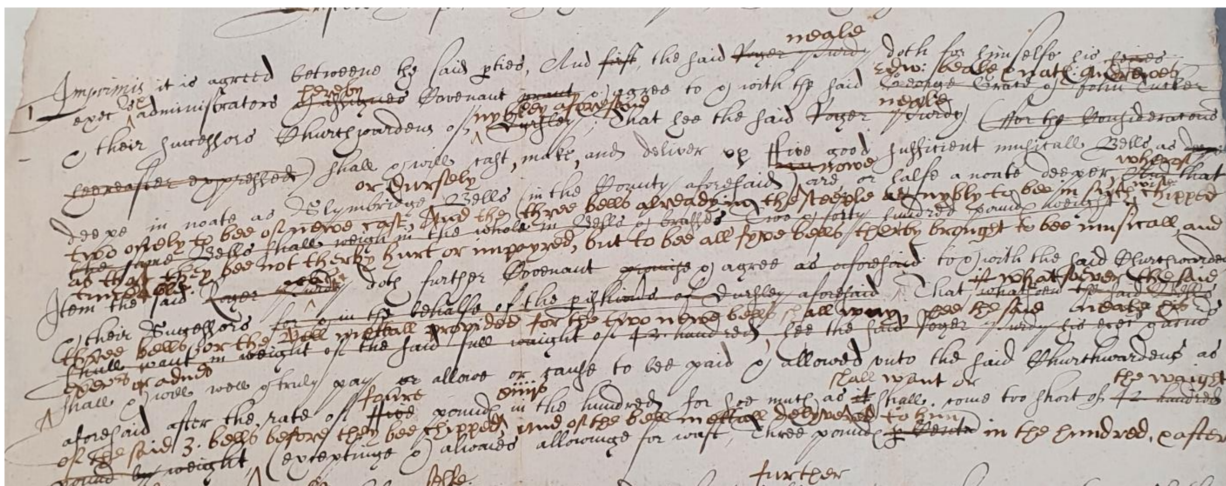
bells' augmentation, both paying sums 'of Free gifte toward the settinge Upp of our [Dursley's] belles' in 1639. Their names appear at the foot of the accounts, with the churchwardens receiving £5 'of my lord Bishop' and £2 10*s*. 'of Doctor Robinson'.[236] The setting up of a new fine ring of bells, rather than simply recasting their sole one previously, may be evidence that the moderate Robinson was carefully introducing material edifications where the least controversy may be had; bells were popular amongst those of most religious identities.

It is pertinent to note here the competitive nature of parishes concerning their bells. This competition may perhaps be best viewed within the aforementioned cases of Dursley and North Nibley. If North Nibley were to be coerced into providing new bells, they were to have the best in the area. As may be seen in Figure 10, when they drew up their covenants with the bellfounder Henry Neale, they evidently made a copy of Dursley's original covenants with Roger Purdue and used them as an example to make their own, for a copy of Dursley's original covenants exists having been scribbled over in what was to become a draft form of Nibley's covenants. Dursley's original covenant required Purdue to 'cast, make, and deliver up Five good sufficient musicall Bells as deepe in noate as Slymbridge Bells [...] are, or

[236] GA, P124/CW/2/4, ff.73v.

halfe a noate deeper'.[237] Although evidence of Slimbridge's bells do not exist, Dursley clearly wished to have a superior ring and deemed depth of note to equate to superiority.[238]

Figure 10. Part of North Nibley's Draft Articles of Covenants with Henry Neale, Bellfounder (1639).[239]



Nibley's covenants, built upon Dursley's previous set, go even further by adding Dursley's name; Neale was required to 'cast, make and deliver up five good sufficient musicall Bells as deepe in noate as Slimbridge or Dursley Bells [...] nowe are, or halfe a noate deeper'.[240] This

[237] The bells and brasses were also to weigh 4200lbs in total (a combined weight of 37-2-0). Purdue was delivered the bell metal of the great bell (0-20-38) and the bell metal provided by John Knowles, a pewter of Bristol, that the parish had already agreed upon for £102 5*s*. Purdue was to be paid £27 15*s*. for his work as soon as the work was completed and deemed 'right & tuneable', with Purdue finding 'all manner of materialls & necessaries at his & their owne proper costes & charges for the fitt & convenient hanging & ringing of them (exceptinge only ropes)'. He was required to finish the work within two months, and was to provide 'two able & understandinge men that have skill & Judgement in bell musicke & in the sufficiency of Carpenters worke & Iron worke', of which he could choose one and the churchwardens the other. He was also to receive 12*d*. for every pound of metal that was added to the bells over and above the agreed weight. Purdue was also bound to recast all such bells at his own cost should any happen to break of 'fall untuneable' through his default within the year (GA, D9125/1/9779).

[238] The treble that was present prior to the current bell that was recast in 1911 by Llewellins & James was cast in 1631 and was likely a bell cast by Roger Purdue himself. It is possible that the whole peal was recast by him around this time (H. Ellacombe, *The Church Bells of Gloucestershire*, p. 63).

[239] GA, D9125/1/9779.

[240] Henry Neale, however, was bound to new cast only two, with 'the three bells already in the steeple at Nibley to bee in such wise chipped as that they bee not thereby hurt or impayred'. Nevertheless, all five bells were 'to bee musicall and tuneable' (GA, D9125/1/9778).

competition, and the sheer amount of expenditure involved, show that these were largely popular endeavours for additional musical provision within the context of increased expenditure on church furnishings, regardless of the coercion required through the courts. A church's bells were part of communal identity and could imbue a sense of authority upon the soundscape.[241]

Nevertheless, there is further evidence of reform that coincides with the movement that wished for greater emphasis on the performance of the liturgy: the ecclesiastical authorities appear to have required each church to purchase a Saints bell. Upper Slaughter, for example, were presented to the consistory court as 'They want a Sauce bell' in 1638.[242] The Archdeacon of Gloucester between 1635 and 1642, Hugh Robinson, was instrumental in such reform. In 1638, a year prior to their recasting of the bells in the tower, Dursley laid out £3 19s 6d 'for the Santes Bell' at the apparent behest of the now resident incumbent, Archdeacon Hugh Robinson. Whilst this bell had been reformed from its previous practice to become a sermon bell within many parishes, contemporary literature indicates that the 'Sance' bell was also reappropriated for accenting and announcing numerous other practices also, such as calling for catechising, lectures, and prayer.[243] Furthermore, contemporary

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[241] For many, bells helped to define their communal identity. A court case in 1626, over the status of the church in Owlpen, even shows that simply owning a bell was a marker of status. Asked whether he believed the church in Owlpen to be a chapelry annexed to Newton Bagpath or a parish by its own right, the deponent John Sparkes answered that it is commonly taken 'to be a Chappell and no parishe churche of it selfe but annexed & a member of Newton Bagpath aforesaid and the reason he is perswaded the same to be true is because there hath not beene any bell greate or small hanging or sett in the said chappell all within these Forty yeares past but saieth that the inhabitantes of owlpen aforesaid (before they had a Bell) did use a whistle in a staffe to call the peple dwelling in that village or hamlett to prayers & they did come thither to prayers accordingly'. This evidence was provided by a further two individuals. The solitary bell here, rather than a makeshift whistle to call to prayer, was a marker of communal identity and status (GA, GDR 159).
[242] GA, GDR 139.
[243] Irena Larking, 'Renovating the Sacred: The Re-formations of the English Parish Church in the Diocese of Norwich, c.1450-1662' (PhD thesis, The University of Queensland, 2013).

literature suggests that this bell was also reformed to announce daily Morning Prayer. In 1630 Nathaniel Richards wrote:

> Thinke Heav'ns sweete, silver, Saints-Bell, toles all in,
>
> To fright thee ev'ry Morne from uggly sinne.[244]

It is clear there was a particular investment in daily Morning Prayer within the diocese. Bishop Goodman's first advertisement within his 1631 visitation articles implore

> that every incumbent or curate, indeavour (as far forth as he can) especially in market townes, to reade short morning prayers at six a clock before men goe to their labours.[245]

Evidence of their use as communicating a time for daily service is also provided through Dursley's churchwarden accounts, where the parish clerk Moris Lewse was suddenly paid 3*s*. in 1637 for 'his paynes more than ordinary for towling mornings & else'.[246] The function of 'Saints' bells was therefore reformed; the bell rang to communicate either the gathering of a congregation for prayer, or to notify the parishioners that Morning Service was occurring and that they should similarly pray themselves. The bell had become a 'holy bell', deliberately intended to contrast with the growing secularisation of the bells within the tower.

Bell ringing had become increasingly popular throughout the Elizabethan and early-Stuart regions. However, the additional provision, improvements in technology, and the

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[244] Nathanael Richards, *The celestiall publican A sacred poem* (London: 1630).
[245] Godfrey Goodman, *Articles to be enquired of in the third visitation of the Right Reverend father in God, Godfrey, Lord Bishop of Gloucester, holden anno 1631* (Oxford, 1631).
[246] GRO P124 CW 2/4; Equally, this bell could have been reformed to serve as the 'Priests bell': used to ring when the minister was visibly making his way to the church.

financial incursions they produced were not universally accepted and enjoyed. Conflict over taxations or levies imposed by churchwardens and vestries brought such hostility to the fore. In 1628, for example, there was several parishioners from Frampton Cotterell refused to pay their rate, disputing that some of the casting done by bellfounder John Lott and the new frames set up by Covant in 1627 were unnecessary, even though the consistory court initially ordered the repair of the church's bells in 1627. The churchwardens presented several individuals to consistory court for not contributing to the repairing of their bells in September 1628. John Lott, the bellfounder from Warminster, found himself as a deponent and had to describe his findings and work. He said that

> the third bell in the parishe churche of Frampton Cotterell was then Broken and the fowerth bell there was faulty in dullnes and the treble bell was to sharpe and not tuneable nor fitting to be made a third bell, for she was not raleable to the old second bell there.[247]

The churchwardens, parson, and 'most of the parishioners there' agreed to cast those three bells and make them four, so that there were five bells in total, with the uncasted second bell becoming the fourth bell. Similarly, the bellhanger William Covant, in his own deposition, had told the consistory that he was willing to simply frame, stock, and wheel the fifth bell for 40*s*., and he was able to fit all the other bells set up, restocked with new wheels, within the old frames 'very sufficient to be runge with the first bell' for a further £3. It was the churchwardens who then asked what his charge was for making a completely new frame. He answered he could do so 'very artificially' for £14, with the churchwardens finding

[247] GA, GDR 168, unpaginated.

the timber and iron work. Since the work took place William Kemys and William Brown, gents., went to see one of the churchwardens, John Poole, demanding to know why they had 'putt the said parishioners to so much unecessary charge as they did aboute the castinge of the belles making a newe bell and newe frames to hang them upon'. Kemys also suggested that the newly cast bells were 'not so good as the Fower bells were before because great parte of the Bell mettall was sold [...] to the impoverishing of the said churche'. He claimed that levies were not part of the custom of the parish and up until 36 years ago church ales and the benevolence of parishioners were the primary form of gaining additional income. Moreover, Kemys explains that Sherman would not pay as he believed that he was over-rated and 'because he would not have the church goodes dimished'. He would have paid the rate if a new bell was bought in addition to the four.[248] Similar refusals to contribute evidently occurred at Stroud and Painswick in 1631, at Tewkesbury in 1634, and at Wotton-under-Edge in 1639.[249] Many of these refusals to contribute were founded on two objections. Like at Wotton, many parishioners found that the making of the new bell 'was an unnecessarye Chardge' and that the rates drawn up to finance them were done so unfairly, 'unequall', or 'not proporcionable'.[250] Without further study it is difficult to assess whether any of these cases were also grounded in conflicting religious identities.

[248] GA, GDR 168, unpaginated.
[249] Thomas Bisse, Richard Yunn, Henry Hulinges, and Samuel Goughe were presented to the consistory for not paying their rates towards the casting of the bells at Stroud. Richard Holland was presented for the same at Painswick (GA, GDR 176). Edward Wakeman, gent., the schoolmaster Thomas Chester, Anna Slaughter, Mary Hoare, and Hugo Saunders were all presented for the same at Tewkesbury in 1634 (GA, GDR 187).
[250] Parishioners such as Edward Hopkins found the additional bell at Wotton 'an unnecessarye chardge and now wayes requisite, for that there were before the same time Fower suffucuent bells in the same churche & the makeing of a new bell was not only for the present an unnecssarye burden laid on the parishe, but alsoe will continue merely as a greate chardge still to the parishe' (GA, GDR 205, unpaginated).

Conclusion

Throughout the period, church bells continued to be used to signal and communicate a variety of messages. They were still being used as alarms, as the prolific memorialist vicar of noted in 1628.[251] Bells also continued to call to prayer, to ring for the departing and departed, and to commemorate occasional events. They had also developed other practices, such as signalling the start of a psalm, and ringing to annually commemorate national Protestant holidays. The advent and growth of recreational ringing gradually led to the more secular aspects of bell ringing. Bell ringing had been a popular audible experience of worship throughout Bristol and Gloucestershire throughout the sixteenth century, yet the secularisation of the belfries and the national trend of greater financial investment within church fabric within the seventeenth century had made bell ringing increasingly popular throughout early-Stuart England.

The post-reformation bells within Bristol and Gloucestershire largely adhered to national concerns and fashions. The practices and experiences of ringing church bells varied widely, depending on factors such a church's financial constraints or the religious identity of the minister. However, superstitious practices of bell ringing were finally restricted and observed their first movement of reform around 1570 with the development of a new Protestant calendar of thanksgiving and celebration. A second period of reform came with the advent of new technology; change ringing acted as an agent for the laity's involvement within an activity originally intended, and still primarily for, worship. This coincided with a

[251] Arlingham's vicar Henry Childe reflected within the parish's register book that on 9 July 1628, between 10 and 11 o'clock at night 'there was a fearefull Crye and alarum of the landing of the Spaniards at Millford Haven which raised the alarum to sownde and the great Bells to be runge out in most parishes adjoyning but we were more afraid than hurte' (GA, P18/IN/1/1, f. 58r.).

movement of greater investment into the material fabric of the church and stricter enforcement of maintenance to the bells in the early-seventeenth century. A combination of increasing civic and secular ringing in a time of increasing political unrest led to the bells being rang as propaganda, creating an additional dimension of confessional and civil identity and tension. Whilst the ring of bells was being used to commemorate events, call to worship and toll for the dead, the growing secularisation of such ringing had led the Saints bells within many churches to become a 'holy bell': a bell to solemnise and highlight the Protestant ideals of sermons and prayer.

Conclusion

This thesis has examined the changing experiences of worship, and particularly the nature and role of music within it, throughout the Diocese of Gloucester and the city of Bristol during the long reformation period (to c.1642). The particular focus upon the development of music within worship has identified many agents that were active in changing experiences of worship. As a regional study, it has naturally augmented existing scholarship of local religious, political, economic, and musical history. However, it has also presented many implications for our understanding of these themes on a wider, national, scale. Through focussing on the developing soundscape of worship, it has shown the unique nature of each church's experience, highlighted how far experiences could differ within a relatively small geographical area, and posited numerous factors into why particular experiences were expressed within certain communities. Music did not have a straightforward relationship with religious identity.

Chapter 1 focussed on how a vast array of factors could influence changes in the experiences of worship and potentially help to fashion individual and communal religious identities. Whilst not aiming to be either a definitive history of local religious change, or a comprehensive list of all possible factors (and combinations of factors) in conditioning changes and variations in the experiences of worship, it does indicate the most prominent agents and explores the relationships between the regions' economic fortunes, institutions, and people. These religious changes were rarely due to a single factor, but often due to a combination of religious, economic, social, and both national and local political factors. Any

change in the experience of worship was often more complex than existing scholarship has hitherto appreciated.

Firstly, it illustrated the highly contrasting economic fortunes and social structures of Bristol, Gloucester, and Gloucestershire.[1] Bristol's economy was flourishing throughout the period, predominantly through their involvement in lucrative, if appallingly exploitative, transatlantic commerce. Many areas throughout the Diocese of Gloucester were also enjoying relative prosperity. However, the city of Gloucester was floundering. These conflicting fortunes were reflected within the areas' churches and facilitated, both directly and indirectly, many of the changes in experiences of worship. A community's income often directly enabled or limited their experiences of worship in three ways. Firstly, as clerical appointments were largely dependent on a community's tithes, or the value granted towards a stipend, graduate clergymen and preachers were naturally attracted to much more lucrative cures within a flourishing urban community, such as Bristol, or at a wealthy country parish. Particularly within Elizabeth's reign, this had clear implications in the ability of poorer churches to recruit and maintain able preaching ministers, a requisite feature for reformed worship. On a higher level, the relatively poor livings allocated to the bishops of both Bristol and Gloucester meant that it was often a struggle to obtain someone to fill the office. There was a relatively high turnover of incumbents, and those appointed were often inexperienced and non-resident, relying on another office to sustain themselves. Secondly, a church with a greater amount of sustainable income was more likely to invest a greater proportion into church maintenance, fabric, and ornaments, or reinvest profits to secure

[1] For the regions' financial differences, see pp. 34-51.

further financial sustainability. Finally, the more prosperous an individual or community was, the greater the amount of available discretionary income available to augment church funds. A proportion of this income often found its way into their local churches either through benevolence or through impromptu taxes or levies imposed upon parishioners by the ecclesiastical courts or the vestries themselves. Similarly, the more prosperous a community, the more an individual was potentially able to contribute or bequeath, and the more able they were to bear the additional burdens of extraordinary expenditure. However, economic prosperity alone did not dictate how communities should invest their money to create their preferred experience of worship. Financial fortunes alone did not create cultural and religious identity.

A key factor in the formation of a community's religious identity was sustained, strong, and effective ecclesiastical leadership. Any change in the national religious policy depended on its implementation at a diocesan, and ultimately parochial, level.[2] Whilst their implementation primarily depended on the determination and effectiveness of the diocese's bishop, a diocese's ecclesiastical institutions often proved essential in enacting any reform in practice. Evidence from Gloucester's consistory court has shown how the corrupt Elizabethan institution foundered under weak leadership, and ultimately failed to adequately reform practices throughout the diocese in the first half of Elizabeth's reign.[3] Elsewhere in the diocese, however, this weak authority enabled the propagation of networks of nonconformist beliefs within clergy and communities. This was particularly evident within

[2] For national religious policy, see pp. 51-55.
[3] See C. Haigh, 'Success and Failure in the English Reformation', *Past & Present*, 173 (2001), pp. 28-49, particularly pp. 35-37. For Gloucester's consistory court, see pp. 55-62.

more urban communities, including many of the market towns within the Severn Valley and the city of Gloucester itself. Conversely, as seen at the appointment of Bishop Thomas Ravis, effective reform could be induced through a cohesive, determined, and consistent court.[4]

Cathedrals, their deans, and their chapters, were able to offer a relatively unique experience of worship within their own services. However, they were also able to influence other churches through their role as mother churches within their dioceses, via their preachers, and through various methods of patronage. Cathedrals were increasingly used to set an example of an idealised practice of worship towards the diocese's parishes. However, this often did not have quite the desired effect in terms of influence. For example, when William Laud became Dean of Gloucester Cathedral in 1616, instantly moving the communion table 'altarwise' and immediately placing much greater importance within the material fabric and ornaments of the church, he simultaneously managed to embolden those few supporters within the city and diocese, and to antagonise the significant networks of those that favoured a more Reformed experience of worship. Such communities throughout the diocese responded by promptly reinforcing their own practices at the communion table. Cathedrals had the ability to influence the experiences of worship for both individuals and communities, either in encouraging practices or by inciting conflict.[5]

Outside of ecclesiastical institutions, civic institutions were capable of holding resolute communal opinions towards certain forms of worship. Through their largely democratic proceedings, they were able to exert considerable influence in imposing their collective preferred form of worship throughout their jurisdiction. Both city councils of

[4] For Bishop Thomas Ravis of Gloucester, see pp. 58-60.
[5] For the ability of cathedrals to influence practices of worship outside of their precinct, see pp. 63-67.

Bristol and Gloucester became increasingly concerned with their respective cities' ecclesiastical affairs. One of their approaches was to influence local experiences of worship through the acquisition of presentation rights, enabling them to present their preferred candidate to the crucial ministerial role. Bristol, in particular, seized their opportunity to purchase multiple advowsons in the 1620s to become patrons of the majority of parishes within the city. However, the predominant form in which they influenced local experiences of worship was through the appointment and patronage of city lecturers. Both cities were originally concerned in forming a godly commonwealth, actively hiring staunch Calvinists as successive lecturers. As tensions between political and ecclesiastical factions increased throughout the early-seventeenth century, the forms of worship propounded by the civic leadership of Bristol and Gloucester increasingly diverged. Bristol hired multiple city lecturers, aiming to negotiate themselves and their citizens through any potential theological conflict, appointing largely conformist clergymen that spanned across the clerical spectrum to their newly acquired parishes. Bristol's corporation were using their influence to promote order and conformity. On the other hand, Gloucester used the same forms of influence to maintain and support their preferred godly form of worship. This support propelled them into direct conflict with Archbishop Laud and the monarchy. These contrasting positions were ultimately reflected in Bristol's reluctance to declare support for either the royalist or parliamentary cause, prior to the Civil Wars, and Gloucester's swift declaration for parliament.[6]

[6] For civic authorities' ability to influence practices of worship within their jurisdiction, see pp. 68-87.

Various people, both as individuals and collectively as communities, were able to influence the experience of worship to varying degrees. Unsurprisingly, the diocese's bishop held the most authority and ability to enact widespread reform should they have the disposition and ability to do so. An effective bishop, such as Bishop Thomas Ravis of Gloucester and Bishop Robert Wright of Bristol, was able to shape their diocese through actively overseeing their ecclesiastical courts, granting and revoking licences to teach and preach, and informally using their influence and authority to persuade the appointment of their own recommendations as clergy.[7] At a local level, ministers and preachers held the most influence. There are countless examples where the succession of a minister brought about a change in practices of worship to reflect their own personal beliefs or preferences.[8] Patrons of churches similarly held considerable influence in their ability to appoint ministers sympathetic to their preferences. Vestries were similarly able to influence their parish's form of worship to varying degrees. To one extreme, vestries such as that at St. James, Bristol, managed to obtain the advowson to their parish and appoint their own minister. However, it was far more common for a vestry to exert considerably less influence, confined to consulting with their minister over what practices should be enacted. They were, however, the parish's chief executors and were able to exert influence on exactly how expenditure was best raised and spent.[9] Individuals were able to influence worship in a similar manner, particularly if you were of a good economic standing, through bequeathing material objects or by way of funding education, sermons, or lectures within a community.[10]

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[7] For Thomas Ravis' influence as Bishop of Gloucester, see pp. 58-60. For Robert Wright's influence as Bishop of Bristol, see pp. 91-96.
[8] For a minister's ability to influence changes in worship, see pp. 96-101.
[9] For vestries and churchwardens' potential to influence change, see pp. 106-114.
[10] For individuals' potential to influence changes in worship, see pp. 115-121.

Networks of individuals with similar religious convictions, often fundamentally connected to social identities, were often able to build strong support in areas of supportive, sympathetic, or particularly weak ecclesiastical authority. Should these networks span the most influential members within their community, or the patrons of their church, they were often able to appoint their own minister or lecturers. Networks naturally often centred around a minister or preacher, or a community of like-minded clergymen, and so the fundamental way for a community to be able to observe their preferred form of worship was to obtain and appoint their own ministers and preachers. Whilst difficult to ascertain how commonly these networks were able to do so without further study, a particularly large network spanning across both lay and ministerial communities may be observed surrounding Sir William Guise, which was able to sustain sympathetic ministers through its patronage, and appointments as chaplains, lecturers, and ministers to multiple churches.[11] Through active ministry these cultures were propagated, and more networks were forged. These networks often existed within areas that had concentrations of certain trades, existed across the spectrum of religious identities, and were often strong enough to support and maintain their preferred forms of worship. If their convictions were strong enough, and they had either the support of the local ecclesiastical authorities or were within the jurisdiction of a particularly inept or weak authority, they were often able to disrupt, undermine, and ultimately threaten the order of the mandated orthodox church.[12] If a community controlled both their vestry and their pulpit, their preferences in experiences of worship was almost guaranteed. Only the most determined action through an ecclesiastical court could alter

[11] For the emergence of networks as influencing practices of worship, see pp. 102-106.
[12] See, for example, the network that surrounded John Workman on pp. 72-80, 102-103, 113-114.

such practices, should they be deemed to be contrary to the acts, injunctions, and canon of the Church. Networks of godly patrons, ministers, and patrons were able to thrive within many of Gloucestershire's clothing market towns with little threat of intervening diocesan authority. Similar networks are observable in the larger urban environments of Bristol and Gloucester. Many within Gloucester, particularly amongst the civic leadership, appear to have supported and cultivated godly networking within and around the city, whilst Bristol's networks seem less prominent. This is likely due to a mixture of stronger local ecclesiastical authority, the city's economic success, the prominence of contrasting networks, and the ultimate corporate desire for religious compromise and order.

Chapters 2, 3, and 4 focussed on changes in the soundscape of post-reformation worship within the specified regions. First and foremost, the study has demonstrated that the soundscape varied vastly between individual churches and areas, depending on the inclinations of the laity, ministry, or diocesan authority. Whilst singing, organs, and bells, were treated separately in three thematic chapters in, singing and organs often had a shared fate. Ultimately, this thesis reinforces the position of post-revisionist scholars, such as Willis, Marsh, and Craig, that the evidence for music within the Elizabethan Church is more optimistic than previously believed.[13] Whilst many churches did abandon their choirs and organs throughout Elizabeth's reign, many found ways to maintain musical practices and reform their use within the new liturgy that would be deemed acceptable to the rising

[13] J. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England*; C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*; J. Craig, 'Soundscapes of worship in early modern English Parish Churches', unpublished paper; J. Craig, 'Sounding Godly: from Bilney to Bunyan', unpublished paper.

Calvinistic convictions throughout both regions. These musical practices evolved to thrive within, rather than in spite of, the prevailing theology of the Church.

The superfluousness of music within worship was initially impressed upon many of the dioceses' churches following the appointment of Marian exiles and staunch Calvinists into influential ecclesiastical offices. Their own beliefs and preferred forms of worship they wished to implement throughout the dioceses are readily visible within their own churches as the incumbent. Influential and staunch Calvinists, such as Arthur Saule and John Northbrooke, oversaw the dramatic alteration in the soundscape of St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, as ministers there, for example. Their beliefs were implemented across the city due to their prominence in the region and a lack of diocesan authority. Bristol's parochial choirs appear to have been suppressed early within Elizabeth's reign, with their former stipends redistributed towards maintaining a regular preaching ministry and improving local education.

As has been widely stated within existing scholarship, it is true that many organs were sold or left to decay during Elizabeth's reign.[14] For many within the dioceses, particularly within the Diocese of Gloucester, the removal of organs from the soundscape of worship swiftly occurred after Elizabeth's accession. To many, organs were seemingly deemed superfluous within the new liturgy and expensive to maintain. Some churches sold their organs when faced with the task of providing additional required income in order to furnish the church and maintain the canonically requisite fabric and ornaments. Additionally,

[14] N. Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, pp. 45-46; J. Harper, 'Continuity, Discontinuity, Fragments and Connections: The Organ in Church, c.1500-1640', pp. 216-217; C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, pp. 396-397.

the growing number of godly ministers, popular localised lay support for a reformed form of worship, and the general lack of musical resources, rich musical traditions, or lay participation, made the city and diocese of Gloucester a rather unsurprising site for many organs to have met their fate.

In Bristol, however, the narrative is completely different. The removal of an organ is only observable at Sts. Philip and Jacob at the comparatively late date of 1603, likely at the behest of their new godly incumbent William Yeomans, and at St. John's at the even later date of 1614. Evidence shows that many of Bristol's churches retained their organs and maintained them to varying degrees. Many therefore clearly deemed organs to be either a central component, a necessary element, or at the very least a discretionary element worth retaining. Direct payments for organ maintenance and repair, and seemingly for organists themselves, became increasingly sporadic throughout Bristol's Elizabethan churchwardens' accounts, and their use became largely dependent upon their minister's own personal preferences and beliefs. Several of Bristol's parochial ministers that appear to have encouraged their use within worship were in fact former organists or singingmen themselves.[15] Contrary to Willis' findings in London, however, many of Bristol's organs appear to have continued to feature within worship throughout the 1580s and beyond.[16] It becomes apparent that the parish clerk often had a much more musical role than previously acknowledged. The additional role of organist and the maintenance of the instruments were evidently included within the many that parish clerks took on, under the stipulation that they would fund the maintenance and repair out of their wage. This perhaps explains why

[15] For Bristol's former church musicians turned ministers, see pp. 234-236.
[16] J. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England*, pp. 90-103.

payments towards organists and organ repair within the churchwardens' accounts were often so sparse.

An organ's chances of longevity were often increased if situated within a more financially affluent church with a historical musical tradition, even if that church had an incumbent godly minister. Despite the ultimate decline of parochial choirs early in Elizabeth's reign, the swiftly adopted congregational musical activity enabled many of Bristol's organs to escape decay or being sold.[17] Organs being used as accompanying instruments to metrical psalmody was likely not only a practical measure, but an accommodative measure between a church with a rich history of musical provision and the new godly ministers that were very much against the use of organs within worship. This alone highlights the careful measures that even the most ardent of reformers took when dealing with the sensitive matter of a community's popular experiences of worship.

Singing was swiftly reformed within Bristol's Elizabethan parishes; choral motets and antiphons were replaced with the new popular method of congregational psalm singing. For many, this was not an immediate change. As observed by Willis, some churches adopted an accommodative approach early in Elizabeth's reign, both maintaining their choral traditions and providing for the newly introduced metrical psalmody. Many of Bristol's churches similarly purchased multiple copies of metrical psalters between 1560 and 1570 whilst simultaneously maintaining a choir. It is not a coincidence that the churches where metrical psalmody was first provided for were those with Marian exiles as incumbents, particularly in an area with a rich musical tradition. Similarly, away from Bristol, the earliest evidence for

[17] For metrical psalmody, see pp. 169-179, 200-206.

metrical psalters originates within churches that had Marian exiles, or ministers within their godly circles, as incumbents. The musical aspects of worship were being actively reformed into Calvinist-approved forms of musical activity by those with prior experience on the continent. Where choirs were maintained, the two appear to have initially coexisted. In these churches the choir may have aided the transition in providing a form of aural stability and supporting the parishioners in learning the new metrical psalms. Whatever the form or process, metrical psalmody appears to have been initially adopted, imposed, and practiced within those churches under the direct influence of either Marian exiles or clergy within their circles. From these, often urban, centres, it spread throughout the wider countryside over the following decade. However, contrary to claims of instant universal popularity, the adoption of this practice may not have been so welcomely received, or deemed necessary, in some communities. Whilst both regions' evidence suggests that metrical psalmody was a common practice throughout the 1560s, some churches evidently required the intervention of their bishop and consistory court to provide it.

Contrary to claims that metrical psalmody was never mandated by the Elizabethan Church, many diocesan authorities certainly required their presence within churches throughout their jurisdiction.[18] Bishop Bullingham of Gloucester was one of many late-Elizabethan diocesan authorities to mandate their provision, ordering a metrical psalter to be present within each of the diocese's churches in his 1594 episcopal visitation articles. The ecclesiastical pressure for each church to provide for metrical psalmody is an important

[18] Claims that metrical psalmody was never mandated include A. Poxon, 'The Institutionalization of the Congregational Singing of Metrical Psalms in the Elizabethan Reformation', pp. 120-141; J. Craig, 'Soundscapes of worship in early modern English Parish Churches', unpublished paper; J. Craig, 'Sounding Godly: from Bilney to Bunyan', unpublished paper.

movement to note nationally, hitherto unnoticed, and their requirement can be seen within many late-Elizabethan articles throughout the nation.[19] Nevertheless, this order appears to have been largely unnecessary throughout the diocese, as all but nine churches responded in 1594 that they already had both prose and metrical psalters. The practice proved popular, particularly to some of a godly disposition; by the early-seventeenth century some godly individuals or communities were only outwardly showing their utmost respect, by removing their hats in worship, when listening to a sermon or singing metrical psalmody. Whilst metrical psalmody is likely to have become popular relatively organically by the second half of Elizabeth's reign, some bishops evidently felt the need to reinforce their beliefs that metrical psalmody was beneficial, and ensure this essential practice was provided for in every church.

The use of the music within a church was largely dependent upon their incumbent minister. Changes are often observable following a minister's succession to a cure as they sought to implement their preferred form of worship. Whilst this meant silencing organs, or even their removal, for some, it could also have the opposite effect. Some churches even paid their minister an additional fee for playing upon the organs himself.[20] An increase of organ provision is markedly evident south of the river and city walls in the 1610s. This was likely instigated by the new incumbent vicar of St. Mary Redcliffe and St. Thomas, Samuel Davies. However, parishioners here were likely to have needed little persuasion to increase such provision due to their rich musical traditions, some continued musical practices, and their relative wealth. Whilst such musical activity may have started only to highlight and

[19] See pp. 177-178.
[20] See the example of James Listun, for example, on pp. 246-247.

accentuate some of the greater holidays of the Christian calendar, the practice gradually increased and new organs for both parishes were obtained between 1624 and 1626. This was to prove the start of a new influx of organ building and maintenance throughout the city of Bristol, well before anything could truly be described as Laudian.[21]

The availability of resources, both in materials and skilled individuals, have also been revealed to have been particularly important in maintaining organs. For example, the procurement of Roger Churche to Bristol, as parish clerk of Christchurch, led to the repair of organs throughout the city.[22] These resources were often linked to the local economy; a particular trade, such as instrument making or bellfounding, could only exist where there was demand. This was certainly the case in Bristol, where there was a much larger musical environment compared to Gloucester. Although the specialist Bath-based organbuilder John Hayward became dominant throughout Bristol in the early-seventeenth century, many parishes utilised the several instrument makers and the numerous musicians within the city to maintain, repair, and play their organs. The Purdues, bellfounders based in Bristol, managed to not only supply Bristol's churches throughout the early-seventeenth century, but also managed to almost supply the Diocese of Gloucester singlehandedly in such a capacity too.

This study has demonstrated how strong and effective diocesan authority was able to control and alter the soundscape of worship to match their own beliefs. It has also shown how divisive these implementations were among the laity, often creating conflict between individuals, communities, and institutions. Many bishops' efforts to control the soundscape

[21] For the resurgence in the use of organs throughout early-Stuart Bristol, see pp. 250-277.
[22] See pp. 241-243.

spanned across all three explored aspects in singing, organs, and bells. They were able to influence musical practices through direct orders and court proceedings, or through indirect communication or persuasion. Just as metrical psalmody was clearly seen as a central and essential aspect of worship by authorities such as Bishop Bullingham, organs were deemed equally requisite to successive bishops of early-Stuart Bristol. The increased provision of organs within St. Mary Redcliffe, St. Thomas, and Temple between 1610 and 1625 set a precedent for the rest of the city of Bristol following the appointment of Bishop Robert Wright, with the rest of the city's churches seemingly repairing and obtaining organs, and suddenly maintaining regular organs swiftly after.[23] Although the reintroduction of organs throughout the city of Bristol may appear to have been a fervent expression of popular communal belief that they should be central to worship, their widespread introduction was not met with comprehensive enthusiasm among both the clergy and laity.

It is only when the relationships between certain individuals and communities are closely examined that the controversial nature of organs' reintroduction into many of Bristol's churches becomes apparent. Whilst some churches appear to have fervently provided increased provision for organs with little need for coercion, the direct intervention of successive bishops was ultimately required to implement organs within many of Bristol's more reluctant churches. Some required a gentle nudge, whilst particularly reluctant churches were threatened with financial interdiction. The intensive increase in both organbuilding and their performance within worship throughout the city from around 1620 can be directly linked to diocesan officials' increased focus on church beautification, a largely

[23] For Bishop Robert Wright's influence on Bristol's organ building, see pp. 284-287.

supportive conformist clergy, the enthusiastic support from a significant lay-contingent, and an enthusiastic and wealthy civic leadership that were keen to promote order and uniformity. Resistance is observable within at least one of Bristol's most reformed parishes, St. James. Their reluctance to erect an organ persisted until their fair was threatened with interdiction by Bishop Robert Skinner, posing a considerable threat to their regular income. This would eventually see the vestry concede and reluctantly purchase a new organ and maintain an organist.[24] Therefore, on at least one observable occasion, organs were openly imposed on a godly community.

Conversely, it is notable that similar efforts appear not to have been made in Gloucestershire. Despite the incumbent Bishop Goodman's positive disposition towards organs, only the cathedral, under the influence of a dominant Laudian party within the Dean and Chapter, may be seen to have acquired a new organ in 1641 across the diocese. Whilst it is likely that organs were present and built around this time somewhere within Gloucestershire, it is striking that no such evidence is extant, even within those churches that were quick to provide them after the Restoration.[25] Compounded by relative poverty and the lack of relevant craftsmen, this extremely contrasting outlook to Bristol is likely due to the large number of godly communities within the diocese. These communities had been encouraged and were thriving due to numerous ineffective or sympathetic diocesan

[24] For the reluctance of St. James, Bristol, to provide an organ and their ultimate coercion, see pp. 273-277.

[25] Cirencester, for example, were apparently amongst the first to erect an organ within the Restoration Diocese of Gloucester in 1684. The covenants between Cirencester's vestry and their organist Charles Badham describe how 'there hath lately beene Errected & sett up in the parish Church of Cirencester [...] an Organ for the service of the Church' (GA, P86/1/VE/2/1, ff. 90v.-91r.). There is no such evidence of a pre-Restoration organ or the provision of an organist.

authorities and saw an ever-souring relationship between the laity, civic authorities, the bishop, and Archbishop Laud.

Despite the difficulties in understanding just how organs were used in worship due to the lack of information within surviving sources, testamentary evidence suggests slightly different performance practices between churches, even within the same city. Some churches appear to have used organs primarily to accompany or play the tunes for the congregational metrical psalms, whilst others were playing voluntaries before and after the sermon, in addition to after the second lesson. These practices may have been largely down to the individual churches' discretion, but the accommodative approach to just use them to accompany or play the tunes may have been enough to placate and appease many of the more moderate godly individuals, even in churches with a general negative disposition towards their use within worship. Their practices would certainly have been influenced by their use within the cathedral too, particularly as a significant number of lay-singingmen simultaneously held offices as organists within the city churches by the 1630s.

Bells were the most controlled part of the soundscape of worship. As has been previously suggested, many churches gradually reformed the use of their bells throughout Elizabeth's reign.[26] The Sanctus bells, in particular, were reformed from accenting the presence of Christ in the Catholic Mass to highlighting the very pinnacle of reformed worship in the sermon. Similarly, certain bells within Bristol had been renamed as psalm bells that signalled the start of congregational psalmody. As the popular pastime of change ringing grew, churches sought to increase their provision by casting or recasting bells to extend their

[26] R. Hill, 'The Reformation of the Bells in Early Modern England'; C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, pp. 454-504; D. Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*.

total number to accommodate a greater number of people. They also sought to obtain the best and newest technology to enable greater control. Similar to Bristol's organs, bells were also heavily invested in as part of the movement that saw increased expenditure on the fabric and ornaments of the church. In Bristol, a particular cluster of bellfounding can be observed throughout the 1620s, with churches throughout the diocese of Gloucester similarly undergoing an increased movement of bellfounding in the 1630s. These investments were likely due to a mixture of an improvement in available resources and technology, an increase in popular practice, and even some pressure from diocesan authority. For example, it is possible that Bishop Goodman of Gloucester ensured the reform and increase in provision of bells throughout the diocese due to their popularity. Rather than attempting any unpopular reform through the courts, such as the imposition of organs throughout Bristol, an initial focus on improving the bells was a much easier sell to the laity. The increased provision of bells throughout the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century was largely led by the increased focus on church fabric and ornaments and the rising popularity of change ringing.

This thesis has shown there to be a gap in the archives in relation to parish clerks. Since the seminal work by Wickham Legg, their role within the parish has often been underappreciated, both musically and practically, often hidden through unremarkable annual payments.[27] This study has shown parish clerks to have been a key part of the maintenance of musical practices within their churches, being singers, organbuilders, organists, specialist bell framers, and makeshift bellfounders. Further close study into

[27] L. Wickham Legg, ed., *The Clerk's Book of 1549*). Marsh has since shown their potential musical requirements for leading the church's metrical psalmody (C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, pp. 425-434)

aspects such as their roles within the office, the micropolitics behind their appointment, and their social status prior to their appointment would enlighten studies into many aspects of early-modern worship.

Music was present within every church, although each individual's experience was entirely unique. The three musical aspects studied here have shown the wide variety of practices, and the wide variety of responses, enacted by a vast quantity of agents. The cases presented throughout this study have overturned and given greater nuance to the previously oversimplified and polarised pictures often presented. The study of churchwardens' accounts and extant court records have allowed a much closer look into the practical aspects of how worship was physically conducted, rather than at the doctrinal disputes occurring within the higher echelons of the Church. They have also enabled a much closer reading into the micropolitics of religion within communities, throwing light on such lazy characterisations of a united parish deciding to enact any change in practice. A whole host of agents were able to effect change. There is much more to be gained from such close studies.

Music remained an important aspect within every church's practices of worship. The variety of musical practices, the open debates surrounding its use within worship, and the swift polarised characterisations with theological beliefs and identity, may even have made it a much greater concern for the laity. This is certainly reflected in the constantly changing experiences of worship throughout many of the regions' churches. Whilst all churches had seemingly reformed the use of the bells and most individuals were well versed in metrical psalmody by the end of Elizabeth's reign, there were vast differences in musical practices

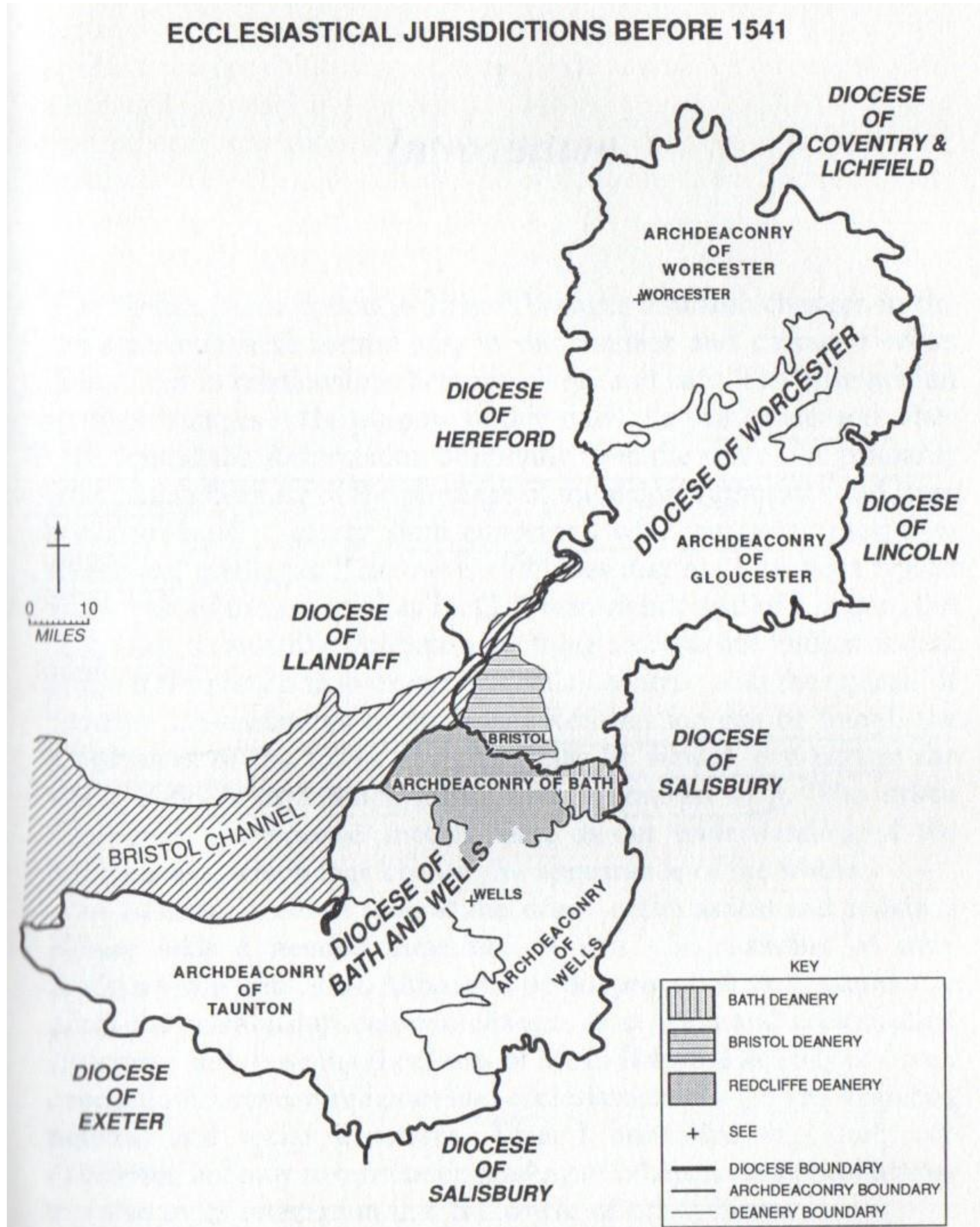
surrounding the organ and parochial choirs. For many, or within much of Bristol at least, organs had always remained a component of worship, potentially leading to a more welcoming environment when their resurgence or reintroduction was encouraged by ministerial and diocesan authority in the early-seventeenth century. Any potential animosity from moderate godly communities generated by their reintroduction was likely eased through its new primary function to accompany metrical psalmody. It may have been in areas such as Bristol that avant-garde conformity first had its roots, rather than in the theological upper echelons of clergy. Whilst preferences for certain practices are certainly attributable to particular religious groups, the relationships between actual practices and identities were often more nuanced than hitherto recognised. As such, music within worship was, under the right conditions, often more flexible and durable than existing scholarship has suggested.

Music was arguably an increasingly important aspect of life within early modern England. This increased significance may particularly be seen within worship throughout the Reformation. As experiences of music became much more varied throughout the post-Reformation Church, music increasingly became a core component of indicating the religious identity of an individual or a community. For some, music was largely unnecessary within worship. For others, music was deemed intrinsic. Whilst such preferences were swiftly attributed to polarised religious identities, music was often far more flexible and nuanced in practice. Music was ultimately able to both accommodate religious change and act as propaganda. The increased importance invested in the experience of music significantly contributed towards religious conflicts, with many agents across society striving to control the soundscape of worship within their communities. Only through further close studies may

we better understand the variety of practices and the complex relationships between such practices, religious change, and religious identities. As it continues to be today, music was a key component of worship and identity throughout the Reformation and, as such, a multitude of often conflicting institutions and individuals were highly invested in securing their own preferred experiences.

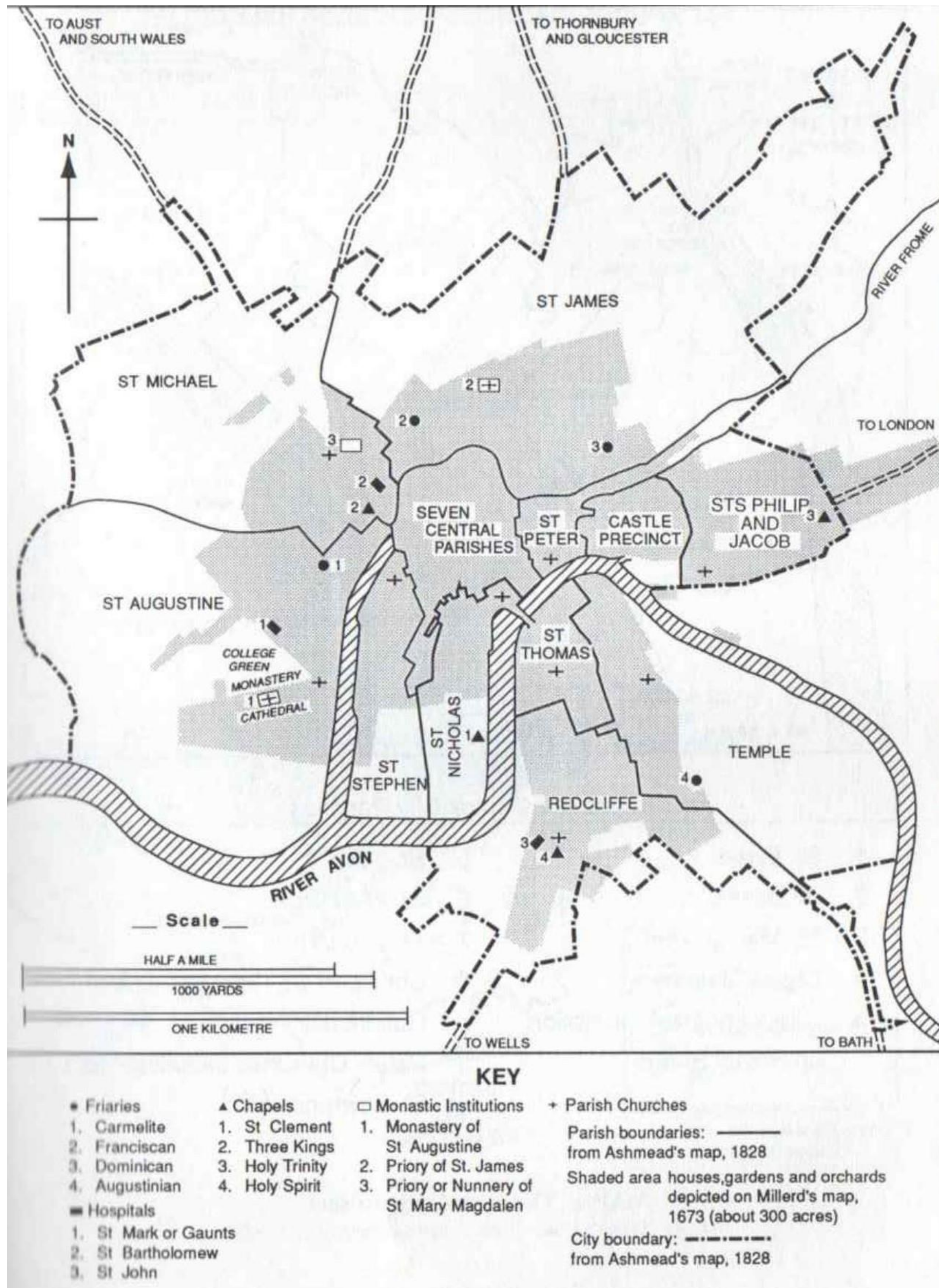
Appendix 1. Maps of Bristol and Diocese of Gloucester

Map 1. Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions Before 1541[1]



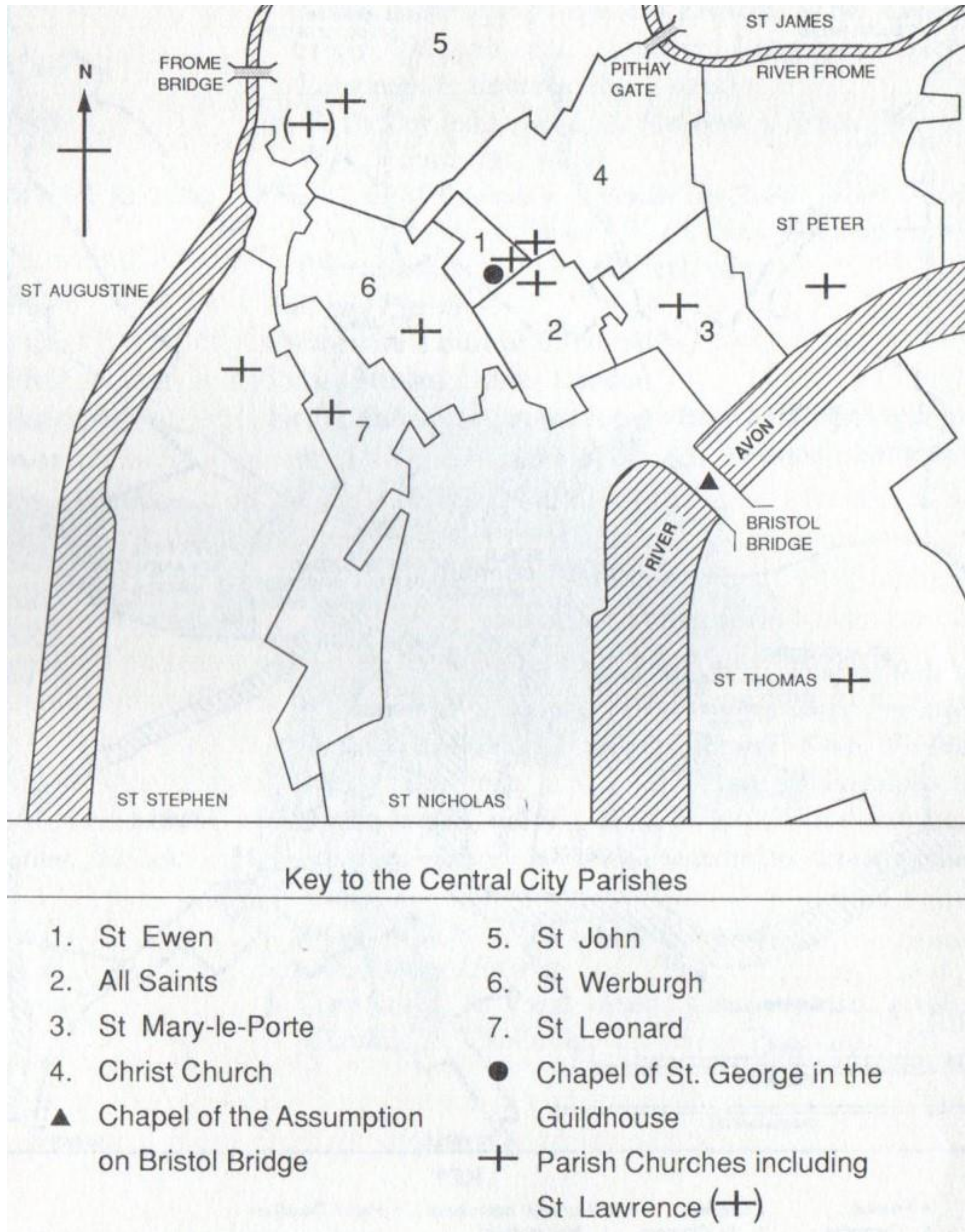
[1] Taken from M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy: Bristol and the Reformation c.1530-c.1570* (Oxford, 1993), Map 3.

Map 2. The City of Bristol[2]



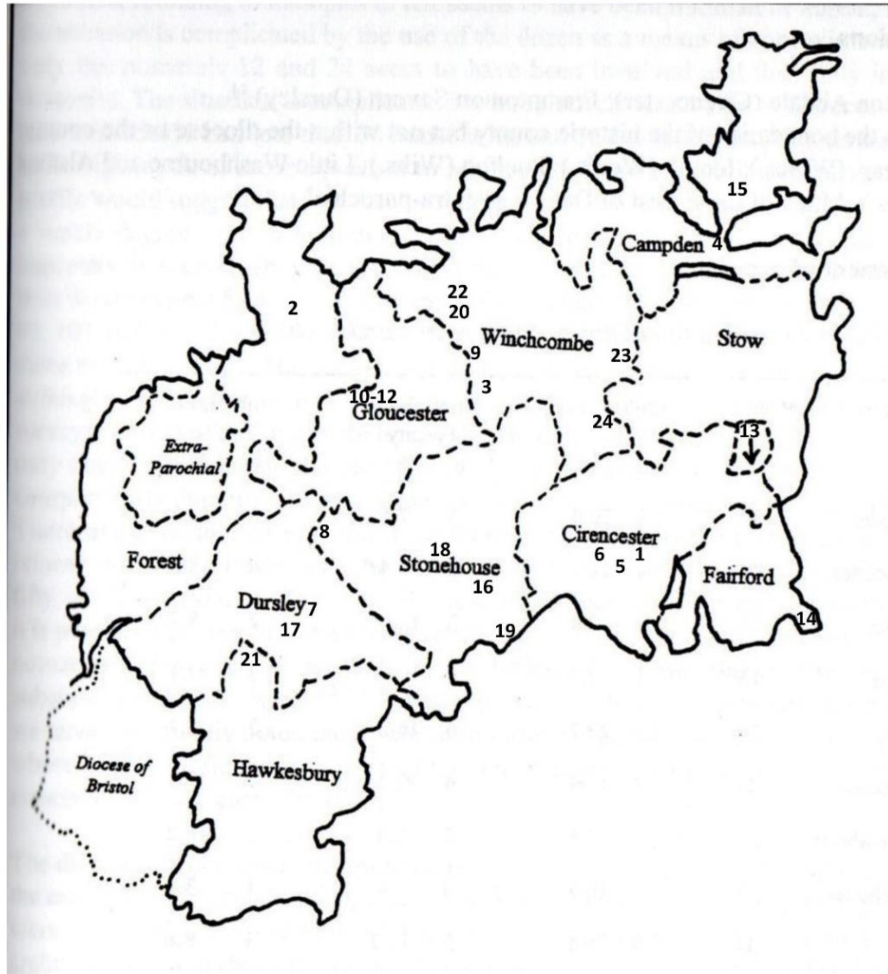
[2] Taken from M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy: Bristol and the Reformation c.1530-c.1570* (Oxford, 1993), Map 1.

Map 3. Inner Bristol's Parishes.[3]



[3] Taken from M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy: Bristol and the Reformation c.1530-c.1570* (Oxford, 1993), Map 2.

Map 4. The Diocese of Gloucester post-1542 with Deaneries and Locations of Churches with Extant Churchwardens' Accounts.[4]



Key:

1	Barnsley
2	Bromsberrow
3	Cheltenham
4	Chipping Campden
5	Cirencester
6	Daglingworth
7	Dursley
8	Eastington

9	Elmstone Hardwicke
10	St. Aldate, Gloucester
11	St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester
12	St. Michael, Gloucester
13	Hampnett
14	Lechlade
15	Mickleton
16	Minchinhampton

17	North Nibley
18	Stroud
19	Tetbury
20	Tewkesbury
21	Tortworth
22	Twyning
23	Winchcombe
24	Withington

[4] Base map taken from A. Dyer and D. Palliser, eds., *The Diocesan Population Returns for 1563 and 1603* (Oxford, 2005), p. 159. Church locations are approximate.

Appendix 2. Bishops of Bristol and Gloucester, 1542-1646.

Bishop of Bristol	From	Until
Paul Bush	1542	1554
John Holyman	1554	1558
Vacant	1558	1562
Richard Cheyney	1562	1579
Vacant	1579	1581
John Bullingham	1581	1589
Richard Fletcher	1589	1593
Vacant	1593	1603
John Thornborough	1603	1617
Nicholas Felton	1617	1619
Rowland Searchfield	1619	1622
Robert Wright	1623	1632
George Coke	1633	1636
Robert Skinner	1637	1641
Thomas Westfield	1642	1644
Thomas Howell	1644	1646

Bishop of Gloucester	From	Until
John Wakeman	1541	1549
John Hooper	1550	1553
James Brooks	1554	1558
Vacant	1558	1562
Richard Cheyney	1562	1579
Vacant	1579	1581
John Bullingham	1581	1598
Godfrey Goldsborough	1598	1604
Thomas Ravis	1604	1607
Henry Parry	1607	1610
Miles Smith	1612	1624
Godfrey Goodman	1625	1646

Appendix 3. Evidence of Bellfounding within Bristol and Gloucestershire, 1600-1642.

Year	Church	Founder	Details
1600	St. Thomas', Bristol	?	Bellfounder paid £4 for casting 4th bell
1601	Almondsbury	W:P R:P	Survives
	Great Rissington	Joseph Charlton	Treble bell bought for £24 6s. 8d.
1602			
1603			
1604	Almondsbury	John Long	Tenor bell recast twice
	Newent	?	Survives
1605	Almondsbury	Roger Purdue	Tenor bell
1606	Stow-on-the-Wold	?	Survives
1607	St. Thomas', Bristol	?	Bellfounder paid £22 10s for the bell
1608	St. Werburgh, Bristol	?Roger Purdue	Survives, all charges for bells cost £20 9s 9d
	St. James', Bristol	?	Bellfounder paid 6s.
	St. Nicholas, Gloucester	John Baker	Survives
1609	Temple, Bristol	?	Bellfounder paid £7 for casting a bell
1610	Barnsley	?	Bellfounder paid 46s.
1611	Rockhampton	?	Survives
1612	Arlingham	Richard & Simon Baker	Sermon bell ordered to be recast in consistory.
	Elkstone	?	Bell ordered to be newly casted
	Rockhampton	?	Unpaid fee towards casting
	Tewkesbury	?	4 bells made into 5
	Tortworth	?	Bellfounder paid £9 for new bell
1613	Hucclecote	?	Parishioner detained 10s 8d levy towards new casted bell
1614	Elbrighton	?	Bell cast but not set up again
	Minchinhampton	?	Paid the clerk when helping the bellfounder set up the bells
	Westcote	?	Survives

1615	Barnsley	?	Bellfounder paid £4 10*s*. for casting the bell
1616	Eastleach Martin	?	Survives
	Huntley	?	Survives
	Westerleigh	?	Survives
	St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester	Richard Baker	Baker paid £4 for casting 3rd bell
1617	Tytherington	Roger Purdue	2 x Survive
1618	Chipping Campden	?	Survives
	Elmstone Hardwicke	Henry Farmer	Survives
	St. James', Bristol	Roger Purdue	Purdue was paid £14 to cast the great bell
	St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol	?	Bellfounder was paid £17 6*s*. 7*d*. for mettle and casting
1619	Leigh	Henry Farmer	2 x Survive
1620	All Saints'. Bristol	Roger Purdue	Purdue paid £30
	St. Thomas', Bristol	Roger Purdue	Purdue paid £16 for casting treble and tenor bells
	Shipton Moyne	Roger Purdue	2 x Survive
	Stoke Gifford	Roger Purdue	Survives
	Stow-on-the-Wold	Henry Farmer	2 x Survive
	Tortworth	Roger Purdue	Purdue paid £14 15s for bell
1621	Hatherop	Roger Purdue	Sanctus, Survives
	Sandhurst	John Palmer	Survives
1622	St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol	Roger Purdue	2 x Survive, Purdue paid £45 about the bells
	Lechlade	?	The CWs wished to pass their account but couldn't as they were casting their bells
	Woodchester	?	Survives
1623	St. Mary-le-Port	Roger Purdue	Survived
	Moreton-in-Marsh	?	Survives
	Staunton	John Pennington	Survives
	Tytherington	?Roger Purdue	Survives

1624	Sts. Philip & Jacob, Bristol	Roger Purdue	Purdue paid £24 14s
	Temple, Bristol	Roger Purdue	Purdue paid £29 6s 7d for casting 3 bells
1625	Stanway	?James Keene	2 x Survive
1626	Gloucester Cathedral	John Pennington	Survives. Also ordered to be recast
	Hartpury	?John Pennington	3 x Survive
	Hasfield	?	Survives
	Lechlade	Ellis Knight	Survives
	Rodmarton	?	2 x Survive
	Barnsley	?	Bellfounder paid 59*s*.
	Tetbury	?	Received £6 8s 4d from bellfounder for mettle
1627	St. Thomas, Bristol	Roger Purdue	Survives, Purdue paid £10 5s for casting two bells
	Frampton Cotterell	John Lott I	Survives
1628	Avening	?	3 x Survive, ordered to cast 3 bells
	Leigh	Henry Farmer	Survives
1629	Dursley	?James Prince	Ordered to cast a bell
	Harnhill	?	Ordered to cast a bell
	Stroud	Roger Purdue	4 of their 5 bells recast
1630	Ampney Crucis	?	Survives
	Bledington	Humfrey Keene	Saints bell, survives
	Charlton Kings	John Pennington	2 x Survive
	Swindon	Thomas Hancox	Survives
	Witcombe	?John Pennington	Survives
	St. Thomas' Bristol	?	Little bell casted for 15*s*.
1631	Painswick	?	Presentment for not paying rate towards casting of bells
	Slimbridge	?Roger Purdue	Survives
	Tibberton	John Pennington	Survives
1632	Frampton Cotterell	John Lott I	Survives
	Horsley	Roger Purdue	2 x Survive

	Tewkesbury	?	Bells were new cast for c.£110
1633	St. James', Bristol	Roger Purdue	Purdue paid total of £24 6s 6d for founding and mettle
	St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol	Roger Purdue	Purdue paid total of £5 13s for new little bell
	Bitton	?	3 x Survive
	Minchinhampton	Roger Purdue	Cast 5 new bells plus new frames cost £60 in total
	Tortworth	Roger Purdue	Purdue paid £6 for new bell
	Wolston	?	Survives
	Woolaston	John Pennington	Survives
1634	Hewelsfield	John Pennington	Survives
	Whitminster	?Nathaniel Bolter/Roger Purdue	Survives
	Cirencester	?	Bellfounder paid £5 above agreement
	Tewkesbury	Henry Edwards	Bellfounder paid towards casting the bells
1635	Alveston	John Pennington	Survives
	Badgeworth	John Pennington	2 x Survive
	Bledington	Bond of Burford	Survives
	Corse	?	Survives
	Lechlade	Ellis Knight	Survives
	Longney	John Palmer	Survives
	Preston-on-Stour	Henry Bagley	2 x Survive
	Tetbury	Roger Purdue	Received £2 13s from Purdue in bell mettle above his work
	Woodchester	?Roger Purdue	Survives
	St. John the Baptist, Gloucester	?	4 bells made into 5
1636	St. Mary de Lode, Gloucester	Roger Purdue	2 x Survive
	St. Nicholas, Gloucester	Roger Purdue	2 x Survive
	Stanway	?	Survives

	Stonehouse	?	4 x Survive
1637	Farmington	Henry Neale	Survives
	Forthampton	?	Ordered to cast bell
1638	Barrington Parva	?	Survives
	Blockley	Henry Bagley	2 x Survive
	Dursley	Roger Purdue	Saints Bell bought for £3 19s 6d
	Dryham	?	2 x Survive
	Longborrowe	?	Not paying levy towards casting
	Newent	John Pennington	Survives
	Withington	?	Bellfounder paid £2 2s 9d in part
1639	Bledington	James Keene	2 x Survive
	Dursley	Roger Purdue	Bells and frame bought for £136
	Frocester	William Wetmore	4 x Survive
	Hardwick	Roger Purdue	Survives, ordered to be new cast
	North Nibley	Henry Neale	Paid £70 9s 4d for casting and mettle
	Wotton-under-Edge	?	New bell and frame
	St. John the Baptist, Gloucester	?	Treble, 2nd, and 4th recast
	St. Aldate's, Gloucester	Roger Purdue	Purdue paid towards casting bell
1640	Dorsington	?	Survives
	Newent	John Pennington	Survives
	Stanton	Humfrey & James Keene	4 x Survive
1641	Tibberton	?	Survives
	Turkdean	Edward Neale	2 x Survive

Key:

(white)	Survives
(yellow)	Evidence within Churchwardens' Accounts or Vestry Book
(green)	Evidence within Diocese of Gloucester's Consistory Court Books
(blue)	Evidence within Parish's Register Book

Appendix 4. Bristol and Gloucestershire's Surviving Churchwardens' Accounts and Vestry Books, 1530-1642

Churchwardens' Accounts

Region	Church	Years with Surviving Records	Sources
City of Bristol	All Saints	1530, 1532-1533, 1535-1539, 1541-1542, 1549-1564, 1566-1569, 1571-1574, 1576-1621, 1623-1624, 1626-1631, 1633-1634, 1636-1639	BA, P.AS/ChW/3/a
	Christchurch	1531, 1534, 1544-1547, 1552-1585, 1590-1601, 1603-1611, 1615, 1619-1625, 1627, 1629, 1631-1636, 1638-1642	BA, P.Xch/ChW/1/a-b
	St. Ewen	1547, 1551-1554, 1561-1582, 1584-1598, 1600-1606, 1608-1613, 1615-1631	BA, P.St E/ChW/1-2
	St. James	1565-1605, 1607-1642	BA, P.St J/ChW/1/a-b
	St. John the Baptist	1535, 1539-1580, 1605-1635, 1638-1640	BA, P.St JB/ChW/1/a & BA, P.St JB/ChW/3/a-b
	St. Mary Redcliffe	1547-1548, 1551-1553, 1555-1604, 1606-1607, 1609-1642	BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a-d
	Sts. Philip & Jacob	1562-1569, 1571-1642	BA, P.St P and J/ChW/3/a
	St. Thomas	1544, 1552, 1559-1560, 1566-1574, 1576-1579, 1581-1590, 1592, 1594-1597, 1600-1638, 1640-1641	BA, P.St T/ChW/1-75
	St. Werburgh	1548-1560, 1562-1563, 1567-1602, 1604-1642	BA, P.St W/ChW/3/a-b
	Temple	1582, 1587, 1589-1591, 1597-1598, 1600-1602, 1605, 1607, 1609-1620, 1623-1626, 1628-1633, 1636-1638, 1642	BA, P.Tem/Ca/1 – BA, P.Tem/Ca/15/1
City of Gloucester	St. Aldate	1563, 1565-1566, 1568-1569, 1572-1595, 1597-1602, 1604-1606, 1610-1613, 1617-1641	GA, P154/6/CW/1/1-44 & GA, P154/6/CW/2/7

	St. Mary de Crypt	1576-1585, 1587-1629, 1631-1641	GA, P154/11/CW/2/1
	St. Michael	1545-1546, 1548-1551, 1553, 1555-1570, 1572-1579, 1581-1588, 1591, 1603, 1605-1639, 1641	GA, P154/14/CW/1/1-40 & GA, P154/14/CW/2/1-2
Diocese of Gloucester, outside of the city	Barnsley	1609-1641	GA, P34/CW/2/1
	Bromsberrow	1631-1632, 1635, 1637-1638, 1640	GA, P63/CW/2/1
	Chipping Campden	1626-1642	GA, P81/CW/2/2
	Daglingworth	1624, 1627, 1633-1641	GA, P107/CW/2/1
	Dursley	1566-1567, 1570-1580, 1582-1592, 1603-1613, 1615-1618, 1620-1642	GA, P124/CW/2/4
	Eastington	1616, 1618-1622, 1627-1635, 1637-1642	GA, P127/CW/2/1
	Elmstone Hardwicke	1589-1590	GA, P137/IN/1/1, ff.53r.-53v.
	Hampnett	1607-1619	GA, P159/CW/2/1 & GA, P159/IN/1/1
	Lechlade	1567-1570, 1573-1574, 1581-1583, 1586, 1588-1591, 1593, 1598-1599, 1602-1605, 1607, 1609-1615, 1618-1624, 1627, 1629-1642	GA, P197/CW/2/1
	Mickleton	1637-1642	GA, P216/CW/2/1
	Minchinhampton	1554-1555, 1557-1558, 1560-1619, 1621-1625, 1627-1640	GA, P217/CW/2/1
	North Nibley	1615-1642	GA, P230/CW/2/1
	Stroud	1623, 1625, 1627, 1629-1635, 1637-1638, 1640	GA, P320/CW/2/1
	Tetbury	1590, 1592-1596, 1599-1600, 1602, 1604-1610, 1612-1513, 1615-1629, 1631-1642	GA, P328/1/CW/2/14
	Tewkesbury	1563-1570, 1572, 1574-1609, 1611-1634, 1636-1641	GA, P329/1/CW/2/1

	Tortworth	1584, 1593, 1599-1602, 1604-1642	GA, P338/CW/2/7
	Twyning	1638-1640	GA, P343/VE/2/1
	Winchcombe	1602, 1605	GA, P368/1/CW/2/1
	Withington	1636-1642	GA, P374/CH/1

Vestry Books

Region	**Church**	**Years with Surviving Records**	**Sources**
City of Bristol	St. Ewen	1596-1642	BA, P.St E/V/1
	St. James	1623-1642	BA, P.St J/V/1/1
	St. Michael	1575-1642	BA, P.St M/V/1/a
	St. Stephen	1539-1543, 1550-1552	BA, P.St S/ChW/2
Diocese of Gloucester	Cheltenham	1636-1642	GA, P78/1/VE/2/5
	Cirencester	1614-1642	GA, P86/1/VE/2/1

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St. James, BA, P.St J/ChW/1/a-b

St. John the Baptist, BA, P.St JB/ChW/1/a-b

St. Mary Redcliffe, BA, P.St MR/ChW/1/a-d

Sts. Philip and Jacob, BA, P.St P and J/ChW/3/a

St. Thomas, BA, P.St T/ChW/1-75

St. Werburgh, BA, P.St W/ChW/3/a-b

Temple, BA, P.Tem/Ca/1-15/1

Vestry Book

St. Ewen, BA, P.St E/V/1

St. James, BA, P.St J/V/1/1

St. Michael, BA, P.St M/V/1/a

St. Stephen, BA, P.St S/ChW/2

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St. Philip and Jacob, BA, P.St P and J/R/1/1

St. Stephen, BA, P.St S/R/1/a

St. Thomas, BA, St T/R/1/a.

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Gloucester, St. Mary de Crypt, GA, P154/11/CW/2/1

Gloucester, St. Michael, GA, P154/14/CW/1/1-40, CW/2/1, & CW/3/1

Hampnett, GA, P159/CW/2/1 & IN/1/1

Lechlade, GA, P197/CW/2/1

Mickleton, GA, P216/CW/2/1

Minchinhampton, GA, P217/CW/2/1

North Nibley, GA, P230/CW/2/1

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