

RESEARCH THESIS *Author's Declaration*

Full name (block capitals, surname first): WADSWORTH, SALLY PATRICIA

Full title of thesis/dissertation (block capitals):

THE PARISH CHURCHES, CATHEDRAL, AND CORPORATION OF SALISBURY: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE
C.1480-C.1650

College/School/Department (block capitals): ARTS AND LAW / LCAHM / MUSIC

Date of award of degree (leave blank):

1. I understand that one printed and one electronic copy of my thesis/dissertation (the Work) will be deposited in the University Library (the Library) and in a suitable electronic repository, for permanent retention.
2. Without changing the content, the Library or any third party with whom it has an agreement to do so, may convert either copy into a format or medium for the purpose of long-term retention, accessibility and preservation.
3. The Library will publish, and/or arrange with appropriate third parties for the non-exclusive publication of, a bibliographic description of the thesis/dissertation, and the author's abstract.
4. Unless arrangements are made to the contrary, (see paragraph 6. below), the Library is authorised to make the Work available for consultation in the Library, and via a recognised inter library loans system. The Library is authorised to make the electronic copy of the Work freely accessible to individuals and institutions - including automated agents - via the Internet.
5. Rights granted to the University of Birmingham through this agreement are entirely non-exclusive. I retain all my rights in the Work in its present version or future derivative works.
6. I understand that I may apply to the University to retain the right to withhold access to the content of my thesis/dissertation. Access to the paper version may be withheld for a period which shall not normally exceed four calendar years from the congregation at which the degree is conferred. The actual length of the period will be specified in the application, together with the precise reasons for making that application. The electronic copy may be withheld from dissemination via the web or other networks for any period.
7. I have obtained permission for any use made of substantial amounts of published or unpublished copyright material (text, illustrations, etc) where the rights are owned by a third party, other than as permitted under either The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 (as modified by any related or successor legislation) or the Terms and Conditions of any Licence governing its use.
8. The content of the copies I shall deposit with the Library will be the final version of my thesis, as approved by the Examiners.
9. I understand that the Library and administrators of any electronic theses repository do not hold any obligation to take legal action on behalf of myself, or other rights holders, in the event of a breach of intellectual property rights, or any other right, in the material deposited.
10. I understand that, in the event of my thesis/dissertation being not approved by the Examiners, this declaration will become null and void.

Signature:



Date: 27 August 2021

For Library use (please leave blank):

Classmark:

Accession number:

Control number:

eTheses Repository url:

THE PARISH CHURCHES, CATHEDRAL, AND CORPORATION
OF SALISBURY: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE C.1480-C.1650

by

SALLY PATRICIA WADSWORTH

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Music
School of Languages, Cultures, Art History and Music
College of Arts and Law
University of Birmingham
April 2021

ABSTRACT

An analysis of the accounts of the churches of Salisbury, in conjunction with the ledgers of the civic authority, provides evidence of change and continuity in the worship of the citizens and the social role of religion for a single city in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This occurred during a period when the jurisdiction and control of the bishop was reduced from the whole city to just the cathedral and its surrounding close. At the same time, the civic authorities became more involved in the business of the church, and by the time of the Civil War it was employing lecturers and providing housing for the ministers of the city churches.

Individual chapters explore lay devotion in the form of the trade guilds, and the cults of St Osmund and the Holy Name; illumination including the provision of window glass and the use of artificial illumination in which tallow became more commonly used; the interior and exterior soundscape of bells, organs and other music, and an examination of the Caroline church through the trial of the iconoclast Henry Sherfield. Both change and continuity in all of these aspects can be seen during the period of the long Reformation, along with the sensory experiences of the laity, and the construction of artefacts including windows and organs.

This study has revealed some atypical findings in the city of Salisbury: firstly, the continuation of trade guild celebrations during the long Reformation, including church worship and the memorialization of members. Secondly, through experimentation with beeswax and tallow, where evidence is provided that tallow candles may not have produced such a poor light or smoky environment as previously thought. Thirdly, it is shown that church bells continued to be rung in the city, their use evolving over time, as the number of religious services reduced, whilst ringing to announce local and national events increased. Finally, music continued to be sung and played during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with the purchase of replacement organs and their continued maintenance,

including the instrument in the church of St Edmund, despite the congregation being known for its puritan tendencies.

To my grandchildren Martha, Albert and Stanley –
in the hope that you may be lifelong learners too!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I would like to thank John Harper who suggested the idea of researching the churchwardens' accounts of Salisbury, and who supervised the early part of the work.

Secondly, Andrew Kirkman and Jonathan Willis who have seen the thesis through every stage and have been unfailingly honest and supportive.

Without the men and women of the archives this project would not have been possible, in particular Emily Naish and Helen Sumping of Salisbury Cathedral Archive, Steve Hobbs and team at Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, and also the staff of Hampshire Record Office and Durham Cathedral Library. They have always been happy to meet my many requests and to answer queries.

I am also grateful to Henry Howard who went the whole hog with the Latin and provided much more than just a translation. Thanks are also due to: Paul Barnwell, Roger Bowers, Giles Darkes, Dominic Gwynn, Sam Kelly, Rob Lutton, Andrew McCrea, Maria Pavlidou, Andrew Robson, Robert Thompson, and Magnus Williamson. All photographs have been captured by the author, unless otherwise indicated.

The financial assistance in the form of a one-month Durham University Residential Research Library Fellowship is acknowledged: this enabled research into the accounts of the cathedral there, and interaction with people of similar interests.

Finally, throughout the six long years my husband Alan, has been a constant source of encouragement and support, thus ensuring that the thesis was finally completed - thank you!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1	Introduction	1
1.1	Approach and research aims	3
1.2	Historiography	5
1.3	Methodology and sources	13
1.4	Setting the scene	19
1.4.1	The economy of Salisbury	22
1.4.2	Government in Salisbury	26
1.5	Thesis structure	27
2	Lay devotion	31
2.1	Introduction.....	31
2.2	The ecclesiastical establishment of Salisbury.....	33
2.2.1	Cathedral and churches.....	34
2.2.2	Religious houses	49
2.3	The Use of Salisbury.....	52
2.4	The craft guilds	54
2.5	The Tailors' Guild	56
2.6	The merchant guild of St George.....	66
2.7	The cult of St Osmund	73
2.8	Fraternities in the Salisbury churches	78
2.9	Fraternity of the Jesus Mass.....	80
2.10	The dissolution and post-dissolution.....	93
2.11	Conclusion.....	100
3	Illumination	103
3.1	Introduction to light	103
3.2	Natural illumination in the churches of Salisbury	105
3.2.1	Glazing in the parish churches.....	106
3.2.2	Glazing in Salisbury Cathedral.....	115
3.2.3	Conclusion	134
3.3	Artificial illumination in the churches of Salisbury.....	136
3.3.1	Fuels used for lighting	138
3.3.2	Functional lighting before the Reformation	151

3.3.3	Lighting for ritual use at Salisbury Cathedral	162
3.3.4	Ritual use at the parish churches	168
3.3.5	The use of torches	168
3.3.6	Other uses of lights	178
3.3.7	The impact of Reformation	184
3.3.8	Conclusion	194
4	Sound Makers	197
4.1	Introduction to sound.....	197
4.2	The church bells of Salisbury	199
4.2.1	Bells great and small	201
4.2.2	How were bells rung before the Reformation?	205
4.2.3	Maintenance, replacement and development of the bells	211
4.2.4	Changes in bell ringing in Salisbury during the Reformation	218
4.2.5	Reasons for ringing the bells of Salisbury	221
4.2.6	The cost of ringing	227
4.2.7	Ringling for pleasure.....	228
4.2.8	Conclusion	230
4.3	Organs and musicians in the churches of Salisbury	231
4.3.1	Pre-Reformation organs: provision, nature, and usage	232
4.3.2	The Reformation	237
4.3.3	Organ repair and construction by Hugh Chappington in Salisbury	244
4.3.4	Singers in the parish churches.....	251
4.3.5	Musicians in the cathedral: the choristers and their masters.....	257
4.3.6	Musical provision in the seventeenth century	264
4.3.7	Another ‘neat organ’: an addition and improvements by John Burward.....	267
4.3.8	Conclusion	277
5	Caroline Church	279
5.1	Introduction	279
5.2	The situation in the city	280
5.3	Who was Sherfield?.....	285
5.4	Puritanism and Laudianism	286
5.5	The situation at Salisbury cathedral	294
5.6	The breaking of the window.....	297
5.7	The ‘peculiar’ status of St Edmund’s	303

5.8	Changes to the interiors of the parish churches and cathedral.....	304
5.9	Ministers and preaching in Salisbury.....	310
5.9	Changes to the liturgy	325
5.10	The trial of Sherfield	330
5.11	Summing up and sentence.....	335
5.12	The aftermath	337
5.13	Conclusion.....	342
6	Conclusion.....	345
	Bibliography	359
	Appendix 1: Surviving financial accounts	401
	Appendix 2: Churchwardens' accounts for the parish churches of Salisbury.....	408
	Appendix 3: Flow of finance between St Thomas's Church and Cathedral, 1537-38	414
	Appendix 4: Cathedral Fabric Accounts	415
	Appendix 5: Schematic plan of Salisbury	417
	Appendix 6: Income from the Fraternity of Jesus at St Edmund's Church.....	418
	Appendix 7: Expenditure from the Fraternity of Jesus at St Edmund's Church.....	419
	Appendix 8: Plan of Salisbury Cathedral showing location of windows.....	420
	Appendix 9: Names of glaziers of the churches of Salisbury.....	421
	Appendix 10: The making of a stained-glass window	423
	Appendix 11: Experiments with tallow and beeswax	431
	Appendix 12: Costs pertaining to the Chappington organ constructed at St Edmund's ...	453
	Appendix 13: Names of musicians at St Thomas's, 1547-1645.....	455
	Appendix 14: Names of musicians at St Edmund's 1549-1600.....	458
	Appendix 15: Musicians of Salisbury Cathedral 1410-1661.....	460
	Appendix 16: Burward organ agreement, 1635.....	470
	Appendix 17: Entries for Burward organ, Salisbury Cathedral 1636.....	472
	Appendix 18: Changes to the interior of the churches of Salisbury 1628-53.....	476
	Appendix 19: Books from will of Peter Thatcher	478
	Appendix 20: Sentences for Henry Sherfield proposed by members of Privy Council	484

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1-1: Map showing the situation of Salisbury	1
Figure 1-2: Settlement in the Salisbury area, after 1220.....	20
Figure 1-3: Salisbury - wards and parishes	21
Figure 2-1: Salisbury Cathedral	34
Figure 2-2: Plan of Salisbury Cathedral (not to scale).....	34
Figure 2-3: St Thomas's Church viewed from the south.....	36
Figure 2-4: Plan of St Thomas's Church, Salisbury after 1448 (not to scale).....	37
Figure 2-5: St Martin's Church from the west	38
Figure 2-6: St Martin's Church (not to scale).....	38
Figure 2-7: St Edmund's Church today – chancel and tower remaining.....	39
Figure 2-8: St Edmund's Church, possible construction - early 16 th century (not to scale).....	40
Figure 2-9: North wall, south chancel aisle: site of tailors' guild & Swayne chantries	59
Figure 2-10: East window above the altar of the tailors' guild (also the Swayne chantry).....	59
Figure 2-11: St George and the dragon, St George's Church, Kelmscott	69
Figure 2-12: Side chapel at Ewelme Church showing the sacred monogram	82
Figure 2-13: Possible layout of St Edmund's Church in the later fifteenth century.....	85
Figure 2-14: St Edmund's Fraternity of Jesus: proportions of beeswax and tallow purchased	92
Figure 3-1: The merchant mark of William Swayne in St Thomas's Church	111
Figure 3-2: Unpainted grisaille – pattern A (left) as in s13, pattern E (right) as in n35.	117
Figure 3-3: Grisaille glass, early thirteenth century.....	117
Figure 3-4: Window s.36	118
Figure 3-5: The stoning of St Stephen - St Leonard's Church, Grateley.....	120
Figure 3-6: Window s33, showing 13th century Tree of Jesse	122
Figure 3-7: Detail from window s33, showing the Adoration of the Magi	122
Figure 3-8: South-east vestry window showing ferramenta	123
Figure 3-9: The arms of Bishop John Jewel in window s36, constructed in 1567	128
Figure 3-10: Honeybees flying into skeps	136
Figure 3-11: Candle lantern for hanging.....	139
Figure 3-12: Skep hives typical of the late medieval period.....	140
Figure 3-13: Interior of skep showing beeswax comb to be melted down	141
Figure 3-14: Candles setting in moulds	146
Figure 3-15: Candles made from rendered tallow (cattle on the left, sheep on the right)	147
Figure 3-16: Beeswax candle.....	147
Figure 3-17: Cattle tallow candle after 80 minutes burning	149
Figure 3-18: Beeswax candle after 100 minutes burning	149
Figure 3-19: Cresset at Lewannick Parish Church, Cornwall.....	152
Figure 3-20: Singers grouped around a lectern.....	157
Figure 3-21: Lectern at King's College, Cambridge	157
Figure 3-22: Consecration cross, south crossing	163
Figure 3-23: Diagram for blessing of the Paschal fire on Holy Saturday.....	167
Figure 3-24: The deacon raises the torch at the elevation of the host.....	169
Figure 3-25: Office for the dead	174
Figure 3-26: Baptism of infant (Bodleian MS Laud Misc. 740 f.5v)	176
Figure 3-27: The presentation of a candle by the priest to a child following baptism.....	176

Figure 3-28: St Alban's Cathedral - plinth inserted in lower painting for support of light....	181
Figure 3-29: Income from St Edmund's parishioners for rood light.....	183
Figure 3-30: Wooden pulpit candlestick at Weston-sub-Edge Church, Gloucestershire	191
Figure 4-1: Rabbit tolling church bells.....	197
Figure 4-2: Salisbury Cathedral from the west showing the freestanding bell tower	202
Figure 4-3: Old half wheel at Taylor's Bell Foundry, Loughborough.....	206
Figure 4-4: Diagram of bell and wheel used for full-circle ringing	216
Figure 4-5: Construction of full bell wheel at Taylor's Bell Foundry, Loughborough.....	216
Figure 4-6: Bell ringing taking place in Salisbury 1549-1650	225
Figure 4-7: 'Wetheringsett' organ at St Swithun's Church, Worcester	233
Figure 4-8: The bellows with handles which are pulled in turn to inflate the organ.....	233
Figure 4-9: Showing the keyboard	234
Figure 4-10: The bellows with lead weights	234
Figure 4-11: Frontispiece of the Book of Common Prayer 1549	238
Figure 4-12: <i>Te deum</i> composed by Elway Bevin.....	255
Figure 4-13: The organ at St Paul's Cathedral (on north side).....	271
Figure 4-14: Dallam organ case at Tewkesbury Abbey	271
Figure 4-15: Chair organ at St Paul's Church, Parkend, early 20 th century	275
Figure 4-16: The case of the chair organ at St Paul's, Parkend, 2016	276
Figure 5-1: Extract from the vestry minutes giving permission to remove the window	298
Figure 5-2: Window of four major lights at St Edmund's on the south side of the chancel...	301
Figure 5-3: Detail of the St Cuthbert window in York Minster	303
Figure 5-4: Stained glass from Malvern Priory depicting God with compasses.....	303
Figure 5-5: The monument to Christopher Eyre and his wife in St Thomas's Church	318
Figure 5-6: DCL: O/III. Annotated copy of the Book of Common Prayer	326
Figure 5-7: Number of times per year that holy communion took place at St Martin's	328

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2-1: Pre-Reformation annual expenditure on fabric repairs at Salisbury Cathedral	42
Table 2-2: Income at St Edmund's, 1527 - 1541	43
Table 2-3: Income at St Thomas's, 1486-1538	44
Table 2-4: Attendance of cathedral staff at Bishop Medford's obit 1537-38	46
Table 2-5: Attendance by other religious establishments at Bishop Medford's obit 1537-38	48
Table 2-6: Comparison of two inventories	60
Table 2-7: Comparison of rules of 1444 and 1461 for Tailors' Guild patronal festival.....	63
Table 2-8: Evidence of obits (where available) as celebrated by the guild of St George	70
Table 2-9: Income to the shrine of St Osmund noted in the cathedral fabric accounts	77
Table 2-10: The removal of St Osmund's shrine at Salisbury Cathedral	94
Table 3-1: Tradesmen involved in repair/installation of windows in cathedral 1558-1571 ..	127
Table 3-2: Cost of glass, per unit, purchased by the cathedral 1529-1633	127
Table 3-3: New glass installed at Salisbury Cathedral in 1566-67	129
Table 3-4: Materials used for glazing in 1567	130
Table 3-5: Donation of windows by deanery	131
Table 3-6: Equipment purchased to set up glazier's workshop at cathedral, 1594-95	133
Table 3-7: Destinations of wax imported into Southampton in the fifteenth century.....	142
Table 3-8: Brightness of candles.....	148
Table 3-9: Overview of candle parameters obtained	149
Table 3-10: Advantages and disadvantages of tallow and beeswax candles	150
Table 3-11: Answers to research questions determined through experimentation	151
Table 3-12: Numbers of singers employed at Salisbury Cathedral 1463-1661	155
Table 3-13: William Chantry inventory of books at St Mary's Abbey, Leicester	160
Table 3-14: Books listed in the 1472 inventory for St Edmund's	161
Table 3-15: Candles to be provided for various feasts as prescribed in the Old Customary .	164
Table 3-16: Torches purchased by St Edmund's Church	170
Table 3-17: Lamps, lights and altars at St Edmund's.....	180
Table 3-18: Lamps and lights at St Thomas's	181
Table 3-19: Tallow and beeswax purchased by Salisbury Cathedral 1614-1643	193
Table 3-20: Quantity of tallow candles purchased by Salisbury Cathedral 1558-1665.....	193
Table 4-1: Bell ringing from Salisbury Customaries	207
Table 4-2: Bell ringing according to statutes of churches other than Salisbury	209
Table 4-3: Bell ringing in the Soissons Processional – dedication of church.....	211
Table 4-4: Bells founded for Salisbury parish churches	212
Table 4-5: Percentage of income spent on bell maintenance at St Edmund's Church	214
Table 4-6: Cost of the ringing loft and 3/4 bell wheels at St Edmund's in 1619-20.....	217
Table 4-7: Charges for bells rung for funerals at St Edmund's and St Martin's Churches ...	220
Table 4-8: Income recorded under 'church works' at St Edmund's for bell ringing.....	227
Table 4-9: New organs installed in the churches of Salisbury.....	235
Table 4-10: The Chappington family of organ builders	243
Table 4-11: Organ blowers at Salisbury Cathedral	250
Table 4-12: Singers at St Thomas's and St Edmund's Churches	256
Table 4-13: Organists and masters of the choristers of Salisbury Cathedral	258
Table 5-1: Bishops & dignitaries at Salisbury Cathedral, 1630 - 1660	295

Table 5-2: Creation story from the Bible compared to the window at St Edmund's Church	300
Table 5-3: Owners of the advowson of St Edmund's	304
Table 5-4: The cost of the 'beauty of holiness' in 1637-38 at Salisbury Cathedral	308
Table 5-5: Sentences proposed by members of the Privy Council - fine	336
Table 5-6: Sentences proposed by members of Privy Council – other elements	336

ABBREVIATIONS

BCP Book of Common Prayer

BL British Library

BVM Blessed Virgin Mary

DCL Durham Cathedral Library

EEBO Early English Books Online

HRO Hampshire Record Office, Winchester

NLW National Library of Wales

OED Oxford English Dictionary

RCM Royal College of Music

SCA Salisbury Cathedral Archive

TNA The National Archives, London

WSA Wiltshire and Swindon Archive, Chippenham

Approach taken to transcription

Original spelling and punctuation for sources has been retained, except i/j and u/v have been modernised and the long s (f) has been converted to ss, ff to F.

Omissions of text or illegible text is denoted by ...

All monetary sums are quoted in *librae*, *solidi* and *denarii*. Expressed as £ s d, (or pounds, shillings, and pence). One pound comprises twenty shillings, or 240 pence.

li was used in the original accounts to denote both pounds currency and pounds weight.

Names of individuals are based on the spellings given in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.

Dating of accounts

Dates are given according to the old-style calendar, except that the year is taken to begin on 1st January. Accounts run either Easter to Easter or Michaelmas to Michaelmas and therefore span two years, for instance 1545-46.

GLOSSARY

Advowson: The right of patronage to a benefice, in other words, the right to nominate a priest to a post in a church.

Altarist: After their voices changed, choristers were ordained in minor orders as altarists; as such, they were to help during services and ring the bells.

Antiphonal: A book which contained chants of the Office.

Beeswax: Produced by the four pairs of wax glands situated in the abdomen of the honeybee *Apis mellifera*. Constituents of wax include monoesters, diesters, fatty acids, alkenes, and alkanes. Beeswax has a melting point of around 60 °C and discolours if heated above 85 °C.

Benefice: A Church appointment, typically that of a rector or vicar.

Boteler: Originally a servant who managed the wine cellar, sometimes as a cup-bearer to the monarch.

Breviary: An aggregated Office book.

Candle: A wick encased in solid fat or beeswax. Used as the main source of artificial light in churches until the nineteenth century; also used as a symbol of Christ the Light (especially at the Easter Vigil).

Candlebeam: (1) Medieval chandelier constructed of wood or metal and holding a series of candles; (2) A generic term for the Rood beam.

Catechism: Religious instruction.

Caustykes: Very large candles used at funerals and Masses for the dead.

Cerecloth: Waxed cloth used as a shroud.

Chancellor: (1) One of the four dignitaries of the cathedral in charge of the Chapter. A senior canon of a cathedral with responsibility for education. See also **Dean**, **Precentor**, and **Treasurer**. (2) A presiding lawyer in the diocesan legal courts.

Chandler: An early name for a dealer, for example, tallow chandler or wax chandler.

Clothier: Merchant who sold the products of his looms.

Communar: The keeper of the common fund of the cathedral who was charged with the distribution of commons to the canonical body.

Customary: A book which describes the duties of the officers of an institution along with the ritual of the liturgy.

Dean: One of the four dignitaries of the cathedral in charge of the chapter. See also **Chancellor, Precentor, and Treasurer.**

Deanery: A grouping of parishes, headed by a Rural Dean.

Dirige: See **Placebo.**

Draper: A maker or dealer in woollen cloth. See also **Haberdasher.**

Dubbers: Another name used for the trade of bookbinders.

Easter sepulchre: An arched recess usually in the north wall of the chancel where a crucifix and /or the host were placed from Good Friday to Easter Day to represent the entombment and later resurrection of Christ.

Feasts: Religious feasts were ranked according to their importance: a greater double was more important than a minor double or lesser double. Sunday was a double feast and a day during the week when there was no feast, was a ferial or workday.

Feoffment: Record of the sale of real property (land or buildings) which developed in the Middle Ages.

Ferramenta: A collective term for the iron parts of a window which included the saddle bars, eyes, keys, and straps which were used to support the glazing.

Gimowe: Another name for a hinge.

Gomyd wax: Wax adulterated with resin.

Grisaille glass: White glass often painted in black and white, or other simple contrasting tones with transparent colour applied over this in thin layers. The designs are either geometric, formed with leading, or painted with patterns such as foliage.

Guild or Gild: From the Anglo-Saxon 'gegildan' meaning 'to pay'. This refers to the payment made by individuals to belong to the guild which in return would look after their spiritual and/or material welfare. Guild and fraternity or confraternity are often used interchangeably, but in this thesis guild refers to trade guild.

Haberdasher: Dealer in foreign goods, for example, Spanish girdles, daggers, swords, and gloves from France.

Herse lights: Candles placed at the corners of a coffin in church.

Indulgence: A feature of the pre-Reformation penitential system, which required some form of payment in return for prayer, which reduced time in purgatory.

Invitatory: An antiphon used as a refrain to Psalm 94 in the opening section of matins.

Judas candles: Candles fixed on wooden stocks - Judases, which were painted to match the candles and therefore, appear taller than actuality.

Latten: A copper alloy.

Link: A crude type of torch.

Mark: A unit of currency equivalent to 13s 4d.

Mass: Eucharistic service which involves the consecration of the elements – bread and wine, which recall the actions of Christ at the Last Supper prior to his crucifixion.

Merchant: A dealer in buckram, fustian, satin, jewels, wine, salt, and other goods.

Mercer: Dealer in luxury articles for example, gold-cloth, velvet, lace, and jewellery. In Salisbury and London, mercers also dealt in beeswax.

Mistery or mysters: Derived from the French word *métier*, meaning a trade or handicraft.

Morter: A large candle.

Missal: A book containing the service of the Mass.

Nuncupative will: A verbal will which required two witnesses and could only deal with the distribution of personal property. A nuncupative will is considered a deathbed will for those struck with a terminal illness and therefore unable to draft a proper written will.

Obit: An Office or service, usually a Mass, held to pray for the soul of, or otherwise commemorate, a deceased person on the anniversary of his or her death, or at some other appointed time.

Oil lamp: Open saucer or similar with a fibrous substance used as a wick which is immersed in oil.

Paris candles: A tall candle which could be made of wax or tallow. Originally for placing on a shelf. Also known as peris or percher.

Paschal: A large candle used at Easter on the north-side of the sanctuary. It was lit on Holy Saturday (the day before Easter Sunday) and extinguished on Ascension Day (40 days after Easter).

Pax brede or pax board: A small plaque or board decorated with a sacred image made from precious metal or wood, kissed by clergy and people at the rite of peace.

Piscina: A shallow stone basin placed near the altar of a church usually with a drainage hole which goes directly to the ground. It was used for draining the water used in washing communion vessels.

Placebo and Dirige: The Office for the dead.

‘Polen’ (or pollen) wax: (1) Beeswax adulterated with flour as the botanical meaning [of pollen] had not yet been defined; (2) Beeswax imported from Poland.

Portas or breviary: A book containing the services of the Office.

Precentor: One of the four dignitaries of the cathedral in charge of the Chapter. A senior canon in charge of directing the liturgy. See also **Chancellor, Dean,** and **Treasurer.**

Pricket: A name sometimes given to the candle, usually made of beeswax, which was stuck on a spiked or pricket candlestick.

Primer: A personal prayer book.

Rectory: A benefice held by a rector.

Rosin: A solid form of resin obtained from pine trees for instance. It is semi-transparent and varies in colour from yellow to black.

Rush lights: Made by drying rushes, peeling them to reveal the pith and then dipping in wax or, more usually, tallow.

Scob: Another name for a lock.

Sealing wax: Used to validate official documents. Beeswax was the main ingredient – sometimes a colourant was added, for example, green or red.

Seizes or sizes: Used at Salisbury Cathedral in 1637. They were small round candles which may have been used by the choir.

Tablement: A projecting horizontal course or moulding.

Tallow candles: Made of the solid fat of ruminant animals (sheep and oxen).

Taper: A slender candle becoming tapered towards the wick.

Thurible: The ceremonial vessel (a covered bowl suspended on metal chains) in which charcoal and incense were burnt.

Torch(e): (1) A thick wick of twisted tow or cotton soaked in rosin and then dipped in wax: these burned sufficiently well to resist wind and rain and were used in processions carried on wooden staves; (2) Candle made of wax and rosin and twisted together.

Treasurer: One of the four dignitaries of the cathedral in charge of the Chapter. A senior canon in a collegiate or cathedral church who was responsible for the institutional finance and for the fabric, ornaments, and provisions including candles, bread and wine. See also **Chancellor, Dean and Precentor.**

Trindle or Trendle: A roll or coil of wax taper used for lighting in medieval churches.

Viaticum: Holy communion administered to the dying.

Vicar: A priest appointed to take charge of a parish as a substitute for the rector.

Vicar choral: A cleric in a collegiate church who acted as substitute for a canon or prebendary, usually assigned to one of the junior clergy who carried out the daily conduct of the liturgy in choir.

Wainscot: An area of wood panelling, the timber for which was usually imported from the Baltic.

Waste: Wax consumed, as opposed to waste in the modern sense.

Wick: The central part of a candle made of twisted cotton, flax, or hemp which is lit and then holds the flame. It works using capillary action to move the fuel to the flame. It is important in that it determines the way a candle behaves: characteristics are determined by the material, diameter, and how it is twisted and plaited.

1 INTRODUCTION

On the following night he [Bishop Richard Poore] was comforted by a certain vision.

There appeared to him the Blessed Virgin Mary, telling him that he should choose as the site whereon to build his church a place called Myrfeld.¹

Thus in the early thirteenth century the site for a new cathedral was selected, situated on a meadow near the River Avon on land belonging to the bishop's manors, and from there the new city of Salisbury developed (see Figure 1-1).

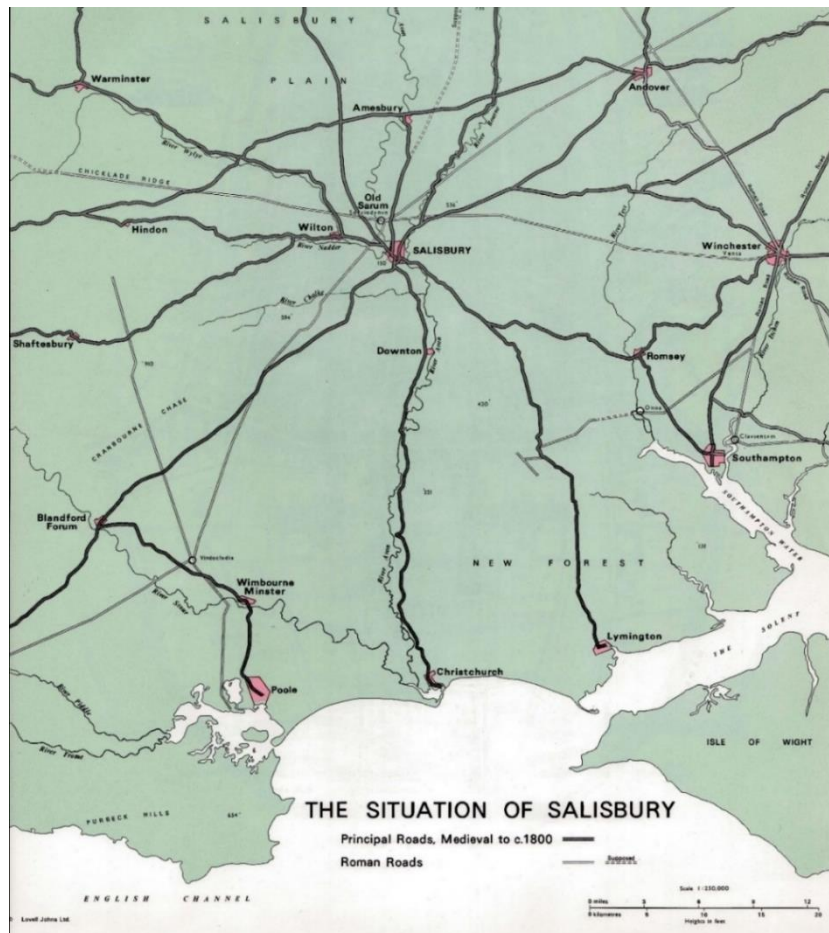


Figure 1-1: Map showing the situation of Salisbury²

¹ This legend is dated to 1218 and therefore does not hold true with regard to chronology in that the new city was founded c.1217 and the cathedral in 1220. W.H. Rich Jones, ed., *Vetus Registrum Sarisberienae alias Dictum Registrum S. Osmund Episcopi, volume 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. cv.

² Historic Towns Trust, *The situation of Salisbury* (2011)

http://www.historictownsatlas.org.uk/sites/historictownsatlas/files/atlas/town/maps/salisbury_map_1_the_situati_on.pdf [accessed 6 April 2018].

This thesis presents the development of a single city from the late fifteenth century until the end of the Civil War, that of Salisbury in Wiltshire, which is located around thirty miles from Southampton, fifty miles from Bristol, and ninety miles from London. With a focus on its major religious foundations, and their relationship with the secular institutions of the city, this study provides an in-depth examination and analysis of the changing experience of worship for the laity. The distinctiveness of Salisbury is identified through the study of the changing social role of religion and the ways in which the sensory experience of worship was transformed through a series of dramatic theological and liturgical changes. In contrast to other towns, the churches in Salisbury continued to maintain and replace their organs and ring their church bells throughout the Reformation. In the seventeenth century there was a dichotomy between the mainly puritan parish churches and the Laudian cathedral, which led to a dispute involving a member of the corporation and the episcopate. The thesis also sheds new light on the themes of lay devotion, natural and artificial illumination, the use of church bells, organs and other music and finally the seventeenth-century Caroline period. In particular it offers some important insights into the types of artificial illumination used in churches during this period, drawing distinctions between the medieval and later Reformation periods.

Salisbury was unique amongst medieval English cathedral cities in that it was built as a complete entity over a period of less than one hundred years, with a secular foundation cathedral and surrounding close, three parish churches, a marketplace and housing, all on land belonging to the bishop. Although one of around fifty new towns built during the period

1190-1230, Salisbury was designed from the beginning as a cathedral city and the administrative centre of the diocese.³

This chapter introduces a multi-faceted study which includes the research aims, historiography, sources and methodology, a brief overview of the city economy and government and finally an outline of each of the main chapters.

1.1 Approach and research aims

Through the use of archival sources, this thesis makes a number of significant contributions to our understanding of the English Reformation in its urban context, by exploring the ways in which Salisbury's experience was in some ways typical and in some ways distinctive, in comparison to that of other towns and cities in England.

Many of the aspects considered contribute towards the sensory experience of the worshipper. People in the later medieval period noted the existence of the same five senses of sight, hearing, smell, touch, and taste as we do today; however, by the seventeenth century speech was considered a sixth sense by some.⁴ As Christopher Woolgar states, medieval and early modern commentators believed that the process of sensing worked in two ways both by providing information and receiving it as well. For instance, the populace would recognise the sound of their own parish church bells, where the number or rhythm of those bells represented a particular service or event.⁵ Churches were designed with different spaces which could

³ John Chandler, *Endless Street: a history of Salisbury and its people* (East Knoyle: Hobnob Press, 1983), p. 20. Other towns built around this time included: Portsmouth (1194), Newton Abbot (c.1200), Chipping Sodbury (1227). Also six new towns planted by the Bishop of Winchester: New Alresford, Downton (some 6 miles from Salisbury), Overton, Newtown in Hampshire, Hindon, Newtown on the Isle of Wight. See Maurice Beresford, 'The Six New Towns of the Bishops of Winchester, 1200-55', *Medieval Archaeology*, 3 (1959), 187.

⁴ For instance Thomas Tomkins wrote a play called *Lingua* on this subject in 1607. Matthew Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 13.

⁵ C. M. Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 2.

initiate several senses at the same time; thus the buildings contained smells, sounds, light, colour and surfaces which were variously perceptible.

The changing experience of worship over the long Reformation from the point of view of the laity is examined, from both physical and sensory points of view. Significant changes to the interior of churches occurred during this time, beginning with the taking down of images, resulting in the elimination of statuary, the covering of wall paintings, and the replacement of some stained glass with white glass, thereby allowing more light into the buildings and consequently enabling books to be read more easily without the use of artificial illumination (during the hours of daylight, at least). Further sensory change occurred when candles were no longer allowed for ritual purposes, being limited to those required for practical reasons. In addition, the sound of the ringing of church bells differed over the period of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, becoming somewhat less frequent but more tuneful. Prior to the Reformation, ringing was repeated for each of the many services of Office and Mass; later, when the number of services decreased, the reasons for ringing evolved, becoming more related to the city and nation as a whole, rather than just the parish. With regard to the music of the interior of the churches, singing continued throughout the period of study, particularly at the cathedral where a choir was maintained which included boys. All the city churches also continued to maintain and replace their organs throughout the sixteenth century, and into the seventeenth century, thereby adding to the auditory experience of services.

As well as the relationships between the sacred and secular institutions, and between the sacred institutions themselves, the thesis will also examine the synergy between the mayor and city corporation on the one hand, and the ecclesiastical institutions of the city on the other. One way in which this association was played out was through the interaction between the city guilds and their churches. Even though following the Reformation the craft guilds no

longer had their own chapels, they continued to process to church on their patron's day where they then worshipped as a group. On the other hand, with the disbanding of the fraternity of Jesus Mass at St Edmund's, both the religious and social features of the group were removed at a stroke. As D. M. Palliser states 'less has been written ... on the unique blend of secular and ecclesiastical that underpinned (the parish)'.⁶ This thesis will remedy this surprising lacuna, and in doing so I will contribute towards our understanding of urban reformation and early modern civic culture.

1.2 Historiography

This interdisciplinary thesis intersects the histories of the Reformation, urban history, parish church history and specifically the history of Salisbury: the literature of each of these will now be considered.

A large and growing body of literature has investigated the Reformation; some sixty years ago A. G. Dickens utilised regional studies to inform his work, and in the case of *The English Reformation* he used the county of Yorkshire. In what is now characterised as the 'traditional' approach, he suggested that the Reformation came about during the reign of Henry VIII, and that the move from Catholicism to Protestantism was inevitable due to the corrupt nature of the clergy.⁷ He also proposed that the Lollard belief in the vernacular Bible gave rise to early Protestantism: this he shows chiefly through his study of the city of York.⁸ G. R. Elton also assumed that the people were attracted to Protestantism as it was superior to the former Catholicism, when in 1977, he wrote that 'by 1553 England was almost certainly nearer to

⁶ D. M. Palliser, 'Introduction: the Parish in Perspective', in *Parish, Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion 1350-1750*, ed. by S. J. Wright (London: Hutchinson, 1988), p. 6.

⁷ A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* 2nd edn (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989).

⁸ A. G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York, 1509-1558* (London & New York: Oxford University Press, 1959). Christopher Haigh, 'A. G. Dickens and the English Reformation', *Historical Research*, 77 (2004). Alec Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation: The Tudor and Stuart Realms 1485-1603* 2nd edn (London & New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 21-22.

being a Protestant country than to anything else'; his book ended in the year 1558 – the Reformation was complete!⁹ Until this time little attempt had been made to take the religious beliefs of the laity into consideration. By the 1970s and 1980s, this 'traditional' version of the narrative came under increasing criticism by proponents of a 'revisionist' approach, promulgated by authors such as J. J. Scarisbrick.¹⁰ Revisionist historians argued that the medieval church was altered by those in higher authority and that this was resisted by the laity.¹¹ These changes were brought about by the preaching of official texts, the availability of printing, and the prosecution of those who disagreed with changes to their religion during the reign of Elizabeth. In the introduction to his later work, *Henry VIII*, J. J. Scarisbrick refuted both the idea that the Reformation was 'waiting to happen' and that it was always a popular movement.¹² Further, Christopher Haigh argues that religious change in some places in England occurred only from the accession of Elizabeth and then only slowly, in contrast to Eamon Duffy who considers that the medieval church was a flourishing institution and that the Reformation was traumatic for the people of the parish churches; evidence for both these points of view may be seen in the city of Salisbury.¹³

There is now an acceptance that there was not a single Reformation but a number of such events. As Diarmaid MacCulloch writes in his essay *The Church of England, 1533-1603*, there have been 'as many Reformations as ... monarchs on the Tudor throne after the break

⁹ G. R. Elton, *Reform and Reformation: England 1509-1558* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), p. 371.

¹⁰ J. J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984). Christopher Haigh, ed., *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). Generally the authors in this volume cover a longer timeframe moving into the reign of Queen Elizabeth I.

¹¹ The monarch, government, and bishops for instance.

¹² J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1997).

¹³ Christopher Haigh, 'The Recent Historiography of the English Reformation', in *The English Reformation Revised*, ed. by Christopher Haigh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 26-27. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1992). Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (London: Yale University Press, 2003).

with Rome'.¹⁴ The starting date of the Reformation in England has been debated by Alec Ryrie, whose book *The Age of Reformation*, begins at the starting date of 1485 with the accession of Henry VII.¹⁵ Alternative dates suggested by Ryrie are numerous, for instance that of 1529 with Cardinal Wolsey's first fall, 1534 with the Act of Supremacy, or 1536 with the dissolution of the monasteries. This tends to suggest that the Reformation was not necessarily something new or externally imposed but occurred as part of on-going trends in late-medieval Christianity. The endpoint of the Reformation has also gradually been extended in the past thirty years, for instance by Claire Cross to 1660, and Nicholas Tyacke into the nineteenth century.¹⁶ It is now commonplace for historians to include the period of the Civil War and beyond.¹⁷ This thesis, therefore, takes the late fifteenth century as its starting point, in order to show that the parish churches and city were thriving in Salisbury prior to the religious changes which followed. The endpoint has been chosen as the start of the Civil War, not because the Reformation had necessarily ended, but because civic power was on the ascendancy and episcopal power was declining in the city – in that sense this marks the end of one story, and the beginning of another.

This thesis is a history of a single city, which until the work of F. D. Price in the early twentieth century on the diocese of Gloucester was generally the province of the amateur antiquarian.¹⁸ Unlike this thesis, the focus of such studies was related to the institutions rather

¹⁴ Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'The Church of England, 1533-1603', in *Anglicanism and the Western Christian Tradition: Continuity, Change and the Search for Communion*, ed. by Stephen Platten (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2003), p. 18.

¹⁵ Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation: The Tudor and Stuart Realms 1485-1603*.

¹⁶ Claire Cross, *Church and People: England 1450-1660* 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999). Nicholas Tyacke, ed., *England's Long Reformation 1500-1800* (London: Routledge, 1998).

¹⁷ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided 1490-1700* (London: Penguin, 2003). Susan Doran and Christopher Durston, eds., *Princes, Pastors and People: The Church and Religion in England, 1529-1689* (London: Routledge, 1991). The editors extended the period of this book in two iterations, firstly back to 1500 and then forward to 1700 to produce: Susan Doran and Christopher Durston, *Princes, Pastors and People: The Church and Religion in England 1500-1700* 2nd edn (London & New York: Routledge, 2003).

¹⁸ F. D. Price, 'The administration of the diocese of Gloucester, 1547-79' (unpublished Bachelors thesis, Oxford University, 1940). Francis Price, *A description of that admirable structure the cathedral church of Salisbury with*

than to the people. For example the cleric Charles Cox wrote *How to write the History of a Parish* and a volume on churchwardens' accounts, neither of which was focussed on a specific area.¹⁹ By the mid-twentieth century, studies on Exeter and Cornwall were undertaken, but these did not examine the role of religious reformation.²⁰ W. G. Hoskins wrote copiously on various elements of local history, particularly about the county of Devon, but little on the Reformation.²¹

A microhistory can be considered to be 'the intensive historical investigation and analysis of a small unit ... in order to reveal something of the reality of everyday lives'.²² This thesis can therefore be considered a microhistory of a single city, which as Margaret Spufford argues, attempts to reassemble fragments of the past through the accession of limited archival evidence.²³ This approach is used in order to draw attention to a particular community of people and thereby to extend our knowledge of mainstream history. Microhistories may cover a wide range of events, people, and groups, and like Salisbury, Martin Watkinson's study of the village of Humberston, in south-east Lincolnshire, relies on varied archive material which covers a wide variety of topics, including in the latter case the relief of the poor, enclosure,

the chapels, monuments, grave stones and their inscriptions to which is prefixed an account of Old Sarum (London: R. Baldwin, 1754). Antiquarians were involved with the early volumes of the *Victoria County History* series which was started in the nineteenth century. Earlier antiquarians such as John Leland wrote about their travels, including the churches that they visited, but they did not set out to write local history.

¹⁹ John Charles Cox, *How to Write the History of a Parish* (London: George Allen, 1879). J. Charles Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts from the fourteenth century to the close of the seventeenth century* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1913).

²⁰ William Hoskins founded the first department of local history at the University of Leicester. Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *Exeter, 1540-1640: the Growth of an English Town* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1958). A. L. Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall: Portrait of a Society* (London, 1941).

²¹ W.G. Hoskins, *Local History in England* Third edn (London and New York: Longman, 1984). W. G. Hoskins, 'English Provincial Towns in the Early Sixteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6 (1956), 1-19.

²² Martin Watkinson, 'The Microhistory of a Lincolnshire Parish: Humberston, 1750-1850' (unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Leicester, 2017), p. 1.

²³ Margaret Spufford, *Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* 2nd edn (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2000), p. xix. Barry Reay, *Microhistories: Demography, Society and Culture in Rural England, 1800-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon and others, *What is Microhistory? Theory and Practice* (London & New York: Routledge, 2013).

agriculture, and religion.²⁴ In the case of Salisbury where there was a much larger population, more institutions, and more evidence, it has only been possible to focus on a few themes. Keith Wrightson also focusses on a single large town, that of Newcastle-on-Tyne, in the north-east of England, choosing to base his study on a single year in which the town suffered from the plague.²⁵ In his book he explores networks of relationships between people in order to analyse their decisions, and in addition he uses the wider context in order to situate his archival evidence; in this thesis the national point of view is also used as a comparator with Salisbury.²⁶ A further prominent example of urban microhistory, David Underdown's *Fire from Heaven* provides research on the seventeenth-century town of Dorchester, in Dorset, some fifty miles from Salisbury, and from which it can be demonstrated that the puritan ministers of both towns knew each other at the time.²⁷ These microhistories all focus on the ordinary people in the locale in which they lived; none however, follow a city over the long Reformation to try to understand how its neighbourhood, and in particular its churches evolved, as presented in this thesis.²⁸ This most recent type of scholarship, 'post-revisionist', recognises that rather than being concerned as to when or where the Reformation began, it is more important to reflect on how the people in villages, towns and cities were actually impacted by the changes to their religion as they experienced it from day to day.²⁹ This I consider to be of particular interest and is the approach which I follow in this thesis.

²⁴ Watkinson, 'The Microhistory of a Lincolnshire Parish: Humberston, 1750-1850', pp. 1-3.

²⁵ Keith Wrightson, *Ralph Taylor's Summer: A Scriviner, his City and the Plague* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2011).

²⁶ Wrightson, *Ralph Taylor's Summer*, p. xii.

²⁷ David Underdown, *Fire from Heaven: Life in an English Town in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Fontana Press, 1993).

²⁸ Other urban studies include: Patrick Collinson and John Craig, eds., *The Reformation in English towns, 1500-1640* (Basingstoke Macmillan, 1998). Martha C. Skeeters, *Community and clergy: Bristol and the Reformation, c.1530-c.1570* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1993). Matthew Reynolds, *Godly Reformers and their Opponents in Early Modern England: Religion in Norwich, c.1560-1643* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2005). Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

²⁹ Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in early modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). Alexandra Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014). Alexandra

In recent years, researchers into parish church history have shown an increased interest in the use of churchwardens accounts. An edited volume entitled *Views from the Parish*, by Andrew Foster and Valerie Hitchman, argues that churchwardens accounts are more complex than was at first realised, in that they can show involvement in civic ceremonies and other processions, social networks within church and town, and changes to the interiors of churches.³⁰ Record societies are a rich source for the transcription of such documents covering various periods.³¹ This interest in local parish accounts is also reflected in the edited volume of eighteen papers delivered at the Harlaxton Medieval Studies symposium in 2002, entitled *The Parish in Late Medieval England*.³² Although liturgical music is included there is a paucity of information on windows, artificial lighting and bells.

Walsham, *The reformation of the landscape: religion, identity, and memory in early modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England, 1547-1603* 2nd edn (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001). MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided 1490-1700*. Peter Marshall, *Reformation England 1480-1642* 2nd edn (London: Bloomsbury, 2012). Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation: The Tudor and Stuart Realms 1485-1603*. Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). Jonathan Willis, *The Reformation of the Decalogue: Religious Identity and the Ten Commandments in England, c. 1485-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). Christopher Haigh, *The plain man's pathways to heaven: kinds of Christianity in post-reformation England, 1570-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). Eamon Duffy, *Reformation Divided: Catholics, Protestants and the Conversion of England* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).

³⁰ Valerie Hitchman and Andrew Foster, *Views from the Parish: Churchwardens' Accounts c.1500-1800* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015). Katherine L. French, *The People of the Parish* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001). Katherine French, Gary G. Gibbs and Beat Kumin, *The Parish in English Life 1400-1600* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).

³¹ As well as the records of All Saints', Bristol prepared by Clive Burgess, other examples include: Alex Craven, ed., *The Churchwardens' Accounts of St Mary's, Devizes 1633-1689* (Chippenham: Wiltshire Record Society, 2016). David Dymond, ed., *The Business of the Suffolk Parish 1558-1625* (Suffolk: The Suffolk Institute of Archaeology & History, 2018). Anthony Palmer, *Tudor Churchwardens' Accounts* (Hertford: Hertfordshire Record Society, 2018). C. J. Litzenberger, ed., *Tewkesbury Churchwardens' Accounts, 1563-1624* (The Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 1994). Judith Middleton-Stewart, ed., *Records of the Churchwardens of Mildenhall* (Woodbridge: Suffolk Records Society in conjunction with The Boydell Press, 2011). Stephen S. Doree, ed., *Early Churchwardens' Accounts of Bishops Stortford 1431-1558* (Hertfordshire Record Society, 1994). David Lloyd, Margaret Clark and Chris Potter, eds., *St Laurence's Church, Ludlow: The Parish Church and People, 1199-2009* (Woonton Almeley: Logaston Press, 2010).

³² Clive Burgess and Eamon Duffy, *The Parish in Late Medieval England*, Vol. XIV (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2006).

Clive Burgess utilises primary sources, including churchwardens' accounts, in his examination of a single church in a single city, that of All Saints', Bristol.³³ His most recent volume, *The Right Ordering of Souls*, puts his previous transcriptions of the documents of All Saints' into context, by following its development over the one hundred years prior to the break with Rome, in order to argue that All Saints' was profoundly transformed from the mid-fifteenth century onwards. In his conclusion, Burgess states that 'parishes surely represent the most fruitful area of development within the Church in the century before the Reformation'.³⁴ This thesis also uses similar archival sources to interrogate accounts of the churches in Salisbury, in order to discover how they too experienced changes in worship over the course of the long Reformation.

There are relatively few historical studies on the city of Salisbury and to date there has been no publication which describes the relationship of the churches, cathedral and corporation.³⁵ The *Victoria County History* for Wiltshire provides useful factual information on all aspects of Salisbury, as does *Endless Street: a History of Salisbury and its People*.³⁶ However, only the parish and church of St Martin's has engendered a published volume, whilst Charles

³³ Clive Burgess, ed., *The Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints' Church, Bristol Part 3: Wills, The Halleway Chantry Records and Deeds* (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 2004); Clive Burgess, ed., *The Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints' Church, Bristol Part 2: The Churchwardens' Accounts* (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 2000); Clive Burgess, ed., *The Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints', Bristol* (Stroud: Alan Sutton for Bristol Record Society, 1995).

³⁴ Clive Burgess, *The Right Ordering of Souls: The Parish of All Saints' Bristol on the Eve of the Reformation* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018), pp. 416, 413.

³⁵ William Dodsworth, *An Historical Account of the Episcopal See and Cathedral Church of Salisbury* (Salisbury: William Dodsworth, 1814). Henry Hatcher, *A Descriptive and Historical Account of Old and New Sarum, or Salisbury* (Salisbury, 1834); Robert Benson and Henry Hatcher, 'Old and New Sarum, or Salisbury', in *The History of Modern Wiltshire, volume 6*, ed. by Sir Richard Colt Hoare (London, 1843). R. L. P. Jowitt, *Salisbury* (London & New York: Batsford, 1951). Hugh Shortt, *City of Salisbury* 2nd edn (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1970).

³⁶ Salisbury is mainly detailed in volume 6. Elizabeth Crittall, 'A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6', in *British History Online* (1962) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6> [accessed 18 May 2020]. Kathleen Edwards, *Salisbury Cathedral* (Trowbridge: Reprinted from The Victoria History of Wiltshire volume III, by Wiltshire County Council Library & Museum Service, 1986). Chandler, *Endless Street*.

Haskins has written on the sale and reuse of St Edmund's College in the years following its dissolution.³⁷

Unlike other cathedrals, such as those of Durham, Hereford, St Paul's and Winchester, Salisbury does not have a substantial edited volume of essays, written by experts in the fields of history, architecture, books, music and liturgy, which has been researched through its library and archive.³⁸ A shorter publication has been produced recently as part of the celebrations of 800 years since the founding of the cathedral, which mainly considers the original site of the cathedral at Old Sarum and the twentieth century.³⁹ Other authors have written single volumes on the architecture and the building contents, but rarely use the fabric accounts to inform their work.⁴⁰

In summary, it has been shown from this review that there is a surprising paucity of studies on a single city which utilizes information from parish churches, a cathedral, and the civic archives over the long Reformation. There has also been no study of Salisbury for this period which considers a wide range of fields of interest, based on archival sources.

³⁷ T. H. Baker, *Notes on St Martin's Church and Parish* (Salisbury: Brown & Co., 1906). Charles Haskins, *Salisbury Charters and History of St Edmund's College* (Salisbury: The Mayor and Corporation of Salisbury, 1927).

³⁸ David Brown, ed., *Durham Cathedral: History, Fabric and Culture* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2015). Gerald Aylmer and John Tiller, *Hereford Cathedral: A History* (London & Rio Grande: The Hambledon Press, 2000). Derek Keene, Arthur Burns and Andrew Saint, *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604-2004* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2004). John Crook, *Winchester Cathedral: 1093-1993* (Bognor Regis: Phillimore & Co. Ltd., 1993).

³⁹ Emily Naish and John Elliott, eds., *Salisbury Cathedral: 800 Years of People and Place, Sarum Studies 7* (Salisbury: Sarum Chronicle, 2020).

⁴⁰ Tim Tatton-Brown, David Lepine and Nigel Saul, 'Incomparabilissime Fabrice: The Architectural History of Salisbury Cathedral c. 1297 to 1548', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 166 (2013); Tim Tatton-Brown, 'The Salisbury Cathedral Consecration Crosses', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, XVI (1998); Tim Tatton-Brown, *Salisbury Cathedral: The Making of a Medieval Masterpiece* (Salisbury: Scala, 2009); Tim Tatton-Brown, 'Where was the Vicars' Close at Salisbury?', in *Vicars Choral at English Cathedrals*, ed. by Richard Hall and David Stocker (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005). RCHME, *Salisbury: Houses of the Close* (London: HMSO, 1993); RCHME, *Salisbury Cathedral: Perspectives on the Architectural History* (London: HMSO, 1993). Sarah Brown, *Sumptuous and Richly Adorn'd: The Decoration of Salisbury Cathedral* (London: HMSO, 1999).

1.3 Methodology and sources

There were various ways in which this thesis could have been constructed: for example, by considering key personnel such as the bishops, deans, and mayors and their influence in the city churches and corporation. Equally, each of the parish churches or cathedral could have been studied as individual entities. However, the approach of this work is more broad ranging, focussing on groups of people within the city such as the guilds and fraternities, and on the physicality of the liturgy through the study of the use of bells, organs, and natural and artificial illumination. I have taken this approach as it provides an indication of the daily experience of the citizens in the city over a long period of time, derived mainly through the use of financial accounts. Although choral music is included, the lack of surviving evidence, both archival and material, restricts discussion. However, Roger Bowers' doctoral thesis contains useful information pertaining to music and worship in the medieval period, along with the associated personnel, but his study stops before the Reformation in the year 1500.⁴¹ In addition, Dora Robertson's detailed volume describes the cathedral close through the history of the choristers, but she omits any events outside its walls.⁴²

The liturgiologist, Christopher Wordsworth, a cathedral canon at Salisbury in the early twentieth century, prepared two volumes, one entitled *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, and another written in conjunction with Douglas Maclean containing statutes and other documents.⁴³ However, unlike this thesis, these authors do not interrogate the fabric accounts of the cathedral in order to show changes to the building and

⁴¹ Roger Bowers, 'Choral institutions within the English Church: their constitution and development, c.1340-1500' (unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of East Anglia, 1975).

⁴² Dodsworth, *An Historical Account of the Episcopal See and Cathedral Church of Salisbury*. Dora Robertson, *Sarum Close* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1938).

⁴³ Christopher Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901); Christopher Wordsworth and Douglas Maclean, eds., *Statutes and Customs of the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Salisbury* (London: William Clowes and Sons Ltd., 1915).

the personnel. These, along with further volumes of transcribed original documents, particularly visitation articles and royal injunctions, enable the history of change in the city to be followed. Those most relevant to this thesis are by Walter Frere, who has gathered the relevant documents of the Reformation and has written a useful introduction.⁴⁴ The Elizabethan era is similarly documented by W. P. M. Kennedy in his Elizabethan Episcopal Administration series, and the two volumes on the Early Stuart Church by Kenneth Fincham enable the history of the church in the seventeenth century to be followed.⁴⁵ This subject is discussed with regard to Salisbury, concentrating on the decline in the authority of the religious, versus the secular, institutions and in turn the growth of religious division in what was in earlier times a relatively harmonious religious environment.

Overall, the choice of themes examined has been shaped by the available archival evidence, and also the desire to avoid, as far as possible, replicating previous historical work on Salisbury. There is a rich source of archival evidence to be found regarding the city, and the documents examined as the basis for this thesis are many and varied. A substantial body of data is to be found in the churchwardens' accounts for the three parish churches, along with the fabric accounts of the cathedral. All financial accounts have their limitations and rely on the ability of those who kept them: some of the 'accountants' made scribal errors and others made blunders in addition. However, this does not negate their usefulness when taken over the considerable number of years for which they are extant. A further difficulty is that

⁴⁴ Walter Howard Frere, ed., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation: Historical Introduction and Index* (London: Longmans Green & Co, 1910); Walter Frere and W. P. M. Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1536-1558* (London: Longmans Green & Co, 1910); Walter Frere and W. P. M. Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1559-1575* (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1910).

⁴⁵ W. P. M. Kennedy, ed., *Elizabethan Episcopal Administration: An Essay in Sociology and Politics* (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd., 1924); W. P. M. Kennedy, ed., *Elizabethan Episcopal Administration: Visitation Articles and Injunctions 1575-1582* (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd., 1924); W. P. M. Kennedy, ed., *Elizabethan Episcopal Administration: Visitation Articles and Injunctions 1583-1603* (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd., 1924). Kenneth Fincham, ed., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church, Volume I* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1994); Kenneth Fincham, ed., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church, Volume II* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998).

accurate direct price comparison cannot be made over a substantial period due to price inflation. Notwithstanding, this does not detract from the significance of these entries which provide qualitative descriptions.

Churchwardens in Salisbury were elected from members of the vestry at each of the parish churches. They generally served for one or two years; if two years they spent the first year as the junior officer, and the second as the senior. They were responsible for listing all the expenses of the church including staffing and building repairs and for balancing the income from regular donations from parishioners along with bequests and funerals. A clean copy of the accounts was delivered to the congregation at a meeting at Easter each year. The original churchwardens' accounts of St Edmund's, and St Thomas's, are available in the Wiltshire and Swindon Archive, in the form of rolls. Most of these accounts were transcribed by Henry Swayne and published by the Wiltshire Record Society in 1896. Swayne used earlier work by Benson and Hatcher, conducted before some of the manuscripts had been mislaid. The accounts in this publication cover the years 1443 to 1662 for St Edmund's Church, and 1476 to 1548 for the fraternity of Jesus at the same church, whereas the accounts for St Thomas's Church run from 1545 into the eighteenth century, none however are continuous (see Appendix 1 and Appendix 2).⁴⁶

The data derived from the accounts of the major institutions of the city used in this study detail income from a variety of sources, and subsequent payments made by parish churchwardens, and the clerk of the works at the cathedral. As part of this thesis, the undated accounts in the book have been allocated dates and additional accounts from the archives

⁴⁶ Henry James Fowle Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts of St Edmund & St Thomas, Sarum 1443-1702, with other documents* (Salisbury: Bennett Brothers, 1896). WSA: 1901/65, *St Edmund churchwardens accounts and vestry minutes, 1473-1630*. WSA: 1901/66-83, *St Edmund churchwardens account roll*. WSA: 1900/69-81, *St Thomas churchwardens account roll*.

which were not transcribed by Henry Swayne have been transcribed and examined, thereby extending scholarship in this area (see Appendix 2). However, there are no extant accounts for the College of St Edmund's, or for the maintenance of the fabric of St Thomas's prior to the Reformation. Churchwardens' accounts and those for overseers' of the poor accounts for the church of St Martin's have also been reviewed and are also available at the Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre as collated manuscript volumes of what were originally loose sheets or booklets dating between 1567 and 1653.⁴⁷

As an example of the inter-relationship of the religious organisations from at least the end of the 14th century, funds from the rectory of St Thomas's Church were appropriated to the chapter for the maintenance of the cathedral fabric; in return, the chapter provided a perpetual curate, who was a member of the cathedral body.⁴⁸ Until the Reformation, the procurator (or overseer), usually a chaplain at St Thomas's, kept the accounts and at the end of the year any surplus income was given to the master of the fabric; this appears in the corresponding cathedral accounts.⁴⁹ The accounts of the procurator generally run from Michaelmas to Michaelmas and consist of receipts from oblations and fees including: receipts and payments at the Feast of Easter, sale of mortuaries, and expenses such as stipends.⁵⁰ The corresponding accounts of the masters of the fabric, who received the surplus income from St Thomas's Church, show expenditure on the obit of Bishop Medford at all three parishes and at the cathedral, with a celebration at Pentecost at St Thomas's, and wine for the masters of the fabric at the annual closure of accounts. This process of fund transfer and distribution is

⁴⁷ WSA: 1899/65, *St Martin churchwardens and overseers account book, 1567-1653*.

⁴⁸ SCA: Pr. I, Sarum 2/83, *Deed 1403*. SCA: FA/1/1/1 *Fabric account, 1464-1465*.

⁴⁹ SCA: FA/1/3/1, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric 1527-1543*, p.45.

⁵⁰ However, there are no expenses for the maintenance of the fabric of the church. These rolls are held in the cathedral archive under the sub-series FA/2/1. SCA: FA/2/1, *Accounts of the procurator of St Thomas with the masters of the fabric*.

summarised for the year 1537-38 in Appendix 3.⁵¹ For the purpose of this thesis, a sample of these documents has been transcribed for years when both a procurator's account and a master's account are extant and legible. A further set of annual accounts was kept by the clerk of the fabric of the cathedral, and these are extant from 1464 (see Appendix 4 for extant years); these have not previously been transcribed in their entirety.⁵² The clerk was a member of the laity and was not a canon. The two earliest accounts are presented as books; thereafter all accounts until 1558-59 are paper rolls.⁵³ After 1558-59, the accounts are to be found in paper books, the first folded folio of each acting as a cover. Up to this date, the language used was Latin and thereafter English.⁵⁴ The accounts run from the feast of St Michael the Archangel for periods of one year and are arranged under a series of headings.⁵⁵ All the fabric accounts provide insight into the names of some personnel along with purchases for building works and the general maintenance of the cathedral. From 1642-43 the accounts are in a different format and are for payments only.⁵⁶

Additionally, there is a bound copy of cathedral fabric accounts for the period 1527 to 1543.⁵⁷ This includes important information including the destruction of the shrine of St Osmund in

⁵¹ SCA: FA/2/3, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric on the receipts of St Thomas*. SCA: FA/2/2 contains partial, undated accounts.

⁵² Catalogued under the FA/1 sub-series. SCA: FA/1/1/1, *Fabric account, 1464-65*. In total, there are sixty-four extant annual accounts between the years 1480 and 1665. Sally Wadsworth, *The Fabric Accounts of Salisbury Cathedral 1558-1604* (Chippenham: Wiltshire Records Society, forthcoming).

⁵³ SCA: FA/1/1/1, *Fabric account, 1464-65*. SCA: FA/1/1/2, *Fabric account, 1473-74*. SCA: FA/1/1/5 – FA/1/1/69 *Fabric accounts*.

⁵⁴ SCA: FA/1/1/15, *Fabric account, 1558-59*.

⁵⁵ Otherwise known as Michaelmas or 29th September each year.

⁵⁶ SCA: FA/1/1/64, *Fabric account, 1642-43*. SCA: FA/1/1/65, *Fabric account, 1664-67*.

⁵⁷ The Chapter Act Book for 31 December 1906 states: 'Old Fabric Accounts. The Dean having been informed of the existence of a book of detailed Accounts of the Fabric of the Cathedral from 1527 to 1542 in the possession of M. R. V. Berkeley of Spetchley Park, Worcestershire, and Mr Berkeley having deposited the same, at the request of the Chapter, at The Record Office for examination, the Chapter Clerk having examined them accordingly reported the result of his examination to the Chapter, and it was decided that a copy should be ordered'. I have made a comparison between the contents of the copy at the cathedral and the original which is housed in a Private Collection: with the exception of a few minor errors and a single missing line, the contents were found to be identical. SCA: FA/1/3/1, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric 1527-1543*. Accounts for 1536-37 and 1541-42 are missing from this volume and that for 1540-41 is lacking expenditure for term IV.

1538-39. In that during this time the fabric accounts at the cathedral were kept as rolls, it is of interest to understand why an additional set of accounts in the form of a book was maintained for this period. Finally, the communar's accounts run to 362 rolls spanning the period 1343 to 1641. They were kept quarterly and would have been audited by the chapter, but few are complete.⁵⁸ Income noted in the accounts was derived from rents of farms and other land belonging to the cathedral, along with tithes and fines imposed for the non-residency of the cathedral canons. Expenditure included payments of the appropriate share of the commons (surplus income) on a quarterly basis to named canons, vicars choral (and later lay vicars), altarists and choristers.⁵⁹ In addition, payments are included for some sundries such as parchment, paper, ink, candles for use in the quire, and sometimes for maintenance of the organ, but do not include information on bells.

Evidence regarding the management of the city corporation has been researched through the extant ledgers. These are held in the Wiltshire and Swindon Archive and comprise four large ledgers, which include minutes and general entries, including the names of attendees, for the years 1387 to 1723.⁶⁰ Further evidence is contained in twelve compotus rolls (or chamberlain's accounts) for the city covering the period 1444 to 1560.⁶¹ These provide evidence of visitors to the city as well as the housing and maintenance of a mayoral chaplain.

⁵⁸ Oct-Dec/Jan, Jan-Mar/Apr, Apr-Jun/Jul, Jul-Sep/Oct. The numbering was made sequentially 1 to 362 by Roger Bowers in 1971 but were re-catalogued in 2017 by the cathedral archivist under sub-series FI/1/1. The Communar, or bursar of the *communa canonicorum*, was a canon responsible for the distribution of the common fund to the canons, which at Salisbury was paid only in cash. Roger de Martival's Code in: Wordsworth and Macleane, eds., *Statutes and Customs*, pp. 192-193, 358-159. Similar accounts were kept at Wells Cathedral, see: Historical Manuscripts Commission, 'Communar's Accounts: 1547-8, in Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells: volume 2', in *British History Online* (1914) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/wells-mss/vol2/pp268-278> [accessed 19 May 2016].

⁵⁹ Altarist: after their voices changed choristers were ordained in minor orders as altarists. They were to help during services and ring the bells. *OED*.

⁶⁰ WSA: G23/1/1, *Corporation ledger A, 1387-1456*. WSA: G23/1/2, *Corporation ledger B, 1452-1564*. WSA: G23/1/3, *Corporation ledger C, 1571-1640*. WSA: G23/1/4, *Corporation ledger D, 1640-1723*. The early years are in Latin and later in English. There is some water damage from the fire at the Council House in 1780. Chandler, *Endless Street*, p. 56.

⁶¹ WSA: G23/1/44/1-12, *Compotus Rolls, 1444-1560*.

1.4 Setting the scene

Following the Norman Conquest a royal castle was constructed on what had been an Iron Age hill fort now known as Old Sarum, where the first cathedral was completed in 1092 during the episcopacy of Bishop Osmund (1078-1099).⁶² However, the situation on the hilltop was dominated by the castellan and soldiers who obstructed the movement of the canons. In addition there were other inconveniences, such as a lack of water, which led to the bishop obtaining permission to remove the cathedral to a more convenient site.⁶³ The city of New Salisbury was founded in 1217 on land to the south of Old Sarum on part of the episcopal estate of Bishop Herbert Poore (+1194-1217), see Figure 1-2.⁶⁴ Within a hundred years of its foundation the new city of Salisbury was fully formed, constructed on a grid pattern centred on the market place.⁶⁵ The main development was divided into four wards along with three parishes of St Edmund's, St Martin's and St Thomas's; see Figure 1-3 and Appendix 5. For details regarding the cathedral, the parish churches and other religious establishments in Salisbury, see Chapter 2.

⁶² RCHME, *Ancient and Historical Monuments in the City of Salisbury Volume I* (London: HMSO, 1980), pp. xxxi, xxviii. Bishop Osmund was canonized on 1 January 1457.

⁶³ Jones, ed., *Vetus Registrum Sarisberienae alias Dictum Registrum S. Osmund Episcopi*, volume 2, pp. ci-ciii.

⁶⁴ RCHME, *Salisbury Volume I*, pp. xxx, xxxii.

⁶⁵ The original building plots were approximately seven perches by three which by the seventeenth century were known as chequers (or checkers). K. H. Rogers, 'Salisbury', in *Historic Towns: Maps and plans of towns and cities in the British Isles, with Historical Commentaries, from earliest times to 1800* ed. by M. D. Lobel (Witney: Lovell Johns, 1969), p. 4. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 194, 328.

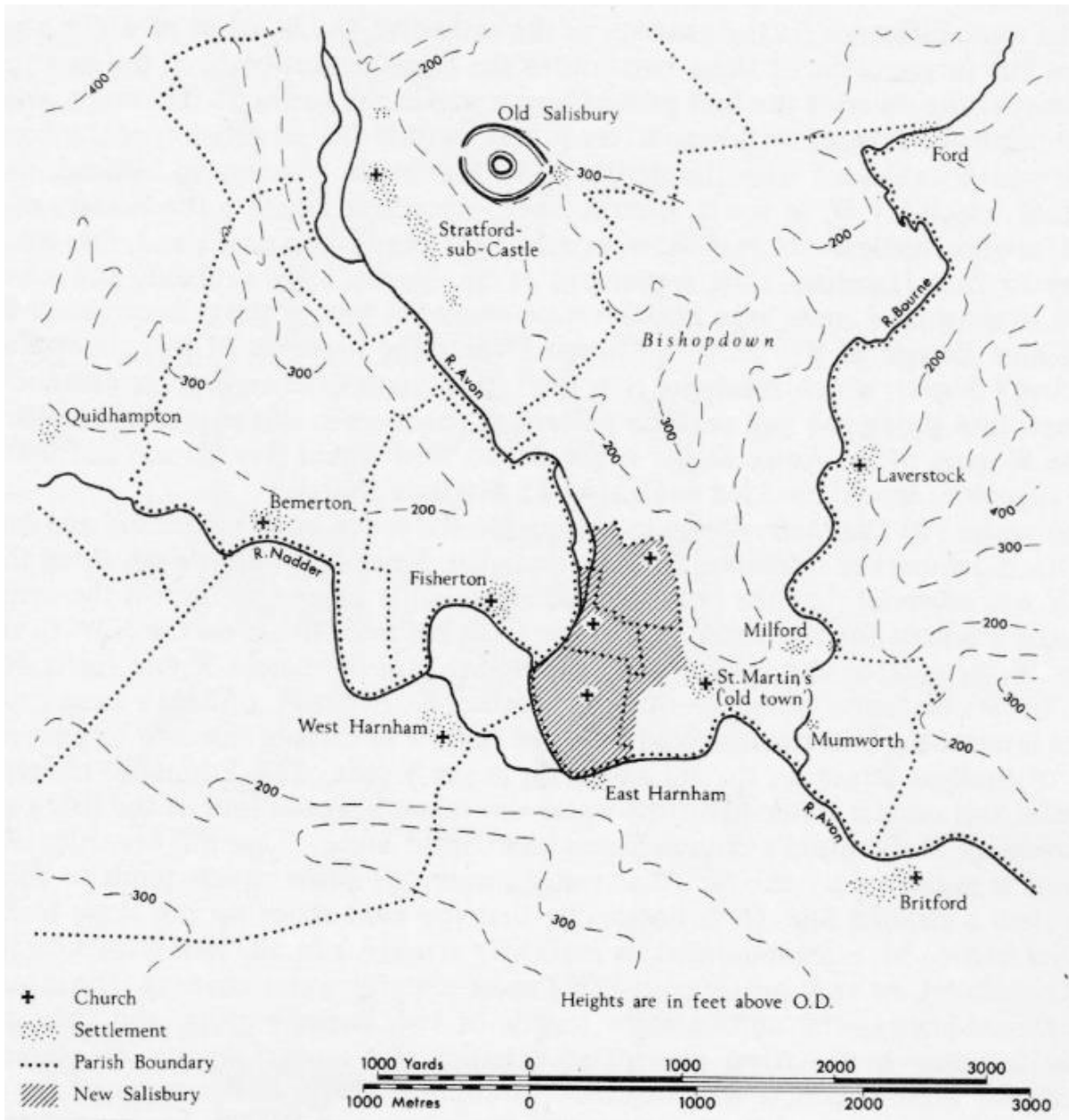


Figure 1-2: Settlement in the Salisbury area, after 1220⁶⁶

⁶⁶ RCHME, *Salisbury Volume I*, p. xxxiii. This material is Crown Copyright and contains public sector information licensed under the Open Government Licence v3.0.

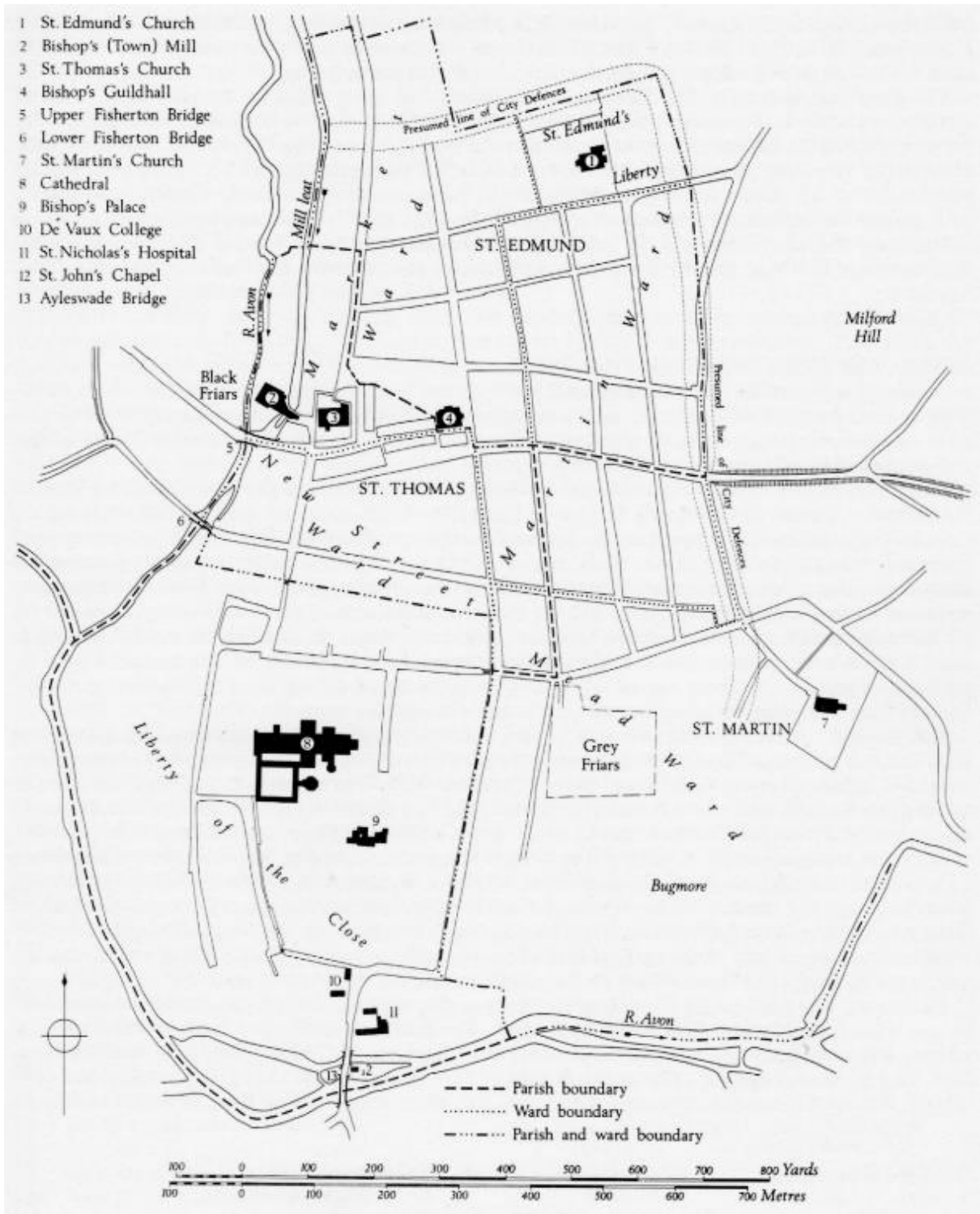


Figure 1-3: Salisbury - wards and parishes⁶⁷

⁶⁷ RCHME, *Salisbury Volume I*, p. xxxix. This material is Crown Copyright and contains public sector information licensed under the Open Government Licence v3.0.

1.4.1 The economy of Salisbury

Accurate population figures for English towns and cities are few and far between during the period of study: there was no regular census and reliance has to be placed on information from sources available at infrequent and irregular intervals such as lay subsidies, and thus estimates have to be relied upon. From a low figure of around 4,000 in 1399, shortly after the Black Death, the population of the city of Salisbury had risen to between 6,300 and 7,100 adults by the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, at which time it was the sixth wealthiest town in England.⁶⁸ In comparison, the population of Bristol was of a similar size whilst London had a population of around 60,000 and Norwich 12,000. Thereafter, the population of Salisbury did not decline and in 1597 it was estimated at 7,000: from then until the Civil War, the population is considered to have fluctuated between 6,000 and 7,000 adult inhabitants.⁶⁹ From the granting of the first royal charter in 1227, the city developed rapidly, due to its being the seat of the bishop and the fact that it was sited on the trade route between the major towns of Southampton and Bristol. In addition, Salisbury was situated near the royal hunting grounds and palace of Clarendon, which facilitated regular visits to the city from the aristocracy.⁷⁰

By the fourteenth and into the fifteenth century the predominant trade was in wool, as sheep grazed on the rich chalkland pastures around the city and on the water meadows along the rivers. Much of the annual wool clip was sold abroad by wealthy merchants and those in authority in the city such as Robert Knoyle, Robert de Woodford, and John Aunger.⁷¹ There

⁶⁸ Hoskins, 'English Provincial Towns in the Early Sixteenth Century', 4. Towns worth more than Salisbury were: London, Norwich, Bristol, Coventry and Exeter. Chandler, *Endless Street*, p. 36.

⁶⁹ Chandler, *Endless Street*, pp. 34-36.

⁷⁰ Elizabeth Crittall, 'Salisbury: Economic history to 1612', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6* (1962) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp124-129> [accessed 6 May 2020].

⁷¹ Robert Knoyle was mayor in 1309 and 1314. Robert de Woodford was mayor in 1338. John Aunger was possibly an alderman at this time.

was also growth in the cloth trade in fourteenth-century Salisbury; the city was distinctive in that its production and sale involved both those of the merchant class such as John Nedler and Richard atte Mulle, and those of lesser standing, such as John Pinnock and Hugh Tailor. Salisbury was also a major centre for the collection and distribution of cloth, which arguably added more to the local economy than its manufacture.⁷² This development of the city as a cloth town did not produce an ‘island of wealth within a sea of rural poverty’ as noted by Andrew Brown: rather, this prosperity ensured a market for the agricultural products of the rural hinterland in terms of wool for the cloth trade, and meat and grain for the diets of the citizens of Salisbury.⁷³

The growing affluence of some of the citizens enabled construction and maintenance of the streets, and of the bars and gates of the city. Such men included the drapers Richard Gage and Thomas Wyly. It also enabled the enhancement of the churches, for example, in the case of William Swayne, who paid for works at St Thomas’s Church (see Chapter 2).⁷⁴ Property was also bequeathed to the corporation, in order that the rental could be used for the support of the city; for instance in 1453-54, fuller’s racks and a cottage were left to the city by Johanna Warwick.⁷⁵

Overseas trade took place mainly through the port of Southampton, with both the exportation of goods such as tin, and cloth including kerseys, and the importation of commodities for

⁷² John Pinnock left a bequest to the tailors’ guild in order to celebrate his annual obit. WSA: G23/1/251, *Tailors guild assembly minute book, 1517-75*. Crittall, ‘Salisbury: Economic history to 1612’.

⁷³ Andrew D. Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England: The Diocese of Salisbury 1250-1550* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 17.

⁷⁴ Crittall, ‘Salisbury: Economic history to 1612’. Richard Gage was city reeve in 1413. Thomas Wyly was a leading draper at a similar time.

⁷⁵ For instance in 1453-54, the rent of the assize of 40s was paid from the tenement of Isabella, late wife of William Pette. The ‘Cottage Rekkes and Curtillage late given to the Community by Johanna Warewik’ raised a further 10½d plus 4s for a ‘cottage occupied by Alice Couper which same garden, rack and cottages Johanna, the relict of William Warwik, lately gave to the Mayor and Commonality’. H. J. F. Swayne, ‘Gleanings from the Archives of Salisbury no. 14’, *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, Saturday February 16 1884, 3.

consumption in the city and environs including linen, beeswax, nails, glass, sugar, wine, carpet, eels, and alum.⁷⁶ This contributed to the increase in economic development of the city prior to the early Reformation with eminent merchants such as William Webbe and John Stone involved in trade.⁷⁷ In turn such men contributed towards the wealth of the churches with money being bequeathed for obits which in turn was used to support the clerical foundations. In 1559 for instance, John Abyn left the substantial sum of £20 for his burial and obits over the following years.⁷⁸

Cloth production continued in the sixteenth century with kerseys and striped rays, some of which were exported to France and Spain; however it seems that this trade was in decline as by 1576 other towns such as Yarmouth, Shrewsbury, Ipswich and Oxford had overtaken Salisbury in terms of wealth as the city fell to around fourteenth position in England, and by 1662 was further relegated to fifteenth place.⁷⁹ The manufacture of cloth however, continued to be the main industry in Salisbury until the mid-eighteenth century.⁸⁰

Individual families were often affected by poverty either through the death of the main breadwinner, or the loss of their goods through fire. Other misfortunes which affected the wider populace and therefore the economy of a city such as Salisbury, albeit for only short periods of time, included outbreaks of plague and harvest failures. Poor harvests such as those

⁷⁶ Thomas Beaumont James, *The Port Book of Southampton 1509-10* (Southampton: Southampton University Press, 1990). The Southampton port books for the year 1509-10 document thirty-one shipments or part shipments imported by Salisbury merchants, with thirteen shipments exported. Unfortunately they do not document where the ships were coming from or going to – only the name of the ship. Alum was used as a mordant for dyeing. Kersey was a coarse woollen cloth produced by the cloth trade. Tin was mined in Cornwall and exported from towns such as Fowey to Southampton, which from 1492 became the only port through which the commodity passed. John Hare, 'Miscellaneous Commodities', in *English Inland Trade 1430-1540*, ed. by Michael Hicks (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015), pp. 163-164.

⁷⁷ William Webbe, merchant, was named as mayor in 1495, 1511, 1513, 1522 and 1533. and John Stone in 1516.

⁷⁸ TNA: PROB 11/42A/459, *Will of John Abyn, merchant of Salisbury, 7 March 1559*.

⁷⁹ Elizabeth Crittall, 'Salisbury: Economic history since 1612', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6* (1962) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp129-132> [accessed 30 December 2019]. Chandler, *Endless Street*, pp. 42-44. John Abyn, a Salisbury merchant, left £20 'to help younge begynners that be kerseye makers', in his will. TNA: PROB 11/42A/459, *Will of John Abyn, merchant of Salisbury, 7 March 1559*.

⁸⁰ Crittall, 'Salisbury: Economic history since 1612'.

of the mid-1590s and early 1620s led to an increase in the price of grain and therefore bread, which in turn increased the number of poor requiring relief.⁸¹ In addition, this was the period of the Thirty Years War which disrupted overseas sales of cloth; along with the Cockayne project and currency manipulations in Europe, this led to a depression in the textile industry nationally.⁸² This general situation nationally and severe outbreaks of plague in Salisbury in 1604 and 1627 left a third of the population of Salisbury at a point where they required poor relief.⁸³ The mayor at the time, John Ivie, led the battle of managing the poor and sick during the plague outbreak almost single-handedly, when other members of the corporation who could afford to flee to the countryside did so, leaving ‘none left to assist me and comfort the poor in so great a misery ... but only two of the petty constables that had no friend to receive them in the country’.⁸⁴ He worked industriously, both to organise men to remove and bury the dead and to establish a pesthouse where the sick could be quarantined. In addition he arrested looters and rioters including Welsh soldiers.⁸⁵ Various initiatives were tried by men such as John Ivie and Henry Sherfield, in order to combat poverty in Salisbury during the seventeenth century. These included a workhouse, a brewhouse and a storehouse, but mostly were unsuccessful (see Chapter 5).

Whilst it is not possible to quantify available wealth in the city, the dynamic economic activities in Salisbury, both through the production of goods and materials as well as the

⁸¹ Paul Slack, 'Poverty and politics in Salisbury 1597-1666', in *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700*, ed. by Peter Clark and Paul Slack (London: Routledge, 1972), pp. 168-169.

⁸² In 1614, James I established the king's merchant adventurers led by Alderman Cockayne who undertook to find a market for broadcloths which had been dyed and dressed in London, rather than dyed in Holland and Germany, thereby retaining this industry within England. G. D. Ramsay, *The Wiltshire Woollen Industry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* 2nd edn (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1965), pp. 71-72.

⁸³ Paul Slack, *Poverty in Early-Stuart Salisbury*, Vol. XXXI (Devizes: Wiltshire Record Society, 1975), p. 7. W. G. Hoskins, 'Harvest Fluctuations and English Economic History, 1480-1619', *Agricultural History Review*, 12.1 (1964), 37-39.

⁸⁴ John Ivie later wrote a pamphlet entitled 'A Declaration' documenting his experiences during the plague and the following years. Slack, 'Poverty and politics in Salisbury 1597-1666', p. 172.

⁸⁵ Slack, 'Poverty and politics in Salisbury 1597-1666', p. 188.

trading of commodities by import and export through its nearest port, suggest that there was sufficient disposable wealth to support religious devotion and indeed to further embellish the fabric of the city's churches over this period. Possible exceptions to this may have occurred when the level of relief for the poor increased due to failed harvests and episodes of the plague.

1.4.2 Government in Salisbury

The development of a new city on land owned by the bishop was a distinctive feature of Salisbury and enabled the bishop to have complete ownership and control of its development which he retained until the early seventeenth century. It is probable that a governing body for the city was formed around 1227, at the time of the granting of the first royal charter by Henry III 'to the bishop, canons and citizens of the new city'.⁸⁶ Amongst other things this allowed merchants to enter the city with goods for sale with the proviso that they pay customs. The charter also allowed an annual fair and a weekly market, which increased the ability of the city to sell its goods, although the perquisites were owned by the bishop.⁸⁷

At the start of the fourteenth century, the city had officers including a mayor, who was sworn-in by the bishop's bailiff; the latter also held a fortnightly court baron on behalf of the bishop. From the mid-fifteenth century when the city ledgers were commenced, the civic management comprised the mayor, the Twenty-Four and the Forty-Eight councillors, with a clerk of the

⁸⁶ Elizabeth Crittall, 'Salisbury: City government before 1612', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6* (1962) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp94-100> [accessed 9 November 2015].

⁸⁷ A further charter was granted in 1270, when permission was given to hold a fair lasting eight days. Additional confirmatory charters were granted in 1285, 1315, 1372, and 1377 – the latter allowed labourers to work on the fortification of the city. Haskins, *Salisbury Charters and History of St Edmund's College*, pp. 1-4, 18. Elizabeth Crittall, 'Salisbury: Markets and Fairs', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6* (1962) <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp138-141> [accessed 4 June 2021]. It would not be until the eighteenth century however, that the 'picage and stallage of the markets' would be finally removed from the hands of the bishop's clerk.

city who would later be known as the recorder.⁸⁸ At this time the convocation, or corporation, dealt with the regulation of trade and industry, along with defence.⁸⁹ The charter of 1472 confirmed the privileges of the bishop, stating that ‘the city was the Bishop’s city and the citizens his also’.⁹⁰ Thus, at this point, the city had not wrested any significant authority from the bishop: even by 1561, the same situation pertained when Bishop Jewel procured a confirmation of the 1472 charter.⁹¹

From the inception of the city, the corporation and bishop had numerous disputes concerning all aspects of city governance; two of these date from the sixteenth century and are examined in detail in Chapter 5. The granting of the charter of 1612 provided the corporation with legal force to govern the city autonomously, thereby significantly reducing the influence of the bishop. A further charter followed in 1630 which incorporated minor changes to that of 1612.⁹²

1.5 Thesis structure

The thesis consists of four main chapters, the first of which focusses on lay devotion in Salisbury during the late fifteenth century, beginning with an overview of the parish churches, cathedral and other religious establishments, followed by consideration of the Use of Salisbury. The craft guilds of the city are then discussed and in particular the tailors’ guild and the guild of St George. The two new cults of St Osmund, whose shrine was in the cathedral, and the Holy Name of Jesus, which had a confraternity at St Edmund’s Church, are then

⁸⁸ WSA: G23/1/1, *Corporation Ledger A, 1387-1456*. This book is virtually illegible until around 1410.

⁸⁹ Maurice G. Rathbone, *List of Wiltshire Borough Records earlier in date than 1836*, Vol. 5 (Devizes: Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society 1951), p. 64.

⁹⁰ Fanny Street, 'The Relations of the Bishops and Citizens of Salisbury (New Sarum) between 1225 and 1612', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 39 (1916), 250.

⁹¹ Street, 'Relations of the Bishops and Citizens', 329.

⁹² Street, 'Relations of the Bishops and Citizens', 351. Elizabeth Crittall, 'Salisbury: City government, 1612-1835', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6* (1962) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp105-113> [accessed 9 November 2015].

considered in terms of religious worship and festivities, membership and changing sensory experience for the worshippers. The sacred and secular institutions of the city were particularly integrated during the fifteenth century and to a certain extent remained so throughout the Reformation. On this basis, the chapter will argue that the social role of religion formed an important part of lay devotion prior to the Reformation and that this became less significant thereafter.

Chapter 3, on illumination, begins by examining the use of windows which allowed natural light to enter the large religious spaces of the city. This chapter focuses on changes in sensory experience with a particular emphasis on the glass of the cathedral in the period from 1558, when many windows were damaged. The analysis of the fabric accounts of this institution has enabled the progress of the reconstruction of the windows to be followed along with the evolution of worship there. The second section of this chapter considers artificial illumination and the rise in importance in the use of tallow candles in the churches of Salisbury. The reasons for the use of tallow candles as opposed to beeswax are investigated using an experimental archaeological approach. This section argues that the banning of the offering of lights to images in the churches changed not only the experience of worship, but in conjunction with other physical changes to the buildings, the whole sensory, and to a lesser extent the social, experience of the worshippers.

In Chapter 4, aspects of sound-makers and sound-making are considered, both internal and external to the churches. The first section details the changes in the reasons for ringing the church bells in the city, arguing that this evolved over the course of the long Reformation. This activity played a religious as well as a social role and the sound of the bells affected the whole population of the city. The second section argues that music was important to the citizens of Salisbury, in that unlike other towns such as York and Worcester, organs continued

to be played throughout the period of this thesis until their removal during the Civil War.⁹³

The use and construction of two organs are considered in detail: one at the church of St Edmund's where archival evidence enables us to piece together its construction, and the second at the cathedral for which I analyse the original agreement between the chapter and the organ builder, John Burward.

The final chapter describes the rise of civic over episcopal authority. This is partially demonstrated by the iconoclasm of the city recorder, Henry Sherfield, who broke part of a window at St Edmund's Church, for which act he was prosecuted in the Star Chamber. Sherfield was also a puritan and vestry man at St Edmund's Church and in that the jurisdiction of the bishop had by this time been reduced to the close, he believed that the bishops should not interfere with the running of the parish church or the city. This chapter, therefore, considers the relationship and transfer of power between the sacred institutions of the churches and the civic authorities of the city at a time when at least one of the parish churches was influenced by puritans and another was associated with the Laudian cathedral. Whilst the above approach will require a re-visitation of both the individual churches and the timeframes in every chapter, it will enable a community of three parish churches and a cathedral within the city of Salisbury to be followed through a period of 150 years of change and continuity. This thesis will demonstrate that a close study of a single city, that of Salisbury, has a great deal to contribute to our understanding of the varying relationship between ecclesiastical and civic institutions and of the changing nature of religious belief and worship over the period of the long Reformation.

⁹³ The organ at York was forbidden from 1552, the instrument at Worcester Cathedral was removed in 1570. Nicholas Orme, *The History of England's Cathedrals* (Exeter: Impress Books, 2017), p. 113. Anna Burson, 'Continuity and change at Hereford and Worcester cathedrals, and the effects on musical and liturgical provision and practice, c. 1480-1650' (unpublished Doctoral thesis, Oxford, 2008), p. 274.

2 LAY DEVOTION

2.1 Introduction

At six o'clock on midsummer's eve in 1496, the members of the merchant guild of St George rode through the streets of Salisbury. The spectacle was headed by the mayor in his crimson livery, followed by the Twenty-Four and the Forty-Eight wearing green.¹ The other two richest and most important guilds of the city were also present: the tailors' and the weavers'. In addition, these two guilds presented a pageant each year comprising a giant St Christopher wearing the coat of arms of the tailors' guild, and a mischievous character known as the Hob Nob who ran in front of the giant, clearing the watching crowds.² These figures danced along the streets of Salisbury accompanied by morris dancers, drummers, and minstrels.³ This must have been quite a spectacular sight, celebrating the civic identity of the city through colour, music, and dancing.

Such was the public splendour that marked the high points in the annual cycles of the activities of the Salisbury guilds: spectacle and piety, wider community and circumscribed brotherhood together articulated the role of these bodies within the larger social functioning of fifteenth-century Salisbury. The Edwardian dissolution of the chantries is often heralded as sounding the death knell for the communal and voluntary lay piety which was so characteristic of popular religion in the later Middle Ages; however, this chapter argues that

¹ WSA: G23/1/2, *Corporation ledger B, 2 March 1496*, f. 194r, July 1530 f. 268v, 27 September 1535, f. 280r. For instance in 1535 at the visit of the king and queen the mayor was to wear scarlet, the Twenty-Four crimson and the Forty-Eight violet.

² The guilds in Chester owned four of these giants. Charles Haskins, *The Ancient Trade Guilds and Companies of Salisbury* (Salisbury: Bennett Brothers, 1912), pp. 158-159.

³ The giant and hob nob were deployed until around 1582 when the cost of their upkeep became prohibitive. They were paraded again at times during the seventeenth century and in the early twentieth century on St George's day. They are now to be found in The Salisbury Museum. Elizabeth Crittall, 'Salisbury: Merchant and craft guilds to 1612', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6* (1962) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp132-136> [accessed 15 January 2019]. Further information on the pageant is to be found in Audrey Douglas, 'Midsummer in Salisbury: The Tailors' Guild and Confraternity 1444-1642', *Renaissance and Reformation*, XXV (1989).

the urban craft guilds which survived the cull in Salisbury continued to provide opportunities for communal remembrance and devotion in a Protestant setting, albeit in a more limited way than had been the case prior to the Reformation.

Two new fifteenth century cults, of St Osmund and the Holy Name of Jesus, were to be found in the city. St Osmund had been the Bishop of Old Sarum and was canonized following miracles attributed to him, with a magnificent shrine constructed in the cathedral in his honour. At the other end of the scale in terms of ostentatious display, the parish churches of St Edmund's and of St Thomas's had altars to Jesus, but only St Edmund's had a fraternity or guild of Jesus, which was usually referred to in the accounts as the confraternity of Jesus Mass. This fraternity also funded a lamp at the high altar in the church, and the daily Morrow Mass. The group was relatively small and much less wealthy than the tailors', the weavers', and the merchant guild of St George.⁴ Although the fraternity of Jesus had its altar at the parish church of St Edmund, it may well have embraced members from other parts of the city. It was open to all those who could afford the membership fee, unlike the craft guilds of the city each of which was restricted to the particular trade of its members. Thus, both the guilds and the fraternities engendered corporate devotion with costs shared by the membership, and therefore this appealed to the great majority of the people who were unable to afford a personal chantry priest. In addition, Konrad Eisenbichler states that 'the desire to pray in community was the primary motivation that drew lay people in[to] confraternities'; this may well have been the case in Salisbury and particularly for the members of the fraternity of

⁴ A merchant was a dealer in buckram, fustian, satin, jewels, wine, salt, and other goods. Winifred A. Harwood, 'Commodities: Luxury Goods, Spices and Wax', in *English Inland Trade 1430-1540: Southampton and its regions*, ed. by Michael Hicks (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015), pp. 133-145.

Jesus Mass where there were few other benefits of membership except for the commemoration of the dead.⁵

This chapter commences with consideration of the religious institutions of the city and the liturgy of the Use of Salisbury in the pre-Reformation period. The craft guilds of the city, in particular, the tailors' guild and the merchant guild of St George are examined and compared with the fraternity of Jesus Mass at St Edmund's Church in terms of their religious worship and festivities, membership and the changing sensory experience for the worshippers. Finally, the effects of the Reformation on these organisations are examined.

2.2 The ecclesiastical establishment of Salisbury

This section provides an overview of the cathedral, parish churches and other religious institutions in the city of Salisbury, in terms of buildings, number of parishioners, funding, and staffing.

⁵ Konrad Eisenbichler, ed., *A Companion to Medieval and Early Modern Confraternities* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), p. 11.

2.2.1 Cathedral and churches



Figure 2-1: Salisbury Cathedral

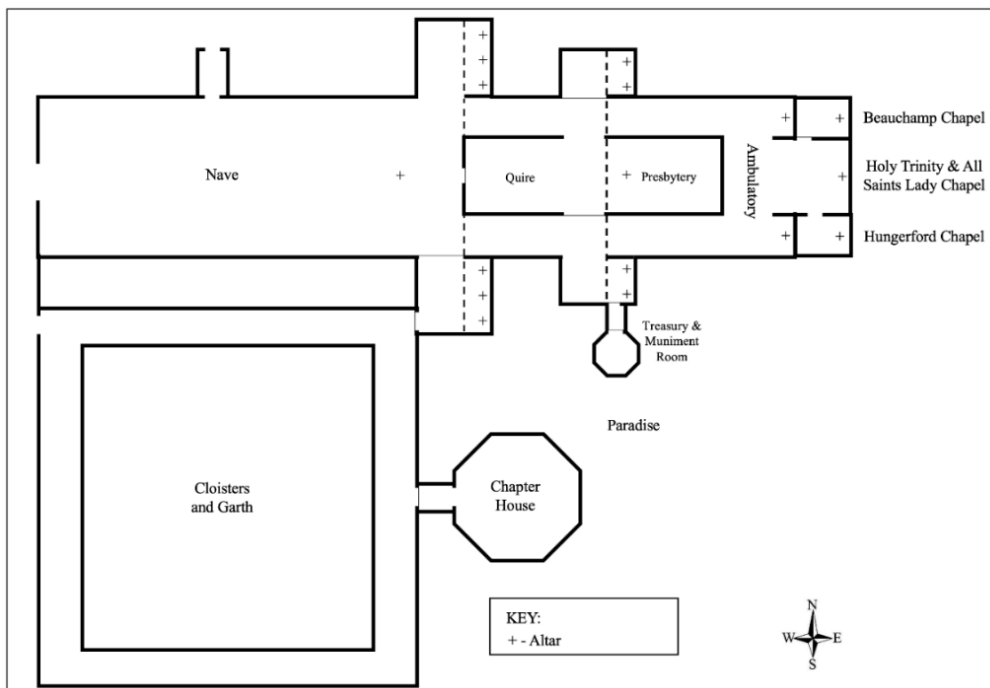


Figure 2-2: Plan of Salisbury Cathedral (not to scale)⁶

⁶ Tatton-Brown, Lepine and Saul, *'Incomparabilissime Fabrice'*, 53, 66, 69. RCHME, *Salisbury Cathedral*, p. 8.

The cathedral close was sited to the south-west of the new city and was physically separated from it by the close wall with gates to the north, east and south, and the River Avon to the west.⁷ The cathedral was situated in the centre of the area, with canons' houses to the north, east, and west, along with a grammar school.⁸

Building of the cathedral began around 1220 and was completed with a central tower and spire in 1334 (see Figure 2-1).⁹ There was a north porch of two storeys, a porch of St Stephen on the south choir aisle and a further porch situated over St Thomas's doorway, which was used to access the chapels in the north arm of the main transept.¹⁰ The treasury and muniment room were probably situated above the vestry.¹¹ A library was constructed above the east range of the cloister, along with 'certain schools for lectures', which reflected Salisbury's growing importance in education.¹² The chapter house was accessed from the cloister as it is today, and there was also a large separate bell-tower housing a clock and a range of bells to the north-west of the cathedral.¹³

Internally, the parish altar was in the nave, to the west of the pulpitum. In total, the cathedral is thought to have housed fifteen altars, in addition to those of specific chantries.¹⁴ North and

⁷ RCHME, *Houses of the Close*, p. 38. The four gates were variously named in the cathedral fabric accounts as: Harnham, St Ann, Close gate, Bugmore, and 'great gate in Dragon Street'.

⁸ Elizabeth Crittall, 'Salisbury: The liberty of the close', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6* (1962) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp72-79> [accessed 10 February 2019].

⁹ The tower and spire were probably added in the early fourteenth century. Tatton-Brown, Lepine and Saul, *'Incomparabilissime Fabrice'*, 52.

¹⁰ The porch over St Thomas's door is now situated in Bourne Hill gardens, part of which was the site of St Edmund's College and is now used by Wiltshire Council, formerly the office of Salisbury District Council. RCHME, *Salisbury Cathedral*, pp. 4, 15.

¹¹ RCHME, *Salisbury Cathedral*, p. 7.

¹² The library construction began in 1445, a second library appears to have been built in the early seventeenth century: 'Item to mr Smegergill for his fee in keeping the new liberarie'. SCA: FA/1/1/54, *Fabric account 1617-18*. RCHME, *Salisbury Cathedral*, p. 14.

¹³ Crittall, 'Salisbury: The liberty of the close'. RCHME, *Salisbury Cathedral*, p. 7.

¹⁴ At least thirteen altars plus the high altar and nave altar. RCHME, *Salisbury Cathedral*, p. 7. Margot Fassler indicates more than this number: St Osmund, St Edmund the Confessor, St Thomas, Holy Trinity (Lady Chapel), All Saints', The Apostles, St Katherine, St Martin, St John the Baptist, St Margaret, St Lawrence, St Michael, St Mary Magdalene, Treasury altar, St Stephen, Holy Cross or Artisans, St George & St Dionysius, St Andrew the Apostle – that is, 18. Margot Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 254-255.

south quire aisles extended from the crossing and were delineated by the pulpitum and screen. A central door which led, via a step, into the quire contained two rows of stalls for the canons and vicars, with benches in front of them for the choristers.¹⁵ The quire was divided from the aisles by the backs of the choir stalls, with the high altar towards the end of the quire in the presbytery, beyond which was the Lady Chapel (see Figure 2-2).



Figure 2-3: St Thomas's Church viewed from the south

¹⁵ RCHME, *Salisbury Cathedral*, pp. 4, 5 & plate 8.

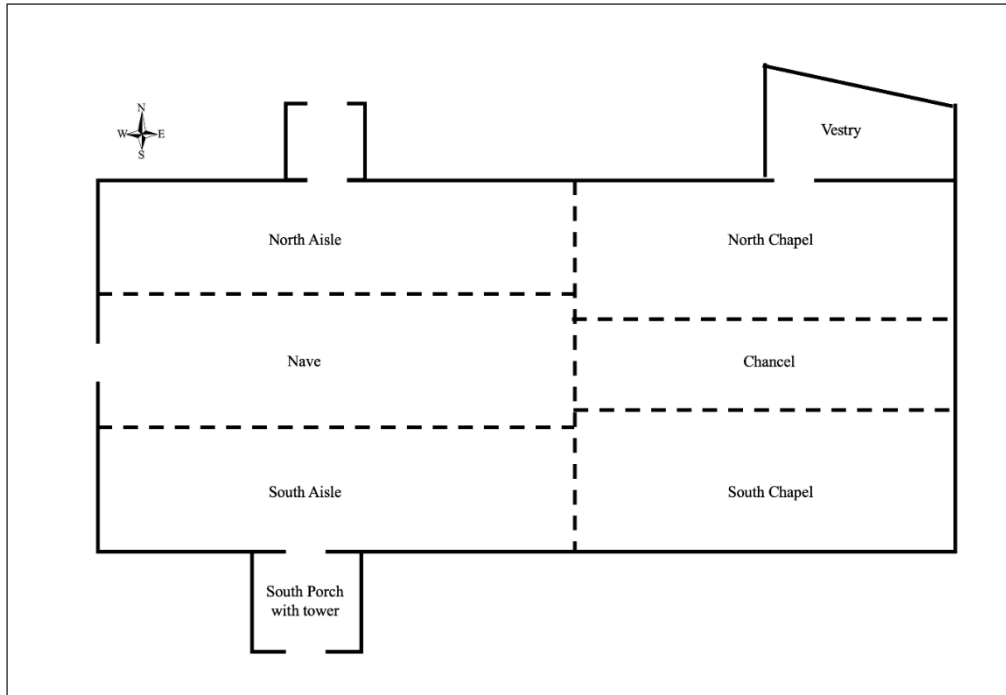


Figure 2-4: Plan of St Thomas's Church, Salisbury after 1448 (not to scale)¹⁶

The location of the church of St Thomas between the bishop's mill and the bishop's guildhall gave emphasis to the jurisdiction of the bishop within the city. Following the collapse of the chancel in 1448 the re-building of the chapels was financed predominantly by two prominent citizens of the city, one of whom had served as mayor on several occasions.¹⁷

By the year 1500 St Thomas's was a substantial hall church (see Figure 2-3) consisting of a nave with north and south aisles which had been extended to the full length of the building and then sub-divided to form chapels on either side of the chancel. The windows were large in order to allow light into the extensive interior space.¹⁸ In addition there was a tower to the south, the lowest area of which formed a porch (see Figure 2-3 and Figure 2-4).¹⁹

¹⁶ After RCHME, *Salisbury Volume I*, p. lii.

¹⁷ RCHME, *Salisbury Volume I*, p. 24 & 31. William Ludlow was boteler to King Henry IVth. William Swayne was mayor on more than one occasion, the first time was in 1455-56. WSA: G23/1/2, *Corporation Ledger B*, p.12.

¹⁸ RCHME, *Salisbury Volume I*, pp. 101-102.

¹⁹ RCHME, *Salisbury Volume I*, p. 28.



Figure 2-5: St Martin's Church from the west

Photo: Andrew Robson

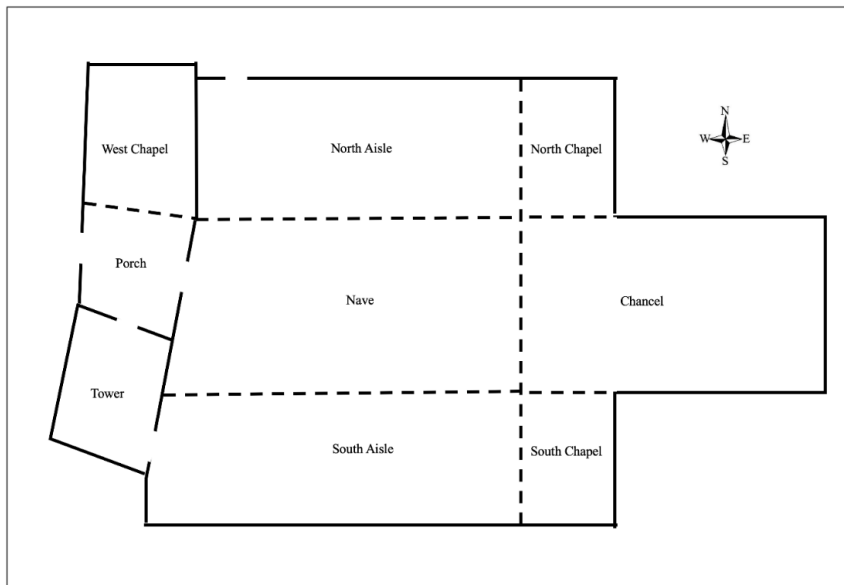


Figure 2-6: St Martin's Church (not to scale)²⁰

²⁰ After RCHME, *Salisbury Volume I*, p. 32.

St Martin's is the oldest church in the city, though only the foundations are original, dating to c.1100.²¹ By the year 1500 the nave was flanked by north and south aisles, with chapels situated at the east end of each aisle (see Figure 2-5 and Figure 2-6).



Figure 2-7: St Edmund's Church today – chancel and tower remaining

²¹ RCHME, *Salisbury Volume I*, p. 31.

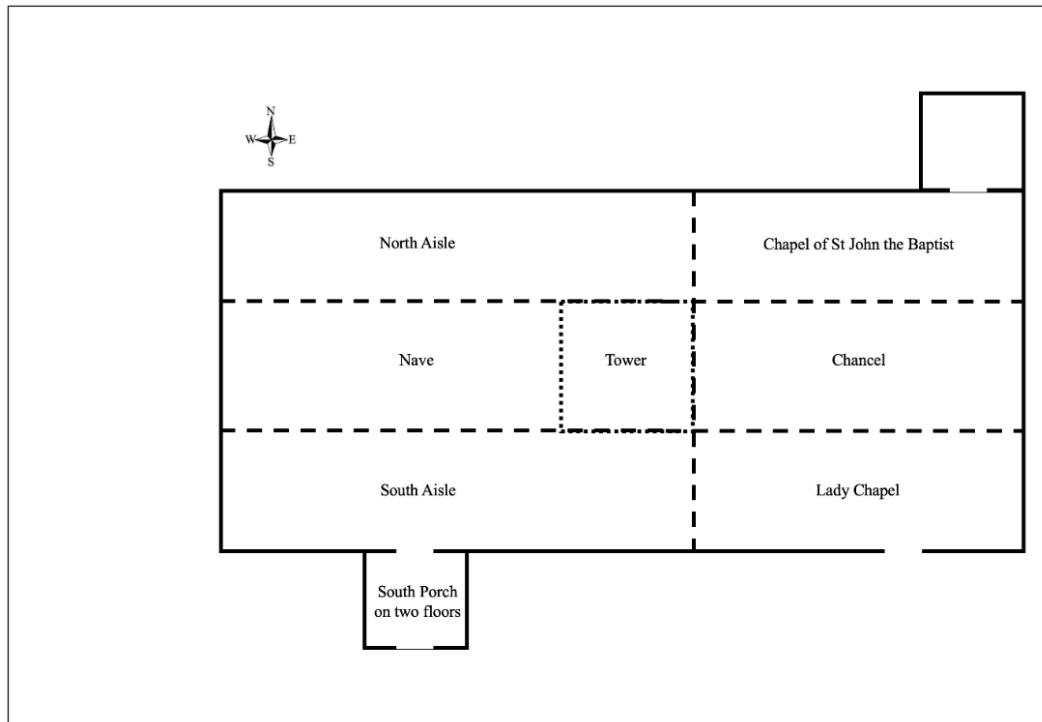


Figure 2-8: St Edmund's Church, possible construction - early 16th century (not to scale)

At the start of the sixteenth century, St Edmund's consisted of a chancel with a chapel of St John the Baptist to the north and a Lady Chapel to the south (see Figure 2-8). The nave had north and south aisles which had been added in the fifteenth century.²² Whilst the chancel was used by the college, the nave formed the parish church.²³ The original chancel was seventy-six feet long and the nave possibly as long as seventy-eight feet.²⁴ There was a central tower with a steeple which fell in 1653, destroying the nave which was never rebuilt (see Figure 2-7).²⁵

²² RCHME, *Salisbury Volume I*, p. 36.

²³ Elizabeth Crittall, 'Salisbury: Churches', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire (1962) British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp144-155> [accessed 25 September 2018].

²⁴ Benson and Hatcher, 'Old and New Sarum, or Salisbury', p. 88.

GSB Prospection, *Salisbury Arts Centre: Geophysical Survey Report 2002/02* (Bradford: GSB Prospection, 2002). James Gunter, 'Report on a Geophysical Survey carried out at Salisbury Arts Centre', (Swindon, 2014). St Edmund's Church is now deconsecrated and in 1975 was converted to an Arts Centre. St Thomas's Church near the marketplace, is now known as the Church of St Thomas and St Edmund's.

²⁵ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 227.

Therefore in the late medieval and early modern periods the city had only three parish churches in comparison to similar large towns such as Norwich where there were fifty-eight and Bristol where there were fifteen.²⁶ The parochial foundations of Salisbury were not straightforward, although there were distinct linkages between the cathedral and the three parish churches. In the 1269 foundation document (*actum*) for St Edmund's College, the new parish boundaries of all three churches were defined, using parts of the existing parishes of St Thomas's and St Martin's to form that of St Edmund's.²⁷ From at least 1363 the cathedral had held both the church and the rectory of St Thomas's, and St Edmund's College had held the vicarage of St Martin's, the rectory having been with the cathedral since 1228.²⁸ By 1548, each of the three parishes had a population of between 2,100 and 2,300, slightly more than can be confirmed by the chantry certificates in 1548 which state the number of communicants for the parishes of St Thomas's as 1,652 and St Edmund's, as 1,700.²⁹ As for St Martin's, the number of parishioners is unknown but was probably similar to the other two parishes in the region of 1,500 to 2,000. Further, some men and women would also have lived in the cathedral close and have used the parish altar there. By comparison, the communicant population in the mid-sixteenth century for three of the parishes in Bristol numbered 200, 600,

²⁶ Sandy Heslop, *The Medieval Churches of Norwich: City, Community & Architecture* (n.d.) <https://norwichmedievalchurches.org/> [accessed 26 October 2018]. Burgess, ed., *All Saint's, Bristol*, p. xi. Exeter also had a cathedral of new foundation established in the 11th century and around twenty parish churches. Nicholas Orme, *The Churches of Medieval Exeter* (Exeter: Impress Books, 2014), p. 2.

²⁷ Brian R. Kemp, *English Episcopal Acta 37: Salisbury 1263-1297* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). No. 261.

²⁸ Rectory – a benefice held by a rector. *OED*. Deputy Keeper of the Records, *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry IV 1399-1401*, Vol. I (London: HMSO, 1903), p. 392. W. H. Bliss and J. A. Twemlow, 'Lateran Regesta 100: 1401-1402', in *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: 1398-1404: Volume 5* (1904) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-papal-registers/brit-ie/vol5/pp471-490> [accessed 16 October 2018]. SCA: Pr. I, Sarum 2/83, *Deed 1403*. W. H. Bliss and J. A. Twemlow, 'Regesta 261: 1363-1365', in *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: 1362-1404: Volume 4* (1902) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-papal-registers/brit-ie/vol4/pp87-91> [accessed 15 October 2018]. Vicarage – the benefice or living of a vicar. *OED*. Brian R. Kemp, *English Episcopal Acta 19: Salisbury 1217-1228* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). No. 299, 26 January 1228.

²⁹ TNA: E 301/58, *The booke of survey of the colleges and chantries within Wiltes as at 1548*.

and 800, with an average across the fifteen parishes of that city being around 400.³⁰ These large parish populations enabled the churches to acquire sufficient money in order to maintain the temporal and spiritual settings of their churches to a high standard.

An indication of the wealth of the cathedral can be derived from the money spent on repairs to its fabric: Table 2-1 summarises this expenditure from 1527 to 1541, the average annual spend being around £90.³¹ The high level of expenditure in 1531-32 was partly attributable to three payments totalling £160 6s 3d provided to the clerk of the fabric for which no explanation was provided, along with a payment of £35 14s 0d for lead.³² The low values in the years 1538-39 and 1540-41 were due to a general reduction in expenditure at this early stage of the Reformation.³³ In addition to the outlay recorded in the fabric accounts, there was further expenditure in the communars' accounts but the fragmentary nature of their survival makes it impossible to obtain similar information.

Table 2-1: Pre-Reformation annual expenditure on fabric repairs at Salisbury Cathedral

Page no. SCA: FA/1/3/1 ³⁴	Year	Expenditure on fabric repairs		
		£	s	d
6	1527-28	71	7	4
15	1528-29	110	6	2½
25	1529-30	123	12	2½
33	1530-31	154	13	10½
41	1531-32	235	2	11½
49	1532-33	80	10	11½
58	1533-34	73	0	3
66	1534-35	35	16	1
75	1535-36	153	6	9½
82	1537-38	34	16	9½
89	1538-39	21	0	4½
95	1540-41	4	17	0

³⁰ Burgess, ed., *All Saint's, Bristol*, p. xii.

³¹ Data for the years 1536-37 and 1539-40 is not available.

³² SCA: FA/1/3/1, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric*, 1531-32 Term I, pp. 39-41.

³³ SCA: FA/1/3/1, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric*, 1540-41, pp. 94-95.

³⁴ SCA: FA/1/3/1, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric*, 1527-1543.

To estimate the likely wealth of St Edmund’s church, Table 2-2 presents the income received in the second quarter of the sixteenth century for those years when data is available. This shows that with the exception of 1540-41, the average income of the parish church was around £30. With regard to the college, its value in 1535 was £104 11s 0d, and this included the provision of a priest for St Martin’s.³⁵ When the college was dissolved on 16 June 1546, it was sold by the king for £400 to William St Barbe, who held the advowson for St Martin’s.³⁶

Table 2-2: Income at St Edmund’s, 1527 - 1541

Page no. in Swayne ³⁷	Year	Income		
		£	s	d
68	1527-28	20	0	6
70	1532-33	30	15	6
72	1534-35	30	9	6
80	1537-38	38	9	7
83	1538-39	29	17	5½
85	1540-41	16	9	6

Although the income to St Thomas’s (see Table 2-3) was higher than that of St Edmund’s, averaging around £50 per year, the expenditure was overseen by the procurators from the cathedral, with the substantial profit paid over to the cathedral fabric fund annually (see Appendix 3).³⁸ There is no note of funding for building maintenance and repairs in the accounts, yet the surviving building confirms that the church was well-funded. However, in 1448, St Thomas’s requested financial assistance from the dean and chapter to rebuild and extend the chancel.³⁹ In 1535 the church was valued at £25 8s 10d: it is of note that this is some 25% of the value of St Edmund’s College.⁴⁰

³⁵ John Caley, ed., *Valor Ecclesiasticus Temp. Henry VIII Auctoritate Regia Institutus, volume II* (London: Record Commission, 1814), pp. 88-89.

³⁶ Haskins, *Salisbury Charters and History of St Edmund’s College*, pp. 34-35. HRO: 44M69/L7/4, *Particulars of St Edmund’s College, Salisbury, 1546*.

³⁷ Swayne, *Churchwardens’ Accounts*.

³⁸ SCA: FA/2/3/24, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric on the receipts of St Thomas, 1537-38*.

³⁹ Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England*, p. 65.

⁴⁰ Caley, ed., *Valor Ecclesiasticus II*, p. 84.

Table 2-3: Income at St Thomas's, 1486-1538

Reference SCA:	Year	Income		
		£	s	d
FA/2/1/1	1486-87	66	17	6½
FA/2/1/2	1489-90	38	1	3
FA/2/1/6	1495-96	49	0	0
FA/2/1/18	1513-14	65	8	10
FA/2/1/22	1520-21	46	3	3
FA/2/1/24	1537-38	32	9	4½

In the absence of data from pre-Reformation accounts, it is likely that St Martin's would have been the least wealthy of the Salisbury churches, being situated further away from the centre of commerce in the city and the shrine of St Osmund at the cathedral.

Other sources of income for religious entities in the city included bequests such as that from William Walter, a city merchant and mayor, who left money to the fraternity of the Holy Cross and the weavers' guild in St Edmund's where he was buried.⁴¹ In addition, bequests to specific parish altars continued to be made from 1450, with specific focus given to the Jesus altars at St Thomas's and St Edmund's and that of the Holy Ghost at St Martin's after 1500.⁴² In addition, there was the attraction of the relics of St Osmund, housed in the cathedral, which resulted in offerings and bequests from those in the city, as well as the donations made by visiting pilgrims.⁴³

Money was also channelled via the corporation accounts from property in 'St Martenstrete' and 'Pynnokys' Inn to provide an annuity of £1 3s 0d for the vicars choral at the cathedral, and the George Inn also supported students at De Vaux College to the sum of 19s 4d per year.⁴⁴ In conclusion, on the basis of the limited available data, the cathedral was more

⁴¹ Crittall, 'Salisbury: Economic history to 1612'.

⁴² Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England*, p. 139.

⁴³ Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England*, p. 66.

⁴⁴ From 1444-45 until at least 1509-10. WSA: G23/1/44, *Compotus rolls*. 1497-98 see H. J. F. Swayne, 'Gleanings from the archives of Salisbury no. 18', *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, Saturday April 5 1884, 3. H. J. F. Swayne, 'Gleanings from the Archives of Salisbury no. 25', *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, Saturday September 27 1884, 3.

wealthy than any of the parish churches and amongst the latter, St Thomas's had the greater annual income.

In terms of the levels of staffing at the cathedral, in the fourteenth century around fourteen chantry priests were employed.⁴⁵ The chapter consisted of the four dignitaries of dean, chancellor, treasurer, and precentor, along with the subdean, three archdeacons, and those of the fifty-two canons who were resident; unusually, the bishop was also a member of chapter, holding the prebend of Potterne.⁴⁶

In the absence of the bishop due to *sede vacante*, the canons present at the time were to nominate three or four of their number, within two or three days of hearing of the vacancy. The names of these men were to be sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury or to his official who then chose one of them to exercise episcopal jurisdiction in the city and diocese during the vacancy, having taken a solemn oath either to the archbishop or other nominated person, and also to the canons of Salisbury. If the acting bishop were to die or to be removed, then once again the canons were to nominate three or four other canons and the process was repeated. The acting bishop was to receive presentations to vacant benefices and to collate to them, which would normally be the right of the bishop. He was also to check elections and either confirm or annul them, visit religious persons, clergy, and lay-folk, and 'correct them'; in summary, he was to exercise the office as if he was the Bishop of Salisbury.⁴⁷

Other cathedral personnel included the fifty-two vicars choral – one employed by each canon as his substitute in the choir. In 1409 the vicars choral of Salisbury was the last in England to be granted a charter of incorporation at which time a common hall was established in the

⁴⁵ Edwards, *Salisbury Cathedral*, p. 175. Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions*, pp. 187-216.

⁴⁶ Alastair Lack, *Ross' Canons of Salisbury* (Salisbury: Lulu.com, 2013), p. 28.

⁴⁷ This is taken from the Ordinance of Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, on Jurisdiction of the Church of Salisbury when the see is vacant, 18 January 1263. Wordsworth and Maclean, eds., *Statutes and Customs*, pp. 100-111.

close.⁴⁸ Prior to this the vicar lived with the canon who employed him. The charter allowed them to elect a proctor and to manage their own affairs which included holding a common seal and purchasing property including shops and an inn. A set of statutes was produced in order to regulate their behaviour and domestic arrangements.⁴⁹

The number of residentiary canons varied; by 1470-71 there were only nine plus the dignitaries, and by 1534, this had reduced to one dignitary (the precentor) and six canons.⁵⁰

Further confirmation of the size of the cathedral staff comes in the records of the 1537-38 obit of Bishop Medford which notes the attendance of around sixty men, plus canons, and choristers (see Table 2-4). These included the dignitaries (but not the dean), the deacon and subdeacon, vicars, choristers, altarists, and sacristans.⁵¹

Table 2-4: Attendance of cathedral staff at Bishop Medford's obit 1537-38

Attendee	Payment
Chancellor	2s 0d
Precentor	2s 0d
Canons including the current masters of the fabric	10s 0d
Subdean, succentor, 28 vicars	£1 10s 0d
Master of the grammar school	1s 0d
Four chaplains	2s 8d
Choristers	4s 8d
Eight altarists	2s 8d
Two sacristans	1s 4d
Janitor and beadle	2s 0d
Two servants	8d
Sub-commissioner	6d
Vicar celebrating the mass	4d
Deacon and subdeacon	6d
Paid to the treasurer for providing bread, wine and wax at the altar of St Margaret for the mass celebrated there throughout the year	6s 8d
Clerk ministering at the same altar through the year	6s 8d
Bellman	4d
	Total £3 14s 0d

⁴⁸ Kathleen Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1949), pp. 283-284. David Lepine, *Brotherhood of Canons Serving God* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1995), p. 130. Tatton-Brown, 'Where was the Vicars' Close at Salisbury?', p. 106. A charter for the vicars choral in York Minster was granted in 1268 by Henry III. Frank L. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain* 2nd edn (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), p. 6.

⁴⁹ Wordsworth and Maclean, eds., *Statutes and Customs*, pp. 324-331.

⁵⁰ Edwards, *Salisbury Cathedral*, p. 180.

⁵¹ SCA: FA/2/3/24, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric on the receipts of St Thomas, 1537-38*.

Turning now to examine the staffing of the parish churches, the year 1269 marked the establishment of St Edmund's as a parish church and college, founded by Bishop Walter de la Wyle (+1263-71), for thirteen priests and a provost: the latter also served as the vicar of St Martin's Church until the sale of the college, after which time the owner of the college held the advowson.⁵² The *actum* (or 'deed') does not however mention a parish priest for the church of St Edmund's, although it is likely that the provost served as rector.⁵³ By 1379, the clerical subsidies roll confirms that St Edmund's College employed a provost who also served as vicar of St Martin's, a chaplain who served St Edmund's Church, sixteen chaplains and two clerks, along with two chaplains who served De Vaux College, a chaplain for the church at Stratford-sub-Castle, and two chaplains and two clerks who served St Martin's.⁵⁴ The poll-taxes in the following year name eleven men serving in the parish church plus a further eleven chantry chaplains and five clerks, with staffing at St Edmund's College consisting of ten men including a provost.⁵⁵ By 1537-38, the obit of Bishop Medford shows payments to only eight chaplains (four from the church, four from the college), plus a deacon and a sacristan (see Table 2-5).⁵⁶

⁵² HRO: 44M69/L7/4, *Particulars of St Edmund's College, Salisbury, 1546*. SCA: Box 234, *Documents regarding the right of the parish of St Edmund's to present a rector and minister, 17th century*. Advowson – the right of patronage to a benefice, in other words the right to nominate a priest to a post in a church. Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation: The Tudor and Stuart Realms 1485-1603*, pp. 8-9.

⁵³ Kemp, *Acta* 37, pp. 322-325. Although the college was set-up for a provost and thirteen priests this number was never reached in that the financial endowment by Bishop Walter de la Wyle was insufficient. Crittall, 'Salisbury: Churches'.

⁵⁴ J. L. Kirby, 'Clerical Poll Taxes in the Diocese of Salisbury 1377-81', in *Collectanea*, ed. by N. J. Williams (Devizes: Wiltshire Record Society, 1956), pp. 161-162.

⁵⁵ Kirby, 'Clerical Poll Taxes 1377-81', p. 165.

⁵⁶ SCA: FA/2/3/24, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric on the receipts of St Thomas, 1537-38*.

Table 2-5: Attendance by other religious establishments at Bishop Medford's obit 1537-38

Establishment	Person	Total paid
St Edmund's College	Four chaplains	2s 0d
St Edmund's Church	Four chaplains	1s 4d
St Edmund's Church	Deacon and sacristan	6d
St Thomas's Church	Parish priest	1s 0d
St Thomas's Church	Four chantry priests	2s 0d
St Thomas's Church	Nine stipendiary chaplains	4s 6d
St Thomas's Church	Deacon and sacristan for ringing the bells	6d
St Martin's Church	Two chaplains	8d
St Martin's Church	Deacon and sacristan	6d
Holy Trinity Hospital	Chaplain	0d ⁵⁷
St Nicholas's Hospital	Chaplain	0d ⁵⁸
St Nicholas's Hospital	Clerk for ringing	0d ⁵⁹
Friars Preachers in Fisherton	Prior and convent	6s 8d
Friars Preachers in Fisherton	For sermons in the cathedral this year	0d ⁶⁰
Friars Minor of Salisbury	Prior and convent	6s 8d
College de Vaux	Scholars	6s 8d
		Total £1 13s 0d

As for St Thomas's, the late fourteenth century clerical poll-tax lists over twenty chaplains: however, by the time of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (1535) this number had reduced to four endowed chantry chaplains.⁶¹ On the other hand in 1537-38 the accounts of the procurator note the distribution for the obit of Bishop Medford to a parish priest, four chantry priests, nine stipendiary chaplains, and a deacon at St Thomas's (see Table 2-5). Finally, at St Martin's, in 1380 there were four chaplains and a subdeacon stated as celebrating in the chantry chapels.⁶² By 1537-38, the obit of Bishop Medford notes the attendance of two chaplains, a deacon and a sacristan (see Table 2-5).⁶³

Therefore, in the pre-Reformation period, the attendance by substantial numbers of staff from all of the religious institutions of the city at the obit of Bishop Medford provides an illustration of the composite working of the church at this time. Further, there was a general

⁵⁷ The reason being that the chaplain of Holy Trinity was also a chantry priest in Salisbury Cathedral.

⁵⁸ No reason given.

⁵⁹ No reason given.

⁶⁰ No reason given.

⁶¹ Kirby, 'Clerical Poll Taxes 1377-81', p. 161. Caley, ed., *Valor Ecclesiasticus II*, p. 87.

⁶² Kirby, 'Clerical Poll Taxes 1377-81', p. 165.

⁶³ SCA: FA/2/3/24, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric on the receipts of St Thomas, 1537-38*.

decline in the numbers of staff employed by the cathedral and parish churches, albeit not necessarily a continual decrease, as at St Thomas's where there appears to have been more staff in 1537-8 than in 1535.

2.2.2 Religious houses

By the end of the thirteenth century, as well as the cathedral and three parish churches, the religious provision of the new city of Salisbury was supplemented by a hospital and two colleges (one of which was St Edmund's), all controlled by or dependent upon the cathedral, with a further independent hospital added in the fourteenth century. In addition, there were two houses of friars, but no monastic establishment in the city.⁶⁴ The new thirteenth-century order of Franciscan or Grey Friars came to Salisbury in late 1229 or early 1230 and had their house near St Ann's Lane.⁶⁵ The Dominicans or Black Friars had originally founded a house in Wilton, but in 1281 Edward I granted land to them in Salisbury at Fisherton Anger, where they were already said to be dwelling.⁶⁶ The latter are noted in the accounts of St Thomas's as preaching in the church on Good Friday and they also seem to have preached from time-to-time at the cathedral as well.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ However, nearby there were the ancient abbey of Benedictine nuns at Wilton (founded by 934) and a priory of Augustinian canons at Ivychurch (established by 1274). Elizabeth Crittall, 'The borough of Wilton: Introduction', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire* (1962) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp1-7> [accessed 22 November 2018]. R. B. Pugh and Elizabeth Crittall, 'Houses of Augustinian canons: Priory of Ivychurch', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 3* (1956) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol3/pp289-295> [accessed 22 November 2018].

⁶⁵ R. B. Pugh and Elizabeth Crittall, 'Houses of Franciscan friars: Salisbury', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 3* (1956) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol3/pp329-330> [accessed 19 September 2018].

⁶⁶ R. B. Pugh and Elizabeth Crittall, 'Houses of Dominican friars: Salisbury', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 3* (1956) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol3/pp331-333> [accessed 20 September 2018].

⁶⁷ An entry for 1537-38 reads 'and to the same for sermons in Salisbury Cathedral this year – nothing' as by this time the friars were disbanded.. SCA: FA/2/3/17, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric on the receipts of St Thomas, 1513-14*. SCA: FA/2/3/24, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric on the receipts of St Thomas, 1537-38*.

The Hospital of St Nicholas was an early foundation, thought to have been established shortly before the beginning of work on the new cathedral and city.⁶⁸ In 1227 both Countess Ela and Bishop Richard Poore augmented the endowment of the hospital through the provision of land to enable the hospital to become a religious foundation of considerable importance in the city. St Nicholas's was managed by a warden with a master, chaplain, and brethren, as an infirmary for sick brothers and sisters, who were tended in the nave of the chapel within sight of the altar.⁶⁹ In 1380 three men were serving as presbyters there, each earning 3s 4d a year.⁷⁰ Prior to 1244 Bishop Bingham had constructed Ayleswade Bridge which was dedicated to St John the Baptist, both the bridge and chapel thereon were vested in the dean and chapter with the income diverted to St Nicholas's Hospital.⁷¹ The hospital, however, had charge of the chapel through the provision of chaplains, as well as the maintenance of the bridge.⁷²

In 1262 Bishop Giles de Bridport founded a 'House of the Valley of Scholars of Blessed Nicholas', later known as De Vaux College, as a refuge for scholars from Oxford at a time of plague.⁷³ The foundation of the college required the consent of the master and brethren of St Nicholas's Hospital as well as that of the dean and chapter; the foundation document for the college stated that both it and the Hospital of St Nicholas were to be dependent on the cathedral.⁷⁴ In the clerical poll-tax of 1380 two presbyters are named who served the needs of the scholars. The students of De Vaux were managed by a warden chosen by the dean and

⁶⁸ Christopher Wordsworth, ed., *St Nicholas' Hospital Salisbury* (Salisbury: Brown & Co., 1902), pp. 70-71 & 296. The Hospital of St Nicholas was an early foundation from 1214 or earlier.

⁶⁹ Wordsworth, ed., *St Nicholas' Hospital Salisbury*, pp. xxxv-xxxvi, xlvi.

⁷⁰ Kirby, 'Clerical Poll Taxes 1377-81', p. 165.

⁷¹ Brian R. Kemp, *English Episcopal Acta 36: Salisbury 1229-1262* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 136-140.

⁷² RCHME, *Salisbury Volume I*, p. xxxviii. St Nicholas's Hospital still exists in 2021 as an almshouse.

⁷³ Kemp, *Acta 36*, pp. 246-254. It had seemed possible that Salisbury might become the new site for the emerging university at Oxford.

⁷⁴ De Vaux College was built close to or on land belonging to St Nicholas Hospital, but the two institutions appear to have been run entirely separately. R. B. Pugh and Elizabeth Crittall, 'Colleges: College of de Vaux, Salisbury', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 3* (1956) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol3/pp369-385> [accessed 13 November 2018].

chapter, and attended lectures in the cathedral during the fifteenth century, often provided by the cathedral chancellor.⁷⁵ They were also expected to process to the cathedral with the chaplains of St Edmund's College and St Nicholas's Hospital on feast days and once there to 'follow the choir'.⁷⁶ By 1535, at the time of the suppression of religious houses, De Vaux College was still home to a master, two chaplains, and twenty scholars; however, the buildings were later confiscated and the students sent to study in Oxford.⁷⁷

In addition to the hospital of St Nicholas, there was a further hospital in the city, that dedicated to the Holy Trinity and St Thomas the Martyr, which had been founded around 1380 by John Chaundeler.⁷⁸ Unlike the other colleges and hospital in Salisbury which were reliant on the cathedral, that of the Holy Trinity was set up as a charitable institution for twelve permanent, and eighteen temporary, poor and later managed by the Salisbury corporation. The master or warden of the hospital was the mayor, who usually chose a sub-warden to carry out the management of the hospital under his jurisdiction. Although the general population of the city was in decline at this time, it is possible that this hospital was established to meet the needs of rural migrants, providing them with a first step into the urban environment, before they moved on to be gainfully employed in the cloth trade in Salisbury.⁷⁹ A chaplain was employed and all those who were resident were to attend services in the

⁷⁵ Sally Wadsworth, 'Music and Worship in the Collegiate Church: the case of St Edmund's, Salisbury' (unpublished Masters thesis, University of Winchester, 2015), p. 23.

⁷⁶ Wordsworth and Maclean, eds., *Statutes and Customs*, pp. 256-257.

⁷⁷ Pugh and Crittall, 'Colleges: College of de Vaux, Salisbury'.

⁷⁸ There is a great deal of extant documentation regarding this establishment dating from 1394 to the present. WSA: 1446 series, *Trinity Hospital, Salisbury*. TNA: C 143/423/19, *John Chaundeler the elder to found a hospital ... 17 Richard II, 1394*. Although this document states that the hospital was founded in 1394, the evidence is conflicting and it is possible that it was in existence before this time. The establishment is still in existence in 2021 and is now an almshouse.

⁷⁹ Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England*, p. 187.

chapel there: in 1537, the chaplain was also required to attend the obit of Bishop Medford in the cathedral.⁸⁰

The above discussion shows that the cathedral at Salisbury was central to the overall religious provision of the city in the period before the Reformation, providing a co-ordinating role across the various religious institutions. Further, the large parishes and the levels of wealth pertaining enabled the cathedral and churches to support a strong quota of stipendiary staff and in particular, enabled St Edmund's to provide resources for the college as well as the parish church.

2.3 The Use of Salisbury

By around 1290 a liturgy known as *secundum usum Sarum* was becoming deployed beyond Wiltshire and by the fourteenth century had spread throughout the province of Canterbury.⁸¹

The customary or consuetudinary for this Use of Salisbury (also referred to as Use of Sarum) is considered to have been devised by Bishop Richard Poore who had been dean of Old Sarum in 1197 and was later to become bishop of new Salisbury.⁸²

Salisbury Cathedral was a secular rather than a monastic institution, and therefore its clergy were not bound by the vow of a religious order and were allowed to pass in and out of the cathedral close into the town, rather than living withdrawn from the general population.⁸³ The main purpose for the existence of the cathedral in the medieval period was for the celebration

⁸⁰ R. B. Pugh and Elizabeth Crittall, 'Hospitals: Holy Trinity, Salisbury', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 3* (1956) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol3/pp357-361> [accessed 29 January 2019]. SCA: FA/2/3/24, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric on the receipts of St Thomas, 1537-38*.

⁸¹ Edwards, *Salisbury Cathedral*, p. 173.

⁸² A Use is 'a variant form of a normative Rite used in a particular region, or diocese. Others included York, Lincoln, Hereford and London. Bangor University, *The Experience of Worship Project: Glossary* (2013) <http://www.experienceofworship.org.uk/glossary/> [accessed 20 July 2017]. Richard W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 365-367. Customary: a manual of customs describing the duties or the officers of an institution and the ceremonial action of the liturgy, an alternative term to consuetudinary. Bangor University, *The Experience of Worship Project: Glossary*.

⁸³ John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 24.

of the sacred Latin liturgy which was an unchanging round of the Office and Mass. This was executed by three groups: the senior clerks, the junior clerks who were known as the vicars choral, and the boys. Each of the fifty-two canons of the cathedral was expected to employ a vicar choral for the performance of the liturgy.⁸⁴ It is probable that this number was reached in the fifteenth century although the numbers fell after that time: for example, in 1468, thirty-one vicars were recorded and by 1557 there were twelve, shortly before the introduction of the Book of Common Prayer in 1559 and the end of the Use of Salisbury (see Chapter 3).

When a cathedral employed a particular Use, the parish churches were expected to follow suit and therefore all the churches in Salisbury would have followed this arrangement, albeit within the manpower available, which was not as large as that of the cathedral.⁸⁵ The *actum* for St Edmund's, where the college and parish were tightly integrated, stated that the college was to follow the parish form of the service of matins on feast days.⁸⁶

The Use of Salisbury required a variety of books, in particular a missal for use by the celebrant which contained the service of the Mass. Books required by other clergy for this service included a gradual which contained the monodic plainsong of the propers, a processional for the litany and music to be sung in the procession before the Mass, with a troper used for feasts. Readings were contained in the gospeller and epistoler. The Office on the other hand required a breviary which contained a condensed form of all the daily services.⁸⁷ All these books are noted in the 1472 inventory of St Edmund's Church: in particular, nine graduals, fourteen processionals and six breviaries, thereby providing evidence of the use of music within the Use of Salisbury at St Edmund's (for more detail, see

⁸⁴ Roger Bowers, 'The Reform of the Choir of Salisbury Cathedral', in *Late Medieval Liturgies Enacted*, ed. by Sally Harper, Paul Barnwell and Magnus Williamson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2016), pp. 158-159.

⁸⁵ Philip Baxter, *Sarum Use: The Ancient Customs of Salisbury* (Reading: Spire Books Ltd, 2008), p. 47.

⁸⁶ Kemp, *Acta* 37.

⁸⁷ Baxter, *Sarum Use: The Ancient Customs of Salisbury*, p. 45.

Chapter 3). The 1472 inventory also included twenty-three copes, with seven of them ‘white with puffed fethers in manner of escaloppys’. Other equipment included the communion and sensing silver of the church which encompassed at least fifteen chalices most with patents, sensors, ships, cruets, and oil vats. There were also seven crosses, and a silver gilt pax brede with a crucifix and images of Mary and John. This whole panoply of plainsong music, Latin texts, and ceremonial vestments and artefacts demonstrates that the liturgy associated with the Use of Salisbury was carried out in some complexity, and with great style at St Edmund’s. Whilst there is no similar evidence for either St Thomas’s or St Martin’s, it is highly likely that, as at St Edmund’s, they too would have followed the Use of Salisbury, albeit in a reduced manner, with less splendour, consistent with their smaller clerical establishments.

2.4 The craft guilds

The primary aim of the craft guilds in Salisbury was to regulate the quality and price of their work, within their respective occupations.⁸⁸ However, the late medieval guilds also had a religious duty, and in this regard they supported a chaplain who served at the guild altar in order to sustain the organization at prayer. These corporate chantries provided daily Masses for the benefit of members both living and, most importantly, dead, thereby maintaining the link between the Church Militant, the Church Penitent and the Church Triumphant.⁸⁹ Lucy Wooding suggests that this ‘created a powerful intersection between liturgy, popular faith and social need’.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Masaru Yoneyama, 'The decline of guilds and their monopoly in English provincial towns, with particular reference to Exeter', *Urban History*, 46.3 (2019), 449, 460. Haskins, *Trade Guilds*, pp. 194-195.

⁸⁹ The Church Militant consisted of Christians on earth who struggled as soldiers of Christ against sin, and the devil, whereas the Church Penitent were those currently in purgatory and the Church Triumphant were those who had arrived in heaven.

⁹⁰ Lucy Wooding, 'Remembrance in the Eucharist', in *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post Reformation*, ed. by Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p. 25. The doctrine of purgatory was at the centre of prayer for the living and the dead, and the need for intercession for the dead by the living, through prayer and good works.

The members of each guild were drawn largely from a specific area of the city and worshipped at their local church. The tailors, for instance, lived to the south of the market-place, and the drapers in Queen Street near the wool market, and both therefore worshipped at St Thomas's.⁹¹ The co-location of these men and women through their work, housing, and place of worship would suggest that they knew each other well. The juxtaposition of religious aspects including gathering together and the wearing of livery according to rank and trade, in order to remember past and present members through prayer, as well as the regular reading of the bede roll, and the social aspects of feasting with no doubt much talking and dancing, would have consolidated the bonds between the brothers and sisters of the guild. This was of importance in the maintenance of harmony and government within the city. In addition, this group concern gave members an identity which they probably cherished.⁹²

Whilst each trade had its own guild, only the tailors' and weavers' guilds obtained royal charters, thus setting them apart from the rest of the craft organisations in fifteenth-century Salisbury.⁹³ The tailors' guild, and the merchant guild of St George, both had altars at St Thomas's Church, and although they were both originally craft guilds, they evolved to have different functions. The tailors' guild fulfilled dual roles, both as a craft guild and as a social and religious group, whereas the merchant guild became the civic corporation and was in charge of governing the city, with its social and religious arm known as the guild of St George.

⁹¹ Both groups would have worshipped at St Thomas's Church. The tailor Silvester Pope lived in the High Street which adjoins New Street chequer, while William More and Edward Goodyer lived in Cross Keys chequer, a property was given to the guild by Goodyer, and which remained with them until the 19th century. John Goodyer held property in New Street chequer which was also given to the guild. William Marchy lived in Barnard's Cross chequer in 1479. In 1638 John Trewman lived in Trinity chequer. RCHME, *Salisbury Volume I*, pp. 68, 84, 97, 115, 143. The drapers lived near the wool market and guildhall, in the Cross Keys chequer, around Queen Street, RCHME, *Salisbury Volume I*, pp. 59, 82, 85, 89.

⁹² David Mateer and Elizabeth New, 'In Nomine Jesu: Robert Fayrfax and the Guild of the Holy Name in St Paul's Cathedral', *Music & Letters*, 81 (2000), 509.

⁹³ Chandler, *Endless Street*, p. 112. The weavers' guild had their altar at St Edmund's.

2.5 The Tailors' Guild

The tailors' guild, as one of the foremost guilds in Salisbury, held a chantry chapel in St Thomas's which was located close to the marketplace and the guildhall. On 24 June, the feast day of St John the Baptist, the guild celebrated its craft, the religion of its members, and their brotherly fraternity, through both public and private ceremonies within the city.⁹⁴ All these elements of the celebration continued to some extent during the process of the Reformation, until the Civil War. The tailors' guild, or 'fraternity of St John the Baptist' in Salisbury, appears to have been founded at the beginning of the fifteenth century, at around the same time as the tailors' guild in Chester, and slightly later than that in Coventry.⁹⁵ The extant evidence relating to the Salisbury guild is substantial, dating from 1444 until the nineteenth century and comprising an act and memoranda book, and a series of five assembly minute books.⁹⁶ The members of the guild spanned the social strata and included some who became members of the governing city corporation.⁹⁷ The guild was managed by two wardens, two

⁹⁴ Extant records date from 1444; however, the weavers' guild had been in existence from 1396 and it is probable that the tailors' guild was likewise of much older vintage than testified by surviving records. Further information regarding the tailors' guild is to be found in Haskins, *Trade Guilds*, pp. 98-130. The rules, ordinance and constitutions, including the 1462 episcopal confirmation of the 1461 royal charter which governed its members and enabled the maintenance of order are contained in WSA: G23/1/251, *Tailors guild assembly minute book, 1517-75*. This document is mainly unpaginated. Confirmation of the royal charter of 1444, livery, light, payment for dinner, ceremonies on the vigil of St John and on the feast day are contained in WSA: G23/1/250, *Tailors guild act and memoranda book, 1444-1838*, ff. 7v-10r.

⁹⁵ W. B. Stephens, 'The City of Coventry: Crafts and industries, Craft organisation to the 16th century', in *A History of the County of Warwick: Volume 8* (1969) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/warks/vol8/pp157-162> [accessed 8 June 2020]. J. S. Barrow and others, 'Economic infrastructure and institutions: Craft guilds, in the City of Chester: Culture, Buildings, Institutions', in *A History of the County of Chester: Volume 5 Part 2* (2005) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/ches/vol5/pt2/pp114-124> [accessed 8 June 2020]. A tailors' guild had also been formed in Chichester, but much evidence is missing, see: L. F. Salzman, 'The City of Chichester: Trades, industries, markets and fairs', in *A History of the County of Sussex: Volume 3* (1935) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/sussex/vol3/pp97-98> [accessed 8 June 2020].

⁹⁶ WSA: G23/1/250, *Tailors guild act and memoranda book, 1444-1838*. WSA: G23/1/251-255, *Tailors guild assembly minute books, 1444-1880*.

⁹⁷ Robert Griffiths was mayor in 1545-46. WSA: G23/1/251, *Tailors guild assembly minute book, 1517-75*. William Eston was alderman in 1493. WSA: G23/1/2, *Corporation ledger B, 1493*, f.182v. Vincent Mulpy was one of the Twenty-Four in 1493. WSA: G23/1/2, *Corporation ledger B, 1493*, f.182v.

stewards, and two chamberlains all elected annually at the feast of the Epiphany: election to these positions by fellow members was considered an honour.⁹⁸

The importance of religion to the tailors' guild is illustrated by the inclusion of a calendar of feasts and various passages from the Bible including part of the Gospel of St John, in the act and memoranda book.⁹⁹ In addition, the provision of a bede roll (from 1444 to 1536) provides further evidence of religious intent: it lists the names of forty members who were mainly men or married couples, with only one entry for a single woman, who may have been a widow. However, it is surprising that there were so few donations to the guild, as there would have been many hundreds of members during the period in which the bede roll was compiled.¹⁰⁰ The value of such gifts varied considerably from as little as 8d to valuable tenements in the city, providing an indication that it was probably the deed itself which merited mention rather than its financial value.¹⁰¹ The bede roll was read at the start of each meeting following a preamble praying for tranquillity and peace in all Christian realms, the good state and prosperity of the king, queen and prince, including King Edward IV, and Duke Richard (the late Duke of York) who were the founders of the guild. It continued:

ye shall p[ra]y for all the sowles of all the brethern and susterne beinge quicke and dead & in speciall for the sowlis of thes which wer speciall good doers in ther lyves.

Also yowe shall praye for the sowles that ar departede owt off this worlde.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ The oaths taken by these men are to be found in WSA: G23/1/250, *Tailors guild act and memoranda book, 1444-1838*, ff. 12r-13v.

⁹⁹ WSA: G23/1/250, *Tailors guild act and memoranda book, 1444-1838*, ff. 11v-12r. The extracts are John 1: 1-15, Luke 5: 27-32, Matthew 9: 10-13, Mark 16: 15-18, John 6: 53-54. Ending with *Deo Gracias per evangelia dicta deleantur vestra delicta*. Thanks be to God, by these holy Gospels may your sins be taken away.

¹⁰⁰ The bede roll covers the years 1495 to 1581. WSA: G23/1/250, *Tailors guild act and memoranda book, 1444-1838*, ff. 206r-207v.

¹⁰¹ An older bede roll is mounted for display. WSA: G23/1/257PC, *Tailors' guild: bede roll of the guild, c.1444*.

¹⁰² This last sentence of the quote extends the first: it was added by a different scribe at a later date, perhaps during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. WSA: G23/1/250, *Tailors guild act and memoranda book, 1444-1838*, f. 206r.

Unlike the tailors' guild in Coventry, that of Salisbury was in 1461 granted a royal charter, which enabled the guild altar to be established.¹⁰³ Following the collapse of the chancel at St Thomas's, the guild established an altar at St Edmund's where one chaplain was to celebrate 'divine service at the altar of St John the Baptist' each day, for the king, members of the fraternity and for their souls after death.¹⁰⁴ Following the rebuilding of the chancel, the guild returned to St Thomas's in 1479, although they may still have had a presence at St Edmund's as late as 1485.¹⁰⁵ Their return to St Thomas's would have been influenced by the chantry built by William Swayne both for the guild and himself (see Figure 2-9 and Figure 2-10). William Swayne had thrice acted as mayor of the city and although not a tailor himself, became patron of their guild.¹⁰⁶ This act of considerable expense would have been judged as a 'good work', and in return he entreats from inscriptions on the beams 'pray for the soul of William Swayne and Christian his wife'. Traces of the fifteenth-century paintwork of the chapel have been uncovered to reveal scenes from the Annunciation, the Visitation and the infancy of Christ.¹⁰⁷ This decoration would have enhanced the visual experience for the members of the tailors' guild, whilst reminding them of the life of their saviour.

¹⁰³ Stephens, 'The City of Coventry: Crafts and industries, Craft organisation to the 16th century'.

¹⁰⁴ Deputy Keeper of the Records, *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry VI*, Vol. V (London: HMSO, 1909), p. 122. The chapel of St John the Baptist was north of the chancel (see Figure 2-13).

¹⁰⁵ Property was left to the guild for an obit there. Crittall, 'Salisbury: Churches'.

¹⁰⁶ Crittall, 'Salisbury: Merchant and craft guilds to 1612'.

¹⁰⁷ Roger Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings* (London: Shire Publications Ltd, 2014), p. 265.



Figure 2-9: North wall, south chancel aisle: site of tailors' guild & Swayne chantries



Figure 2-10: East window above the altar of the tailors' guild (also the Swayne chantry)

Further evidence of the importance of worship is to be found in a fifteenth-century inventory of goods belonging to the tailors' chapel (see Table 2-6).¹⁰⁸ This lists vestments of black, worn for funerals of members, red, and green, with a further set of unknown colour. In addition there were two books: a 'Mass book' and a *portas* (or breviary), as well as a chalice, two cruets of pewter, a banner cloth of St John the Baptist (for use in processions), and a chalice of silver gilt.¹⁰⁹ The inventory includes four altar cloths - one of white with red crosses which at one time may have belonged to the merchant guild of St George.¹¹⁰

Table 2-6: Comparison of two inventories

Inventory of the fraternity of St John the Baptist (15th century)¹¹¹	Inventory of Chantry goods from the tailor's guild sold to Thomas Chafyn of Mere in, 1548¹¹²
First j payre of vestments of grene with alle the apparayll ¹¹³	Itm a vestment of greene wusted branched wyth red velvett
Itm a payre vestments of red ground & corporas	Inprimis a vestment of dornyke
Itm a payre vestments of black ground and golde bridds with a corporas	Itm a vestment of Bodkyn
Itm j payre vestments of worstede with swannys and j corporas	Itm a vestment of blewe wusted wythe Swans
	Itm an vestment of branched bokeram
Itm vj tuell of playne	
Itm ij auterclothes with gryffyns and ij cortons	Itm an autler clothe of Canvase paynted
Itm ij autherclothes of whit with red crosses & ij cortons	Itm an autler clothe wth a halyngge of Canvase paynted
	Itm an autler cloth of dyapper
	Itm ij altar clothes the one dyappe the other plaine
	Itm a border of whyte satten abyrdges wth a ffringe of sylke
Itm j baner cloth of Seynt John the Baptist	Itm a hangyngge of paynted canvase
Itm j chalyce of sylver on gild conteynyng xvij ouns & a halfe	Itm a Chalyce p[er]teynynge to the same which was sold by Robt Gryffythe at the feast of all Saynts last paste for xls and bestowed upon rep[ar]ations of the lands p[er]teynynge to the said chaunterye
Itm a masse boke bygynnyng w[i]th <i>susterimus</i>	Itm a Masse boke
Itm j portose bygynnyng with <i>erit umonissimus</i>	
Itm ij cruets of pewter	ij Cruetts of tynne
	ij Corporas cases wth a pax of glasse and a towell of lokeram

¹⁰⁸ WSA: G23/1/251, *Tailors guild assembly minute book, 1517-75*.

¹⁰⁹ A *missal* contains the service of the Mass. A *portas* is another name for a breviary, which contains the services of the Office. Bangor University, *The Experience of Worship in Late Medieval Cathedral and Parish Church* (2013) <http://www.experienceofworship.org.uk/> [accessed 10 April 2019].

¹¹⁰ WSA: G23/1/251, *Tailors guild assembly minute book, 1517-75*. The flag which became associated with St George is a red cross on a white background.

¹¹¹ WSA: G23/1/251, *Tailors guild assembly minute book, 1517-75*.

¹¹² WSA: 865/314, *Inventory of Chantry goods sold to Thomas Chafyn of Mere in Wiltshire, 1548*.

¹¹³ Additional vestments for instance stole, maniple.

Following the Chantry Act of 1548 the goods were sold to Thomas Chafyn of Mere.¹¹⁴ This later list included items which were missing from the original inventory, such as a *pax brede*, and a further set of vestments. At least two of these were described as being decorated with gold birds; these would have reflected both light from the candles, and the sunlight through the stained-glass windows thereby drawing attention to the priest at the altar.¹¹⁵ The *pax* was unusually made of glass rather than wood or metal, and was kissed by all members during the Mass, as ‘a token of joyful peace, which is betwixt God and men’s conscience: Christ alone is the peacemaker, which straitly commands peace between brother and brother’, perhaps suggestive of a fragility of relationships within the tailors’ guild.¹¹⁶

In the late medieval period, the eucharist was both a sacrament and a sacrifice, whereby the sacramental bread and wine became the body and blood of Christ or ‘true body’ (*Corpus verum*).¹¹⁷ The sensory experience of the Mass was increased by the proximity of members to the chapel altar, which enabled them to see the elevation of the host more clearly than when observing the high altar in the nave of the church. Through this the members of the guild would feel nearer to God. Although incense does not appear to have been used in the parish churches on a daily basis, it is likely that it would have been used to purify the altar both physically and sacramentally during the Requiem Mass on the patron’s day, as a sign of the presence of God. This action would have added to the sense of occasion through the shared

¹¹⁴ WSA: 865/314, *Inventory of Chantry goods sold to Thomas Chafyn of Mere in Wiltshire, 1548*.

¹¹⁵ Margaret Aston, *Faith and Fire: Popular and Unpopular Religion 1350-1600* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1993), pp. 219-230.

¹¹⁶ There is no mention of decoration with the coat of arms of the guild. *Pax brede* or *pax board*: a small plaque or board decorated with a sacred image made from precious metal or wood, kissed by clergy and people at the rite of peace. John Bossy, ‘The Mass as a Social Institution 1200-1700’, *Past & Present*, 100 (1983), 48, 52. Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions*, p. 144.

¹¹⁷ Kevin Knight, *New Advent: Sacrifice of the Mass* (2020) <https://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10006a.htm> [accessed 2 February 2021]. Edward Foley, *From Age to Age: How Christians have Celebrated the Eucharist* (Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2008), p. 236. For further discussion of the importance of the eucharist in medieval England see Wooding, ‘Remembrance in the Eucharist’. Bossy, ‘The Mass as a Social Institution 1200-1700’.

odour of the burning incense.¹¹⁸ Neither the guild inventory nor that of the Swayne chantry appear to have contained a thurible or boat, but given that both items were owned by the church of St Edmund's, it is probable that they were also present at St Thomas's as well.¹¹⁹

At this time, it was considered the duty of those living to remember the dead through prayer beginning at the funeral and repeated on the seventh day, the thirtieth day or 'month mind', and on the anniversary of death known as the annual obit, potentially lasting indefinitely.¹²⁰

As with all other guilds and fraternities in the city, it was compulsory to attend the funerals of fellow members. The tailors' guild stipulated that each brother or sister who died was to have seven torches, while those of the servants (or journeymen) were to have four: these were presumably placed around the body in church, probably in the sockets of the hearse (see Chapter 3).¹²¹

The pre-Reformation guild celebrations are documented in both the earliest assembly minute book dated 1517-75, and in the act and memoranda book of 1444-1838, which together enabled the possible reconstruction of events (see Table 2-7). The first of three such occasions each year was held on 6 May, which was the day of the commemoration of St John the Apostle before the Latin Gate, when an obit (or 'mynde') was celebrated for named deceased members and the brothers and sisters of the guild.¹²² The second celebration was held on 24

¹¹⁸ Incense was used as a symbol of prayers rising to heaven. E. G. Cuthbert F. Atchley, *A History of the Use of Incense in Divine Worship*, Vol. XIII (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1909), p. 308.

¹¹⁹ St Edmund's 1472 inventory: Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 5. 'Sensours: It' j grete sensour of silver in passel gilt weyng xxxvij unc. It' j sensour in passel gilt weyng xxviiij unc' iij qr. Shippes: Item a grete ship of silver in passel gilt with a spon of silver of viii unc & qr. Item a ship of silver in passel gilt withoute spon of v unc i qrt.' Thurible: the ceremonial vessel (a covered bowl suspended on metal chains) in which charcoal and incense is burnt. Bangor University, *The Experience of Worship Project: Glossary*.

¹²⁰ Obit: An Office or service, usually a Mass, held to pray for the soul of, or otherwise commemorate, a deceased person (at the request and usually the expense of that person or of his or her family) on the anniversary of his or her death, or at some other appointed time; a yearly or other regular memorial service. *OED*.

¹²¹ This is covered in more detail in Chapter 3 Illumination. Haskins, *Trade Guilds*, p. 122. WSA: G23/1/250, *Tailors guild act and memoranda book, 1444-1838*.

¹²² In AD 95 St John was boiled in oil before the Latin Gate and survived.

June, the nativity of St John the Baptist, which was the tailors' patronal festival, and the third was on 29 August, the day of the beheading of St John the Baptist, which was a second obit day.¹²³

Both of the obit days according to the 1444 ordinance were to be celebrated in a similar fashion, firstly by reminding the members two days beforehand that they were to attend, and secondly, on the day of the obit, by a tradition whereby bellmen were employed to go about the town and to stop at pre-determined stations to say a '*pater noster*, an *ave*, and the *credo*'. At the same time a knell was rung from the church; the sound of the clattering and clanging of such bells, one small and the other much larger, would have proclaimed the upcoming obit, making it impossible to escape their noise in the city (see Chapter 4).¹²⁴ Once the religious element of the obit was over 'a galonn of red wyn, and a potell of Whit wyn' were served, reflecting the sacrifice of the Mass, whilst also allowing the members to socialise convivially.¹²⁵

Table 2-7: Comparison of rules of 1444 and 1461 for Tailors' Guild patronal festival

1444 ¹²⁶	1461 ¹²⁷
Feast began the week prior to the 24 June for one evening and then was celebrated from the evening of 23 June and ended on the evening of the 24 June	Feast began on the evening of 23 June and ended on the evening of the 24 June
Seven days before midsummer, all to chandler's house to view the light and to dine	
Notice of feast three days before	
Decoration of guild chapel, followed by the service of <i>Dirige</i>	23 June decoration of the guild altar, followed by <i>Dirige</i>
Notice given regarding the feast around the city by stewards and minstrels	
24 June procession of light from chandler's house to St Thomas's at 9 am, journeymen, light, stewards of masters, minstrels, mayor, members of guild	24 June procession of light from chandler's house to St Thomas's at 11 am, journeymen, light, stewards of masters, minstrels, mayor, members of guild

¹²³ Crittall, 'Salisbury: Merchant and craft guilds to 1612'. The May obit included Will[ia]m More, and the second obit in August, John Pinnock. WSA: G23/1/251, *Tailors guild assembly minute book, 1517-75*. From 1461 the anniversary of William Swayne was included in the celebration on 24 June.

¹²⁴ WSA: G23/1/251, *Tailors guild assembly minute book, 1517-75*. Bellmen were paid 4d for each occasion, whereas ringers of the knell were paid 6d in May and 8d in August.

¹²⁵ WSA: G23/1/251, *Tailors guild assembly minute book, 1517-75*.

¹²⁶ WSA: G23/1/251, *Tailors guild assembly minute book, 1517-75*, ff. 1v-3r.

¹²⁷ WSA: G23/1/251, *Tailors guild assembly minute book, 1517-75*, ff. 3v-4r.

1444 ¹²⁶	1461 ¹²⁷
10 am Requiem Mass in chapel at St Thomas's	Requiem Mass in chapel at St Thomas's
Dinner	Dinner
Procession of journeymen with light to the chapel of St John on 'Aylewater' bridge then cathedral ¹²⁸	
All to celebrate Vespers at the second Morrow Mass altar in the cathedral	
To the tailors' hall via the High Street, Crown Inn, and market place for supper	Supper

The main patronal festival celebrations held on and around 24 June can also be pieced together using the two extant ordinances (see Table 2-7). The 1444 ordinance specified that the feast for the masters was to last three days, in comparison to the later rules of 1461 according to which the annual midsummer obit was to be held on 23 and 24 June only.¹²⁹ The 1444 rules state that the lights and the members' livery were to be prepared in advance of the celebrations, and that on the Monday or Thursday seven days before the feast, the members were to assemble at the wax chandler's house to view the lights and to partake of a dinner. On the eve of St John's day, both sets of rules describe how the chapel at St Thomas's was to be decorated by the members: a garland of red roses was to be placed on the head of the image of St John, a taper of 2 lbs of wax to be placed before him, and green straw or rushes were to be scattered on the floor.¹³⁰ The roses and the rushes would have added to the scent of the room, counteracting the odour of unwashed bodies at prayer both on that evening and the following day. A service of *Dirige* was then held, and in some years an oblation was made to the high altar of the church.¹³¹ The earlier ordinance also stated that the upcoming feast was to

¹²⁸ Now known as Ayleswade bridge.

¹²⁹ Other events took place around midsummer, including the celebration of St Osmund on 15 and 16 July.

¹³⁰ *Placebo* and *Dirige* are the first words of the (first) vespers and matins respectively. In that the ordinance states *Dirige* and this seems to occur in the evening, it may have been mistakenly substituted for *Placebo*. The earlier ordinance also states that the floor of the chapel be strewn with green straw and two tapers each of 1lb be set before the image of St John the Baptist. In addition eight torches weighing 107 lbs and 5 tapers were to be carried in procession. In the later ordinance the light consisted of four torches one weighing 14½ lbs, and six tapers. Members were charged 12d each, and 4d for a journeyman towards the making of the lights. WSA: G23/1/251, *Tailors guild assembly minute book, 1517-75*.

¹³¹ For instance 2s in 1537-38. SCA: FA/2/1/24, *Accounts of the procurator of St Thomas with the masters of the fabric, 1537-38*.

be proclaimed by the stewards of both the masters and those of the journeymen, adding to the sounds of the city. At nine o'clock the following morning (24 June) a procession was formed in a defined order: journeymen, lights, stewards of the masters, minstrels, mayor and civic dignitaries, and finally the guild members, to 'bringe ynne the light ... from the Channdelers hous unto the seid Seynt Thomas Churche', and 'with gods spede with alle the company and the blessing of St John'. This could all have been mistaken for the progression of a religious pilgrimage, with crowds, music, and banners calling at churches around the city. The guild banner would have been instantly recognizable, carrying the religious iconography of St John the Baptist, as noted in the inventory (see Table 2-6).¹³² The whole effect of the procession would have presented a carnival-like celebration, with the men of both the guild and the corporation dressed in their different liveries, accompanied by the minstrels of the city.

Having arrived at church, a sense of relative quiet and social harmony would have ensued, with the celebration of a Requiem Mass in the chapel, including the kissing of the *pax brede* by each member as a form of fellowship. The Mass was followed by a private dinner for guild members. The 1444 ordinance then stipulated that an afternoon procession was to take place to St John's Chapel in Harnham, and then to the cathedral for a service of 'evensong' (vespers) at the second Morrow Mass altar.¹³³ The conclusion to the celebration involved the drummers and minstrels accompanying a procession to the tailors' hall for final drinks and dismissal. Drinking and dining together would have cemented friendships and may have extended the social and economic boundaries of members.¹³⁴ The charges for the event reflect

¹³² WSA: G23/1/250, *Tailors guild act and memoranda book, 1444-1838*, unpaginated.

¹³³ St John's Chapel (now a private dwelling) is sited on Ayleswade Bridge in Old Harnham, south of the city and was associated with St Nicholas Hospital.

¹³⁴ Gervase Rosser, 'Going to the Fraternity Feast: Commensality and Social Relations in Late Medieval England', *Journal of British Studies*, 33.4 (1994), 443.

conspicuous consumption: in 1444 the three days of celebrations for a man and his wife cost 2s 6d (including supper and dinner), and in 1461, dinner and supper for both days cost 2s.¹³⁵

2.6 The merchant guild of St George

From the fourteenth to the early sixteenth century the merchant guild, the fraternity of St George, and the civic corporation, were effectively one and the same organisation: today it would be recognised as the equivalent of the chamber of commerce.¹³⁶ The guild consisted of the Twenty-Four and the Forty-Eight members of the corporation, led by elite mayors such as John Halle, William Hore, and William Swayne, who had all held other positions of responsibility in the city.¹³⁷ In its early years there is no evidence that the fraternity of St George functioned for any administrative purposes; rather it appears that it met as a social and religious group, with an altar for the brotherhood in St Thomas's Church.¹³⁸ Merchant guilds were common in towns from the fourteenth century, but Salisbury, like Norwich, was distinctive in naming its merchant guild after St George.¹³⁹

¹³⁵ The sixteenth-century tailors' hall was in Guilder Lane, in Swayne's chequer. RCHME, *Salisbury Volume I*, p. 94. 1444: day 1 for man and wife 8d, day 2 4d, day 3 6d and 'every day for mete' 2d each. In 1461 man and wife for dinner 12d and supper 12d. In 1468-69 a carpenter was paid 5d a day and his labourer 3d a day for work at St Edmund's. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 11.

¹³⁶ Chandler, *Endless Street*, p. 112. Evidence for the existence of the guild in Salisbury is in the corporation ledgers of the city, along with the few extant compotus rolls of the corporation. WSA: G23/1/1-3, *Corporation ledgers A-C*. WSA: G23/1/44/1-12, *Compotus rolls*. There are only sixteen extant accounts in this series which date from 1444 to 1598, and some of which are partial. A number were translated by Henry Swayne and published in *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal* in the late nineteenth century.

¹³⁷ As with other corporate towns, such as Chester, the various crafts of Salisbury organised into guilds from the early fifteenth-century, and by 1440, there were thirty-eight. Barrow and others, 'Economic infrastructure and institutions: Craft guilds, in the City of Chester: Culture, Buildings, Institutions'. The crafts practised in Salisbury included mercers, tailors, butchers, saddlers, smiths, dubbers (bookbinders), brewers, bakers, fishmongers, tanners, innkeepers, weavers, carpenters, barbers, shoemakers, founders and tuckers. Haskins, *Trade Guilds*, p. 376. WSA: G23/1/2, *Corporation ledger B, 21 December 1474*, ff. 120-121. Haskins, *Trade Guilds*, p. 30.

¹³⁸ Crittall, 'Salisbury: City government before 1612'. Although the earliest reference to the guild appears to be in 1376, it may have been referred to as such when the craft guild of the city merchants was resurrected in the year 1306, when the merchants were grocers, haberdashers and mercers. Haskins, *Trade Guilds*, pp. 31-32.

¹³⁹ The Norwich guild was formed in 1324 and was associated with the south side of the high altar, before the Trinity in Norwich Cathedral. Benjamin Mackerell, *Account of the Company of St George in Norwich: from Mackerell's History of Norwich MS. 1737*, Vol. III (Norwich: Norfolk & Norwich Archaeological Society, 1852), p. 329.

St George became a focus for spirituality during the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453), and in 1388 the army in England was ordered to wear the symbol of a red cross on their surcoats, the cult of St George having been promoted previously by Edward III.¹⁴⁰ The saint was also the patron of the Order of the Garter, formed in 1348 as a noble fraternity. The story of the slaying of the dragon added to the symbolism of victory of good over evil, both spiritually and earthly, and the cult of St George in England grew from the late fourteenth century across all strata of society. He remained patron of the English monarchs, and it may have been this which stimulated the naming of the merchant guild in Salisbury.¹⁴¹ In 1416 Archbishop Chichele stated that the southern provinces were to celebrate the feast of St George as a greater double, and this was followed six years later by a similar celebration in the northern provinces.¹⁴² Although St George's day was unaffected by the abrogation of superfluous holy days in 1536, it would seem that by this time the fraternity in Salisbury had been disbanded, unlike that of Norwich which functioned into the seventeenth century.¹⁴³

Evidence from the corporation compotus rolls show that the guild altar was likely to have been situated on the north side of St Thomas's Church, in the area where the Godmanstone chantry had been constructed around 1415.¹⁴⁴ The mayoral and guild chaplain lived in rooms

¹⁴⁰ Richard Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2004), p. 114.

¹⁴¹ Margaret Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 361, 401-444.

¹⁴² Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History*, p. 439. Feasts were ranked according to their importance: a greater double was more important than a minor double or lesser double. Sunday was a double feast and a day during the week when there was no feast was a ferial or workday. Harper, *Forms and Orders*, pp. 53-54. Henry Summerson, *George [St George]* (2010) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/60304> [accessed 23 May 2019]. The feast is noted in the New Customary of the Use of Salisbury as a double feast with the choir ruled (conducted). However, a later translation of a Sarum Breviary describes it as a feast of three lessons with rulers, whilst W. H. Frere describes it as an minor double. Sarum Customary Online, *The New Customary from Salisbury Cathedral MS 175 Latin text with English translation (NCS)* (2012) http://www.sarumcustomary.org.uk/exploring/PDF_files/4.1%20NCS/NCS-LE.pdf [accessed 10 January 2019].

¹⁴³ Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1536-1558*, p. 5. Mackerell, *Account of the Company of St George in Norwich*, p. 345.

¹⁴⁴ Other authors have disputed this. Chandler, *Endless Street*, p. 310; Crittall, 'Salisbury: Churches'. Haskins, *Trade Guilds*, p. 38.

belonging to the corporation in the churchyard of St Thomas's, where the chantry priests of the church also resided.¹⁴⁵ The chaplain lived there rent free, and was paid a stipend of 53s 4d (4 marks) a year, with a further allowance of 53s 4d for his 'table and clothing', and sick pay of 12d a week.¹⁴⁶ The final time that a chaplain of St George is mentioned in the accounts was in 1526; however, a mayoral chaplain continued to be employed with the same benefits as before.¹⁴⁷ Corporation meetings were not always held in the council house but sometimes in the city churches, with mayoral elections usually held in St Edmund's Church.¹⁴⁸ All three parish churches, and the cathedral, had pews assigned to the mayor and mayoress and the corporation, thereby providing indication of the overlap between the sacred and the secular, and the corporation and churches in Salisbury.¹⁴⁹ The cult of St George could also be observed in the cathedral, where a statue depicting the saint was present, and in 1534 a gilded necklace with the image of St George was bequeathed there by a Salisbury citizen, thus providing evidence of reverence for the saint in the city.¹⁵⁰ Images of St George were also

¹⁴⁵ This is corroborated in the compotus roll of 1449-50, which states 'And 9d to the same (William Hellier) for collecting moos [?moss] at the chamber of the chaplain in St Thomas's cemetery'. The later corporation accounts also mention 'three dirges' previously sung in St Thomas's Church, see WSA: G23/1/2, *Corporation ledger B*, 1555-56, f. 315v. H. J. F. Swayne, 'Gleanings from the archives of Salisbury no. 13', *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, Saturday February 9 1884, 3. For 1453-54, see: Swayne, 'Gleanings 14', 3. Also for 1473-74, see: H. J. F. Swayne, 'Gleanings from the Archives of Salisbury no. 16', *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, Saturday March 8 1884, 3.

¹⁴⁶ One mark was 13s 4d. The cost of 10s rent is noted as paid and defaulted in each account. WSA: G23/1/44, *Compotus roll*, 1444-45. H. J. F. Swayne, 'Gleanings from the archives of Salisbury no. 12', *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, Saturday January 26 1884, 3. The guild chaplain was entitled to eat at the mayor's table. WSA: G23/1/1, *Corporation ledger A*, 1454-55. For 1484-85, Swayne, 'Gleanings 18', 3. WSA: G23/1/1, *Corporation ledger A*, f. 148r.

¹⁴⁷ There is a gap in the accounts from 1525-26 until 1549. The final extant compotus roll is for 1598. WSA: G23/1/44/12, *Compotus roll*, 1598.

¹⁴⁸ The council house or 'semplehous' was situated in the cemetery of St Thomas's until a new one was constructed, west of the marketplace and north of St Thomas's Church, in 1584. RCHME, *Salisbury Volume I*, p. 61.

¹⁴⁹ WSA: G23/1/1, *Corporation ledger A*, 1457. Mayoral elections following the Reformation were held in St Edmund's see 1563-64, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 109-110. In 1579 the Mayor was elected at St. Thomas's, due to the plague in the area around St Edmund's Church see, WSA: G23/1/3, *Corporation ledger C*, f. 59r.

¹⁵⁰ 'A little cross, curiously ornate, with relicks of St Machabei, St George and the Innocents; it is like a quarterfoille'. Folio 16 in Alastair Lack, ed., *Processions and other Late Medieval Ceremonies of Salisbury Cathedral* (self-published: Lulu, 2014). Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions*, p. 162. SCA: FA/1/3/1, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric*, Term IV income, 1534, p.52. *Itm j monile de imagine sci georgii deaurat.*

present in both St Edmund's and St Thomas's, and although evidence is lacking for St Martin's, it is probable that an image was present there as well.



Figure 2-11: St George and the dragon, St George's Church, Kelmscott

Figure 2-11 provides an example of St George in a stained-glass window in Oxfordshire, and similar windows may have been present in the Salisbury churches. The image of 'the George' at St Thomas's was particularly large, as evidenced by the fact that its removal in 1548 required two carpenters and four labourers.¹⁵¹ It is not clear whether these images were purchased by the guild for each church, or by the parishes themselves, in that the latter were responsible for cleaning and storing them.¹⁵² In the city of Norwich, an image of the saint was kept near the high altar of the guild chapel in St Peter's Church, and those within the churches

In 1558-59, the cathedral made payment to 'ye bearers of baners and dragones hedds' during the 'procession weeke'. SCA: FA/1/1/15, *Fabric account, 1558-59*.

¹⁵¹ Its removal cost 2s 8d. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 275.

¹⁵² St Edmund's in 1499-1500: John' Goode Armorer for Clensing of Seynte George Harnys ther to taske in alle ijs viijd. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 51.

in Salisbury may have been located in a similar position.¹⁵³ The fact that all the parishes were involved with this guild indicates an inclusivity and sharing of commemoration throughout the city, although Mass was only said daily at the guild altar at St Thomas's.

In addition to the patron's day each year (23 April), the guild of St George, as with the tailors' guild, held obit days to celebrate past benefactors (see Table 2-8).¹⁵⁴ These services were expensive at a cost of 36s 10d in 1497-98, but were likely to have been funded by the man or men for whom the obit was celebrated.¹⁵⁵ The obit days began, as with the tailors' guild, with the tolling of a bell at whichever church the celebration was to take place, and two 'poor bellmen' were sent around the city to entreat citizens to pray for the souls of members both dead and living. Oblations from the guild are recorded at St Thomas's Church in 1486, and at St Edmund's in 1530-31, and therefore it appears that these services took place either in turn at each of the churches of the city, or at all three churches every year.¹⁵⁶

Table 2-8: Evidence of obits (where available) as celebrated by the guild of St George

Date	Obits celebrated	Date	Obits celebrated
1444-45	John Mover	1453-54	William Walters
	William Ashley		William Wychforde
	William Walters		John Walloppe
	William Teynterer	1473-74	'Christine'
	John Beckett	1497-98	'Three obits'
	William Wychforde	1509-10	'Three obits'
	John Walloppe	1525-26	Obits held in the churches of St Thomas, St Edmund and St Martin
1449-50	As above	1545-46	'Obits'

¹⁵³ Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England*, pp. 115-118.

¹⁵⁴ The only information regarding the celebration of 'three dirges' is one note in the corporation accounts during the reign of Mary I: 'Whereas three dirges have been yerely song heretofore within the parish church [of] seynt Thomas in Sarum for the fownders and benefactors of this howse and [for] certen causes lett downe ever sithens the begynnyng of King Edwarde the VIth until this tyme, it is concluded and agreed that the said three dirges be yerely kepte in the said church of Seynt Thomas accordyng to the olde ordynaunces and customes at the charge of the Chamberlaynes'. WSA: G23/1/2, *Corporation ledger B, March 20 1555-56*, f. 315v. It has not been possible to determine the dates of the obit days.

¹⁵⁵ 1497-98, see Swayne, 'Gleanings 18', 3. Where evidence is missing for obit services this is due to the paucity of extant accounts. The expenses are itemised in detail for the years 1444-45 and 1453-54, when seven obits were celebrated including that for William Teynterer who had left the George Inn in his will to the corporation. The elements and wax cost 7s 8½d in 1509-10. WSA: G23/1/44/9, *Compotus roll, 1509-10*.

¹⁵⁶ SCA: FA/2/1/1, *Accounts of the procurator of St Thomas with the masters of the fabric, 1486-87*. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 79-81. WSA: 1901/69/7, *Churchwardens account roll, 1530-31*. See also the bede roll list in WSA: G23/1/1, *Corporation ledger A*.

There are a number of similarities between the festivities of the tailors' guild and that of St George. The main feast day of the guild of St George took place on the patronal day, when a procession of the members took place through the city, between the parish churches and the cathedral. Those of the guild involved in the procession wore brightly coloured livery and were elevated on horseback and thus conspicuous above the crowd, thereby demonstrating their social status. This presented the citizens of Salisbury with a sensory experience with bells, music, fluttering banners, lights, colour, and general clamour. The procession was headed by a man chosen to represent St George. In Norwich, there was an additional man acting as his sword-bearer, and a woman to represent St Margaret (who may also have been a dragon slayer).¹⁵⁷ In Salisbury, as with the tailors' guild, a further man carried the guild banner, with two others bearing wax candles, representing the light of the guild: in 1525 'Thomas Buge and Thomas Tailour, stewardestes of the George fest and Fr. Souwthe ... kepe th'obbite and Masse of old accustomed and make the light and bring it to the churche'.¹⁵⁸ Minstrels and drummers would also have accompanied the members to the church.

On the eve of the feast day, a service of *Placebo* and *Dirige* was held led by the chaplain of the guild. The following day, the religious element of the festival continued with a Requiem Mass to pray for all the brothers and sisters and Christian souls. A feast of bread, cheese, ale, and wine, and in some years a 'lamb in confectionary' then took place – differing from the menu in 1444 which had included pork, beef, mutton chops, and chickens. The senses of smell, taste, touch, and sight may well have been accentuated by that of hearing, as the meal was probably accompanied by musicians, as in the dinners of the Holy Cross guild in

¹⁵⁷ Mackerell, *Account of the Company of St George in Norwich*, p. 318. This was probably St Margaret of Antioch.

¹⁵⁸ In this particular year there had been some debate as to whether the guild could afford to celebrate the feast day due to 'great paymentes to the Kynges Grace'. These were for the so-called Amicable Grant, which was a tax imposed in 1525 to fund the war against France. WSA: G23/1/2, *Corporation ledger B*, f. 256v.

Stratford-upon-Avon.¹⁵⁹ There is no mention of attendance at vespers, although this may have taken place in the cathedral.¹⁶⁰ The charges for the festivities are also not known, but again, as with the tailors' guild, they would have been commensurate with the social status and expectation of the members. Thus the observance in both guilds was similar and reflected other patron's days celebrated in England. The juxtaposition of religion through the celebration of *Placebo*, *Dirige* and Mass, and socialising by dining together, with the public element of procession, again bound the guild together in friendship.

As with the other guilds, fraternities and churches, a bede roll was compiled containing the names of benefactors whom the corporation relied upon to fund its work. The bede roll contained in the earliest ledger stated that those present at the meeting should pray for:

the souls of the brethren, sisters and benefactors of the Fraternity of St George as well as those now alive as of those dead who in their lifetime left gave or assigned any goods to the Chamber of the city which said obits were held in the churches of St Thomas the Martyr, St Edmund the Bishop and St Martin.¹⁶¹

The bede roll names William Teynterer (Teynturer) junior, who at his death in 1376 bequeathed the George Inn to the guild for charitable purposes.¹⁶² By 1453-54 it would appear that at least some of the resultant rent of the inn was also supporting the scholars of De Vaux

¹⁵⁹ Harpists accompanied dinner at Stratford-upon-Avon. Rosser, 'Going to the Fraternity Feast: Commensality and Social Relations in Late Medieval England', 442. 1444-45, see Swayne, 'Gleanings 12', 3. 1453-54, see Swayne, 'Gleanings 14', 3. Confectionary: a sub-department of the kitchen responsible for making desserts and sweetmeats. C. M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval London* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 235.

¹⁶⁰ In 1474 an oblation was made to the cathedral of 2½d, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. xv. Haskins, *Trade Guilds*, p. 40.

¹⁶¹ WSA: G23/1/1, *Corporation ledger A*, unpaginated. 1497-98, H. J. F. Swayne, 'Gleanings from the Archives of Salisbury no. 20', *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, Saturday May 10 1884, 3.

¹⁶² The George Inn is still standing in the High Street. RCHME, *Salisbury Volume I*, p. 97. William Teynterer was mayor of Salisbury in 1361 and 1375.

College, as well as the vicars choral of the cathedral, thereby extending donations from the guild to further religious institutions: an example of civic and church cooperation.¹⁶³

Whilst there is no inventory of altar goods, the compotus rolls record regular repairs and washing of the vestments belonging to the guild, but few artefacts were purchased, except for a missal in 1509-10. There are no charges either for bread, wine and wax, for the daily celebration of the Mass on behalf of the corporation: it is probable that they were either provided by St Thomas's Church, or donated by members of the guild.¹⁶⁴

2.7 The cult of St Osmund

Osmund was Bishop of Old Sarum from 1078 until his death in 1099. He was considered to have been the author of the Use of Salisbury, although it is likely that it was actually written by Bishop Richard Poore.¹⁶⁵ In 1226, Osmund, along with two other bishops of Old Sarum, Roger le Poer (c.1102-1139) and Jocelin de Bohun (1142-1184), were translated to the new cathedral in Salisbury, where their remains were placed into tombs north of the high altar, in what was to become the Lady Chapel.¹⁶⁶ Osmund was canonized in 1457, following at least one previous unsuccessful attempt: this action was also part of a campaign to promulgate the Use of Salisbury on a wider scale.¹⁶⁷ His feasts quickly became accepted in Salisbury and beyond, appearing in the Kalendar of the Use of Salisbury on 4 December – the day of his

¹⁶³ Swayne, 'Gleanings 14', 3. 19s 4d was paid to the scholars of De Vaux College and 15s to the vicars of the cathedral.

¹⁶⁴ 1509-10, Swayne, 'Gleanings 25', 3.

¹⁶⁵ Osmund had also been involved in the making of the Domesday Book in 1086. Tim Tatton-Brown, 'The Afterlife of St Osmund: From Bishop to Saint, and from Old to New Sarum', *History: The Journal of the Historical Association*, 105 (2020), 627. Richard Poore was dean (1173-1215) and later became bishop of the new cathedral in Salisbury (1217-1228). F. E. Brightman, *The English Rite being a synopsis of the sources and revisions of the Book of Common Prayer*, Vol. 1 (London: Rivingtons, 1915), p. xvii. Diana E. Greenway, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300, Volume IV* (London: University of London, 1991), pp. xxvi, 4.

¹⁶⁶ F. J. E. Raby, 'The Tomb of St Osmund of Salisbury', *The Archaeological Journal*, 104 (1947), 146. Greenway, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300, Volume IV*, pp. xxix, 2-3.

¹⁶⁷ Greenway, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300, Volume IV*, p. xxx. Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England*.

deposition, as a principal feast of nine lessons, and on 16 July – the feast of his translation, as a double feast of nine lessons.¹⁶⁸ Salisbury was now able to provide the laity with an opportunity to venerate a saint who belonged to their city.¹⁶⁹

St Osmund's original *foramina* tomb-shrine, like others at the time, was designed to allow pilgrims to place their hands near to the saint, such that they could almost touch him. This was replaced in 1456 with a principal shrine of silver sited in the Lady Chapel. In addition there was a separate head shrine, complete with mitre, which was constructed around 1457 by the goldsmith 'John the Jew'. It was composed of silver gilt set with precious stones.¹⁷⁰ A replacement for the principal shrine was made some time between 1485 and 1493, this time with one in marble and silver, embedded with jewels; this would have been a glorious and substantial artefact, designed as a feature to attract visitors.¹⁷¹ It is possible that some of the silver for this was obtained by melting down the many silver rings noted in the accounts, offered by visitors to the reliquaries, and bequeathed by the women of the city.¹⁷²

In 1493-94, following sales of goods which included a *pax brede* or decorated *osculatorium* with an 'image of the Holy Spirit and the four evangelists', further work was carried out on the shrine when payments were made to goldsmiths, along with a furnace, charcoal and

¹⁶⁸ Teresa Webber, 'Osmund [St Osmund]', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2011) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20902> [accessed 24 January 2019]. R. W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 3. ff. 6 & 8b in Lack, ed., *Processions and other Late Medieval Ceremonies of Salisbury Cathedral*. The day of his deposition was later ordered for use by the Convocation of Canterbury throughout the Province in 1480. Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions*, p. 14.

¹⁶⁹ The tomb-shrine was flat-topped and had three apertures on each long side. Tatton-Brown, 'The Afterlife of St Osmund', 629.

¹⁷⁰ Eamon Duffy, 'Pilgrimage and Cathedrals in the Later Middle Ages', in *Pilgrimage and England's Cathedrals: Past, Present and Future*, ed. by Dee Dyas and John Jenkins (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), p. 57.

¹⁷¹ Suzanne Eward, 'St Osmund: The Building of the Shrine', *Salisbury, Dean and Chapter* (1992), 5-6.

¹⁷² For instance in 1532, 963 rings were sold 'Item we received on the same day [money] from 963 silver rings sold to Atkyn Otys, goldsmith of Salisbury, for the rebuilding of part(s) of the Cathedral near the Jesina, weighing 200 oz at a price of 3s 6½d the oz, Total £35 8s 4d'. SCA: FA/1/3/1, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric*, Term II 1531-32, p. 36. Some were acquired through visitors to the 'Jesina' – for instance between July and September 1531 69 silver rings were given. SCA: FA/1/3/1, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric*, Term IV 1530-31, p. 28.

blowers. A carpenter then raised (*levacione*) the shrine so that it sat on a podium, which would presumably have made it look even more impressive, possibly towering above the pilgrims.¹⁷³

Lay and ordained men and women would travel to Salisbury from the diocese to their mother church or as pilgrims on the wider network of pilgrimage routes across the country. Money from these visitors was raised through the provision of indulgences, which along with the sale of goods such as candles and possibly pilgrim badges, provided the dean and chapter with the funding to beautify the cathedral and in particular the shrine.¹⁷⁴ The number of visitors to Osmund's shrine would have increased as the miracles which had occurred there became known; in the year 1423-24 for example, thirty-three such events were documented.¹⁷⁵ In addition, the shrine provided an opportunity for the laity to bequeath goods in exchange for prayers for their souls; for instance in 1485, the mayor, William Swayne, left silver harness from his livery to the 'making of Saint Osmundes shrine'.¹⁷⁶

From 1475 onwards, scribes were paid to provide copies of the 'story of St Osmund' for St Edmund's, and later for the cathedral, which were presumably read in the city on his feast days, thereby increasing lay piety and encouraging prayer for the soul of the saint.¹⁷⁷ In

¹⁷³ SCA: FI/18/2/1, *Account roll for St Osmund's shrine 1493-94*. This is the only surviving account roll for the shrine. Sales of goods raised £39 13s 2½d. The total cost of the work was £65 14s 7½d, worth around £39,000 today. MeasuringWorth.com, *Relative Value in UK £ at 2019 prices* (n.d.) <https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/relativevalue.php> [accessed 3 March 2020]. Two goldsmiths, Richard Leverich and Arnold, received payments in addition to their fees – one a robe and another the price of a gown. From 1432 Salisbury was one of only seven provincial assay centres. Timothy Arthur Kent, 'Salisbury silver and its makers 1550 to 1700', *Silver Society Journal*, 1993 (1993), 4.

¹⁷⁴ Greenway, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300, Volume IV*, p. xxxi. SCA: FI/18/2/1, *Account roll for St Osmund's shrine 1493-94*. An indulgence was also granted in 1472 by Pope Sixtus IV to those who attended services, with the proceeds going to the repair of the fabric. Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions*, p. 207.

¹⁷⁵ In all fifty-two miracles were noted. Eward, 'St Osmund: The Building of the Shrine', 5. Duffy, 'Pilgrimage and Cathedrals in the Later Middle Ages', p. 62.

¹⁷⁶ TNA: PROB 11/7/190, *Will of William Swayne of Salisbury, May 1485*. Another bequest of 16s 8d was from the widow of William Tanner a merchant of Salisbury. SCA: FI/18/2/1, *Account roll for St Osmund's shrine 1493-94*.

¹⁷⁷ Cathedral: 1509, 'Paid the 28th day of June to Robert Scryvenor for making the history of St Osmund and St Raphael by order of the Master of the Fabric 12d'. SCA: FA/3/1/1/22, *Mr Harding's notes on the fabric, 1891*, p.

addition the doom painting at St Thomas's, which would have been seen by all visitors on entering the church through the west door, contained an image of the bishop complete with a red mitre and blue cope, in order to perpetuate his memory.¹⁷⁸

Evidence of income from visitors to the tomb in the cathedral accounts is sparse, in that there is only one extant account roll for the shrine, which notes the substantial income of £16 9s 0d 'from oblations at the head and shrine of St Osmund'.¹⁷⁹ Income from the shrine transferred to the fabric accounts is also occasionally noted, with values varying considerably from 1½d to £5 3s 6d (see Table 2-9). From the available evidence, pilgrims and other laity made their oblations at the feast of the deposition of St Osmund at the Morrow Mass altar, and again at the feast of the translation of the saint through a collection at the west door.¹⁸⁰ As at other cathedrals, such as Chichester, Lincoln, Worcester and York, the pilgrims would have been directed around the cathedral, visiting the head of the saint which was placed in a separate area to the main shrine, along with the altars attributed to other saints, before arriving finally at the principal shrine.¹⁸¹ This progression around the cathedral may have been accompanied by a background of on-going liturgy. The accounts for October to December 1537-38 demonstrate that for the first time there was no income at all either from legacies, or from the various collection boxes in the cathedral; however, in the following two terms, money from

75. St Edmund's: 1474-75, 1479-80, 1492-93, 1495-96, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 17, 19, 23, 367, 335, 345.

¹⁷⁸ The bishop is situated in the south middle gallery of the painting. Albert Hollaender, 'The Doom Painting of St Thomas of Canterbury, Salisbury', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 50 (1944), 357, 358-359.

¹⁷⁹ SCA: FI/18/2/1, *Account roll for St Osmund's shrine 1493-94*.

¹⁸⁰ SCA: FA/1/1/9, *Fabric account, 1515-16*. The use of the Morrow Mass altar is perhaps unsurprising in that pilgrims were encouraged to visit before eating in the morning. Duffy, 'Pilgrimage and Cathedrals in the Later Middle Ages', p. 59.

¹⁸¹ The flyleaf of the processional now housed in the cathedral library contains two petitions, considered by John Harper to be bidding prayers, for those contributing towards the new shrine of St Osmund in 1456. f. 0b in Lack, ed., *Processions and other Late Medieval Ceremonies of Salisbury Cathedral*. Duffy, 'Pilgrimage and Cathedrals in the Later Middle Ages', p. 56.

lay devotion to the shrine appears to have been encouraged and diverted to the use of the fabric, just at the time when the shrine was to be demolished.¹⁸²

Table 2-9: Income to the shrine of St Osmund noted in the cathedral fabric accounts

Reference	Year	Feast	Money raised
FA/1/1/3	1477-78	Deposition	12d
FA/1/1/6	1509-10	Translation (although this is at the start of the account section and should read deposition)	17d
FA/1/1/7	1513-14	Deposition	1½d
FA/1/1/9	1515-16	Received from the hands of John Martyn 3s at the Morrow Mass altar on the feast of the deposition of St Osmund and the conception of blessed Mary 12s from the west door on the feast of the translation of St Osmund	3s 0d 12s 0d
FA/1/1/12	1530-31	2s 1d in oblations from the Morrow Mass altar on the feast of the deposition of St Osmund and the conception of Mary	2s 1d
FA/1/3/1	Oct 1532	Money lent from the fund of St Osmund for the use of the fabric by consent of the chapter	£13 0s 0d
FA/1/3/1	April 1534	Received from the little box ¹⁸³ of St Osmund	£2 2s 4d
FA/1/3/1	Feb 1538	Received from the little box of St Osmund	15s 0d
FA/1/3/1	July 1538	Received from the little box of St Osmund	£5 3s 6d

Records show that in addition to observance in the cathedral and churches, the feast of St Osmund was celebrated from at least 1491 by a watch involving all the citizens of the town.¹⁸⁴ From 1529 this became a celebration on St Osmund's Eve and in the following year the instructions were that 'every master whiche hath been mayer [was to be dressed] in scarlet gownes, and every other of the xxiiij in crymsyn gownes'.¹⁸⁵ Further, in 1535 non-attendance at the event was to result in imprisonment.¹⁸⁶ As with the feast days of the guilds, the celebrations of St Osmund involved a gathering at the market place before processing through the streets, accompanied by the city waits.¹⁸⁷ Although the route is not known, the procession was likely to have included a visit to the cathedral for a service in honour of the saint.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸² SCA: FA/1/3/1, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric*, Terms I- III 1537-1538, pp. 76-77.

¹⁸³ A *pixide* was a small box.

¹⁸⁴ Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions*, p. 207.

¹⁸⁵ 1529, 1530, 1535, WSA: G23/1/2, *Corporation ledger B*, ff. 264, 267, 279.

¹⁸⁶ WSA: G23/1/2, *Corporation ledger B*, 25 June 1535, f. 279v.

¹⁸⁷ The final occasion when the feast seems to have been celebrated was in 1545.

¹⁸⁸ WSA: G23/1/2, *Corporation ledger B*, f.139v, 1481; f.210r, 1503; f.264v, 22 July 1529.

2.8 Fraternities in the Salisbury churches

A number of fraternities were formed in the churches of Salisbury during the medieval period; these differed from guilds in that they were not associated with a particular trade and were therefore open to any who could afford the membership subscription. Often, as with the trade guilds, they provided a funeral hearse and members were expected to attend the funerals of their fellow members, with some fraternities also providing financial assistance in times of need, including sickness and old age. In addition to temporal help, fraternities, as was the case with guilds, provided spiritual aid via intercession through Masses, and in particular prayers for the dead.¹⁸⁹

One of the earliest fraternities in Salisbury was the *confratres ecclesiae Sarum*, founded whilst the cathedral was still at Old Sarum around 1185, and this continued to function following the move to the new city.¹⁹⁰ The membership comprised the canons and nobility, including John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (1310); Edward, Earl of Rutland (1395-1400); and Henry, Prince of Wales (1406 – later King Henry V). The final names on the bede roll were admitted around 1468 and included King Edward IV and the Bishops of Durham and Carlisle.¹⁹¹ This was an instance whereby those from the lower classes were excluded from membership. In the early fourteenth century, Salisbury Cathedral also had a fraternity of the Holy Cross, and a fraternity of the Holy Trinity, along with a light of the latter. In addition, there was a fraternity of St Anne (and the light of the same) sited at the east gate of the close, known today as St Anne's Gate.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ Gervase Rosser, 'Communities of parish and guild in the late Middle Ages', in *Parish, Church and People: Local studies in lay religion 1350-1750*, ed. by Susan J. Wright (London: Hutchinson, 1988), p. 37.

¹⁹⁰ Confraternity of the church of Salisbury. Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions*, p. 145.

¹⁹¹ Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions*, pp. 145-150.

¹⁹² WSA: G23/294/1, *Swayne scrapbook*, p.8, Will of William le Frend, 1361.

The fraternity of St Thomas, based in the parish church of the same name, was founded before 1310 and there was also a fraternity of the Holy Ghost at St Martin's Church, for which bequests to a light, and to the Mass, were made.¹⁹³ A fraternity of the wives was based at St Edmund's, and this appears to have been the only sisterhood in this church.¹⁹⁴ The wives probably worshipped at the altar of the Virgin Mary, where by 1548 they owned a small number of chantry goods including two gilt chalices.¹⁹⁵ From the fifteenth to the seventeenth century the wives in all three Salisbury parishes took part in dancing during Whitsun week during which 'dancing money' was collected towards church works.¹⁹⁶ In addition, dancing by both men and women took place at other times of the year, including Rogationtide, Hocktide (Monday and Tuesday of Easter week), and Corpus Christi, also to raise money for the church. In return, the churchwardens of St Edmund's financed the fraternity of the wives, by paying for the wax and the making of their light, for a man to carry it in procession, and for the minstrels who accompanied it to church at Candlemas. They also paid to repair the cross used in the same procession, and the sexton was responsible for tending the altar light in the Lady Chapel, for which he received an annual payment of 16d.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³ Richard Pynnok left 2s, WSA: G23/294/1, *Swayne scrapbook*, p.10, Will of Richard Pynnok, 1310. Rev. R. H. Clutterbuck, 'The Fraternities of Sarum', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 29 (1896-97), 140. Light of the Holy Ghost at St Martin's see TNA: PROB 11/25/437, *Will of John Stone, mercer, 20 December 1535*. TNA: PROB 11/25/533, *Will of Mercy Byrkhede of St Edmund, 22 June 1536*. TNA: PROB 11/25/588, *Will of Anne Stone, widow, 9 December 1536*.

¹⁹⁴ There was a light of the maidens but they do not seem to have had an altar.

¹⁹⁵ WSA: 865/314, *Inventory of Chantry goods sold to Thomas Chafyn of Mere in Wiltshire, 1548*. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 73, 81.

¹⁹⁶ It is not known what form these dances took. For St Edmund's see: Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 73, 76, 83, 85, 110, 117, 123, 128, 156, 161, 194. For St Thomas's see: Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 273, 274, 275, 279, 286, 288, 289. WSA: 1899/65, *St Martin churchwardens and overseers account book, 1589-90, 1594-95, 1595-96, 1599-1600*. Audrey Douglas, 'Owre thanssing daye: Parish Dance and Procession in Salisbury', *Folk Music Journal*, 6 (1994), 603. David Cressy, *Bonfires & Bells* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd, 2004), p. 24. Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 36-37.

¹⁹⁷ In 1537-38 the light weighed 27½ lbs, in 1556-57 the weight is not noted. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 80-81, 101.

2.9 Fraternity of the Jesus Mass

Lights and altars to Jesus existed in many areas of England. In Salisbury, these were present at St Thomas's and the cathedral, but fraternities to the Name of Jesus were less common: further, fraternities with extant stewards' accounts such as those of St Edmund's are rarer still.¹⁹⁸ The evolution of the cult of the Holy Name will now be considered.¹⁹⁹

Additions to the liturgical Calendar and to liturgical observance were made throughout the late Middle Ages. Among the feasts introduced in the fifteenth-century were those of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and that of the Transfiguration of Our Lord.²⁰⁰

However, unlike these, the commemoration of the Name of Jesus began as a devotional cult which developed a liturgy over time. In England it is possible that the first votive Mass dated from the mid-fourteenth century.²⁰¹ The new feast was formalised in 1488-89 as a major double feast, to be kept on 7 August (the day after the feast of the Transfiguration), with a celebration of the octave the following week.²⁰² However in the diocese of Salisbury, Masses, altars and lights to the Holy Name were founded prior to the date of the official recognition of

¹⁹⁸ For instance, there were four altars to Jesus, one tabernacle, one chapel, and one light in Northamptonshire, but only one fraternity, which was founded in the town of Wellingborough. R. M Serjeantson and H. Isham Longden, 'The Parish Churches and Religious Houses of Northamptonshire: their Dedications, Altars, Images and Lights', *Archaeological Journal*, LXX (1913), 219, 248. The National Archive lists other Jesus fraternities, in York, Southwark, St Paul's in London, Cambridge, Bury-St-Edmund's, Ware, Wiggshall in Norfolk, and St Mary Baldock in Hertfordshire. For St Thomas's in Salisbury see TNA: PROB 11/25/437, *Will of John Stone, mercer, 20 December 1535*. TNA: PROB 11/25/588, *Will of Anne Stone, widow, 9 December 1536*. TNA: PROB 11/27/176, *Will of Edward a Deane, 14 January 1538*.

¹⁹⁹ In this section, the terms 'fraternity of the Holy Name', 'fraternity of Jesus', and 'fraternity of Jesus Mass' are used interchangeably.

²⁰⁰ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England*, p. 129.

²⁰¹ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England*, p. 62. At around 1411 it is thought that Bishop Robert Hallum (+ Salisbury 1407-17) set up an indulgence of forty days for a new movement of devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus; Pope Boniface also granted an indulgence of 3000 years see Elizabeth Anne New, 'The Cult of the Holy Name of Jesus in Late Medieval England, with special reference to the Fraternity in St Paul's Cathedral, London, c. 1450-1558' (unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of London, 1999), p. 70. Judith Anne Aveling, 'In nomine Iesu omne genua flectatur, The Late Medieval Mass and Office of the Holy Name of Jesus: Sources, Development and Practice' (unpublished Doctoral thesis, Bangor University, 2015), p. 49. E. G. Cuthbert F. Atchley, 'Jesus Mass and Anthems', *Transactions of the St Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, V (1905), 167.

²⁰² Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England*, pp. 4, 74, 76. *Festum maius duplex. Octave cum regiine chori*.

the feast. Towns such as Devizes and Malmesbury, as well as Salisbury, benefitted from bequests for this purpose. A Jesus chapel was established in Salisbury cathedral by Margaret, Lady Hungerford around 1470 as a chantry for her husband.²⁰³ This was probably one of the richest such chapels in Salisbury, as even at the time of its closure in 1548, it contained fifty-two items valued at 26s 6d.²⁰⁴ It is probable that this chapel was decorated with the 'name of Jhüs' in the form of a repeated sacred monogram, of IHS or IHC representing the Greek words for Jesus (IHΣΟΥΣ or IHCOYC) or XPC for Christ (XPICTOC). The monogram was used to decorate the walls of a number of late medieval churches, one example of which was the Chapel of St. John the Baptist, at Ewelme in Oxfordshire (see Figure 2-12).²⁰⁵ Such adornments were presumably applied primarily to enhance the chapel as decoration, but may also have acted as a prompt for the worshippers to meditate on the Holy Name, and would have been a reminder of the omnipresence of God.

²⁰³ Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England*, p. 86. M.A. Hicks, 'The Piety of Margaret, Lady Hungerford (d. 1478)', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 38 (1987), 26-27.

²⁰⁴ WSA: 865/314, *Inventory of Chantry goods sold to Thomas Chafyn of Mere in Wiltshire, 1548*.

²⁰⁵ There is no record of similar decoration at St Edmund's, probably because the Jesus altar was situated within the nave of the church rather than in a side chapel. New, 'The Cult of the Holy Name of Jesus in Late Medieval England', pp. 256-257. Hicks says that the Hungerford Chapel was decorated throughout with 'Ihs Xpt and thorns', Hicks, 'Lady Hungerford', 29. The sacred monogram for Christ was actually XPC not XPT. Jennifer Sherwood and Nikolaus Pevsner, eds., *The Buildings of England: Oxfordshire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974), pp. 596-597.



Figure 2-12: Side chapel at Ewelme Church showing the sacred monogram

Pfaff considers that parish and collegiate churches would have included the liturgy of the Holy Name in their weekly calendars by 1500, with a commemorative Mass of the Holy Name also held each Friday in many churches at a designated altar or named chapel.²⁰⁶ These, like the daily Mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary, were additional to the main services of Mass and Office held each day. This devotion to the Holy Name had wide appeal to all levels of society in that it combined complex theology regarding the divinity of Christ with the more human aspects of the life of Jesus and His passion.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁶ Along with those of the Transfiguration and Visitation, Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England*, p. 129. Prior to this, the Mass of the Holy Cross was commonly celebrated on Friday.

²⁰⁷ Mateer and New, 'In Nomine Jesu', 508.

In parish churches, such as St Thomas's in Salisbury, separate funding was required to support the additional observance, whilst others were supported by fraternities such as that based in the crypt of St Paul's Cathedral in London Cathedral, and that at the parish church of St Edmund in Salisbury.²⁰⁸ Leaving a bequest to a Jesus altar was not uncommon in the city, where John Selwode left 3s 4d in 1518 'to the awter of Jhu within the church of St Thomas', and eight years later Thomas Brodgate, a merchant, left bequests to the 'awter of Jesus at St Thomas's churche' and to the 'high awter of Jesus' at St Edmund's.²⁰⁹ Bequests to the fraternity were made by both men and women: in some cases, substantial legacies from the wealthy enabled the provision of bread, wine and wax for the obit of a member, or the stipend of an additional chaplain, such as in the case of John and Margaret Selwode.²¹⁰ Therefore, the cult appealed to men and women, from across the social strata, and as with the craft guilds, the names of benefactors would have been added to the fraternity bede roll and remembered regularly.

The fraternity of Jesus Mass at St Edmund's Church was in existence from at least 1476 until its dissolution with the Chantries Act in 1547-48.²¹¹ The surviving evidence exists in the form of account rolls (see Appendix 2), which provide a partial insight into the development and

²⁰⁸ Founded in 1459. Elizabeth New, 'Fraternities: A Case Study of the Jesus Guild', in *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604-2004*, ed. by Derek Keene, Arthur Burns and Andrew Saint (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 162.

²⁰⁹ John Selwode was churchwarden of St Edmund's in 1473. TNA: PROB 11/19/115, *Will of John Selwode, Mercer, 10 July 1518*. TNA: PROB 11/22/247, *Will of Thomas Brodgate, Merchant of St Thomas the Holy Martir, 19 December 1526*. WSA: 1901/65, *St Edmund churchwardens accounts and vestry minutes*, p.17.

²¹⁰ Occupations of those endowing included a brewer, mercer, tailor and carpenter and from those who had acted as steward and churchwarden: in addition, various mayors also left gifts. TNA: PROB 11/19/115, *Will and probate of John Selwode, 1518*. 1503-04 see Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 255. WSA: 1901/108, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1545-46*. WSA: 1901/107, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1503-04*. '12s received from the gift and legacy of John Combe for altar cloths for the aforesaid Mass'. '1 brass pot weighing 10 li of the wife of John Kynsyngton'. WSA: 1901/107, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1504-05*.

²¹¹ Alan Krieder, *English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 1979), pp. 176, 178.

operation of the fraternity.²¹² The first extant account of the fraternity, for 1476-77, is headed *ffraternitatis de Jhesu & de Sancta Cruce* (of the Fraternity of Jesus and the Holy Cross). The reference in the accounts for Masses according to the old customs (*iuxta antiquas consuetudines*), and for Masses and antiphons of Jesus as in previous years (*ut in annis precedentibus*), suggests an established body, and it is possible that the Jesus fraternity emerged from an earlier fraternity of the Holy Cross. However, by 1487, when William Kensington bequeathed individual sums to the Jesus altar, and also to the Holy Cross altar, these two altars were separate.²¹³ In that this seems to have been around the time that the church constructed a rood loft, it is possible that the Holy Cross altar was relocated there, and that the Jesus altar occupied a space against the screen in the nave (see Figure 2-13).²¹⁴ However, in 1520 William Harrys left a bequest to the ‘Guild of Saint Cross or the Fraternity of the Holy Cross’, for the maintenance of the first Mass of the day celebrated at St Edmund’s, indicating that once again they were one and the same.²¹⁵

²¹² The evidence for its presence in Salisbury is contained in twenty-three account rolls, many transcribed by Henry Swayne. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*. WSA: 1901/106-108, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1476-1548*. WSA: 1901/65, *St Edmund churchwardens accounts and vestry minutes, 1473-1630*. Lists of members, bede rolls and other information such as membership charges and benefits provided are wanting.

²¹³ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 379.

²¹⁴ Over the altar was a ‘tablement’: a projecting horizontal course or moulding, *OED*. WSA: 1901/68/4, *St Edmund churchwarden account roll, 1497-98*. 1556-57: Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 101.

²¹⁵ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 381-382.

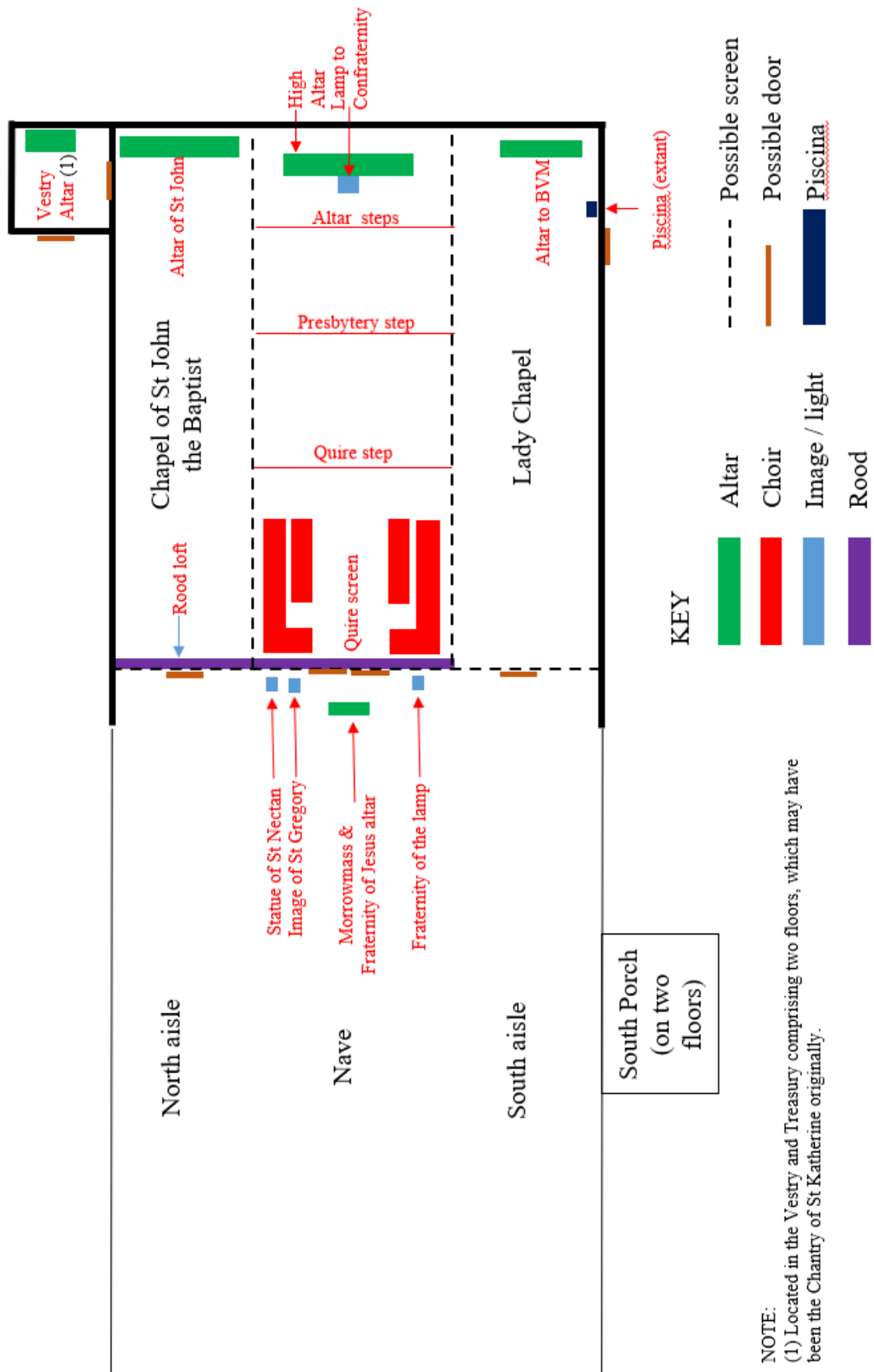


Figure 2-13: Possible layout of St Edmund's Church in the later fifteenth century

The earliest set of accounts presents some of the principal activities of this fraternity in the church. Firstly, chaplains were to celebrate the daily Morrow Mass, secondly, both chaplains and clerks were to sing the Jesus Mass and antiphon on Fridays and thirdly, priests and clerks were to sing *Placebo*, *Dirige*, and Mass on the feast of Jesus on 7 August each year for the brothers and sisters of the fraternity. Finally, clerks were to sing the *Salve de Jhesu* on Fridays in Lent.²¹⁶ In addition, in 1476-77 the fraternity purchased a quire of paper probably for the copying of music ‘for the singing of the Mass of Jesus, xvjd’. This may suggest that whilst the fraternity was not new, there were novel practices introduced at that time requiring written directions to be prepared.²¹⁷ As at all the churches in Salisbury a daily celebration of the Morrow Mass took place at six o’clock in the morning, which would have enabled attendance at Mass before going to work or travelling.²¹⁸ In that the Morrow Mass was paid for by the fraternity of Jesus, it is likely that it was celebrated at the same altar in the public space of the nave.²¹⁹

The celebration of the Jesus Mass with antiphon took place on Fridays at St Edmund’s, where specific payments were made for singers and for the ringing of church bells; the latter was used to remind those within hearing to attend church in time to observe the elevation of the

²¹⁶ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England*, p. 13. The Transfiguration was celebrated on 6 August, when the divinity of Christ was revealed. The feast was retained in the BCP of 1549, 1552 and 1662. New, ‘The Cult of the Holy Name of Jesus in Late Medieval England’, p. 47. The interpretation of ‘*Salve*’ is not entirely clear. It might refer only to a Jesus antiphon (e.g. *Salve rex*), or to the Jesus Mass (just as Lady Mass can be referred to as ‘*Missa de Salve*’, after the most common Introit, *Salve sancta parens*), or it may refer to the usual Friday Jesus Mass and Antiphon – but with additional resources.

²¹⁷ WSA: 1901/106, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1476-77*. Swayne, *Churchwardens’ Accounts*, p. 248.

²¹⁸ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 99. WSA: 1901/107, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1504-05*. WSA: 1901/107, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1507-08*. WSA: 1901/107, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1512-13*.

²¹⁹ Regular purchases of bread and wine for the Mass are noted in the accounts. The priest was paid £3 6s 8d in 1476, rising to £6 in 1513. WSA: 1901/106, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1476-77*. WSA: 1901/107, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1513-14*.

host.²²⁰ The Jesus Mass presented the laity with a regular, collective opportunity for confession and absolution, and was also an occasion to gather together to cement their fraternity. Participating in the Mass of the Holy Name for the confraternity of the same name added to the corporate identity of the group.

The steward's accounts for the annual celebration of the Holy Name at St Edmund's do not include payments for waits (or minstrels), suggesting that the fraternity, unlike the craft guilds, did not hold a procession in the city with their lights. There is also no evidence of the wearing of a livery, either in the form of a garment or badge, to identify the members. The services of *Placebo* and *Dirige* were sung at vespers and matins respectively on the evening of 6 August and the morning of 7 August, followed by a Requiem Mass and second vespers.²²¹ The great bell was also rung on the second day, to signify the festivities. The cost of clerks, clerics and bells brought the total expended in 1476-77 to 8s 1d: however, by 1538-39, following the Henrician injunctions of 1536 and 1538, payments for personnel had reduced by two-thirds.²²² The earlier high number of singers may have been drawn from the college, other city churches, and the cathedral. Additional expenses on the day included the rental of the church hearse and 'the blacke awter [cloth]'.²²³ Although there is no evidence

²²⁰ Unusually it was celebrated on Mondays in the Hungerford chantry in Salisbury Cathedral. The author of the liturgy for the Mass is unknown; however, the votive Mass first appears in a missal written between 1383 and 1403 belonging to Sir William Beauchamp. Rob Lutton, 'Love this Name that is IHC: Vernacular Prayers, Hymns and Lyrics to the Holy Name of Jesus in Pre-Reformation England', in *Vernacularity in England and Wales c. 1300-1550*, ed. by Elisabeth Salter and Helen Wicker (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), p. 123. Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions*, p. 286.

²²¹ At St Edmund's a separate payment was made to the chaplain celebrating the Office and Mass of the dead. A further service of Requiem Mass was held at St Paul's on 8 August. Mateer and New, 'In Nomine Jesu', 511. WSA: 1901/106, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1476-77*.

²²² WSA: 1901/106, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1476-77*. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 248. WSA: 1901/65, *St Edmund churchwardens accounts and vestry minutes, 1481-82*, p.54. For 1480-82, see Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 25. 'Et solut Will'mo Carpent', lighte Tyndar pro labore suo in pulsacione Magne Campanae ad missas fraternitatis de Jhu'. The college was not dissolved until around 1543. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 265. WSA: 1901/108, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1538-39*.

²²³ Rented from the church, at a cost of 4d. WSA: 1901/108, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1545-46*. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 270.

that an organ was used for the weekly Mass and antiphon, the sound of the instrument on the annual feast day would have added to the sense of occasion.²²⁴ What is also not clear is whether the fraternity met for a meal during the celebration day; if not, their practice would have differed markedly from that of the craft guilds.

Although settings of the *Salve de Jesu* (also known as Jesus antiphons or Jesus anthems) were sung by choristers on a daily basis at the cathedrals of Durham, Lichfield and St Paul's, and at the parish church of All Saints', Bristol, there is no evidence for this at St Edmund's.²²⁵

Payments were made, however, for singing the *Salves* on the five Fridays of Lent, and in 1500-1501 it appears that the fraternity engaged singers from Salisbury Cathedral including boy choristers.²²⁶ From the beginning of the sixteenth century these singers were paid, at least partially, in bread and ale: however, with the accession of Mary and the reinstatement of the Lenten *salve*, they were paid with twelve pounds of figs as a sweet treat for their service

²²⁴ The organ at St Edmund's may have been sited on the rood loft. In some cathedrals, the weekly Jesus Mass was undertaken by the boy choristers with their master serving as organist. Such was the case at Durham, where the Jesus altar was located at the eastern end of the nave, and similarly at Rochester Cathedral. On Durham, see Rev. Canon Fowler, *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* (Durham: Andrews & Co., 1903), pp. 34, 220. On Rochester, see W. H. Frere, *Use of Sarum*, Vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), pp. 234-236. Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1536-1558*, pp. 95-98.

²²⁵ New, 'The Cult of the Holy Name of Jesus in Late Medieval England', p. 47. For the details of the Jesus Mass in Lent, according to the Use of Salisbury see, John Harper and Sally Harper, 'Jesus Mass in Lent, according to the Medieval Use of Salisbury', in *For use in Sarum St Martin, Friday 17 March 2017*, ed. by Henry Parkes (2017).

²²⁶ WSA: 1901/107, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1500-01*. WSA: 1901/108, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1539-40*. WSA: 1901/108, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1546-47*.

during this period of fasting.²²⁷ New copies of the music were required for the singers, and this is noted in the first account during the reign of Mary in 1553-54.²²⁸

The management of the fraternity of Jesus Mass was in the hands of a *seneschal* or steward, who was responsible for keeping the accounts and taking them to the parishioners for approval at Easter each year at the same time as those of the churchwarden.²²⁹ The stewards were men from a variety of backgrounds, including a tailor, a saddler, and a smith.²³⁰ As with the churchwardens and craft guild chamberlains, they were responsible for collecting rents and contributions from members during the year, and then for paying the wages and arranging for repairs to property belonging to the fraternity. Many of these men rose in the social hierarchy of the city, becoming first churchwardens of St Edmund's, and then going on to hold office in their respective trade guild.²³¹ Some men, therefore, held membership of more than one corporate chantry, thus providing the experience of two slightly different religious organisations.

²²⁷ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 100, 102, 103. As late as the early 20th century in Wiltshire, Smyrna figs were referred to as Lent or lamb figs. At least some figs were imported into England, for instance, from Florence into Southampton in 1430, and into King's Lynn in 1549-50. Paul Studer, *The Port Books of Southampton or (Anglo-French) accounts of Robert Florys, Water-Bailiff and Receiver of Petty-Customs, A.D. 1427-39* (Southampton: Cox & Sharland for Southampton Records Society, 1913), p. 63. Norman Scott Brien Gras, ed., *The Early English Customs System* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918), p. 627.

²²⁸ A new song was written at St Edmund's in 1553-54. WSA: 1901/70/8, *St Edmund churchwarden account roll, 1553-54*. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 100.

²²⁹ On occasions there were two stewards, one of whom was the junior steward and who then became the senior steward in the following year, for example, 1499-1500 Hawkewell Denys and Thomas A Brikket; 1500-01 Thomas A Bryket and William Jeffrey. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*.

²³⁰ There were never any female stewards. Thomas A Brikket, saddler (steward in 1499-1500); Hawkewell Denys, smith (steward in 1499-1500); John Wakyn, tailor (steward in 1504-05); Andrew Atkyn, tailor (steward in 1505-06). Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 251, 257, 259. Hawkewell Denys provided 6s 8d for vestments for the church in 1497-98. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 47. WSA: 1901/68/4, *St Edmund churchwardens account roll, 1497-98*.

²³¹ William Smyth (steward in 1522-23, churchwarden in 1525-26), and John A Dover (steward in 1529-30, churchwarden in 1530-31). Richard Sudden was steward of the fraternity in 1476-77 and became warden of the tailors' guild in 1481. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 248, 263. WSA: 1901/65, *St Edmund churchwardens accounts and vestry minutes, 1473-1630*. Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England*, p. 156.

As with the guild of St George, the main source of income was the rental of tenements, rather than the annual subscriptions (see Appendix 6), and these properties may have only been available to members of the fraternity. It is not clear how some of the property came to be acquired, but it is probable that most dwellings were left as bequests, either as permanent gifts, or for a specified number of years towards the maintenance of an obit. In 1495-96 the fraternity considered purchasing a tenement in Winchester Street (see Appendix 5), in that a payment was made for the ‘good counsel of a lawyer’.²³² The maximum holding in any year was twelve properties, which with the advent of religious change and the Chantry Act had dwindled to four by 1547-48.²³³ Property maintenance formed a large part of the expenditure, and generally there was little profit once the cost of this was taken into account.²³⁴

Subscriptions were collected on the four quarter days each year and accounted for roughly one third of the total income in the early years, but declined (actually and proportionately) in the later years (see Appendix 6). It is impossible to know the level of individual subscriptions and whether they varied according to status, or the total number of members.²³⁵ The subscriptions were probably at a level which most could afford, as whilst some guilds or fraternities offered poor relief in case of old age or sickness, no such benefits are recorded for the fraternity at St Edmund’s. It seems that in common with the fraternity at St Paul’s, the focus was solely on devotion and liturgy.

²³² ‘Of 13s 4d to Master Richard Eliotte for his good counsel in the purchase of one tenement with its appurtenances which is located in the aforesaid city in the neighbourhood there called Winchester street’. WSA: 1901/106, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1495-96*. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 249.

²³³ WSA: 1901/108, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1547-48*.

²³⁴ In 1539-40 for instance, there was a loss on property of £18 15s 7d with a rental income of only £8 2s 0d but maintenance costs of £26 17s 7d. WSA: 1901/108 *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1539-40*.

²³⁵ ‘ijd for guarding the doors of the choir and chancels of the church at the end of Easter - at the time of collecting of monies from the brethren and sisters of the mass for the help of the same mass’. WSA: 1901/107 *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1503-04*. WSA: 1901/106, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1499-1500*.

Although no inventory of altar goods survives, the accounts show that four sets of vestments were owned by the fraternity.²³⁶ As with the tailors' guild, the fraternity also purchased a *pax brede*, to engender fellowship and identity amongst the members during the weekly Mass and the annual feast.²³⁷ However, there are no purchases of a chalice or other plate for the Jesus altar. Whilst illumination is considered in detail in Chapter 3, the subject will be touched upon briefly here as the Morrow Mass, and the liturgy of the Holy Name, together utilised between 6 lbs and 14 lbs of tallow, and 11½ lbs and 68 lbs of beeswax candles and tapers each year. Lights were the third largest item of expenditure, after the cost of the priest and repairs to tenements, and accounted for between 1.5% and 17% of the annual income (see Appendix 7).²³⁸ In addition to beeswax candles and tapers used for ritual purposes, the fraternity also purchased tallow candles to enable the priest to read the missal on the altar, particularly during the dark winter months.²³⁹ Torches of rosin were also purchased, including one of 11½ lbs for the singing of the *Salve* in Lent, and a smaller version at the anniversary of the fraternity.²⁴⁰ Additional beeswax candles were acquired for ritual use at the festivals of Christmas, Candlemas, and Corpus Christi.²⁴¹ The proportions of beeswax and tallow purchased are depicted in Figure 2-14, which shows an increase in the use of tallow from

²³⁶ Until 1546-47 there was a maximum of three sets of vestments, but a fourth is mentioned that year. WSA: 1901/108, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1536-37 & 1546-47*.

²³⁷ It is probable that the fraternity owned a *pax* prior to this. WSA: 1901/107, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1513-14*.

²³⁸ The largest expenditure on lights was in 1504-05, although this included some money owed to the chandler from the previous year (see Appendix 6).

²³⁹ 1499-50 'For vj lb talowe candellis for ye said morowe masse preist at ye messe in the Wynt[er] the lb jd: vjd'. WSA: 1901/106, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1499-1500*.

²⁴⁰ Torches consisted of a mixture of beeswax and rosin and were mainly used in the Mass, being held aloft to signal the elevation of the host, and at outdoor events such as processions and funerals. For instance: WSA: 1901/107, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1513-14*. WSA: 1901/108, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1535-36*, WSA: 1901/108, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1536-37*. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 266-267.

²⁴¹ For Christmas see WSA: 1901/108, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1538-39 & 1545-46*. For Candlemas see WSA: 1901/108, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1539-40*. For Corpus Christi see WSA: 1901/108, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1545-46*. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 266, 270, 268.

1539 onwards until the proportion reaches approximately 50% in 1547-48. It was in this year that the fraternity was disbanded, and when only 4s was spent on both beeswax and tallow lights. The reasons for the increasing use of tallow may have arisen from a preference for the cheaper material (see Chapter 3).²⁴²

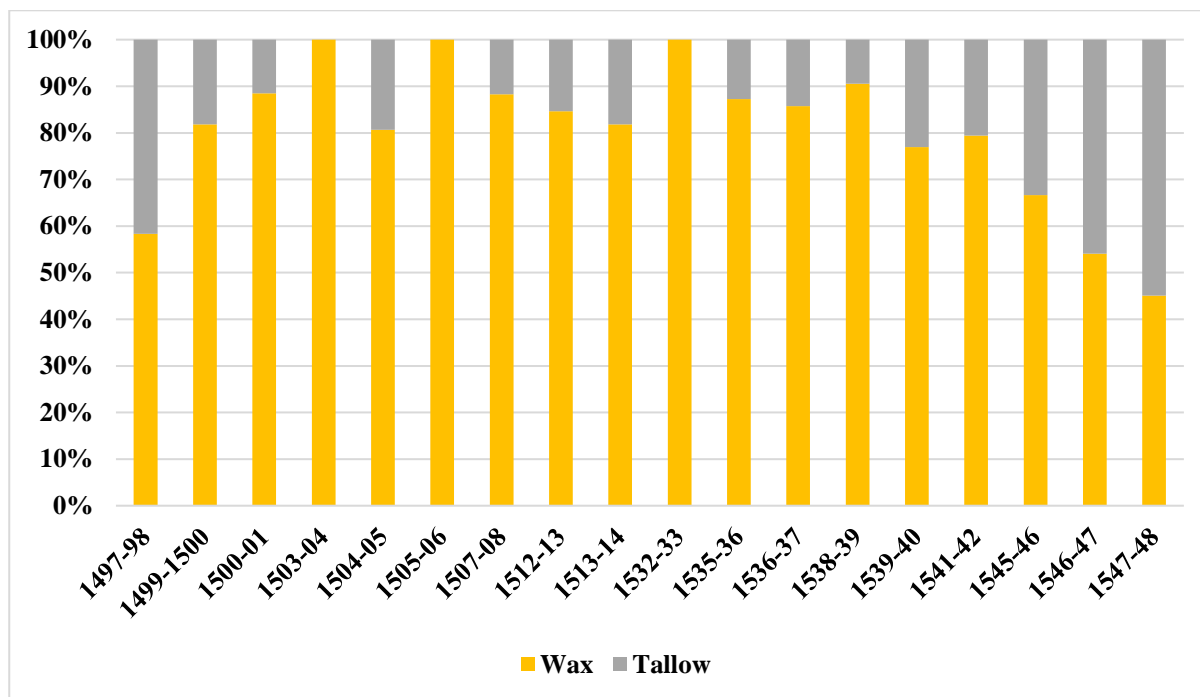


Figure 2-14: St Edmund's Fraternity of Jesus: proportions of beeswax and tallow purchased

Following the monastic confiscations, it was considered likely that Henry VIII would turn next to the removal of other ecclesiastical institutions including the guilds and fraternities. However, in 1535 the king renewed the licence of the Jesus guild in order that oblations could continue to be accrued throughout England.²⁴³ Despite this, the income from quarterly subscriptions to the fraternity of Jesus at St Edmund's fell from £3 9s 9½d in 1535-36, to £2 16s 3d the following year, suggesting reduced membership of what was indeed a voluntary organisation. Few wills for the years 1535 to 1538 exist, and those that do were proven at the

²⁴² Where conversions between money and weight were necessary, then 6d per lb has been allowed for wax. Similarly, tallow candles have been assumed to weigh 1lb each.

²⁴³ Mateer and New, 'In Nomine Jesu', 518.

Prerogative Court of Canterbury and therefore do not represent the lower social strata of Salisbury. However, of the nine extant wills in this period, four left bequests to the Holy Name, of which three included both the altar of Jesus at St Thomas's, and the fraternity at St Edmund's. Three people also left bequests to the Holy Ghost altar at St Martin's.²⁴⁴ None of the testators' names appear in the steward's accounts of the fraternity at St Edmund's and so it might be assumed that the money was transferred to the churchwarden's accounts in order to avoid possible future confiscation.

2.10 The dissolution and post-dissolution

The issue of the first Royal Injunctions of Henry VIII in 1536 signalled the end of the service of the translation of St Osmund in Salisbury cathedral, in that by denouncing papal authority, Henry also rejected the canonization of saints. However, the laity still visited the shrine and offered oblations until 1538, and the citizens of Salisbury continued to hold their procession through the city until 1545, but presumably without a Mass for the saint in the cathedral.²⁴⁵ In October 1537 it seems that reverence for the saint was waning, as the collection box belonging to the shrine was broken into, with the resultant purchase of a new lock and bolt.²⁴⁶ Payments for the destruction of St Osmund's shrine are documented in the fabric accounts, and the effort involved in this demonstrates its original grandeur (see Table 2-10). This work began during the period July to September 1538 with a funeral pyre of the remains of St Osmund which required eleven cartloads of wood. It was essential that all the remains of the

²⁴⁴ Although some of the accounts for the fraternity of Jesus at St Edmund's are imperfect, none of the following bequests appear in the accounts. TNA: PROB 11/25/437, *Will of John Stone, mercer, 20 December 1535*. TNA: PROB 11/25/533, *Will of Mercy Byrkhede of St Edmund, 22 June 1536*. TNA: PROB 11/25/588, *Will of Anne Stone, widow, 9 December 1536*. TNA: PROB 11/27/176, *Will of Edward a Deane, 14 January 1538*.

²⁴⁵ Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1536-1558*, pp. 1-11. Shaxton's Injunctions for Salisbury Diocese two years later banned pilgrimage and offering candles etc to idols. Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1536-1558*, p. 57. In 1538 Henry VIII set out his second set of injunctions. Eward, 'St Osmund: The Building of the Shrine', 11.

²⁴⁶ SCA: FA/1/3/1, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric, 24 October 1537*, p. 78.

saint were completely abolished to prevent relic hunters taking and selling parts of his skeleton and coffin. Although no location is given, this may have taken place in the churchyard or elsewhere within the close. Having concluded this part of the task the rest took place at a more leisurely pace, over a period of one year: there would appear to have been no urgency to implement this aspect of the required changes. The tomb was removed in the early spring of 1539, followed by another large fire in the summer – this time the burning required the acceleration of a barrel of tar and a great deal of wood and other fuel: a further fire took place at the end of the work. The whole business required at least seventy-five man-days of work at a total cost of £2 11s 6d: the end result was that the men and women of Salisbury, and further afield, could no longer petition their saint in times of trouble. Although shrines were now forbidden, an item in the accounts at the time of the demolition suggests that a new shrine was under consideration, in that a tradesman was paid to be released from his contract with the cathedral for this reason.²⁴⁷

Table 2-10: The removal of St Osmund's shrine at Salisbury Cathedral

Date	Account	Cost		
		£	s	d
July-September 1538 ²⁴⁸	Item we paid to the same Richard [Dunstall] for St Osmund's fire and the transport of wood to it, and for labourers		8	0
	Item we paid to the aforesaid Lord Richard Dunstall for St Osmund's fire on the same day ²⁴⁹		10	0
	Item we paid to John Aman of Farleigh for felling and preparing 11 cartloads of wood for St Osmund's fire ²⁵⁰		1	10
January-March 1539 ²⁵¹	Item we paid to David Lewes, working for 5½ days with John Sommer on bringing down the tomb of St Osmund		1	10
	Item we paid to the same man, working on the shrine of St Osmund for 3½ days		1	2
April-June 1539 ²⁵²	First on 9 May we paid 4 men working for 1 day on the shrine of St Osmund		1	10

²⁴⁷ SCA: FA/1/3/1, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric*, Term IV 1537-1538, p. 82.

²⁴⁸ SCA: FA/1/3/1, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric*, Term IV 1537-1538, p. 81.

²⁴⁹ Richard Dunstall was referred to as 'Lord', earlier in the accounts. *Focus* and *ignis* have both been translated as 'fire'.

²⁵⁰ Likely to have been Farley located some seven miles to the east of Salisbury, rather than Farleigh Hungerford which is around thirty miles to the north-west of Salisbury.

²⁵¹ SCA: FA/1/3/1, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric*, Term II 1538-1539, p. 86.

²⁵² SCA: FA/1/3/1, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric*, Term III 1538-1539, p. 87.

Date	Account	Cost		
		£	s	d
July-September 1539 ²⁵³	Item we paid to some labourers for wood and fuel for St Osmund's fire for two days and for one barrel of tar		2	4
	Item we paid to William Androwes of Pitton for felling and cutting 8 cartloads of wood for St Osmund's fire		1	4
	Item we paid to John Sylvester, working for 8 days with John Sommer on the demolition of St Osmund's shrine		2	8
	Item we paid for making a hundred faggots for St Osmund's fire			6
	Item we paid to John Sommer for him and his servant working on the demolition of the shrine of St Osmund for 15 days breakages of his tools/machinery in the course of the same work	1	0	0
Total Cost (£)		2	11	6

With regard to the craft guilds, in 1520 the city corporation banned the celebration of their feasts from taking place over more than one day, and two years later all such celebrations were prohibited except that of the guild of St George, and the mayor's feast.²⁵⁴ However, it would seem that this ban was short-lived, as from 1537 the corporation ledger notes that no lights were to accompany processions, thereby anticipating the injunctions for the diocese of Salisbury issued by Bishop Shaxton (+1535-1539) the following year.²⁵⁵

The trade guilds, and the fraternity of Jesus Mass, in Salisbury were officially suppressed in 1548; only the guild of St George was allowed to keep its property given that it was held on behalf of the corporation.²⁵⁶ Unlike the other trade guilds, the corporation also continued to employ a chaplain as the mayoral minister, who was issued with 2s worth of wine and wax each year for the celebration of holy communion.²⁵⁷ The closure of the fraternity of Jesus in particular must have left a hiatus in the lives of the men and women of the parish, at least some of whom would have been accustomed to the regular weekly celebration of the Mass,

²⁵³ SCA: FA/1/3/1, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric*, Term IV 1538-1539, p. 88-89.

²⁵⁴ WSA: G23/1/2, *Corporation ledger B*, 10 December 1520, f. 245v. WSA: G23/1/2, *Corporation ledger B*, 9 April 1522, f. 248v.

²⁵⁵ A response to the Cromwellian injunctions of 1536 & 1538. WSA: G23/1/2, *Corporation ledger B*, 1 June 1537, f. 283r. The injunctions included 'that ye suffer no ... decking of images with gold, silver, clothes lights, or herbs; ... nor offer candles ... to them.' Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1536-1558*, p. 57.

²⁵⁶ Crittall, 'Salisbury: City government before 1612'.

²⁵⁷ WSA: G23/1/44, *Compotus roll*, 1598-99.

and the annual festivities, where they met with other like-minded members. In addition, the loss of their altar would have reduced the sensory aspect of the church with respect to the colour of the frontal and riddle curtains, as well as the lights burning before the image of Jesus on the rood above.²⁵⁸ During the reign of Queen Mary, both the tailors' guild and the corporation continued to worship in St Thomas's, that of the corporation being 'for the fownders [a]nd benefactors of this house ... accordyng to the olde ordynaunces and customes', for which the priests and clerks were to receive 4d each.²⁵⁹

Although the reading of the bede roll had also been officially suppressed, a prayer was still said at the beginning of each meeting of the corporation:

Almightie God, oure heavenlie father, from whome all goodnesse doothe procede, and withoute whome no goodnesse may be hadd we doe earnestelie and moste humblie beseche thie divine Maiestie, to sende thy holie spirite to us here at this tyme in thy holie name assembled to abyde and dwelle in us, to comforte us, directe and guyde us to shewe and teache us what we shalle doe; that holie instinct and graces, we may nowe at this tyme presente and at all tymes hereafter, doe those thinges whiche maye please thee and tende to the honor and glorie of thy holye name, the preservacion and conservacion of oure Quene and realme, the wealthe and profite of this Cite, and to the increase of love and charitie emonge ourselves, that in this liefte walking in thy wayes we may after this liefte be partakers of the liefte everlasting. Graunte this moste mercifull father, for thy dere sone Jesus Christes sake, oure Lorde, who liveth and

²⁵⁸ Riddel curtains: riddel posts were located at the four corners of an altar and joined by rods which were used to suspend curtains which served to screen the altar at the back and sides. Bangor University, *The Experience of Worship Project: Glossary*.

²⁵⁹ WSA: G23/1/2, *Corporation ledger B, 20 March 1556*, f. 315v.

reigneth eual wt thee in deitie, together wt the holie Gohste worlde wtoute ende,
Amen.²⁶⁰

Prayers were often formatted in four parts, two of which may be seen in the above: firstly, there are elements of adoration and blessing, for example ‘Almightie God ... from whome all goodnesse doothe procede, and withoute whome no goodnesse may be hadd’ and in the section ‘please thee and tende to the honor and glorie of thy holye name’. Secondly there are elements of supplication and petition denoted by the words ‘comfort, direct, guide, show, teach’ and also by the ‘preservation and conservation of the Queen’, who was Defender of the Faith and Supreme Governor of the Church of England. Further, petitions were for the city and for the increase of love and charity amongst members of the guild. It is of note that there are no elements of repentance, or thanksgiving within this prayer; for instance confession of sins and asking for forgiveness, or thanking God for all he has done for the guild.

The corporation prayer was followed by a secularised reading of the list of benefactors to the corporation beginning with Henry IV, who provided the licence to purchase lands to the annual value of 100 marks. Thus those who had donated goods were implicitly linked to the prayer by juxtaposition; as Lucy Wooding suggests, this comprised not ‘prayers for ... deliverance, but prayers of gratitude’.²⁶¹ In addition, the walls of the corporation chamber were hung with portraits of benefactors, including those of previous mayors. These included that of Philip Crew, schoolmaster, which was inscribed: ‘*Haeredes isti quoties succeditis*

²⁶⁰ WSA: G23/1/2, *Corporation ledger B, 1561*. WSA: G23/1/3, *Corporation ledger C, 1571*. WSA: G23/1/4, *Corporation ledger D, 1640*.

²⁶¹ Charles Haskins, *The Salisbury Corporation Pictures and Plate* (Salisbury: Bennett Brothers, 1910), pp. 166-167. Wooding, ‘Remembrance in the Eucharist’, p. 28.

aulae fraternis vestris mentibus adsit amor ' as a reminder of the importance of brotherly love.²⁶²

From the rather patchy archival evidence of the annual celebration of the tailors' guild during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, it would seem that there was little change from the ordinance of 1461. The major difference was the lack of a procession in the morning, and the restriction to a single day of celebration on 24 June, thus reducing the number of holidays. The festivities now commenced with morning prayer followed by a sermon at St Thomas's, the latter forming the heart of the religious celebrations. There does not seem to be any evidence as to the ministers who preached, but the relevant subject matter may have been the nativity, or the martyrdom of St John the Baptist, whose feast day this was.²⁶³

The private, secular element of feasting at the tailors' hall was followed by the only public ceremonial, a procession via the by now derelict St John's Chapel (which was therefore symbolic only) and on to evensong at the cathedral. It is significant that services still took place in both the church where the guild had originally held an altar and chapel, and the mother church, and presumably oblations for the poor were presented at each. The celebrations concluded as before with a procession to the tailors' hall for supper.²⁶⁴ In the late sixteenth century there is also some evidence of a second day of worship, with a morning service followed by a sermon.²⁶⁵ The procession with minstrels was now relegated to the

²⁶² 'My successors, as often as you succeed in this Hall let brotherly love be present in your minds'. Robert Tittler, *The Face of the City: Civic Portraiture and Civic Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 136.

²⁶³ Payment was made to the minister for the sermon and from 1595 he also had a free dinner, see WSA: G23/1/251, *Tailors guild assembly minute book, 1517-75*.

²⁶⁴ Go with wardens and sit there according to seniority. WSA: G23/1/252, *Tailors guild assembly minute book 1589*. Money from common chest for an honest man preaching. WSA: G23/1/251, *Tailors guild assembly minute book, 1517-75*. Dinner and supper at Tailors' Hall. WSA: G23/1/254, *Tailors guild assembly minute book, 1642*. St John's Chapel. WSA: G23/1/252, *Tailors guild assembly minute book, 1580*. Evening prayer at cathedral and supper at Tailors' Hall. WSA: G23/1/254, *Tailors guild assembly minute book, 1641*.

²⁶⁵ WSA: G23/1/252, *Tailors guild assembly minute book, 1583 & 1586*.

afternoon and extended only from the guild hall to the cathedral and back again, thus reducing the public face of the guild. Irrespective of the changes and reductions in duration, the combination of both sacred and secular aspects of the guild celebrations was maintained.

The bequest of goods or money as a memorial of membership of a guild also continued to be of importance into the seventeenth century. The merchant William Windover, who would have had dealings with a number of different companies, bequeathed money to six such organisations: the weavers, smiths, shoemakers, carpenters, bakers, butchers and glovers, thus ensuring his memory lived on in a significant sector of the city.²⁶⁶ In 1624 John Raye, ironmonger, left £5 to the ‘Chamber of the City of New Sarum’, and £5 to the ‘Company or Societie of Blacksmiths and Metal workers’ in the city ‘to remain as a stock for ever amongst them for their better relief’; presumably this was to be used for those who became too old or infirm to work in the trade. In addition he gave his ‘biggest, best, silver bowl to the said company’, which was to be ‘used and drank in by them on their feast day yearly for ever and not to be sold away’, ensuring that in death he still remained part of the memory of the group to which he had belonged.²⁶⁷ The parallel here between the common chalice of the eucharist and the circulation of a common bowl - both containing wine, but the first in the reverential atmosphere of the church and the other at a time of feasting - signifies both a religious and social bonding between members.²⁶⁸ Thus the origins of the St George’s guild persisted with the intertwining of the religious and secular elements of the corporation.

With the accession of Elizabeth, the Salisbury trade guilds were reorganised into companies: from 1612, following the grant of a city charter, each had to have its own written

²⁶⁶ TNA: PROB 11/163/322, *Will of William Windover of Salisbury, 22 March 1633*.

²⁶⁷ TNA: PROB 11/157/469, *Will of John Raye, Ironmonger, 30 April 1630*. As did his son William Raye who left 40s to the Company of metal men – Raye had a shop selling metal in the city. TNA: PROB 11/186/360, *Will of William Raye, Gentleman, 23 June 1641*.

²⁶⁸ Rosser, 'Going to the Fraternity Feast: Commensality and Social Relations in Late Medieval England', 435.

constitution.²⁶⁹ Although the craft companies were now more related to regulating trade, they continued to worship in the city's churches, in some instances still having their own reserved pews and making offerings to the church.²⁷⁰ For instance, the weavers' guild still had a chapel in the nave of the cathedral with seating, and in 1624 they agreed to contribute 6s a year towards the repair of the chancel at St Edmund's, which had been the base of the guild before the Reformation.²⁷¹ Beginning in 1630 an altercation regarding seating at St Edmund's took a number of years to resolve, following the resolution of which the wardens of the newly-named 'Corporation of the weavers' paid to have the church bells rung to signal that their seats in the church had been confirmed.²⁷² Payments also continued to be made for their pews in the church, and as late as 1651-52 the bells were rung there for the weavers' feast (see Chapter 4).²⁷³ Thus, as with the tailors' guild and the corporation, many of the religious elements of the weavers' brotherhood continued to function.

2.11 Conclusion

Although the evidence is partial, this chapter has demonstrated that the guilds and fraternities of Salisbury were an important part of the landscape of lay religion in the late medieval period, beyond the ecclesiastical institutions of the city where the Use of Salisbury had been implemented to varying degrees, dependent on the resources available to each individual establishment. All of these aspects were significant to the citizens and to their corporate and sensory experience of worship at the time. In addition, it has been demonstrated that there

²⁶⁹ Haskins, *Trade Guilds*, p. 74. Chandler, *Endless Street*, p. 112. The tailors company obtained a common seal from Queen Elizabeth on 30 January 1561. Under the charter of James I, the corporation stated that no one was allowed to trade unless a member of a company and a free man. Haskins, *Trade Guilds*, pp. 49, 51.

²⁷⁰ In 1624 the weavers paid 4s for their pew at St Edmund's, and in 1625 the tailors paid 3s 10d in offerings. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 177, 310.

²⁷¹ SCA: FA/1/1/18, *Fabric account, 1566-67*. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 177.

²⁷² For 1636-37, see Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 205.

²⁷³ 1640-41, 1651-52. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 211, 225. In 1649 the weavers' donated 4s to the church. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 220.

were distinct linkages between the city and its churches. There were also certain features which provided distinctiveness within the city: these included the granting of royal charters to the tailors' and weavers' guilds; the cult of St Osmund; the continued celebrations held by the tailors' guild during the Reformation process; and the termination of the merchant guild by 1536 which led to the formation of the corporation.

With no annual procession through the city, or social event during the feast of Jesus, the voluntary membership of the fraternity of Jesus Mass could be considered to have been more pious and thereby to have been providing a different experience from that of the craft guilds. Thus citizens could have held membership of both a fraternity and a craft guild, where the former focussed on prayer for the living and deceased and the latter was primarily focussed on the maintenance of the quality and price of goods, with the additional, but lesser, benefits of religious and social organization running alongside. Both forms of corporate chantries were open to those of more modest means and attracted members from all social strata within the city, who together contributed to the maintenance of a priest to celebrate a daily Mass and to provide funeral rites at the ends of their lives. Although this was key, a further incentive was the identity of belonging to an extended family which bound together the various factions within the city. In addition, the annual celebration of the craft guilds was important, consisting of both public and private events, with a procession, corporate worship and feasting. With the onset of the Reformation, both fraternities and the guild priests were lost, reducing the sense of identity of the trade guilds and changing the sensory experience of worship as altars were removed, chapel walls were whitewashed and the shrine of St Osmund destroyed at great expense, further reducing the imagery within the cathedral. However, the guilds did continue to undertake important religious functions, both formally and informally. They continued to hold processions, albeit without their lights, although banners, minstrels, drummers, and

colourful livery were kept. The corporation also retained its mayoral chaplain and the more important guilds of the city continued to hold reserved seats in the churches which they used during the weekly public services. In addition, the memorialisation of benefactors through donations in cash and goods continued through a secularised version of the bede roll, even after the guilds became trade companies in the seventeenth century.

3 ILLUMINATION

Doctrine and life, colours and light, in one
When they combine and mingle, bring
A strong regard and aw: but speech alone
Doth vanish like a flaring thing,
And in the eare, not conscience ring.¹

3.1 Introduction to light

The requirement for light within a building is fundamental to human activity. Without light it would be impossible to find one's way around safely, or to read, and there would be no colour.² The emphasis on light is particularly characteristic of Gothic architecture, which arguably reached its apotheosis in Salisbury Cathedral, where slim pillars and tall arches left space for more and larger windows than had typically been the case in earlier buildings: these were filled with either stained, or grisaille glass, the designs being considered part of the overall plan (see Appendix 8 for the CVMA plan of the cathedral).³ The articulation of space with both natural and artificial light in churches was important; windows were placed behind altars with the backlighting enabling the elevation of the host to be viewed during Mass.⁴ In addition to being decorative, stained glass was a devotional art form, whereby parishioners could contemplate the imagery, enabling the windows to contribute to both liturgy and worship. Further, the jewelled colours of the glass were suggestive of visions of heaven on

¹ George Herbert, *The Windows from the Temple* (1633). In 1629, Herbert accepted the living of the small parish of Fugglestone-cum-Bemerton, just west of Salisbury, where he remained until his death in 1633: he was a regular visitor to Salisbury Cathedral.

² Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England*, p. 155.

³ The CVMA has a system for describing the position of a window within a building. King's College London, *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi - Help* (2010) <https://www.cvma.ac.uk/help/index.html> [accessed 6 April 2021]. Grisaille glass is a method of painting in black and white or other simple contrasting tones and applying transparent colour over this in thin layers. The designs are either geometric, with the design formed by the leading, or painted with patterns such as foliage. *OED*. Charles Edward Long, ed., *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army during the Great Civil War kept by Richard Symonds* (Camden Society, 1859), p. 140. Jeanne Halgren Kilde, *Sacred Space: An introduction to Christian architecture and worship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 66. Brown, *Sumptuous and Richly Adorn'd*, p. 79.

⁴ Robert Whiting, *The Reformation of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 135.

earth. Light was also employed as an analogy for the Divine, in that ‘God is light and in God there is no darkness at all’.⁵ Other considerations included the projection of coloured light through the stained-glass windows onto the surrounding stone and imagery including the pavement, wall paintings, polychrome marble or alabaster, gilding, painted sculpture, and decorated shrines within churches, all of which required light to be fully appreciated.⁶

Once darkness fell, it was still necessary for churches to continue to function as hubs of a worshipping community, and it was then that candles of beeswax and tallow were lit. These enabled the missal to be read on the altar, and when specific locations in the building were illuminated, the priests could orientate to altars, or to their stalls in the chancel. Most importantly candles were used as symbols to represent Jesus Christ as the light of the world and of the prayer and the sacrifice which he made for us. The wick represented the soul of Jesus, and the wax the virgin birth, in that wax was thought to have been produced by virgin bees from the wax of flowers.⁷ As written by St Aldhelm, ‘[bees] take from the blossoms of the willow and the broom ‘their fertile booty’ from which ‘they build waxen castles’.⁸ Additional lighting was required for ritual purposes on feast days as stipulated in the Use of Salisbury. This was used to emphasize the sense of occasion, and to draw attention to specific areas of the building.

The first section of this chapter considers natural illumination, in particular the evidence available for imagery in the windows of the parish churches, and especially those of the cathedral, before exploring the repair and installation of windows during the episcopate of

⁵ 1 John: 1-5.

⁶ Matthew M. Reeve, *Thirteenth-Century Wall Paintings of Salisbury Cathedral: Art, Liturgy, and Reform* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), p. 45. Alabaster was often referred to as marble in the Middle Ages.

⁷ John Dummelow, *The Wax Chandlers of London* (London: Phillimore Co. Ltd, 1973), pp. 10-11.

⁸ Augustine Casiday, ‘St Aldhelm’s bees (De uirginitate prosa cc. IV–VI): some observations on a literary tradition’, *Anglo Saxon England* (2005), 2.

John Jewel (+1559-71). The second section argues that artificial illumination in the parish churches and the cathedral, which was used for both practical and ritual purposes before the Reformation, was severely reduced thereafter to practical use only, particularly from the reign of Edward VI, with candles permitted decoratively only around Christmas in some years. In addition, this section argues that tallow candles, as opposed to beeswax, came to dominate lighting in all the churches of the city from the mid-sixteenth century onwards.

3.2 Natural illumination in the churches of Salisbury⁹

In October 1558, the labourer Thomas Tynckler was employed for one day taking down the broken glass around the cathedral.¹⁰ In December of the same year the accounts show that thirty-five man-days were paid for boarding-up the windows on the south side of the church, followed in January by twelve days for the west and the north sides. The cathedral then initiated a major window repair programme to both the main building and to the chapter house over the next ten years. This event raises several questions: firstly, were similar events of destruction and repair recorded in the accounts of the parish churches of Salisbury at this time? Who or what had caused the original damage? What might have been depicted in the broken windows? Finally, how might changes to the windows have affected the sensory experience of worship in the cathedral? This section argues that much can be ascertained from the cathedral fabric accounts regarding the siting, materials and labour involved in window repair, creation, and installation in sixteenth-century Salisbury.¹¹

⁹ In addition to the churches of the city, the Hall of John Hall also contains original, heraldic stained glass. John Hall was mayor in 1450, 1456 and 1464-65. RCHME, *Salisbury Volume I*, pp. 103-104.

¹⁰ SCA: FA/1/1/15, *Fabric account, 1558-59*.

¹¹ Stained glass is an umbrella term, where the base material is glass held together with lead and painted or stained with wet paint mixed with ground glass and red wine or urine and then placed in an oven whereupon the ground glass melts to become part of the original glass.

From the available evidence, the story of the glazing in the churches of Salisbury is one of continuity within both the cathedral and the parish churches. Although there was much deliberate damage to the glazing during both the Reformation and the Civil War, the extant glass illustrates how this art form continued to contribute to the sensory and worshipping experience of the church community.

3.2.1 Glazing in the parish churches

There is little indication of the original imagery in the stained glass church windows of the parish churches of Salisbury, although there is archival evidence of one or more creation windows at both St Edmund's, and St Thomas's. The Creation window in the former was damaged in the seventeenth century by Henry Sherfield (see Chapter 5), whilst at St Thomas's permission was granted by the subdean in 1583 for the removal of 'God the Father' from the vestry window by the glazier, Hacker; remnants of this are thought to be extant in the upper centre of the east window.¹² That this glass should have remained in situ so long after the Elizabethan injunctions and the episcopacy of John Jewel, who was particularly zealous regarding the removal of 'superstitious' images, is perhaps an indication of the cost of replacement glazing at this time.¹³

There is no glass dating earlier than the seventeenth century remaining in St Edmund's Church.¹⁴ Prior to the Reformation the chancel was the prerogative of the college, and

¹² WSA: 1780/8, *Contemporary record of proceedings in Star Chamber against Henry Sherfield for damaging 'an ancient and faire windowe conteyninge a discription of the Creation' in Salisbury St Edmund's church which he claimed was idolatrous, 1632*, pp. 9, 12. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 294. Hacker may have been the glazier 'Gregory Cook alias Hacker of Fisherton Anger' and thus the window may have been dismantled and hidden until its reinstatement in the vestry east window. It was moved from the vestry to its present location in 1967.

¹³ Scott Wenig, 'John Jewel and the Reformation of the Diocese of Salisbury, 1560-1571', *Anglican and Episcopal History*, 73 (2004), 147.

¹⁴ St Edmund's Church is now an Arts Centre. The tower which had stood between the quire and the nave had fallen in 1652 destroying the nave, thus the only evidence there is for the original construction is contained in the accounts. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 227-228.

therefore there are no records of glazing in the early churchwarden's accounts beyond those of the nave and the vestry. It is probable that most of the windows in the nave were originally glazed with coloured glass, and that from a sensory point of view this rendered the interior of the church radiant when the sun shone, yet rather dark and gloomy on less clement days.¹⁵ Apart from the story of the creation the only other clue as to the contents of the windows dates from 1495-96 when the glazier William George made two new windows, one containing images of the Blessed Virgin and the other of St Osmund.¹⁶ The accounts also show that as well as glass being replaced, the ferramenta (metalwork) received regular maintenance.¹⁷ In addition, the records also show that the south porch was glazed, and that there was a 'greate' window over the south door, with a similar-sized window at the east end.¹⁸ Further, there were windows in the ringing chamber, and a 'large' window next to it.¹⁹ The earliest record noting the repair of windows at St Edmund's dates from 1443-46, when work was carried out on the 'window in the north of the church'.²⁰ In the late fifteenth century a new window was constructed in the southern part of the belfry; the money for this was raised by the wives of St Edmund's, along with contributions from other parishioners, demonstrating their devotion to their parish church and perhaps the need for additional natural light.²¹ Security of the goods in

¹⁵ An argument made by Henry Sherfield when he broke some quarrels of glass in the early seventeenth century (see Chapter 5).

¹⁶ 1495-96, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 45. WSA: 1901/68/3, *St Edmund churchwarden account roll, 1495-96*.

¹⁷ Ferramenta is a collective term for the saddle bars, eyes, keys, straps etc. made of iron which were used to support the glazing. Sam Kelly, Salisbury Cathedral glazier, *Personal communication, July 2019*.

There are around 100 entries for St Edmund's over the period of 200 years. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*.

¹⁸ 1499-1500, 1607-08 and 1624-25, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 51, 157, 181. There was also a great west window which in 1647-48 had curtains of green serge. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 218.

¹⁹ 1622-23 and 1633-34, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 175, 200.

²⁰ The precise location of this window is not described. '*Vitrar - Et sol Johi Benet Glasyer pro j fenestra in boriali parte emendand ijs vjd*'. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 358.

²¹ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 47-49. The work on the new window cost 53s 4d, including 18s for the glass. Donations included 6s 8d from Margaret Maynard whose husband had been steward of the fraternity of Jesus in 1482-83.

the treasury house was of paramount importance, with repair of the window there taking place regularly, possibly as a result of repeated attempts to remove the property from within.²²

The phase of considerable glazing work was carried out at the cathedral (1558-1572), is only partially reflected in records of the parish churches. At St Edmund's such work took place in 1563-64 when glass in the nave was taken down and set-up again, and a window was made at the north door.²³ Similarly, substantial further work costing £3 18s 10d was carried out in 1569-71, by two different glaziers at separate times.²⁴ In 1571-72, Hacker of Fisherton Anger carried out the installation of 'diverse new panes of glase amounting to 58 foote' at St Thomas's, where he also repaired the rest of the church windows.²⁵ Thus although the parish churches had windows requiring attention, they had far fewer windows in total than at the cathedral.

The church windows continued to be maintained throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by glaziers (see Appendix 9), supported by blacksmiths, thus demonstrating that the parishioners were keen to look after the physicality of the building in order that their house of God was kept in good order and that worship was as comfortable as possible. It is particularly noteworthy that a contract was agreed in 1595 between the churchwardens of St Edmund's and the glazier, Roger Ames, to repair the windows. This states:

Memorandum that Roger Ames of the citty of new saru' in the countie of wiltes
Glasier in consideration of the some of xxs in hand alreadie paide hath from hence
forwarde bounde him selfe by these presentes to repaire all the windowes of the

²² For instance 1468-69, 1474-75, 1478-79, 1491-92. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 11, 20, 366, 340.

²³ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 110. The cost of the work in 1563-64 totalled £1 6s 6d.

²⁴ Worth more than £1200 at 2019 prices, MeasuringWorth.com, *Relative Value in UK £ at 2019 prices*. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 115, 118.

²⁵ 1571-72, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 286. Cost for 58 feet at 6½d was 30s 5d (including labour), repair of the other windows came to 30s, total £3 0s 11½d.

church and the vestrie there unto belonginge and the greate windowe in the lower part of the vestrie at his owne proper cost & charges for xs by ye yeare wth cullered glasse acording to ye manner and forme that they nowe are as longe as the fore named Roger liveth and farthermore hath received ijd of Mr Brotherton in consideration of the former premises this condition being made in the presence of Mr Thomas Grafton Maior Mr Edward Escorte, Mr John Hobbe wth all the rest of the maisters of the vestrye the second of maye in the xxxvij yeare of the Raigne of our soveraigne Ladie Elisabeth.²⁶

This contract indicates that the parishioners were responsible for the windows in the church (the nave) and the vestry.²⁷ The glazing appears to have been in considerable disrepair by this time, in that Ames was paid 20s up front, and 10s a year thereafter. It is also of interest that the contract was signed by the mayor as a representative of the corporation, in addition to the members of the vestry of St Edmund's, indicating the importance of the link at this time between the corporation and the churches of the city. In particular, the agreement notes that the vestry contained a 'greate window', and the glazier was only to use coloured glass, indicating that in 1595 the windows were still pictorial. Coloured glass was also noted in 1603-04 when windows were repaired: this was a distinctive aspect of Salisbury's repair programme, in that many other churches at this time used cheaper plain glass which also increased the available daylight and made reading easier.²⁸

²⁶ WSA: 1901/65, *St Edmund churchwardens accounts and vestry minutes*, p. 218.

²⁷ Roger Ames seems to have maintained the windows of the church until 1607, when 'Rawlence' or 'Rawlins' was employed on a piecework basis. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 157.

²⁸ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 152. For instance, plain glass was used at St Lawrence's, Ipswich; St Augustine's, Norwich; St George's, Colegate, Norwich. Richard Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages* (Toronto & Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1993), p. 232. Whiting, *The Reformation of the English Parish Church*, p. 141. Sarah Brown, *Stained Glass: An Illustrated History* (London: Bracken Books, 1994), pp. 112-113.

All the extant stained glass at St Martin's Church is dated to post-1870.²⁹ The earliest mention of glazing at St Martin's appears in the churchwarden's account for 1581-82, when a window was repaired at a cost of 14d. Thereafter the accounts show that repairs took place on a few occasions each decade when the glazier was called in to 'mend the churche windows'.

Coloured, rather than white, glass was inserted in 1588-89 when thirteen feet of window space was re-glazed at a cost of 5s 5d per running foot.³⁰ Thus as at St Edmund's such an outlay by the parish not only showed that it was prepared to preserve the integrity of the building but also that it regarded the beautiful windows as important.

The only parish church to have extant early glass is that of St Thomas's, some of whose glass dates from the fifteenth century, and which may provide an indication of the original contents of the windows before the Reformation. The positioning of windows with coloured glass near the doom painting, which was a significant feature of the imagery in the church, would have interfered with the colours in the painting, making it more difficult to view the detail.

However, the glass at St Thomas's seems to have been kept in good condition during the Elizabethan period, with relatively regular maintenance; it was also swept regularly by the hellier, particularly during the 1580s, presumably to increase the incoming daylight.³¹

The windows of chantry chapels often contained examples of the heraldry of the donor; for instance, at St Thomas's, the east window of the chapel of William Swayne, which was also the tailors' guild chapel of St John the Baptist, still contains an image of Swayne's merchant mark (see Figure 3-1). There are further fragments of shields and merchant marks belonging to other men in the city, perhaps influential friends or family leaving the worshippers in no

²⁹ John Spencer, *Sarum St Martin: A History* (2013), p. 16.

³⁰ A 'running foot' refers to the length of a piece of glass, irrespective of its width. WSA: 1899/65, *St Martin churchwardens and overseers account book, 1588-89*. Around £75 per foot at 2019 prices. MeasuringWorth.com, *Relative Value in UK £ at 2019 prices*.

³¹ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 291, 294.

doubt as to the importance of the benefactor.³² The same window also contains the headless figure of a saint which may have been damaged during the Reformation.



Figure 3-1: The merchant mark of William Swayne in St Thomas's Church

Saints were believed to act as intercessors between earth and heaven and would have been depicted in windows near the chapels dedicated to them, where they could be identified by their attributes.³³ In 1547 Edward VI issued injunctions which singled out 'superstitious' imagery in windows for reform for the first time, as it was considered that it was the images of saints which were being worshipped instead of the saint in question, being invoked to intercede with God.³⁴ Edward ordered that:

³² Merchant marks were applied to the wares of merchants. The names of the men with the other merchant marks are not recorded. Rodney Maude, *The Parish Church of St Thomas & St Edmund, Salisbury: A Brief History of St Thomas's Church* (n.d.) <http://www.stthomassalisbury.co.uk/documents/history-heritage/8-guide-book-for-st-thomas-s-church-building/file> [accessed 30 July 2017]. For 1583-84, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 294.

³³ The attribute of a saint is normally related to their life, for instance St Peter holds the keys of heaven and hell, and St Catherine the wheel to which she was bound. The National Gallery, *Glossary* (2020) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/glossary/attribute> [accessed 20 August 2020].

³⁴ Greg Buzwell, *Saints in Medieval Manuscripts* (London: The British Library, 2005), p. 60.

they shall take away, utterly extinct and destroy all shrines, covering of shrines ... pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles ... so that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glass-windows or elsewhere within their churches or houses. And they shall exhort all their parishioners to do the like within their several houses.³⁵

Different approaches were taken to this removal including whitewashing or otherwise covering the image, or breaking the glass, either partially, or entirely. Other images were either removed and hidden away or taken down and used as spare glass for repair.

Following a visitation in 1547-48, the accounts of St Thomas's note that following the departure of the visitors, the church was cleaned – perhaps of broken images and glass. This was followed by a 'great wind' which broke windows and compelled the sexton, Lytchefelde, to mount a guard on the building for two nights. How much damage was caused by the wind and how much by individuals causing iconoclasm is a matter of conjecture; however, it is likely that the images in the windows were at least partially removed, including the hands, feet and faces of saints, thus supposedly rendering the figures not only anonymous, but inanimate and powerless as well.³⁶ However, although the images were partially obliterated, parishioners would still have recognised the saint to whom they could turn in time of need, albeit privately. The parishioner could therefore continue to interact with such images – those in windows could be touched where they were easy to reach, or else bowed towards and addressed, as at St Edmund's in the early seventeenth century when an image of God

³⁵ Injunction 28, Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1536-1558*, p. 126.

³⁶ Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages*, p. 231. 'Lytchefelde for watchinge ij nightes in the churche when the wyndowes were broken downe with the Wynde and for breakynge downe of the [...] of the ymages in the churche 22d'. WSA: 1900/70, *St Thomas churchwardens account roll, 1547-48*. Much of the lower part of this roll is damaged. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 275. The account for St Edmund's for that year is wanting.

remained in the church.³⁷ At St Thomas's, the east window contains extant fragments of St Christopher who is carrying Jesus, and also the remnants of St Francis.³⁸ Further, there is a headless figure identified by a crozier with the cross of Canterbury as St Thomas: the removal of his head arose from the decree by Henry VIII that all images of St Thomas Becket should be removed.³⁹ Following this iconoclasm, the church previously dedicated to Thomas Becket became known as 'Saint Thomas Thapostle'; thus abiding by the rules of the reigning monarch. There was however, no expenditure on glass at St Edmund's Church between the years 1547 and 1553, but this does not necessarily mean that the windows remained unaltered, in that images may have been whitewashed over, rather than removed, or they were left with holes, as may have occurred in 1549 at Morebath.⁴⁰

The cult of the Virgin Mary was particularly popular from the fourteenth century onwards, and figurative glass containing her image was likely to have been present in the Lady Chapel at each of the parish churches in the city. She was often depicted with Jesus as part of the Christian family in a Jesse window, or in representations of the Trinity.⁴¹ Stained glass windows today are sometimes termed 'Bibles for the poor', in that images like these were used as teaching aids for parishioners.⁴² Between the years 1350 and 1550 image programmes over several windows became more prevalent and were often constructed and funded as a

³⁷ 'Trumpeter a strainger uncovered before the said windowe in the Church of St Edmonds that hee did bowe and speak towards the said windowe'. WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, p.32.

³⁸ Originally in the vestry, but now the second south window from the east. RCHME, *Salisbury Volume I*, p. 29.

³⁹ In 1538 by Henry VIII. RCHME, *Salisbury Volume I*, p. 29. Sarah Brown, *Reformation, Iconoclasm and Restoration Stained Glass in England c. 1540-1830* (n.d.) <http://www.buildingconservation.com/articles/english-stainedglass/english-stainedglass.htm> [accessed 27 September 2015]. Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions*, pp. 297-300. Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation*, p. 369.

⁴⁰ J. Erskine Binney, ed., *The Accounts of the Wardens of Parish of Morebath, 1520-1573* (Exeter: James G. Commin, 1903-04), p. 162.

⁴¹ Sarah Brown, 'Reading Coloured Light: Stained Glass in England and Wales, c. 1350-c. 1550', in *Places of Worship in Britain and Ireland 1350-1550*, ed. by Paul S. Barnwell (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2019), p. 48.

⁴² Madeleine Caviness, 'Bible stories in Windows: were they Bibles for the Poor?', in *The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its influence on literature and art*, ed. by B. S. Levy (New York: Binghamton, 1992), pp. 103-147.

whole, with the donor depicted in the window.⁴³ A crucifixion window placed at the east end of the parish churches above the high altar may sometimes have been part of such a scheme, as a reminder to the people of Christ's suffering.⁴⁴ The more prosperous citizens of Salisbury may also have funded instructional windows containing representations of the seven sacraments, including that depicting the elevation of the host. Scenes encouraging charity and thrift or discouraging evils such as pride and gluttony were also presented in this way.⁴⁵

When Queen Mary came to the throne, she sought to re-instate as much imagery as possible, but she generally failed either to restore shrines which had been previously dismantled or to re-introduce imagery into windows, and in fact no work at all appears to have been carried out on the glazing during her reign at either St Edmund's or St Thomas's Church.⁴⁶ Elizabeth I, however, was less concerned with destruction of specific imagery than Edward VI had been, and more concerned that there should be no inter-relationship between images and the sin of idol-worship.⁴⁷ Her injunctions of 1559 repeated those of Edward VI regarding windows, with the additional clause stating that windows should be preserved or repaired.⁴⁸ Further, in 1560 a proclamation forbade anyone 'to break down or deface any image in glass windows in any church, without the consent of the ordinary'; this was partly due to the expense of their replacement as well as consideration for keeping out the wind and rain, which would cause

⁴³ An image programme utilises the stained glass to present a theme or story over a series of inter-related windows. Brown, 'Reading Coloured Light', p. 39. An example is in St Mary's Church, Fairford, Gloucestershire, where the image programme stretches over twenty-eight windows.

⁴⁴ Brown, 'Reading Coloured Light', pp. 39, 53. Brown, *Reformation, Iconoclasm and Restoration Stained Glass in England c. 1540-1830*.

⁴⁵ Painton Cowen, *English Stained Glass* (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 2008), p. 70. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 96.

⁴⁶ The accounts are missing both for the cathedral, and for St Martin's Church.

⁴⁷ A homily dated 1563 called 'Against Peril of Idolatry' was to be read in churches at the time. Tabitha Barber and Stacy Boldrick, *Art under Attack: Histories of British Iconoclasm* (London: Tate Publishing, 2013), p. 23.

⁴⁸ Now injunction 23, Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1559-1575*, p. 16.

damage to the interior fabric.⁴⁹ Further destruction of ‘superstitious’ imagery followed during the Civil War in the seventeenth century, leaving comparatively little medieval glass in the parish churches of Salisbury.

3.2.2 Glazing in Salisbury Cathedral

Legend states that the number of windows in Salisbury Cathedral is equal to the number of days in a year; the large Gothic windows would have been filled with glass, providing many generations of glaziers with the opportunity to show off their skills and with regular employment. The downside of so many windows was the constant need for funding to support repair and re-glazing as the ferramenta rusted and the glass broke. This is reflected in the fabric accounts, which note from the first a host of keys, eyes, nails, lead, and glass, along with the labour required to install them. However, although these accounts provide greater detail than those of the parish churches, there are virtually no clues as to the images which were present in the glazing. As with the other churches of the city, it is necessary to consider the glass that still remains, in order to provide an understanding of the original glazing and the possible changes which may have occurred during the process of Reformation.

One of the earliest references to a glazier at the Cathedral is in the Chapter Acts book for 1440, when William White requested that two windows were to be made in the cathedral, one in the chapel of St Margaret and the other near the high altar.⁵⁰ The earliest note in the fabric accounts is in 1481, when John Roleys was paid for working on the chapel of St Osmund. This window, and that of St Margaret, were likely to have contained images of the relevant

⁴⁹ The ‘ordinary’ was the diocesan bishop. Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages*, pp. 231-232. Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation*, pp. 632, 636-637. A further round of destruction followed in the seventeenth century, during the Civil War. Brown, *Stained Glass: An Illustrated History*, pp. 112-113.

⁵⁰ SCA: CH/1/10, *Chapter acts book Hutchins, 1440-1457*.

saints, perhaps incorporating the many miracles for which they were responsible.⁵¹ The shrine of St Osmund and the route to his chapel would have been important areas for targeted ornamentation, to entice the many pilgrims to leave gifts to support the work of the cathedral. In the same year, Roleys also repaired windows in the belfry and the library.⁵²

Much of the present glass is grisaille, predominately decorated white glass, which corrodes over time to produce a brown or green tint, due to the presence of copper oxides. This type of glazing allows light into the cathedral in order to highlight the architecture, but the borders and patterns make it more interesting to observe than plain white glass and it also reduces the glare of the sun allowing more diffuse light to illuminate other decorative areas. It was cheaper to produce than stained glass in that it did not require expensive metals in its production. However, grisaille glass should not be considered inferior, as that at Salisbury was decorated with complex naturalistic scrolling, foliage designs and cross-hatched backgrounds. Although the windows in the transepts at York Minster were glazed with grisaille in c. 1240-1250, Salisbury Cathedral is distinctive in that it now contains the largest collection of such glass in Europe dating from the thirteenth century.⁵³ Virginia Jansen has suggested that the simplicity of the building design and its decoration, including the use of grisaille glass, could have arisen from Cistercian ideology acknowledged by Richard Poore and his colleagues.⁵⁴ The plain stonework, the gloss on the pavement tiles and the glass were

⁵¹ Also referred to as John Relys. Eward, 'St Osmund: The Building of the Shrine'. This original note of the glazier would have been present in FA/1/1/4 which is now wanting.

⁵² He was paid 6d a day and worked for fifty-seven days from Christmas onwards. SCA: FA/3/1/1/22, *Mr Harding's notes on the fabric, 1891*. Again, this account would have been present in FA/1/1/4 which is now wanting.

⁵³ Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages*, p. 123. Roy Spring, *Stained Glass: Salisbury Cathedral* (Much Wenlock: R. J. L. Smith and Associates, 1997), p. 1. Brown, *Sumptuous and Richly Adorn'd*, p. 88.

⁵⁴ The Cistercians used the patterns as an aid to meditation. Virginia Jansen, 'Cistercian Threads in the Fabric of Canterbury and Salisbury Cathedrals', in *Perspectives for an Architecture of Solitude: Essays on Cistercians, Art, and Architecture in Honour of Peter Fergusson (Medieval Church Studies 11)*, ed. by Terry N. Kinder (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 341-349.

designed together as a whole, in order to provide a particular sensory experience, thereby connecting earth with heaven. Most of the nave and quire aisles of the building may have contained grisaille glass, which today includes approximately fifteen different designs or part-designs, three of which contain small quantities of coloured glass (see Figure 3-2, Figure 3-3 and Figure 3-4). In the south transept there are a further five unpainted designs, some also containing pieces of coloured glass.⁵⁵

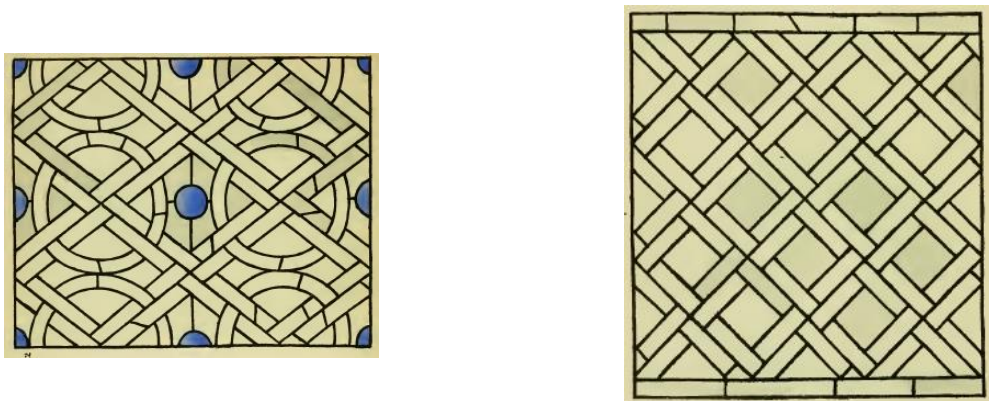


Figure 3-2: Unpainted grisaille – pattern A (left) as in s13,⁵⁶ pattern E (right) as in n35.⁵⁷



Figure 3-3: Grisaille glass, early thirteenth century

⁵⁵ Richard Marks, 'The Thirteenth Century Glazing of Salisbury Cathedral', in *Medieval Art and Architecture of Salisbury Cathedral*, ed. by Laurence Keen and Thomas Cocke (British Archaeological Association, 1996), p. 111. Some of the original patterns were created by laying one design on top of another, or by overlapping two patterns. Sam Kelly, 'Medieval Glass of Salisbury Cathedral', in *Vidimus*, 23 (2008) <http://vidimus.org/issues/issue-23/feature/> [accessed 23 October 2017].

⁵⁶ Part of a collection of grisaille which was stored in the roof above the Trinity Chapel until 1896.

⁵⁷ Plate IV in C. Winston, *Memoirs Illustrative of the Art of Glass-Painting* (London: John Murray, 1865).

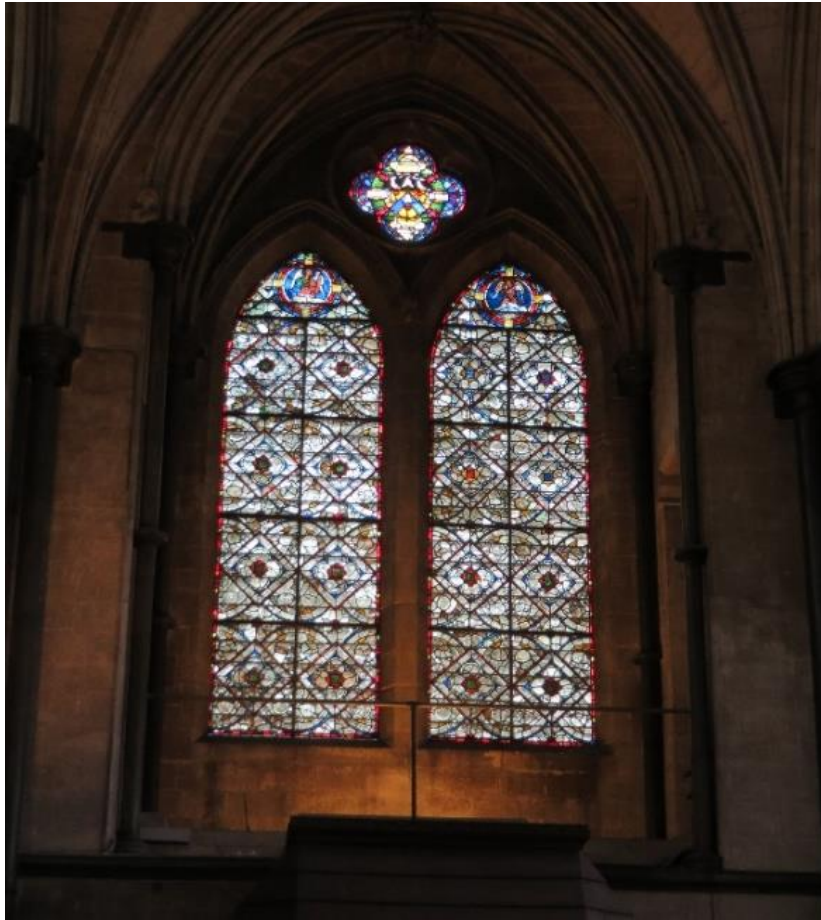


Figure 3-4: Window s.36

The cycle of thirteenth-century paintings on the ceiling vaults east of the western crossing at Salisbury Cathedral was designed, along with the glass to educate and entertain the men who served in the cathedral, with the direct light resulting from the use of grisaille glass allowing the images to be viewed clearly.⁵⁸ From the west the cycle originally comprised twenty-four Old Testament prophets, alongside which there were a number of angels. Further east, the iconography changed to that of the New Testament, including Christ in Majesty surrounded by symbols of the Evangelists. Still further to the east the Apostles are seated in pairs. The eastern crossing comprised twenty-four medallions featuring angels carrying liturgical

⁵⁸ These paintings were present until whitewashed in 1789 during the cathedral restoration by James Wyatt, and then inaccurately over-painted by George Gilbert Scott a century later. The cycle had been recorded in watercolour before Wyatt, and later by Victorian restorators when the whitewash was removed and some of the vault paintings were repainted. Reeve, *Thirteenth-Century Wall Paintings of Salisbury Cathedral*, p. 50.

attributes, whilst over the presbytery were paintings of the labours of the months, including feasting, breaking the ground, hawking, mowing, and wine-making.⁵⁹ Liturgically, this was the most important area of the church, incorporating both the high altar and various important chapels, including the Lady chapel and later the shrine of St Osmund. In addition the vault ribs were painted in red, green, and black, as were the clerestory window masonry and the arches of the triforium arcade. Matthew Reeve considers that the imagery of the grisaille windows, vault paintings, and decorated masonry were all designed as an integrated whole from the inception of the cathedral in the thirteenth century and is distinctive to Salisbury.⁶⁰

Historiated glass may have been reserved originally for windows around, or above, the altars, which were the most important liturgical spaces of the building.⁶¹ Following a visit to Salisbury Cathedral in the seventeenth century, Celia Fiennes wrote: ‘the windows of the Church but especially ye Quire are very finely painted and large of ye history of ye Bible’.⁶² She may well have been describing windows near the altars including those in the disused chapels which may have contained stained glass. As with the parish churches the image of the saint to whom the chapel was dedicated would have been included, thus providing a focus for veneration. Images of saints contained coloured glass, which was used to depict their bodies and clothes, whilst celestial beings such as angels were often a radiant white, with purple being used for royalty.⁶³ Certainly such a window was present in the chapel of St Stephen (at

⁵⁹ Reeve, *Thirteenth-Century Wall Paintings of Salisbury Cathedral*, pp. 51-53.

⁶⁰ Reeve, *Thirteenth-Century Wall Paintings of Salisbury Cathedral*, pp. 2, 6-7, 53. Other cycles of vault paintings are to be found at Worcester and Canterbury Cathedrals.

⁶¹ Altars included: North-east transept - St Martin, St Catherine; South-east transept - St Mary Magdalene, St Nicholas; North transept - St Thomas of Canterbury, St Edmund of Abingdon, St John the Baptist; South transept - St Margaret, St Lawrence, St Michael; Other altars - St Stephen and Martyrs, Holy Trinity and All Saints (Lady Chapel), St Peter and Apostles.

⁶² University of Portsmouth and others, *The Diary of Celia Fiennes* (2017) <http://visionofbritain.org.uk/travellers/Fiennes/3> [accessed 2 July 2019].

⁶³ Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation*, pp. 162, 165.

the end of the south quire aisle) which indicated his martyrdom through stoning. This was moved at some point to the parish church at Grateley in Hampshire (see Figure 3-5).⁶⁴

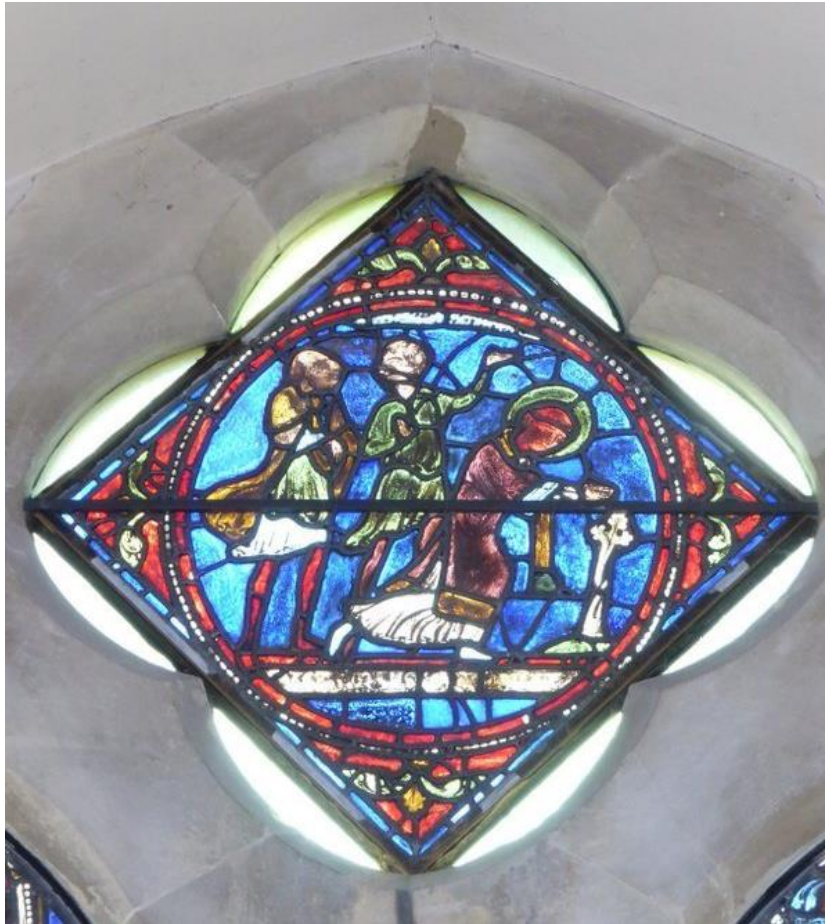


Figure 3-5: The stoning of St Stephen - St Leonard's Church, Grateley
Photo: <http://www.hampshire-history.com/st-leonards-church-grateley/>

Window s33 in the cathedral nave is an early example of a Jesse Tree (consecrated in 1225), which may have originally been situated in the Lady chapel.⁶⁵ This was a popular theme for a window, portraying the lineage of Christ from the time of Jesse, from whom branches of a tree extended to support prophets and kings from the Old Testament (see Figure 3-6). This window at the cathedral contains a foliate decoration which unites it with the nearby painted

⁶⁴ This is now at St Leonard's Church in Grateley, near Andover, Hampshire. The glass was removed from the cathedral by James Wyatt in the late eighteenth century as part of the reordering there and rescued by William Benson Earle.

⁶⁵ Brown, *Sumptuous and Richly Adorn'd*, p. 82.

grisaille windows and the tiled pavements, to make a visual whole.⁶⁶ The glass in the Jesse window is now badly corroded, making the detail difficult to envision; however, the jewel-like colours would originally have shone through the east-end of the building in the early morning and may have been visible to parishioners at the parish altar in the nave. The Salisbury image of the Jesse Tree is distinctive in that its design was influenced by illuminated manuscripts including the Wilton Psalter, unlike the Jesse windows of both York Minster and Canterbury Cathedral, for which windows in the medieval abbey of Saint-Denis provided the inspiration.⁶⁷ The upper part of window s33 at Salisbury now contains panels depicting the Adoration of the Magi (see Figure 3-7) and the Annunciation to Zacharias, which may have been part of an Infancy of Christ window.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Brown, *Sumptuous and Richly Adorn'd*, p. 88.

⁶⁷ Brown, *Sumptuous and Richly Adorn'd*, p. 83. The church of St Mary and St Nicholas in nearby Wilton contains 12th and 13th century stained glass from the abbey of St Denis set in the central apse window.

⁶⁸ Zacharias was the father of St John the Baptist. The infancy of Christ window is now sited in the upper part of the westernmost light of window s33.

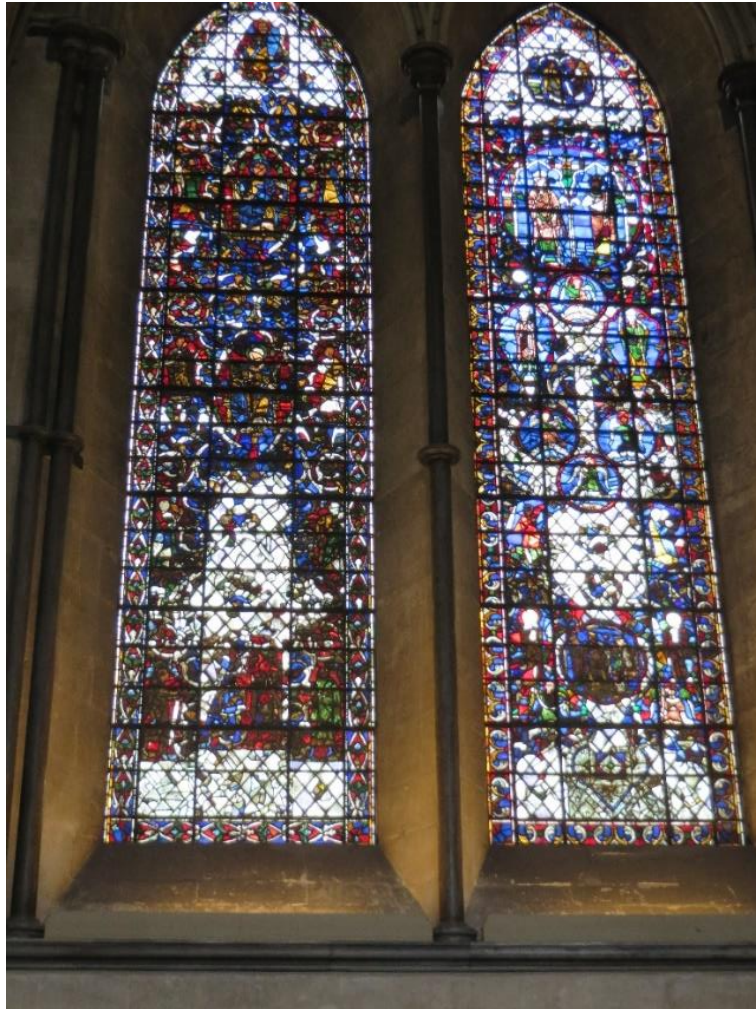


Figure 3-6: Window s33, showing 13th century Tree of Jesse



Figure 3-7: Detail from window s33, showing the Adoration of the Magi

The chapter house contained figurative panels of angels flanking bishops and kings: Sam Kelly, the present cathedral glazier, considers that only two of these panels still survive, both dating from around 1260.⁶⁹ The original scheme would have been privy to the many meetings of the chapter and would have been a reminder to those present that their decisions were not to be taken lightly in that high-ranking officials were listening and watching, if only as lifeless images. In addition, the exterior still has the original sixteenth century ferramenta as noted in the fabric accounts (see Figure 3-8).⁷⁰



Figure 3-8: South-east vestry window showing ferramenta

As already noted, the cathedral account for 1558-59 documents the removal of broken glass and the subsequent boarding-up of windows on all but the east side of the building. This may have been due to one or more of the following reasons: firstly, the Edwardian injunction regarding superstitious imagery would have resulted in the permitted removal of some idolatrous elements in the windows, particularly those representing saints, thus leaving

⁶⁹ Pamela Z. Blum, 'Thirteenth-Century Glass of the Salisbury Chapter House', *Gesta*, 37.2 (1998), 142. Sam Kelly, Salisbury Cathedral glazier, *Personal communication*, July 2019.

⁷⁰ For instance 'Itm paid to hancocke the smythe the xvijth day for mendinge of xxj bares for paines of glase in the chapter howse', 'Itm for j cwt of keyes', SCA: FA/1/1/19, *Fabric account*, June 1567-68.

openings for the ingress of water and a vulnerability to further damage in case of storms.⁷¹

Secondly, the iconoclasm may have been performed by criminal damage either internally or externally; the additional expenditure on keys for various doors this year suggests that there was a need for increased security.⁷² Finally, the cathedral glazing may have reached a certain level of degradation, with rusting of the ferramenta and cracking of glass due to the weather, along with a possible lack of investment in the physical integrity of the building.

The resultant investment in repair may have been instigated by William Bradbridge as Dean of Salisbury (1554-1563), in that he was said to have been diligent in his duties, although it was not until 1558, towards the end of Mary's reign, that the windows were boarded up.⁷³

John Capon had served the see as bishop during the reigns of three monarchs from 1539 until his death in 1557.⁷⁴ During this time the regular changes in religion required expensive and repetitive work, which reduced the cathedral's reserves; further, following his death, there was no permanent leadership within the diocese until that of John Jewel.

Following the death of Mary, the Protestant John Jewel returned to England from exile in Zurich, and having been nominated bishop of Salisbury, he delivered the letters of *congé d'élire* on 10 August 1559 to the cathedral chancellor, Henry Parry.⁷⁵ At this juncture the

⁷¹ No other church accounts are available for this year to provide evidence of a great storm. Injunction 28, Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1536-1558*, p. 126.

⁷² Keys were purchased for the Pound Gate (Oct 1558), Harnham and St Anne's Gates (May 1559), Chancellor's door for 'the chapel' (Nov 1559), chapter house, cloister gate and chorister's school (Dec 1559). SCA: FA/1/1/15, *Fabric account, 1558-59*.

⁷³ Kenneth Carleton, 'Bradbridge, William', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2018) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3165> [accessed 25 August 2020]. He later became Bishop of Exeter.

⁷⁴ Angelo J. Louisa, 'Capon [Salcot], John', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2009) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4592> [accessed 30 September 2019]. Capon was succeeded by Francis Mallet who was bishop from 1558 having been nominated by Queen Mary, however, he was never consecrated and was set aside by Elizabeth. Lack, *Ross' Canons of Salisbury*, p. 150.

⁷⁵ John Craig, 'Jewel, John, (1522–1571)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14810> [accessed 29 May 2017]. *Congé d'élire*: permission given in the form of a letter to the dean and chapter of a cathedral with a vacant see to elect a bishop. From 1534 the monarch's *congé d'élire* was accompanied by a letter missive which gave his/her decision on the man to be elected.

cathedral altars and images were removed, two large Bibles installed (one in the quire and the other in the nave), and psalters and Books of Common Prayer purchased; this work was completed before the royal visitation in October.⁷⁶ Further changes in the experience of worship arising from sensory change had therefore taken place, affecting both clergy and laity, with the polychromy on the walls, and within the stained-glass windows, covered over with either whitewash or boards. This may also have led to a reduction in daylight, resulting in the need for additional candles in order to see to read (see Section 3.3).

Bishop Jewel had completed the visitation as royal commissary in October 1559, after which time he stated in a letter to Peter Martyr that ‘The cathedral churches were nothing else but dens of thieves or worse, if anything worse or more foul can be mentioned’, and further, that ‘in all places votive relics of saints’ were still to be found.⁷⁷ In the spring of 1560, during his first episcopal visitation, the cathedral fabric was in such poor condition that the canons were ordered to contribute personally towards the fabric fund, and the rent of houses in the close was to be doubled to raise further money for repairs.⁷⁸ Jewel carried out at least four more visitations during his episcopacy, including an archiepiscopal visitation in late 1560, when he

⁷⁶ The royal injunctions specified that there should be two Bibles in the quire and a further two Bibles in the body of the church and one book of the paraphrases of Erasmus in each of the quire and nave. However, purchases were made in June 1559 for three Books of Common Prayer 20s, eight Psalters 16s, and one Bible of the largest volume for the quire 20s. In August 1559: one Bible of the largest volume for the nave 20s. In October 1559: six Psalters from London 11s plus 8d carriage. Total cost of books: £4 7s 8d. SCA: FA/1/1/15. *Fabric account, 1558-59*. Wordsworth and Maclean, eds., *Statutes and Customs*, p. 373. Some wall paintings were covered with wooden panelling at some time, as they were uncovered and painted over during the Wyatt reordering. The cathedral altars were removed in August 1559, taking 49½ days’ work by masons and labourers. SCA: FA/1/1/15. *Fabric account, 1558-59*. ‘Also for iiij li of candells for the vysitors horsemen’. Interestingly, in 1561-62 there is an entry ‘Also paid to a paynter for blackinge the wall over Mr Sydenh[a]m’, rather than white liming. This may have been the wall above his grave in the north quire aisle. SCA: FA/1/1/16, *Fabric account, 1561-62*. Royal injunctions for Salisbury Cathedral were administered during the visitation. Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1559-1575*, pp. 30-35.

⁷⁷ Wordsworth and Maclean, eds., *Statutes and Customs*, pp. 370-378. Hastings Robinson, ed., *The Zurich Letters, second edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1846), p. 60.

⁷⁸ The tower, glass, canonical houses, and close wall were ruinous. Edwards, *Salisbury Cathedral*, p. 186. In May 1560 the cathedral spire was ‘shattered by lightning’, Robinson, ed., *The Zurich Letters, second edition*, p. 102.

instructed widespread iconoclasm in the diocese, much of which had already taken place in Salisbury.⁷⁹

During the period of Jewel's episcopacy (1559-71) the nine extant cathedral fabric accounts contain some 620 entries relating to windows: these include expenses in materials and labour for the four main trades involved: the glazier, the blacksmith, the carpenter, and the stonemason.⁸⁰ In addition, the accounts document the materials and equipment used to construct and repair the windows, and in some cases describe the origination of the raw materials.⁸¹ Appendix 10 describes the construction of a window, which has changed little from this time. The importance attributed to the integrity of the building resulted in the retention of both a stonemason and a glazier at the cathedral from 1563-64, and three years later a further glazier was also employed full time (see Table 3-1).⁸²

⁷⁹ Jewel was in Salisbury in 1560, 1562, 1564/65, 1566, 1568, and finally in 1571 when he died. Robinson, ed., *The Zurich Letters, second edition*, pp. xiii-xv. Articles for the 1562 visitation, Wordsworth and Maclean, eds., *Statutes and Customs*, pp. 390-395. St Thomas's 1558-59, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 280. In 1560-61 however, St Edmund's were instructed to take the 'latyn bookes' to the cathedral, and in 1561-62 the rood loft was taken down. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 105, 106.

⁸⁰ During this period nine accounts are available from a total of fourteen. The missing years are 1559-60, 1560-61, 1562-63, 1565-66, 1568-69. Of the extant accounts, that for 1561-62 appears to be complete but is comparatively short; the 1563-64 account is partial consisting of torn sheets which include an annual 'wages and stipends' section and three complete pages of expenses. Some of the torn pages from this account I have re-allocated to the following year (1564-65) on the basis of the names of cathedral personnel, and the sequencing of the individual archives with the associated months; however, they are currently listed in the cathedral archive as FA/1/1/17.

⁸¹ For instance Normandy glass, lead from 'Hynton Blewett' a village in the Mendips, and also imported via Southampton docks, and iron from Spain. SCA: FA/1/1/16, *Fabric account, 1561-62*. SCA: FA/1/3/1, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric, 1532-33*, p. 40. James, *The Port Book of Southampton 1509-10*, p. 201. Hare, 'Miscellaneous Commodities', pp. 164-165.

⁸² In 1563-64 the mason was paid £6 13s 4d, the glazier £10 and both also had livery. From 1594-95 the glazier was paid £20 12s. Until this time these glaziers were employed by the parish churches as well, for instance Hacker worked at the cathedral and St Thomas's at varying times. There only seems to have been two or three glaziers at any one time working in the city of Salisbury, as opposed to Leicester where there were four or five during the 1590s. David Crossley, 'The Performance of the Glass Industry in Sixteenth-century England', *The Economic History Review*, 25.3 (1972), 424.

Table 3-1: Tradesmen involved in repair/installation of windows in cathedral 1558-1571

Year	Mason	Carpenter	Smith	Glazier	
1558-59	William Phillipps	Walsheman (or Welshman)	William Josser	Thomas Harrand	
1561-62		John Frende, John Oke	William Hancock	Peter Glazier	
1563-64		John Blout (or Blonte)		Peter Rowce	
1564-65		unknown		unknown	
1566-67		John Oke, William England		Peter Herne, Peter Rowce	
1567-68		William England, William Clarke		Peter Herne, Peter Rowce	
1569-70		Thomas Saunders		Peter Rufus	
1570-71		John Oke			
1571-72		'a carpenter'			'the smith'

Table 3-2: Cost of glass, per unit, purchased by the cathedral 1529-1633

Accounting year	Measurement	Place of origin	Price per unit	Accounting year	Measurement	Place of origin	Price per unit
1529	case	Unknown	18s	1595-96	case	Unknown	30s
1529	case	Unknown	16s 6d	1596-97	case	Unknown	29s
1530	bunch	Rheinish	9d	1605-06	case	Unknown	28s
1530	bunch	Burgundy	20d	1614-15	case	Unknown	26s 6d
1561-62	case	Normandy	36s 8d	1617-18	case	Unknown	30s
1566-67	case	Normandy	30s	1627-38	case	Unknown	34s
1567-68	case	Unknown	3s 4d	1629-30	case	Unknown	32s
1594-95	case	Unknown	29s	1630-31	case	Unknown	32s
1594-95	case	Unknown	39s	1632-33	case	Unknown	32s

Work on the cathedral windows started in earnest in 1566 with the purchase of eight cases of glass from Normandy (see Table 3-2).⁸³ Glazing proceeded swiftly: between August and December more than nine windows, plus some in the belfry, were re-glazed. This amounted to at least 1000 running feet and used around ten cases of glass. The following year, a further eight cases of glass were used to fill 861 feet of window (see Table 3-3). The organisation required to work at this rate was prodigious, requiring the collaboration of several trades: the speed of working suggests that it is likely that the majority of these windows contained grisaille glass.⁸⁴

⁸³ Normandy glass was considered to be superior to both Rhenish and English, and this was reflected in the price.

⁸⁴ Cases of glass seem to contain sufficient glass for a window of 108 feet. Glazing is measured in running feet rather than square feet. Sam Kelly, Salisbury Cathedral glazier, *Personal communication, July 2019*. The fabric accounts refer regularly to a unit of 108 feet of glass. The wording of the accounts is somewhat ambiguous however, and it is considered unlikely that every window set up required the same quantity of glass or that every case of glass contained a standard quantity of 108 feet. SCA: FA/1/1/18, *Fabric account, 1566-67*.

An armorial of Bishop Jewel within a wreath was constructed by Peter Herme (Herne) for the south side of the nave in September 1567; this is extant and now sited in the tracery quatrefoil of window s36 (see Figure 3-9 and Appendix 8).⁸⁵ The words on the window state: IOANNES IEWELL, ANNO [...], EPISCOP SAR. At the time of the Civil War the windows on the north side of the nave also carried the name of John Jewel, and it is therefore probable that the windows in the nave all contained his armorial.⁸⁶ It is possible that he was the patron of this work, in return for which his name was inscribed in perpetuity in the public area of the nave.⁸⁷ His death was described in a letter from Archbishop Grindal to Henry Bullinger as follows: ‘The excellent Bishop Jewel, of Salisbury, (the jewel and singular ornament of the Church, as his name implies,) we lost, or rather I should say, sent before us, about the beginning of October last’.⁸⁸

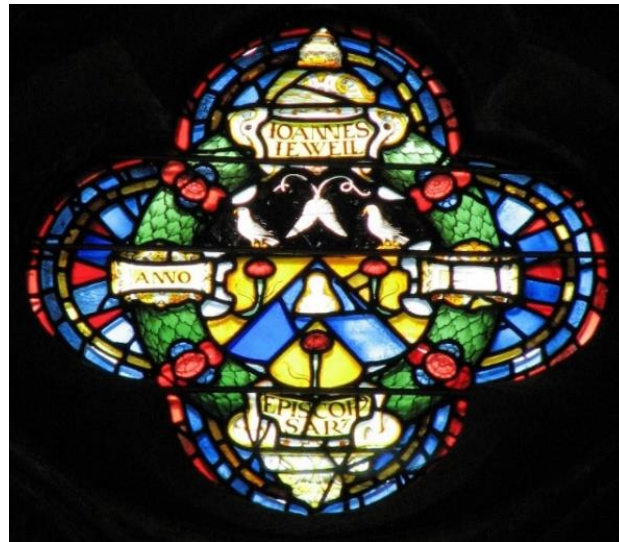


Figure 3-9: The arms of Bishop John Jewel in window s36, constructed in 1567

⁸⁵ SCA: FA/1/1/18, *Fabric account, 1566-67*. ‘Itm more to the forsaid peter herme for makinge my Lord Busshopes armes in one of the newe wyndowes in the southe syd of the body of the churche’.

⁸⁶ John Jewel left legacies of money and goods to eighty-eight named associates and family, along with £20 towards the reparation of the cathedral where he was buried. TNA: PROB 11/53/494, *Will of John Jewel, 10 November 1571*.

⁸⁷ Long, ed., *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army*, p. 140. Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages*, p. 232.

⁸⁸ Robinson, ed., *The Zurich Letters, second edition*, p. 382.

Table 3-3: New glass installed at Salisbury Cathedral in 1566-67⁸⁹

Date	Glazier	Cases of glass used	No. of windows	Size (feet)	Notes
1566					
August	Peter Rowce	1	?1	105	Glass from store. 4 lbs old pewter for solder
August	Peter Herne	2	2	Each 108	Glass from store. 3 lbs tin for solder
September	Peter Rowce	1	?1	105	Glass from store. 14¾ lbs lead & 4 lbs old pewter for solder.
September	Unknown	2	Belfry	80	Glass from store. 4 lbs old pewter for solder
30 September	Peter Herne	Included in above	2	Each 108	6 lbs old pewter for solder
September		Unknown	1	Unknown	South side of nave Bishop Jewel's arms
20 November		Unknown	2 at west end	125	One of 65 feet and one of 64 feet.
2 December		1	Unknown	108	
15 December		1	Unknown	108	Glazier paid 2½d per foot
1567					
21 January	Peter Herne	1	Unknown	108	
5 February		1	Unknown	108	
18 February		1	Unknown	108	
3 March		1	Unknown	108	
30 March		Unknown	Unknown	108	Glass from Mr Deanes. Glazier paid 2d per foot
11 May		Unknown	South side of nave	108	Glazier paid 7d per foot
18 May		Unknown	South side of nave	108	
1 June		Peter Rowce	1	Unknown	105

Appendix 10 describes the labour and care required in any re-glazing, and Table 3-4 tabulates the materials used by the blacksmith and the glazier in the repair and assembly of windows in 1567. Each of the 2,189 elements of the iron work was made individually before being used to install the window in the oak wood frame previously completed by the carpenter. This metal work included both new and repaired iron bars of different types, along with keys, eyes, nails, and clames.⁹⁰ The glazier required pewter, tin, and rosin to solder the lead which was placed around the pieces of glass, in order to complete each composition.

⁸⁹ SCA: FA/1/1/18, *Fabric account, 1566-67*. SCA: FA/1/1/19, *Fabric account 1567-68*.

⁹⁰ Clames were sometimes referred to as cletes.

Table 3-4: Materials used for glazing in 1567 ⁹¹

Month	For the smith									For the glazier						
	No. of New iron bars	No. of iron bars repaired				Keys	Eyes	Nails	Iron clames /cletes	For solder			Lead (lb)	New glass worked (ft)	Wood	Lime
		Not specified	Great	Upright	Cross					Pewter (lb)	Tin (lb) ⁹²	Rosin (lb)				
Oct	56		2			100	11			5			39			
Nov	39	33	4			100		100	12	8			100	125		
Dec	11	33	4	1	2	300		300			11		75	216		
Jan	5	42		1		200		100	10		3		14.75	108	✓	8 lbs
Feb	30	34		1	6	180	13	200	6		10	3	31.75	216	✓	Sack
Mar	18	59			2	200		200	6		9		29.5	216		
Apr		7														
May	16			2		260	40	200	18		1			216		
Jun	3	42				200		200			6		14.75	105		
Jul	14							200								Sack
Aug	8					100					1					
Sept	11	11									3	4				
	211	261	10	5	10	1640	64	1500	52	13	44	7	304.75	1202		

The accounts for the years 1569-71 show that in addition to the repair and replacement of some of the west windows, other windows were ‘given’ by various deaneries within the diocese: for instance in the accounting year 1569-70, windows were donated by Malmesbury, Marlborough, Newbury, Reading, Amesbury, Potterne and Wyllye, and in the following year the deanery of Chalke contributed to the collection (see Table 3-5).⁹³ An unknown number were donated by Malmesbury and Marlborough deaneries, but each of the others provided two, giving a possible total of at least fourteen. In this regard Salisbury may be unique. It is only possible to speculate as to the reasoning behind these donations, but perhaps Bishop John Jewel, or Dean William Bradbridge, had been able to persuade the deaneries to assist in funding the renewal and repair of their mother church. Although the cathedral paid for all the necessary installation including the remaking of window frames by the carpenter, and the

⁹¹ SCA: FA/1/1/19, *Fabric account, 1567-68*.

⁹² Tin was mined in Cornwall and sent by sea from towns such as Fowey to the port of Southampton.

⁹³ Unfortunately, the account for the year 1568-69 is wanting. SCA: FA/1/1/20, *Fabric account, 1569-70*. SCA: FA/1/1/21, *Fabric account, 1570-71*. At this time, the deaneries in the diocese were: Amesbury, Chalke, Wilton, Wyllye, Potterne, Avebury, Malmesbury, Marlborough, Cricklade, Abingdon, Wallingford, Newbury and Reading. A Deanery is a grouping of parishes, headed by a Rural Dean. At this time, the accounting year ran from Michaelmas to Michaelmas.

metalwork by the smith, there are no expenses for glass or glazing work specifically for these windows recorded in the accounts. Neither is there any mention of income from the deaneries to offset these expenses. This suggests that the deaneries themselves, or wealthy patrons living there, paid for the glass and the glazier’s time directly, and this would have been recorded in their own accounts.⁹⁴ Alternatively, they may have employed a local glazier to make the windows, which would have needed to have been the correct size to fit, requiring good quality workmanship and materials. There is also uncertainty as to the logistics regarding the design; all the west windows would have needed to have been designed as a whole, and thus this must have been done by one person, possibly in Salisbury. The subject matter, if historiated, or the pattern, if they were grisaille, is also not known.

Table 3-5: Donation of windows by deanery

Date of installation	Name of deanery donating windows	Date of installation	Name of deanery donating windows
6 October 1569	Malmesbury	12 June 1570	Amesbury
13 October 1569	Marlborough	1 July 1570	Potterne
23 February 1570	Newbury	28 July 1570	Wylde
4 March 1570	Reading	19 March 1571	Chalke

Work on a further three west windows began in early February 1570, continuing until May 1571 when Peter Rowce applied mortar to seal the glass, followed by the removal of the scaffolding by the carpenter.⁹⁵ Unfortunately, in October 1586 a ‘great wind’ blew the relatively newly repaired west windows out, following which two labourers were paid to take the glass and iron to the store house, resulting in the salvage and sale of 689 lbs of iron.⁹⁶ In addition to using new glass for the windows, iron, glass and lead were reused regularly. Following the dissolution of the monasteries, expensive commodities including glass windows from establishments such as Wilton Abbey may also have been moved either in their

⁹⁴ It seems that no deanery accounts exist.

⁹⁵ SCA: FA/1/1/20, *Fabric account, 1569-70*. SCA: FA/1/1/21, *Fabric account, 1570-71*.

⁹⁶ SCA: FA/1/1/30, *Fabric account, 1586-87*. ‘Rec. for old Iron of the grete west wyndow that was bloyen downe and taken downe which wehed vj d lxxxix li at a jd a li wch is 57s 5d’. NOTE: vj d represents 600.

entirety or the glass reused in the parish churches or the cathedral.⁹⁷ Although a great deal of glazing took place during Jewel's time as bishop of Salisbury, by the time of Bishop Guest's injunctions just a few years later, the windows were described as being in ruin and open to the wind and rain, suggesting that repair was still on-going.⁹⁸

Tools for a glazier's workshop were funded and furnished by the cathedral as noted in the fabric account for 1594-95 (see Table 3-6).⁹⁹ Until this time, the glazier probably used his own tools, although consumables such as the oils used as a plasticiser and hardener in the putty which included linseed and 'salet' were supplied by the cathedral.¹⁰⁰ The cost of the new equipment was £6 18s 1d, which included a soldering iron, grossing irons, rulers and mallets, along with ladders to reach the windows. From 1561 glass was stored in the 'glase howse', but during work in the cathedral, storage of tools was nearer at hand in one of the side chapels.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Not all lead was used for windows, a great deal was also used on the cathedral roof. SCA: FA/1/3/1, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric*, 1539-40, p. 91. J. C. Atkinson, *Cartularium Abbathiae de Reivalle: Ordinis Cisterciensis* (Durham: Andrews & Co., 1889), p. 339.

⁹⁸ Article number 5 in 1574, '*Item fabricam ecclesie nostre ruinosam esse et fenestras eiusdem laceras et vento et pluvie pervias*'. Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1559-1575*, p. 367.

⁹⁹ For instance pincers, a ladle and soldering iron. SCA: FA/1/1/17, *Fabric account, 1563-64*.

¹⁰⁰ SCA: FA/1/1/32, *Fabric account, 1588-89*. Linseed is the seed produced by the flax plant (*Linum usitatissimum*) used by the linen drapers of Salisbury. Haskins, *Trade Guilds*, p. 25. At this time the government encouraged the cultivation of industrial crops in order to reduce importation and to find work for the poor. Crops other than linseed included rapeseed, dye plants, hops and hemp. Joan Thirsk, *Alternative Agriculture: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 46-47, 74.

¹⁰¹ This may refer to the glazier's workshop, or the Glass house tenement which Bishop Jewel had given to the chapter in 1568 in exchange for the house called The Wardrobe. RCHME, *Houses of the Close*, p. 54. The first known reference to the glass house is in 1432-33, SCA: FA/1/3/1, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric*, p. 79. SCA: FA/1/1/18, *Fabric account, 1566-67*. 'Itm paid the xth day unto ij laboreres for the carrydge of viij cassis of glase to the glase howse bought of Willm Webb'. SCA: FA/1/1/29, *Fabric account, 1585-86*. From the eighteenth century there was a glazier's workshop situated above the Trinity Chapel. Brown, *Sumptuous and Richly Adorn'd*, p. 87.

Table 3-6: Equipment purchased to set up glazier’s workshop at cathedral, 1594-95¹⁰²

Equipment	Price	Equipment	Price
It for a sotheringe iron	14d	It for ij emory stonnes to tent leade	4d
It for a peare of bellies [bellows]	5d	It for ij grosinge irons	3d
It for a boxe for rosam	1d	It for ij fote rules	2d
It for filles [files]	6d	It for canvas clother to put the glasyores [lead?] aftor it is cest	8d
It for ij li of rosam	5d	Seakes of colle [x30] @ 6d per sack	15s
It for bord nelles for the glasor	2d	It paid for ij maletes for the glasyer	4d
It for lath for the glasinge bord	5d	It paid for a potell of linsyde oylle for the glasyer	2s
It for halfe a pint of salet oylle for the glasyer	5d	It for a yerthon poot for the glasyer	2d
It for a peare of sheres for the glasyer	8d	It for ij brushes for the glasyer one for oylle and the other for choke	10d
It for a longe rulor of wood of iiij fote	2d	It for tow stone chisselles for the glasyor	8d
It for iij cleninge irnonnes to clene glase	12d	It for ij laderes for the glasyer	3s 5d
It for a malet of boxe	4d	It for a sother Iron for the glasyer	12d
It for a ladell to cest [cast] lead	6d	Cases of glass [x3]	£5 7s 0d
		Total	£6 18s 1d

In 1644, Richard Symonds (1617–1660), an English royalist and antiquary, journeyed to Salisbury and wrote a description of his visit to the cathedral. Heraldry, in particular, seems to have been depicted in the windows: for instance, he described a window in the Lady chapel as ‘not an old’ window, with the wealthy patron depicted wearing a coat containing his heraldry, including a greyhound and a buck’s head. Heraldic windows were viewed as a demonstration of piety by the provider: there for all to see and indicating not only the donor, but often their friendships and connections as well.¹⁰³ Similarly Symonds notes an effigy of ‘Dr Sydenham’ lying near the north window which contained his arms.¹⁰⁴ The Hungerford chapel (see Chapter 2) was still present at the time of Symonds’ visit and contained similar heraldic wall paintings as well as a depiction of St Christopher and one of the Virgin Mary. However, Symonds does not describe the windows in the chapel. It would seem therefore that by the

¹⁰² SCA: FA/1/1/38, *Fabric account, 1594-95*.

¹⁰³ Long, ed., *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army*, p. 129.

¹⁰⁴ Long, ed., *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army*, p. 135. There were two men called Sydenham but it seems likely to have been George Sydenham (1503-24) who was archdeacon of Salisbury, and chaplain to Kings Henry VII and Henry VIII. He was buried on the stylobate in the north quire aisle. Lack, *Ross’ Canons of Salisbury*, p. 110.

1640s much of the historiated glass may have been removed from the windows in the cathedral.

3.2.3 Conclusion

This study of natural illumination has contributed much to our understanding of the changing experience of the worshippers of Salisbury during the period of the long Reformation. In particular it has shown that the glass of the parish churches was likely to have remained coloured throughout the sixteenth century, and although it is possible that the parishes attempted to emulate their cathedral church, there is no evidence for the installation in them of grisaille glass at any time. The preservation of glass was reflected in the Elizabethan injunctions which required the windows to be maintained as part of the overall integrity of the building; however, this does not seem to have been the case at Salisbury Cathedral, where extensive repairs were carried out. Where maintenance to the windows in the parish churches was undertaken, the records show that stained-glass, rather than ‘white’ was used. However, at the cathedral the majority of maintenance was carried out with the cheaper white glass. The records confirm that the laity would have seen the legal removal of at least some of the ‘superstitious’ glass containing representations of saints at St Thomas’s Church and at the cathedral, although the records are less clear at St Edmund’s, where the zealous John Jewel, missed such imagery which was later broken illegally (see Chapter 5).

Prior to the Reformation, light emanating from the grisaille windows in the cathedral would have continued to illuminate the ceiling paintings over the vaults, thus enabling them to be viewed as they were originally conceived. The coloured historiated glazing would have provided areas of pure colour around the altars, particularly in the mornings, thus drawing attention to these significant areas during the times of Mass, whilst the major spaces around the quire and the nave would have been much lighter, enabling both the ceiling painting and

the architecture of the pillars to be viewed. As the reformation of the cathedral progressed, it is thought that there were few major changes to the lighting, as the grisaille glazing which had been in the cathedral was replaced with either heraldic glass, or further grisaille. However, it is possible that the west windows may have continued to educate the laity with some historiated or figurative glass, beautifying the church in the nave. In addition, the Jesse Tree at the east end was distinctive to Salisbury, in that it used imagery from a local psalter.

At the time of the royal visitation in 1559 John Jewel found the cathedral in need of substantial maintenance and further iconoclasm was also required to satisfy the changes in religious belief. Jewel attempted to instigate repairs with an increase in cathedral funding for the fabric, from both the cathedral and his personal funds, which were used towards the expense of the windows in the nave. In addition, he encouraged contributions from further afield and in particular from areas in his diocese. The fabric accounts provide many particulars regarding the repairs to the windows of the cathedral, but omit some tantalising details: for instance, who was the designer of the windows, and how were the deaneries involved? In addition, how far did the job of the glazier extend: did he order all the materials including the glass, or was that the prerogative of the clerk of the works?

The final reformation of the cathedral was not related to changes in religious beliefs but to the requirement to 'restore and beautify' the building. This led to the removal of much of the glass from the sixteenth century and earlier by James Wyatt in 1788-91, described by Charles Winston as follows: 'whole cartloads of glass, lead and other rubbish were removed from the nave and transepts, and shot into the town ditch'.¹⁰⁵ The glazing may well have been in poor condition, allowing the ingress of the weather, and the corrosion of the glass making the

¹⁰⁵ Winston, *Memoirs Illustrative of the Art of Glass-Painting* p. 106. Spring, *Stained Glass: Salisbury Cathedral*, p. 1.

building darker and not as the original designers of the building had conceived it, with the replacements thereby restoring the intended sensory perception to be experienced by the worshipper.

3.3 Artificial illumination in the churches of Salisbury



Figure 3-10: Honeybees flying into skeps¹⁰⁶

The use of artificial light complemented the natural light flowing through the windows of the churches and cathedral of Salisbury. Artificial lighting in churches was either functional or ritual; functional lights were required to find the way around a darkened church, or to illuminate books to enable them to be read, or to play the organ, whilst ritual lights were used to mark the status of a feast, used before images to venerate a saint, or to memorialise the dead. Following the royal injunctions issued by Henry VIII and later by Edward VI, lights for ritualistic purposes were banned, leaving only the essential functional lights.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Bodleian Library: MS. Ashmole 1511, *The Ashmole bestiary*
http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/detail/ODLodl~1~1~31131~108835:Bestiary--known-as--The-Ashmole-Bes?sort=Shelfmark%2CFolio_Page&qvq=q:bees;sort:Shelfmark%2CFolio_Page;lc:ODLodl~29~29,ODLodl~7~7,ODLodl~6~6,ODLodl~14~14,ODLodl~8~8,ODLodl~23~23,ODLodl~1~1,ODLodl~24~24&mi=8&trs=45#
[accessed 5 September 2018].

¹⁰⁷ Injunction no. 4, Gerald Bray, ed., *Documents of the English Reformation* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2004), pp. 176-177. Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1536-1558*, p. 115.

Although the financial accounts of the Salisbury churches indicate where lights were used and the number of candles purchased, they rarely reveal how, or where, the lights were actually placed. Therefore, to understand the historical use of lighting in services, the images contained in illuminated manuscripts and in early printed books are presented in order to provide an indication of the numbers of candles used in services, their type, and relative size. Thomas Simmons considers that such illustrations provide an accurate idea of the layout of the medieval altar; however, the artists may have been selective in their interpretation and such illustrations should be treated with caution.¹⁰⁸ A more reliable source of such information is the Sarum Customary, which not only documents when and where lights were to be used in the cathedral, but also in the churches, as far as staffing and finances allowed.¹⁰⁹ This section of the chapter asks where, when, and why artificial lights were used in churches, and how the sensory experience of worshippers changed when ritual lighting was abolished. I begin by examining the raw materials used for lighting and the way that beeswax and tallow were converted into candles, in order to understand how the products of the time were used to provide illumination. I also argue through experimental archaeology that candles of beeswax and tallow, which were the main materials used for lighting during this period, behave very similarly when burned. Consideration is given to the pre-Reformation period in terms of the functional uses of lights, using the numbers of books provided to singers as well as the timing of services, in order to determine the duration when lighting was required. Ritual use is then considered in both the cathedral and parish churches before studying the changes in both the quantity of lights required, and the fuels used over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

¹⁰⁸ Thomas F. Simmons, *The Lay Folks Mass Book and Offices in English according to the Use of York* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 174.

¹⁰⁹ Customary: a manual of customs describing the duties or the officers of an institution and the ceremonial action of the liturgy, an alternative term to consuetudinary. Bangor University, *The Experience of Worship Project: Glossary*.

3.3.1 Fuels used for lighting

Coal, oil, beeswax, and tallow were commonly used to light the houses and churches of Salisbury before and after the Reformation. The provision of coal appears regularly in both the accounts both of St Edmund's and the cathedral, where open fires provided the dual functions of light and warmth. Fires were sited in the vestry where they kept vestments and other goods dry.¹¹⁰ In addition, fires were lit in the chapter house, presumably during meetings, and also near the organ where a coal fire was provided in a pan (see Chapter 4).¹¹¹

Oil lamps were also used during this period; at their simplest they were made of clay with a cotton wick. Other types were constructed from glass and suspended from the ceiling by a cord or chain or placed on brackets inserted into a wall.¹¹² Such lamps were used in the choristers' dormitory at the cathedral, where around 6s was spent on oil annually. Lamps were also present in the quire and at the high altar at St Edmund's, and at the cathedral, most likely for burning before the reserved sacrament.¹¹³

Until around 1750, tallow and beeswax were the only materials available for making candles.¹¹⁴ Tallow is the rendered fat of ruminant animals, usually oxen or sheep; that of pigs

¹¹⁰ Eva Oledzka, *Medieval & Renaissance Interiors* (London: The British Library, 2016), p. 96. 1531-32, 1532-33, 1542-43, 1627-28, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 62, 70, 63, 185. WSA: 1901/80: *St Edmund churchwardens account roll, 1627-28*. SCA: FA/1/1/15, *Fabric account, 1558-59*. SCA: FA/1/1/25, *Fabric account, 1579-80*. SCA: FA/1/1/58, *Fabric account, 1629-30*. SCA: FA/1/1/60, *Fabric account, 1632-33*. SCA: FA/1/1/61, *Fabric account, 1633-34*. A fire may also have been used by the priest or sexton to prepare a meal. Coal was also used by the glazier to fire the glass.

¹¹¹ SCA: FA/1/1/45, *Fabric account, 1603-04*. For instance: SCA: FA/1/1/41, *Fabric account, 1597-98*. SCA: FA/1/1/43, *Fabric account, 1601-02*. SCA: FA/1/1/51, *Fabric account, 1613-14*. SCA: FA/1/1/52, *Fabric account, 1614-15*. SCA: FA/1/1/53, *Fabric account, 1615-16*. SCA: FA/1/1/54, *Fabric account, 1617-18*. SCA: FA/1/1/56, *Fabric account, 1620-21*. SCA: FA/1/1/60, *Fabric account, 1632-33*.

¹¹² Oledzka, *Medieval & Renaissance Interiors*, p. 97.

¹¹³ SCA: CO/CH/1/1/8, *Chorister's collector, 1503-04*. SCA: CO/CH/1/1/9, *Chorister's collector, 1509-10*. SCA: CO/CH/1/1/13, *Chorister's collector, 1520-21*. In some years between 1481-82 and 1557-58, oil was purchased for this purpose. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 103, 126, 368. SCA: FA/1/1/10, *Fabric account, 1517-18*. The lamp was managed by a procurator in 1483-84. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 31. J. T. Micklethwaite, *The Ornaments of the Rubric*, Vol. I (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1897), p. 30.

¹¹⁴ Randall H. Monier-Williams, *The Tallow Chandlers of London*, Vol. 1 (London: Kaye & Ward Ltd, 1970), pp. 35, 46.

was known to produce ‘an ill smell’.¹¹⁵ The fat may come from any part of the body but the best was that from around the kidneys. Tallow was used to make cheap candles which were used in the churches of Salisbury, as well as rush lights which were used extensively for lighting houses.¹¹⁶ Where illumination was required outdoors, torches of beeswax and rosin were used, or alternatively candles were set into lanterns constructed of horn or glass in a metal frame.¹¹⁷



Figure 3-11: Candle lantern for hanging¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Monier-Williams, *Tallow Chandlers*, p. 35.

¹¹⁶ Tallow was also used as flux by the plumber and to grease the baldricks of the bells. SCA: FA/1/1/43, *Fabric account, 1601-02*. SCA: FA/1/1/46, *Fabric account, 1604-05*. For instance in 1538-39, beeswax was 5d a pound and tallow 1d or 1¼d. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 84. The accounts usually refer to ‘candles’ when referring to tallow which usually weighed 1lb. Beeswax was known as ‘wax’. SCA: FA/2/1/1, *Accounts of the procurator of St Thomas with the masters of the fabric, 1486-87*. SCA: FA/1/1/22, *Fabric account, 1571-72*. SCA: FA/1/1/31, *Fabric account, 1587-88*. SCA: FA/1/1/32, *Fabric account, 1588-89*. SCA: FA/1/1/38, *Fabric account, 1594-95*. Rush lights were made from peeled rushes which were dipped in the fat from roast meat for example.

¹¹⁷ Rosin is a solid form of resin obtained from pine trees, for instance. It is semi-transparent and varies in colour from yellow to black.

¹¹⁸ Bodleian Library: MS. Douce b. 2, 1582, *Machines et utensils de guerre*, http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/detail/ODLodl~1~1~44165~111791:Machines-et-ustensils-de-guerre--?sort=Shelfmark%2CFolio_Page%2CRoll_%23%2CFrame_%23&qvq=q:candle*;sort:Shelfmark%2CFolio_Page%2CRoll_%23%2CFrame_%23;lc:ODLodl~29~29,ODLodl~7~7,ODLodl~6~6,ODLodl~14~14,ODLodl~8~8,ODLodl~23~23,ODLodl~1~1,ODLodl~24~24&mi=47&trs=77 [accessed 17 May 2017].

An alternative fuel source was beeswax, which was also used by the churches of Salisbury particularly until the Reformation, as well as by the rich to illuminate their houses. Beeswax is produced by honeybees from specialised glands on the underside of their abdomens. For this to occur they need to consume copious amounts of honey before forming chains which enable them to produce the heat required to excrete the flakes of transparent wax. These are then chewed and moulded and used to produce comb comprised of numerous hexagons.¹¹⁹ The comb, when filled with honey, was removed from the skep where the bees were kept (see Figure 3-12 and Figure 3-13). It was then melted and the honey poured off, before cleaning the wax ready for use.



Figure 3-12: Skep hives typical of the late medieval period
Photo: Richard Rickitt

¹¹⁹ It requires in excess of six pounds of honey for the bees to produce one pound of wax. J. D. & B. D. Yates, *Beekeeping Study Notes for the BBKA Examinations: Modules 1-4* (Bridgwater: Bee Books New and Old, 1996), p. 238. Beeswax in 2021 is still extremely valuable selling for more than £1 per ounce.



Figure 3-13: Interior of skep showing beeswax comb to be melted down

The production and supply of beeswax involved not only the general laity, who kept a few colonies of bees in their back yards in order to provide a surplus of wax, but also merchants belonging to the corporation, and members of the chandlers guild. Some wax was produced in the local area, but it was insufficient to meet the requirements of the city, and thus large quantities had to be imported.¹²⁰ Beeswax was shipped from the Baltic and other areas of Europe to the ports of Bristol and Southampton, these being the most important sources of supply for Salisbury.¹²¹ From Southampton, the majority of the wax was distributed to Salisbury and London, with other consignments travelling to Winchester and Romsey, as well as a number of other destinations including Oxford (see Table 3-7).¹²²

¹²⁰ Three hives of bees from St Edmund's church store were sold to a chaplain in 1477-78 for 10s; the same man had supplied eight pounds of wax for the Paschal and font tapers some years earlier. This is the only time that bees are noted in the financial accounts of Salisbury. WSA: 1901/65, *St Edmund churchwardens accounts and vestry minutes, 1477-78*, p. 34. WSA: 1901/66/5, *St Edmund churchwarden account roll, 1469-70*. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 21, 13. Alexandra Sapoznik considers that as much as 159,000 lbs of wax was used annually in the parish churches of England, Alexandra Sapoznik, 'Bees in the medieval economy: religious observance and the production, trade and consumption of wax in England, c. 1300-1555', *The Economic History Review* (2018), 6-7.

¹²¹ The accounts of St Edmund's from 1490-93 also show the use of 'polen wexe' which may have been imported from Poland. Alternatively, it could have been beeswax adulterated with flour, not pollen, in that the botanical meaning had not yet been discovered. For 1490-91, 1491-92, 1492-93, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 38, 40, 36. Dummelow, *Wax Chandlers*, p. 157.

¹²² Sizeable amounts were distributed, for instance in 1420-21 London brought in 287¾ quintals, a quintal being around 100 lbs. Dorothy Galton, 'Beeswax as an Import in Mediaeval England', *Bee World*, 52.2 (1971), 69. Harwood, 'Commodities: Luxury Goods, Spices and Wax', pp. 142-143.

Table 3-7: Destinations of wax imported into Southampton in the fifteenth century

Place	Quantity (lbs)
Salisbury	8,200
London	7,100
Winchester	1,300
Romsey	800
All other destinations	1,000
Unknown	200

In the late fifteenth century beeswax was imported by a number of merchants, key players in the city, who sold the commodity to the chandlers for processing into lights.¹²³ In turn, they sold the candles to the churchwardens of Salisbury who raised money for this purpose through regular parish collections.¹²⁴ Donations of beeswax or money specifically for this commodity were also made by parishioners in their wills, were given as gifts, or arose as payment of fines.¹²⁵

In that beeswax was an expensive product, customers would collect candle ends for melting down and re-use, in part exchange for further candles. Any additional wax required to make up the weight of the new lights would be charged for with an allowance for the old wax, plus extra for making the candles.¹²⁶ Apart from candles, smaller lights known as ‘sizes’ were produced, along with the more slender ‘tapers’, and square ‘quarerres’. In addition there were

¹²³ The merchants included Walter Fetplace, William Boket (mayor of Salisbury in 1472), Thomas Ede, John Estfeld, John Halle (mayor 1465), John Aport (mayor 1446, 1469), and William Swayne (mayor 1445, 1454, 1459). Harwood, 'Commodities: Luxury Goods, Spices and Wax', p. 143. Chandler, *Endless Street*, p. 160. The names of both wax and tallow chandlers appear in the accounts of all the churches. Occasionally, wax was also sold by mercers in Salisbury, for instance 'Thomas Coke mercer' provided wax for the Fraternity of Jesus Mass in 1499-1500. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 252. The guild list for Salisbury for September 1440 lists 'Chandelers' as a trade with the Attorneys-at-law with John Skot Penstan and Christopher Yoxford as wardens. WSA: G23/1/1, *Corporation ledger A*. Haskins, *Trade Guilds*, p. 61.

¹²⁴ For instance in 1490-91 receipts for lights included 49s 2½d for the font taper and 22s 1½d for the rood light, total 71s 4d. Expenditure 'custus cere' totalled 37s 5d. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 36-38.

¹²⁵ For instance Maud Marchal left money for the lights of St James and St Christopher at St Thomas's Church. T. C. B. Timmins, ed., *The Register of John Chandler Dean of Salisbury 1404-17* (Devizes: Wiltshire Record Society, 1984), pp. 96-97, 150.

¹²⁶ 'It in the makynge of xxij lb old and new wax xd', in 1473-74. WSA: 1901/67/5, *St Edmund churchwardens account roll, 1473-74*. WSA: G23/1/2, *Corporation ledger B, October 4 1538*, f. 290. The original wax would not necessarily be used for the same customers' candles but would be added to the general supply. This form of reuse still occurs today when beekeepers render their beeswax and take it to beekeeping equipment suppliers in part exchange for wax foundation used in beehives.

torches or *flambeaux*, consisting of cotton soaked in resin which was then dipped into molten beeswax.¹²⁷ Large quantities of beeswax were used in all the Salisbury churches; for instance, 200 lbs of wax was released annually by the treasurer to the communar at the cathedral until 1538, when only half that amount was distributed, due to the reduced requirement for candles before images.¹²⁸ In 1530, the cost of wax worked out at between 41s and 43s per hundred pounds or around 5d per pound.¹²⁹ Unlike the parish churches, there is no record at the cathedral for the purchase of candles from the chandler and therefore it is probable that this was done in-house in the early to mid-sixteenth century.¹³⁰

Turning now to consider tallow, the importance of this fuel to the city of Salisbury was demonstrated through the involvement of the corporation in setting a price for candles between the years 1518 and 1527, and the large number produced.¹³¹ For instance in 1531, 5,164 dozen (a total of 61,968 candles) were sold in Salisbury alone.¹³² In 1530 the chandlers' guild had been licensed by the mayor, and in return had to promise to 'serve the inhabitants of this Cytie well and sufficiently of talowe candeles at all tymes requysite and nedefull'.¹³³ Further measures were taken in 1538 when an agreement was drawn up between named tallow chandlers and the corporation, regarding the setting of a price and weight for tallow candles which allowed for variation in price according to the season:

¹²⁷ Dummelow, *Wax Chandlers*, p. 12.

¹²⁸ SCA: FA/1/3/1, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric*, Term IV 1529, p. 16; Term IV 1530, p. 19; Term IV 1533, p. 45; Term IV 1533, p. 53; Term IV 1538, p. 82.

¹²⁹ In 1530 an additional 17 lbs was taken from store by William Pyckenham and Richard Arche at 5d per pound. SCA: FA/1/3/1, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric*, Term IV 1530, p. 19.

¹³⁰ There is no payment for a wax-maker at Salisbury Cathedral, unlike Lincoln Cathedral, where a man was appointed by the Treasurer. Edwards, *English Secular Cathedrals*, p. 230.

¹³¹ December 6 1518, June 26 1523, January 13 1525, April 10 1527, April 29 1527. Other commodities were also subject to price restrictions in the city, for instance in 1464 ale and beer brewed within the city. WSA: G23/1/1, *Corporation ledger A, August 27 1464*.

¹³² A record was kept by the mayor William Lobbe amounting to 5,164 dozen which at 13 lbs to the dozen amounted to slightly more than 67,000 lbs of tallow. WSA: G23/1/2, *Corporation ledger B, November 20 1531*.

¹³³ WSA: G23/1/2, *Corporation ledger B, April 22 1530*.

that from the feast of Easter next comyng after the date next above written unto the feast of Seynt Mychell th' Archangell then next ensuyng, well, sufficiently and plenteously serve the inhabitantes of the forsaid Citie of Newe Sarum of candelles for peny the pounce and not above; and from the feast of Seynt Mychell th' Archangell unto the feast of Ester for peny farthing the pounce and not above' and soo from feast to feast continually as is above mencyoned and that every dosen of candelles have threttene pounces, and they kepe trewe weight.¹³⁴

Thus at this time twelve candles weighed 13 lbs and cost 13d in summer and 16¼d in winter. In 1578-79 there was plague in the city which was particularly severe in the area around St Edmund's, leading to a reduction in tallow production and a commensurate increase in price from 2d to 3d per pound. The corporation met in November, when a decision was reached that every member was to contribute towards a fund to lend money to the chandlers in order to ensure a supply of candles.¹³⁵ Likewise in the following April a similar agreement was made in order to ensure that citizens were able to obtain light.¹³⁶

From at least the nineteenth century, tallow has been considered to be very inferior to beeswax, producing foul odours, soot, and smoke.¹³⁷ This perceived wisdom still pervades our

¹³⁴ WSA: G23/1/2, *Corporation ledger B, October 4 1538*. WSA: G23/1/2, *Corporation ledger B, December 9 1540*. WSA: G23/1/2, *Corporation ledger B, March 20 1556*. Although the corporation had threatened to prevent chandlers selling candles underweight, this threat was not carried out and instead they were fined 20s in December 1540. This money went towards the advancement of the 'Inne of the George'; owned by the corporation and unused at this time. In 1556 the chandlers were punished with fines which were used to repair the 'common house of office' (on Crane Bridge) and re-gravelling the marketplace.

¹³⁵ At this assembly it is fully agrede that for and towards the provision of Tallowe this yeare for this citty that enye one of the xxiiij shall lende and delyver unto the mayors custodye 40s and enye one of the xlviij xxs to be redelived to enye the sayd partyes agayne by the sayd mayor at the feast of Easter next foloinge. WSA: G23/1/3, *Corporation ledger C, November 9 1579*, f. 60r. A similar increase had occurred in 1569-70.

¹³⁶ WSA: G23/1/3, *Corporation ledger C, April 8 1580*, f. 61r. In the early seventeenth century, it was finally agreed that two butchers and two chandlers from the city would meet together regularly to agree both on the price of tallow and the price of candles and then inform the mayor and justice of the peace of the city of their deliberations. WSA: G23/1/3, *Corporation ledger C, September 11 1612*.

¹³⁷ Written in 1866. George Eliot, *Felix Holt* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey Ltd, 2000), pp. 106-107. Felix visits the minister (Rufus Lyon), at home where he is reading by the light of a beeswax candle: he explains his extravagance with the words 'You are doubtless amazed to see me with a wax-light ... but this undue luxury is

concept of tallow today; thus experimental archaeology has been carried out as part of this thesis in order to prove or disprove this theory.¹³⁸ In particular, the aim has been to determine why beeswax rather than tallow candles were generally used on the altars of the Salisbury churches; why tallow candles were used by the cathedral choir and churches to read by; how the light intensity of tallow candles compared with those of beeswax; and what mass of beeswax was required to keep a candle burning continuously for one year. (The full details of the experiments are to be found in Appendix 11.)

Firstly, candles were produced using beeswax, sheep tallow or cattle tallow, each of the same diameter with the same size of wick to enable a valid comparison to be made. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, candles were produced by dipping or drawing a wick of twisted or plaited cotton or hemp into the molten wax, or alternatively, by pouring wax over the wick (or multiple wicks) which were held vertically in some form of contrivance; moulds were used but were not very successful at this time.¹³⁹ In addition, candles could be manufactured by rolling the wick through softened wax and adding multiple layers. Wax for altar candles was left out in the sun to be bleached so that they were pale yellow, showing their purity; only at funerals were darker yellow candles allowed.¹⁴⁰ The material of the wick was very important, as was using the correct size of wick according to the diameter of the candle. This information

paid for with the earnings of my daughter, who is so delicately framed that the smell of tallow is loathsome to her'. Another example where extinguishing the tallow candle 'made the room taste strongly of hot tallow' is in Charles Dickens, *Bleak House*, ed. by Nicola Bradbury (New York: Penguin, 2003), p. 53. Daniel Defoe mentions making tallow candles from goat suet. Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe* (London: Joseph Mawman, 1815), p. 78. Candles of both beeswax and tallow are noted in, Lord Braybrooke, ed., *Diary of Samuel Pepys, vol. II* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1929), pp. 26, 35, 85, 267.

¹³⁸ For instance, William Cogshall and Roger Morse, *Beeswax: Production, Harvesting, Processing and Products* (New York: Wicwas Press, 1984), p. 146.

¹³⁹ A wick is the central part of a candle made of twisted cotton, flax, or hemp which is lit and then holds the flame. It works using capillary action to move the fuel to the flame. It is important in that it determines the way a candle behaves: characteristics are determined by the material, diameter, and how it is twisted and plaited. Petra Ahnert, 'The Right Size Wick', *Bee Culture* (20 November 2015), 1-7.

¹⁴⁰ Dummelow, *Wax Chandlers*, p. 12. Apart from candles, beeswax had many uses including polish for wood, prevention of rusting in metal, waterproofing and tailoring. Sealing wax was also of importance for sealing documents. For 1483-84 see Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 371. Cogshall and Morse, *Beeswax*, p. 57.

is well-documented for modern wicks, but the size, material, and construction (for instance plaited or twisted) used during the sixteenth century is not known; nor do we know how wicks differed when used with different fuels.¹⁴¹

To carry out these experiments, several candles of each material were made with diameters of $\frac{3}{4}$ inch and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch using the appropriate size of wick according to the diameter of the candle.¹⁴² Tallow from each of cattle and sheep were boiled separately with a little water and then strained to produce a liquid fat, whereas the beeswax only required melting. The liquids were then poured into moulds around the wick and left to set for several hours (see Figure 3-14), before removing the candles, trimming the wicks, and lighting them.



Figure 3-14: Candles setting in moulds

¹⁴¹ Cogshall and Morse, *Beeswax*, pp. 128-131. Ahnert, 'The Right Size Wick', 1-7.

¹⁴² Number 2 wick for $\frac{3}{4}$ inch candle, and number 5 wick for $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch candle.

The candle produced from the cattle tallow was white and firm: it burned with a clear, bright light without smoke. That from the sheep tallow was slightly creamier in colour than the cattle tallow, and although it did not produce any greasy smoke or odour, it did spit – possibly due to excess water in the fat. The light was also noticeably dimmer in the case of the sheep tallow candle (see Figure 3-15). Beeswax candles burned without smoke and produced a clear, bright light.



Figure 3-15: Candles made from rendered tallow (cattle on the left, sheep on the right)



Figure 3-16: Beeswax candle

The candles were used to measure the light which they emitted which was measured in arbitrary units using a commercially available light meter.¹⁴³ This experiment was carried out in a dark room, using either one, two, or three candles at a time, in order to determine if using multiple candles increased the light emitted and if so, in what proportions. The results in Table 3-8 show that light intensity increases with an increase in wick size and candle diameter. However, two candles of the same diameter do not produce twice the light and this

¹⁴³ The light meter was calibrated: one arbitrary unit is equivalent to 1.8 lumens (lm). See Appendix 11 for details.

effect is more pronounced with three candles, which do not produce three times the light. This is due to the fact that the light meter cannot register all the light emitted over an area; neither can the human eye.

Table 3-8: Brightness of candles

No. of candles	Diameter (inches)	Average (arbitrary units)	Average per candle (arbitrary units ¹⁴⁴)
Beeswax			
1	¾	11.3	11.3
2	¾	20.5	10.3
3	¾	25.2	8.4
1	1¾	18.2	18.2
Cattle tallow			
1	¾	11.3	11.3
2	¾	21.6	10.8
3	¾	26.6	8.9
1	1¾	14.0	14.0
Sheep tallow			
1	¾	7.0	7.0
1	1¾	11.0	11.0

In order to determine the length of time for which candles would burn, each was weighed on digital scales (accurate only to the nearest gram) and then lit in a draught-free environment (see Figure 3-17 and Figure 3-18).¹⁴⁵ The candles were weighed every ten minutes for 100 minutes. A note was made of the way each candle burned, and whether it was necessary to trim the wick in order to keep the candle burning. Finally, the height of each flame was measured from the top of the candle to the top of the visible flame: a summary of the results is documented in Table 3-9.

¹⁴⁴ The light meter measures the light intensity in arbitrary units.

¹⁴⁵ In a church there would undoubtedly have been draughts from those walking nearby and gaps in the glass windows for instance.



Figure 3-17: Cattle tallow candle after 80 minutes burning



Figure 3-18: Beeswax candle after 100 minutes burning

Table 3-9: Overview of candle parameters obtained

	$\frac{3}{4}$ inch diameter candle			$1\frac{1}{4}$ inch diameter candle	
	Beeswax	Cattle tallow	Sheep tallow	Beeswax	Cattle tallow
Fuel consumption (g/h)	6.0	5.4	6.0	8.4	Insufficient data to determine parameters
Light intensity (lm)	11.3	11.3	7.00	18.2	
Light intensity/ wax consumption (lm h/g)	1.88	2.09	1.17	2.17	

The results show that the burn rate and fuel consumption of all the candles was similar; however, the tallow candles required the wick to be trimmed with scissors roughly every twenty to thirty minutes in order to prevent the wick from drowning in the molten tallow and extinguishing. In addition, some guttering of the flame occurred either due to excess water in the tallow or excess fat; the latter could be mitigated by using a larger-sized wick. The guttering was less pronounced in the case of the candle made from sheep tallow and did not occur at all for the beeswax candle. Sheep tallow also provided a lower light intensity than cattle tallow or beeswax, confirming the observations made by the human eye, which in turn would make it more difficult to read by.

The advantages and disadvantages of candles of tallow from different animals and beeswax candles are summarised in Table 3-10 and the answers to research questions obtained through experimentation in Table 3-11. Firstly, regarding the rendering of tallow, this required boiling and filtering in order to produce the material necessary to create a candle. Tallow candles rather than those of beeswax could be used wherever they could be regularly tended, such as in the choir stalls of the vicars choral, where they would be on-hand to trim the wick as necessary. On the other hand beeswax candles could be used anywhere in church where there was a need for a light to burn continuously untended. However, to provide continuous light for one year, a ¾ inch candle requires 116 lbs of beeswax, whilst a 1¾ inch candle 162 lbs. Finally, it was shown that both cattle tallow and beeswax provide similar light levels and although multiple candles for reading would be an advantage in that some additional illumination would be achieved, this would not be essential.

Table 3-10: Advantages and disadvantages of tallow and beeswax candles

Tallow from cattle	Tallow from sheep	Beeswax
Very white wax	Slightly cream coloured wax	Bright yellow or cream
Clear, bright light	Slightly yellow light	Clear, bright light
20% smaller flame than beeswax	Similar size flame to that of cattle tallow, but noticeably dimmer in comparison to both cattle tallow and beeswax	20% taller flame than cattle tallow
No smoke	No smoke	No smoke
Slight smell of beef when burning	No particular odour	Smell of wax when burning
Slightly softer than beeswax, could be difficult to handle in a hot room, but unlikely to be a problem in church	More solid than that of cattle tallow	Easy to handle at all room temperatures
Wick needs to be trimmed roughly every 30 minutes	Wick need trimming less often than the wick of cattle tallow	Wick does not need to be trimmed
Wax runs a little down the side of candle	Very little run-off, but some spitting	Wax does not run down the side of candle
Cheap to produce and purchase as it uses a by-product of butchery trade	Cheap to produce and purchase as it uses a by-product of butchery trade	Expensive to produce and purchase as bees consume honey in order to excrete wax

Table 3-11: Answers to research questions determined through experimentation

How was tallow rendered?	Boiling and filtering
Why were tallow candles rather than beeswax candles used by the choir of Salisbury Cathedral?	Choirs would be able to use the cheaper tallow as members were on hand to trim the wick and any guttering could be dealt with easily
Why were beeswax candles used on the altar and around the churches and cathedral?	Beeswax candles were used where continuous light was required without the need to trim the wick and where spillage was an issue
What was the difference in light intensities between beeswax and tallow candles?	Both produced similar light levels
Was it necessary to have more than one candle to see to read?	No, although eye strain would be reduced with additional light
What mass of beeswax, in particular, was required in order to keep a candle alight continuously for the whole year?	52.6 kg (116 lbs) of beeswax for a ¾ inch candle; 73.6 kg (162 lbs) of beeswax for a 1¾ inch candle

3.3.2 Functional lighting before the Reformation

Functional lighting was required to find the way around the church in the dark, and to read words and music. In order to determine the hours when additional light was required, a review is now presented of the times at which services would have taken place along with the possible levels of staffing, and the use of books. However, due to the lack of available evidence for this period, it is not possible to determine the annual requirement of candles for this use only.

Although those working in the cathedral and the parish churches would have known their way around their church in the dark, some lighting would still have been required, especially during service preparation in the vestry where there was a coal fire, and to mark trip hazards, particularly where there were steps. At Old Sarum, for instance, two of the three compulsory night lights in the cathedral were placed where the floor level changed. Lights were also located on the route between the south porch and the quire, and it is probable that this was also the case in the new cathedral.¹⁴⁶ Such lights may have been provided through the use of a

¹⁴⁶ Sarum Customary Online, *The Old Customary from the Old Register WSA: D1/1/1 Latin text with English translation (OCO)* (2012) http://www.sarumcustomary.org.uk/exploring/PDF_files/1%20OCO/OCO-LE.pdf [accessed 14 March 2019].

cresset, where the holes in the stone may have been filled with oil or tallow (see Figure 3-19), oil lights, or a candle in a tall candlestick.



Figure 3-19: Cresset at Lewannick Parish Church, Cornwall

The 1536 cathedral inventory included sixteen valuable candlesticks, one of which was given by William de Longland.¹⁴⁷ This was a splendid item of silver and gilt which stood on ‘great feet with four towers and a pike of silver on either of them’ it also contained ‘dyvers ymages’. Eight other candlesticks were equally beautiful; they were made of gold, each weighing 642 ounces, with pierced bases, and ‘ornate workings and chasings’, perhaps similar to the Gloucester candlestick which contained symbols of light and sound; when lit, the shadows passing through the images it contained were as important as the light which it cast.¹⁴⁸ However, these beautiful objects were not destined to remain in the cathedral, as in July 1549

¹⁴⁷ Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions*, p. 163. The original inventory is wanting.

¹⁴⁸ Stephanie Seavers and Catia Viegas Wesolowska, 'Light and Virtue: The Gloucester Candlestick', in *On Light*, ed. by K. P. Clarke and S. Baccianti (Oxford: Medium Aevum, 2014), p. 183.

the bishop received a note from Protector Somerset stating that ‘The mint at Bristol is destitute of bullion; the cathedral possesses plate to the value of 2000 marks and is asked to send this urgently’.¹⁴⁹ A receipt for this treasure followed in August, and further goods were surrendered in 1552 and in the following year.¹⁵⁰

Other practical uses of lights were for tradesmen to see to work in the darker evenings, and for use by the sexton when he rang the bells at five o’clock in the morning and again for curfew at seven o’clock in the evening.¹⁵¹ Lighting was also essential for reading the missal on the altar, in the quire, and on the pulpitum where both singing and reading took place and where an organ may also have been sited.

Service times on an ordinary workday began with the Office of matins *in media nocte*, immediately followed by lauds.¹⁵² Prime, Morrow Mass, terce, and high Mass were celebrated during the morning, followed at midday by sext and none. Finally, vespers and compline took place from mid-afternoon onwards.¹⁵³ In Salisbury Cathedral the Constitutions of Bishop Roger de Martival (1315-1330) stated that ‘the night vigils which all the Vicars of the said church are bound to observe before the Mass of the Blessed Virgin [are] customarily celebrated at the dawn of day’.¹⁵⁴ This suggests that matins may have been celebrated some hours after midnight, rather than at midnight as was generally considered standard. For instance, at Lincoln Cathedral the service was celebrated at five o’clock in the morning from

¹⁴⁹ SCA: Box 218, *Letter number 2: Handing over of Cathedral plate to the King, 31 July 1549*. 2000 marks was equivalent to £1,333 6s 8d, and worth around £645,000 in 2019. MeasuringWorth.com, *Relative Value in UK £ at 2019 prices*.

¹⁵⁰ A receipt by Robert Record, comptroller of the Bristol Mint is copied underneath the above letter dated 7th August 1549. J. E. Nightingale, *The Church Plate of the County of Wilts* (Salisbury: Bennett Brothers, 1891), p. 8.

¹⁵¹ For instance St Thomas’s in 1571-72 Swayne, *Churchwardens’ Accounts*, p. 284. At St Edmund’s 1549-50 see Swayne, *Churchwardens’ Accounts*, p. 90. SCA: FA/1/1/12, *Fabric account, 1530-31*.

¹⁵² In the middle of the night.

¹⁵³ Harper, *Forms and Orders*, p. 47.

¹⁵⁴ Wordsworth and Maclean, eds., *Statutes and Customs*, pp. 258-259.

Easter to Michaelmas.¹⁵⁵ The actual time may therefore have varied according to the season but would always have been enacted in the darkness or semi-darkness, with an attendant requirement for artificial lighting. At St Edmund's College, the thirteen priests and the provost would have attended the services of the Office and would have required functional lighting for this. From the fifteenth century, children were also involved in services at St Edmund's; however, the Old Customary of the Use of Salisbury stated that 'at matins the boys are not obliged to be present, unless they are registered in the roster'. On workdays, therefore, this service at both the cathedral and St Edmund's would have been manned mainly by adults, except on Sundays and feasts such as Christmas and Easter when the choristers would have attended.¹⁵⁶

Morrow Mass followed matins and lauds at six o'clock each morning, to enable working people to attend.¹⁵⁷ Services after this would not require functional lights, although illumination may have been necessary during the evening service of compline, particularly in the winter.¹⁵⁸ Outside these services, Theresa Webber notes that rehearsal of both singing and reading took place as necessary, and additional lighting may have been required depending on weather conditions and time of day.¹⁵⁹

The number of vicars choral, lay vicars and choristers also influenced the number of candles required and their placement: Table 3-12 documents the number of singers who were

¹⁵⁵ Edwards, *English Secular Cathedrals*, p. 56.

¹⁵⁶ Sarum Customary Online, *Old Customary (OCO)*. para. 24.2. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 36., probably 1489-90. 'Et pro emendacione infularum & dalmaticarum Puerilium'. A feria or workday was a non-feast day. Bangor University, *The Experience of Worship Project: Glossary*.

¹⁵⁷ Wordsworth and Maclean, eds., *Statutes and Customs*, pp. 258-261. At St Edmund's, WSA: 1901/107, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1504-05*. WSA: 1901/107, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1507-08*. WSA: 1901/107, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1512-13*.

¹⁵⁸ Harper, *Forms and Orders*, p. 47.

¹⁵⁹ Theresa Webber, 'The Provision of Books in Anglo-Norman England', in *Medieval Cantors and their Craft: Music, Liturgy and the Shaping of History, 800-1500*, ed. by Katie Ann-Marie Bugyis, A. B. Kraebel and Margot E. Fassler (York: The Boydell Press, 2017), p. 185.

employed at various times. However, it is probable that at Salisbury Cathedral, as at Wells Cathedral, any canons present would have been allowed books and would therefore have required lights, whereas the vicars and choristers would not, in case they neglected to learn the liturgy: Salisbury employed around forty canons at this time of whom only a small proportion would have been resident at any one time, each providing a vicar in his place.¹⁶⁰

Table 3-12: Numbers of singers employed at Salisbury Cathedral 1463-1661

Date	Choristers	Vicars	Date	Choristers	Vicars
1463	14 ¹⁶¹		1556		11 vicars ¹⁶²
1468		31 ¹⁶³	1557		12 vicars ¹⁶⁴
1475-76	14 ¹⁶⁵	Between 1470 & 1493 lay vicars began to be employed ¹⁶⁶	1568		7 vicars choral, 7 lay vicars ¹⁶⁷
1523		30 ¹⁶⁸	1569	not to exceed 10 ¹⁶⁹	
1535		30 ¹⁷⁰	1574		
1541		14 ¹⁷¹	1580	8 ¹⁷²	
1547		14 (statutory number should be 26) ¹⁷³	1593	6 ¹⁷⁴	6 vicars choral, 7 lay vicars ¹⁷⁵
1550		21	1629	6 ¹⁷⁶	
1552	8 ¹⁷⁷	20 vicars choral ¹⁷⁸	1661	7 ¹⁷⁹	4 vicars choral, 6 lay vicars ¹⁸⁰

¹⁶⁰ Edwards, *English Secular Cathedrals*, p. 265 f.n. 268. Bowers, 'The Reform of the Choir of Salisbury Cathedral', p. 163. This was a reduction from the statutory complement of 52 canons.

¹⁶¹ Robertson, *Sarum Close*, p. 72.

¹⁶² SCA: FI/1/1/1556_3, *Communar's accounts, 1 April-30 June 1556*.

¹⁶³ Bowers, 'The Reform of the Choir of Salisbury Cathedral', p. 164.

¹⁶⁴ SCA: FI/1/1/1557_2, *Communar's accounts, 1 April-30 June 1557*.

¹⁶⁵ Robertson, *Sarum Close*, p. 117. Caley, ed., *Valor Ecclesiasticus II*, p. 85.

¹⁶⁶ Bowers, 'The Reform of the Choir of Salisbury Cathedral', p. 165.

¹⁶⁷ Edwards, *Salisbury Cathedral*, p. 184.

¹⁶⁸ Bowers, 'The Reform of the Choir of Salisbury Cathedral', pp. 164-165.

¹⁶⁹ Edwards, *Salisbury Cathedral*, p. 185.

¹⁷⁰ Bowers, 'The Reform of the Choir of Salisbury Cathedral', p. 165.

¹⁷¹ SCA: FI/1/1/1541_4, *Communar's accounts, July-Sept 1541*.

¹⁷² Edwards, *Salisbury Cathedral*, p. 185.

¹⁷³ Wordsworth and Maclean, eds., *Statutes and Customs*, pp. 390-395.

¹⁷⁴ Edwards, *Salisbury Cathedral*, p. 185.

¹⁷⁵ Edwards, *Salisbury Cathedral*, p. 184.

¹⁷⁶ Robertson, *Sarum Close*, p. 180.

¹⁷⁷ Edwards, *Salisbury Cathedral*, p. 184.

¹⁷⁸ Edwards, *Salisbury Cathedral*, p. 184.

¹⁷⁹ Robertson, *Sarum Close*, p. 199.

¹⁸⁰ Robertson, *Sarum Close*, p. 199.

On the basis of the limited data available, some thirty vicars choral were involved in services before 1540, twenty-two between 1540 and 1555 and only twelve after 1555; in addition, around fourteen choristers were singing pre-1550 but this number was reduced to seven thereafter. The laity attending services would therefore have noticed a considerable reduction in personnel over this period. The main duty of the vicars choral was to sing the daily services, for which they were required to memorise the psalter and antiphoner during their probationary year.¹⁸¹ A group of clerks would on occasions have sung from a large antiphonal supported by a lectern in the centre of the quire or alternatively on the pulpitum (see Figure 3-20).¹⁸² Lights were prescribed at both these places by the Customary, which would either have been attached to the lectern (see Figure 3-21), freestanding (sited on the floor in tall candlesticks), or carried by one or two candle bearers. On the pulpitum, candles may have been placed in a sconce which was affixed to the wall behind the reader. Access to this raised area was via a spiral stairway which would also have required lighting for safety; this may have been provided as at St Edmund's, where a 'skons' light was purchased.¹⁸³

There are few extant medieval lecterns with their original candlesticks in situ. One exception is that at King's College Chapel, Cambridge, which is double-sided with a pair of candlesticks sited on rotating legs such that each can be moved individually to illuminate either side of the lectern.¹⁸⁴ The base of the candlestick is affixed approximately 75% of the way up the lectern, which would allow candlelight to fall onto the book from almost the top of the lectern; see Figure 3-21.

¹⁸¹ Wordsworth and Macleane, eds., *Statutes and Customs*, p. 213.

¹⁸² An antiphonal was a book which contained chants of the Office. They were available in varying sizes for either individual use or for a group. Bangor University, *The Experience of Worship Project: Glossary*. A lectern is a 'reading or singing-desk in a church, especially that from which the lessons are read; made of wood, metal, or stone, and often in the form of an eagle with outspread wings supported on a column', *OED*.

¹⁸³ 1517-18, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 60.

¹⁸⁴ Sixteenth century bronze lectern.



Figure 3-20: Singers grouped around a lectern¹⁸⁵



Figure 3-21: Lectern at King's College, Cambridge

¹⁸⁵ Bangor University, *The Experience of Worship in Late Medieval Cathedral and Parish Church*.

There would potentially be several lecterns in the chancel – one at the choir step facing the altar for reading the Epistle, a second on the altar step facing north for the reading of the Gospel, with a third in the middle of the quire which was often double-sided to support music books.¹⁸⁶ There may also have been a fourth lectern attached to the eastern balustrade of the pulpitum, used by readers and singers on feast days.¹⁸⁷ Such an arrangement is indicated in the rites of Durham, which state that: ‘at the north end of the high altar, there was a goodly fine letteron of brasse where they sunge the epistle and the gossell, with a gilt pelican on the height’.¹⁸⁸ Similarly there was ‘lowe downe in the quere another Lettorn of brasse ... standing in the midst against the stalls ... with an eagle on the height of it ... wheron the monkes did lay thaire bookes when they sung thaire legends at mattens or at other times of service’.¹⁸⁹ Such open books of music on the lecterns along with the images on the walls are described by Magnus Williamson as an ‘architectural paratext’.¹⁹⁰

In order to consider the requirement for individual or shared lighting by those in the choir, it is necessary to review the use of books. The only pre-Reformation inventories available for Salisbury Cathedral are either for named side altars, where there was generally only a missal or a book of the Gospels, or the list included only those books which had bindings with precious stones and gold leaf; it was the duty of the treasurer to look after these, whereas the liturgical books were in the care of the precentor.¹⁹¹ It is necessary therefore to look to other

¹⁸⁶ C. Oman, 'Medieval Brass Lecterns in England', *Archaeological Journal*, 87 (1930), 118.

¹⁸⁷ Oman, 'Medieval Brass Lecterns in England', 119.

¹⁸⁸ Fowler, *Rites of Durham*, p. 13. Since the twelfth century the pelican has been a symbol of the Passion of Jesus as she was considered to provide her own blood to her chicks when no other food was available.

¹⁸⁹ Fowler, *Rites of Durham*, p. 14. The eagle was the emblem of St John and the outspread wings of such a lectern supported a Bible. At Salisbury Cathedral the treasurer's inventory of 1214-1225 lists '*twall' ad lectricum aquile*'. Six other lecterns are also included in the same inventory, one at each of the altars listed. Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions*, p. 173. The altars were: St Peter, *omnium sanctorum*, St Stephen, St Nicholas, Mary Magdalene and St Thomas the martyr. Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions*, pp. 179-182.

¹⁹⁰ Magnus Williamson, *What do Tudor music books tell us about Tudor musicians?* Royal School of Church Music, *online lecture*, 13 January 2021.

¹⁹¹ Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions*, pp. 99, 168, 179-182.

institutions for lists of books used at this time, such as that of St Mary's Abbey, Leicester, begun in 1213 by William Chantry, and amended into the fifteenth century.¹⁹² Although a monastery of Augustinian canons regular, as opposed to a secular cathedral, the daily round of services was very similar.¹⁹³ The inventory specified that books including missals were kept at the high altar and at every side altar. On the pulpitum there were nineteen books including multiple copies of the *collectaria* (book of collects), gradual and versicles; there were also three books for the organ. Six different books including a martyrology, collects and ordinals were to be found in the quire. The prior, subprior and cantor each had an allocated copy of a gradual, processional, portas (breviary), psalter and antiphoner, and most monks had at least a psalter, antiphoner, gradual, and portas (see Table 3-13).¹⁹⁴ Thus lights would have been required for reading during hours of darkness or in poor weather, and may have been supplied as either a single candle per man or one candle between two. Such lighting in the quire would have looked ethereal, providing pools of light visible to those in the body of the church whereas the singers would have been in deep shadow. Alternatively several tall candlesticks, or candelabra containing several candles, may have been sited between the choir stalls in order that both sides were able to see each other, as well as the rulers. However, this would have obstructed the sight of the elevation of the host at the high altar to the laity in the nave. An alternative scenario could have been one, or more, candelabra on each side of the quire. The Salisbury Customary also specified that illumination was required at the officiant's stall, presumably through the use of a single candle.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² Theresa Webber and A. G. Watson, *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons* (London: The British Library, 1998), pp. 382-388.

¹⁹³ Edwards, *English Secular Cathedrals*, p. 56.

¹⁹⁴ Harper, *Forms and Orders*, pp. 61-66, 297.

¹⁹⁵ See para. 5 in Sarum Customary Online, *Old Customary (OCO)*. See para. 23.2 in Sarum Customary Online, *New Customary (NCS)*.

Table 3-13: William Chantry inventory of books at St Mary's Abbey, Leicester

Type of book	No. of copies for Abbot & 24 brothers	Type of book	No. of copies for Abbot & 24 brothers	Type of book	No. of copies for Abbot & 24 brothers
Antiphoner	22	<i>Legenda</i>	1	Processional	15
Book for the organ	3	<i>Liber de certis collectis</i>	1	Psalter	23
<i>Libri collacionum</i>	5	<i>Liber parliamenti</i>	1	<i>Pupilla oculi</i>	1
Collection	3	<i>Liber pro benediccione aquarum</i>	1	<i>Responsoriis ymnis et antiphonis abbreviatis ad vespervas etc</i>	1
<i>Diurnale</i>	16	Martyrology	1	<i>Rotula de longa litany</i>	1
<i>Evangelium</i>	2	Missal	17	<i>Rotulum deuocionum prima oracio ad tinitatem</i>	1
Gradual	23	Ordinal	2	Service for <i>Corpus Christi</i>	1
<i>ix leccionibus et responsoriis ad dirige et cum responsoriis</i>	1	<i>Placebo etc</i>	1	Troper	2
<i>Lectricum</i> (lectionary)	1	Portas	20	<i>Versiculi</i>	2

One of the earliest Salisbury inventories containing books is that of 1472 for St Edmund's Church (see Table 3-14).¹⁹⁶ There is a total of fifty-one books, at least some of which may have belonged to the college, rather than the parish of St Edmund's. Although there were fourteen processional, one for each of the provost and priests, there were far fewer of the other books. Antiphonals were present but it is not clear whether they contained the whole annual cycle, or whether they comprised summer or winter volumes. In addition, there was only one psalter; however, the psalms were often included in other books, for example in the breviary or even the antiphonal. There is little evidence from this list to determine the requirement for lighting for individuals in the choir, in contrast to that from St Mary's in Leicester above.

¹⁹⁶ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 3-4. WSA: 1901/65, *St Edmund churchwardens accounts and vestry minutes*, pp. 9-11. All the books are listed alongside their incipit and each seems to be individual.

Table 3-14: Books listed in the 1472 inventory for St Edmund's¹⁹⁷

Books for the priest	Number	Books for the choir	Number
Little missal	1	Antiphonals	6
Missals	6	Processionals	14
Great Portas (i.e. Breviaries)	1	Psalter	1
Portows (i.e. Breviaries)	4	Grayles (i.e. Graduals)	9
Little Portows (i.e. Breviaries)	1		
Ordinal	1		
1 Epistolor	1		
1 Gospeller	1	Other books	Number
Legends (i.e. Lectionaries for readings at matins)	2	Book for the organs	1
Great Legant (matins readings of the Temporal)	1	Book of the life of saints	1
Collection (i.e. short readings for other Office services)	1	Hugacon (i.e. Vocabularium of Hugo of Pisa, d. 1210)	1
<i>Dirige</i> (i.e. Office and Mass of the Dead)	1		

In addition to the evidence in inventories, the wills of priests also provide further evidence that they owned books which they may have used during services before the Reformation. For instance in 1405 William Bocke, a vicar choral at Salisbury Cathedral, left a great psalter with hymnal, collect book, and a *Placebo & Dirige* to Robert Everarde, another vicar choral. In addition, Bocke left a portas (breviary) with music to the vicar of ‘Brutforde’ (Britford).¹⁹⁸ Robert Ragenhull (d. 1407), who was a canon of Salisbury Cathedral and provost of St Edmund’s College, also left books in his will. His portas was to go to his clerk if he was ordained, and if not it was to go to the college chapels; in addition, a missal and books of homilies and sermons were distributed.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁹⁸ Timmins, ed., *Register of John Chandler*, p. 136.

¹⁹⁹ Timmins, ed., *Register of John Chandler*, pp. 143-144.

3.3.3 Lighting for ritual use at Salisbury Cathedral

One of the first ceremonies to take place at Salisbury Cathedral was its consecration which both purified and sanctified the building.²⁰⁰ This involved the addition of brass consecration crosses incorporated into the fabric of the building on both the outside and inside walls at around seven and a half feet from the ground (see Figure 3-22).²⁰¹ Those which are extant on the interior walls of the cathedral still have a decorative red and blue painting incorporated within a roundel. The brasses have virtually all disappeared, but the indents still survive. There were probably three crosses installed on each of the inner and the outer walls of the north, south, and east sides. In addition there may have been three further crosses on each wall of the west front giving a total of twenty-four - twelve inside and twelve outside the building.²⁰² Each cross would have been illuminated by a candle; those on the exterior of the cathedral may have required a screen in order to protect the lighted candle flames from extinguishing in the wind, with reflectors behind in order to increase the illumination of the light. The pin holes where the metal candle holders were fastened to the walls are in many cases still extant below the respective roundel. The time taken to prepare these consecration crosses was likely to have been significant and reflected their importance. At the appropriate moment during the consecration service, the candles would have been lit and then the bishop would have marked each cross with chrism oil. These lights may have been relit on particular feasts or anniversaries such as the patronal festival as a reminder of the original consecration.

²⁰⁰ Consecration crosses are also extant at a number of churches, including Edington Priory Church, near Westbury, and St Mary's, Ottery St Mary.

²⁰¹ This height would have prevented them being rubbed by people walking past them.

²⁰² Each set of twelve may have represented the twelve apostles. Tatton-Brown, 'The Salisbury Cathedral Consecration Crosses', 113-114.

In a way this was symbolic of the re-lighting of the baptismal candle on the anniversary of baptism.²⁰³



Figure 3-22: Consecration cross, south crossing

The Old Customary of Salisbury Cathedral (OCO) dates from around 1220 and sets out the ritual practice of the first cathedral at Old Sarum before the move to New Salisbury.

Information from this and from the later, fourteenth century New Customary MS 175 (NCS) of Salisbury Cathedral together provide an indication of the provision of lights for ritual purposes before the Reformation.²⁰⁴ Although there are other later Customaries which may have significant details, OCO and NCS are definitively close to cathedral practices at the times of their production. Both manuscripts begin by describing the duties of the dignitaries including that of the treasurer, who was to look after the ornaments and treasures of the cathedral, and to take care of the lighting *Thesaurarii officium est ornamenta et thesauros ecclesie conservare, luminaria administrare*.²⁰⁵ He was also to pay for sacristans, and to

²⁰³ John Henry Middleton, 'On Consecration Crosses, with some English examples', *Archaeologia*, 48.2 (1885), 456.

²⁰⁴ SCA: FG/1/2, *Register of St Osmund*. See paragraphs: 5, 25, 26, 31, 34, 35, 54, 55, 58, 72, 79, 80, 92, 102 in Sarum Customary Online, *Old Customary (OCO)*. See paragraphs: 5, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 35, 36, 39, 54, 60 in Sarum Customary Online, *New Customary (NCS)*.

²⁰⁵ Section 5, Sarum Customary Online, *Old Customary (OCO)*.

provide bread, wine, water, and candles for each of the altars in the cathedral except for the parish altar, and also to supply incense, coals, rushes, mats and straw.²⁰⁶

Table 3-15: Candles to be provided for various feasts as prescribed in the Old Customary

Day or feast	Service	Number/weight	Place
Every weekday	Matins	1	Choir step
	Mass	2	Choir step
First Sunday Advent, and whenever the invitatory is said by three, and Thursday, Friday & Saturday of Easter week, and Pentecost	Vespers, matins, Mass	2	2 on superaltar
		2	2 on altar step
Palm Sunday	Vespers, matins, Mass	2	2 on superaltar
		2	2 on altar step
Sundays when the choir is ruled and the invitatory is said by two		At least 2	
Sundays and Maundy Thursday	Mass	4	
Christmas Day and all double feasts with procession (including the vigils of Easter and Pentecost). ²⁰⁷	Vespers, Mass	8 of at least 1 lb	Around the altar
		2 of at least 1 lb	Before image of the Virgin Mary
	Matins	8 of at least 1 lb	Around the altar
		2 of at least 1 lb	Before image of the Virgin Mary
		6	In front of relics, cross and images there
		5 of at least ½ lb	Corona in front of altar step
5	On wall behind the reader's pulpitum		
From Pentecost to the Nativity of the Blessed Mary and the feast of her Nativity itself		7	On a brass stand
Minor double feasts	Vespers and Mass	4	Around altar
		2	Before image of the Virgin Mary
	Matins	3	Corona
		3	Behind (at back?) pulpitum
Good Friday	Mass	2	
	After placing the body of the Lord in the sepulchre	2	In front of sepulchre
	Following night until procession before matins on Easter day	1 - the great Paschal candle	In front of sepulchre

²⁰⁶ *Panem vinum aquam et candelas singulis altaribus ecclesie administrare excepto parochiali; incensum carbones iuncum mattas et stramen providere. 5.2, Sarum Customary Online, New Customary (NCS).*

²⁰⁷ Double feasts included Christmas day and the four days following, the day of the Circumcision, Epiphany, the Purification of St Mary, The Annunciation, Easter Day and the three days following and the octave of Easter, the Invention of the Holy Cross, Ascension Day, Pentecost and the three days following the feast of the Holy Trinity, St John the Baptist, the apostles Peter and Paul, the Assumption and Nativity of the Blessed Mary, the feast of Relics, St Michael, All Saints, and St Andrew the apostle.

Table 3-15 documents the number of candles used at different feasts according to the Old Customary, which were to be provided according to the rank of the feast. Christmas was a particularly solemn time at the time of least daylight and was celebrated with significant quantities of lights. However, all double feasts with a procession, including the vigils of Easter and Pentecost, required a considerable quantity of wax. The services of vespers and Mass at Christmas required ten candles weighing a total of ten pounds, and at matins, twenty-six candles weighing twenty-one pounds: a total of thirty-one pounds of beeswax. Those candles lit at dawn and dusk in the shadows would have reflected off the Purbeck marble shafts, increasing the illumination, such that the laity present in the nave would be able to admire the holiness of the scene.²⁰⁸ It is also probable that the candles noted in the Customary did not include those which were placed for reading purposes.

Choristers played particular roles in festival services: for example, on a day denoted as a major double feast of nine lessons, such as Epiphany or Ascension Day, two boys were to carry the candles. On All Saints' Day, boys dressed in surplices with amices on their heads each carried a lighted candle and sang from the choir step facing the altar.²⁰⁹ Similarly on Christmas Day five boys, standing in the triforium above the altar holding lighted candles, acted out part of the Christmas story by representing angels singing to the shepherds during the first verse of the responsory *Gloria in excelsis deo*.²¹⁰ This must have been quite a visual and aural spectacle with the flickering flames playing on the shadows of the singing boys who were dressed in white surplices, which encouraged the perception of the sacred nature of the

²⁰⁸ Tatton-Brown, *Salisbury Cathedral: The Making of a Medieval Masterpiece*, p. 40.

²⁰⁹ The boys were to sing the eighth responsory. Section 23.8, Sarum Customary Online, *New Customary (NCS)*. Section 38, Sarum Customary Online, *Old Customary (OCO)*.

²¹⁰ Section 23.8, Sarum Customary Online, *New Customary (NCS)*. The triforium was the second level of arcading, often without windows in the nave and choir of a church building above the main arches and below the clerestory, often at the height of the aisle roofs. Bangor University, *The Experience of Worship Project: Glossary*.

liturgy. Those in the nave must have thought that the ghostly images were the angels who were truly visiting their cathedral. On Easter Sunday the cathedral accounts also note a payment to six choristers to carry candles, presumably in procession.²¹¹

The Old Customary describes the lighting required for the procession on Palm Sunday, part of which took place outside: a shrine containing relics and the ‘body of our Lord’ was carried by two clerics preceded by a lantern. On the three days before Easter Sunday, twenty-four candles were lit at matins, the candles being extinguished, one at a time, at the beginning of each antiphon and responsory.²¹² The final light at lauds was to be hidden away, representing Christ, and then following the fifth antiphon all the other lights in the church were to be extinguished, thus representing the holy moment of the death of Christ. A procession was held on the vigil of Easter (Easter Saturday), when the new fire was lit using a flint. The Wormald Processional (see Figure 3-23) contains diagrams which indicate the position of the participants. The Paschal fire was blessed outside the church, after which a procession was formed led by a taperer holding a candle. Following him was a deacon who carried the gospel book, and then the bishop dressed in green, with two deacons to his left, a thurifer to his right and beyond him the holy fire, followed by a second taperer.²¹³ At the rear was an object which has been interpreted as the Paschal candle in a holder which was decorated with a dragon. The unlit candle was carried on its special pole to be blessed at the font, before being lit using the new fire.²¹⁴ In the New Customary this occurred whilst the deacon was singing *Exultet iam angelica* (see Figure 3-23), the words of whose second verse use light imagery:

²¹¹ SCA: FA/1/1/12, *Fabric account, 1530-31*.

²¹² Section 102, Sarum Customary Online, *Old Customary (OCO)*.

²¹³ The thurifer was an acolyte carrying an incense container.

²¹⁴ D. R. Dendy, *The Use of Lights in Christian Worship* (London: S.P.C.K., 1959), pp. 142-143.

Be glad, let earth be glad, as glory floods her,
 ablaze with light from her eternal King,
 let all corners of the earth be glad,
 knowing an end to gloom and darkness.²¹⁵

The candle was to burn continuously in the church until after compline on Easter Day, also daily during Easter week and on the octave of Easter during matins, Mass, and vespers; it was also to be lit at Mass only until Ascension Day.²¹⁶

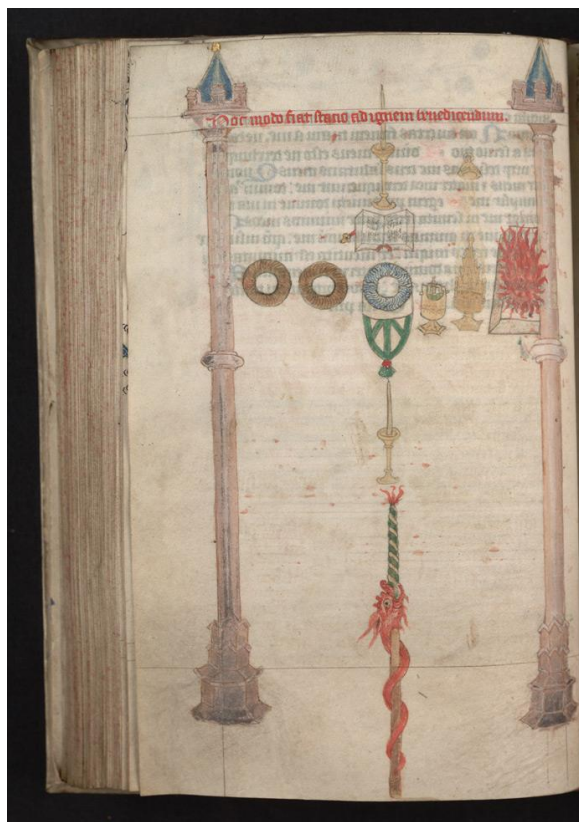


Figure 3-23: Diagram for blessing of the Paschal fire on Holy Saturday²¹⁷

²¹⁵ *Gaudeat et tellus, tantis irradiata fulgoribus et aeterni regis splendore illustrata, totius orbis se sentiat amisisse caliginem.*

²¹⁶ Also on the feast of St Mark the Evangelist, and the apostles Philip and James. It was also to burn at matins, Mass and vespers on the Annunciation of St Mary. Section 60.1, Sarum Customary Online, *New Customary (NCS)*.

²¹⁷ This processional was made for an urban church dedicated to St Mary and with dependent suburban churches. This one may have been for Salisbury Cathedral, but one of its processions is adapted for the Use of Norwich. A procession elsewhere in this manuscript contains relics of St Swithin suggesting Winchester, too. BL: Additional MS 57534, *Wormald Processional c.1400*, f. 54v <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/illmanus/other/011add000057534u00054v00.html> [accessed 26 November 2020].

3.3.4 Ritual use at the parish churches

The supply of candles for the year was traditionally blessed at Candlemas, which was the day of the feast of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple. In 1491 this feast raised the large sum of 18s 4d in oblations at St Thomas's and in later years men were paid to give out and to receive candles at the high Mass, which must have been quite an honour.²¹⁸

The earliest accounts of St Edmund's show that coal was bought 'to make holy fyre at Astur eve' when the new light was used to light the Paschal candle and which in turn was used to light the tapers in the church.²¹⁹ This beeswax candle was purchased annually and weighed around 30 lbs.²²⁰ It stood in a decorated stock or case which required the support of one or two cords 'to hange up the Pascalle', plus a rope weighing thirteen pounds.²²¹ At St Thomas's Church, the Paschal candle is only mentioned twice: the first time in the accounts of 1546-47, and the second the following year, when payment was recorded for lighting it but there is no record of its purchase.²²²

3.3.5 The use of torches

Candles represented transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the Mass and as such were used 'before the Host in processions, and in honour of the reserved Host'.²²³ As the bread and wine became the body and blood of Christ a light, often in the form of a torch of cotton tow dipped

²¹⁸ Candlemas (2 February) was also the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary. It was the day on which Christ was proclaimed as the Light of the Gentiles by Simon in the words of the canticle *Nunc dimittis*. Bangor University, *The Experience of Worship Project: Glossary*. SCA: FA/2/1/18, *Accounts of the procurator of St Thomas with the masters of the fabric, 1513-14*. SCA: FA/2/1/24, *Accounts of the procurator of St Thomas with the masters of the fabric, 1537-38*. Dummelow, *Wax Chandlers*, pp. 10-11.

²¹⁹ For instance 1491-92 and 1517-18 see Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 39, 60.

²²⁰ For 1456-57 see Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 359.

²²¹ WSA: 1901/65, *St Edmund churchwardens accounts and vestry minutes*, p. 69 for the year 1489-90. WSA: 1901/67/7, *St Edmund churchwardens account roll, 1491-92*. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 11, 40.

²²² WSA: 1900/69, *St Thomas churchwardens account roll, 1546-47*. WSA: 1900/70, *St Thomas churchwardens account roll, 1547-48*.

²²³ Transubstantiation is the belief that the bread and wine of the eucharist became the body and blood of Christ. J. T. Tomlinson, *Altar Lights: Their History and Meaning* (n.d.) http://archive.churchsociety.org/publications/tracts/CAT091_AltarLights.pdf [accessed 17 May 2017].

in wax and rosin and carried in a stave, would be raised aloft to draw the attention of the people in the chancel to this most holy event (see Figure 3-24).²²⁴ St Edmund's purchased two torches annually to be used for this purpose, the weight of which varied considerably from five to twenty pounds (see Table 3-16). These would have required considerable strength to support away from one's body. Torches were a valuable commodity which were occasionally left in wills; for instance in 1496, William Maynerd bequeathed six torches to various religious institutions in Salisbury including one to the 'morow masse prieste in Saint Edmunds church'.²²⁵ They also had a religious significance, in that they functioned as proxies for the deceased endower.



Figure 3-24: The deacon raises the torch at the elevation of the host²²⁶

²²⁴ Cotton tow was waste cotton. A possible recipe for torches is present in SCA: Press IV, Box L, *Mr Holmys book*, c. 1526-58. See also the re-enactments in: Bangor University, *The Experience of Worship in Late Medieval Cathedral and Parish Church*. Three staves to hold the torches were purchased by St Edmund's in 1477-78 at a cost of 9s 4d. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 34.

²²⁵ In that torches were bequeathed, there is no record of the exact number used at any of the Salisbury churches as they do not appear in the accounts. TNA: PROB 11/11/104, *Will of William Maynerd, 10 November 1496*. He was a wealthy man, being buried in a tomb of marble on the north side of the rood altar.

²²⁶ Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London & New York: Phaidon, 1986), p. 211.

Table 3-16: Torches purchased by St Edmund's Church

Date	Swayne page	Number/weight	Use (where specified)	Total cost * making only	Approx. cost per lb
1473-74	14	2		6s 2d	
	361	2 total 17 lbs		7s 1d	2½d
1474-75	19	2	High altar	9s 9d	
		2 total 34 lbs		11s 4d	4d
1476-77	363	2 torchettes total 13lbs		4s 10½d	4½d
		Great torches total 23 lbs	High altar	8s 5½d	4½d
1477-78	365	3		9s 4d	
1478-79	366	Torch 12 lbs		3s 4d	3⅓d
1479-80	367	3 total 60 lbs	Altar	£1	4d
		Torch 12½ lbs		4s 2d	4d
1482-83	30	4			
1490-91	38	2 total 22 lbs	High altar	7s 6d	3½d
1491-92	40	2 total 28 lbs		5s 10d	2½d
1497-98	250	Torches	Fraternity of Jesus in Quadragesima	12d *	
1499-1500	51	2 of rosom	High altar at Christmas	6s 8d	
	252	Little torch rosom	Morrow Mass altar		
Torch of rosom 11 lbs		1s 10d		2d	
1517-18	60	4 total 28 lbs		6s 2d	2½d
1523-24	68	4	<i>Corpus Christi</i>	2s 8d	
1527-28	68	'makyng of the torches'			
1530-31	80	4 total 23 lbs		3s 9d	2d
1531-32	61	4		3s 8d	
1534-35	71	1	Funeral of child	3s 0d	
1535-36	265	Torches total 16 lbs	Jesus altar	3s 4d	2½d
1536-37	266	2		* 2s 8d	
		Torch of rosom		2s 6d	
1538-39	84	4	<i>Corpus Christi</i>	5s 5d	
		Torches around 20¾ lbs	Jesus altar		
1539-40	268	Torches 14 lbs	Jesus altar		
1540-41	84-86, & 166	4 total 32½ lbs		5s 4d	2d
1541-42	269	2	Jesus altar	* 3d	
		Torch of rosom 9 lbs		9s 3d	12d
1542-43	63	4	<i>Corpus Christi</i>	8s 2d	
1543-44	88	4	<i>Corpus Christi</i>	* 8d	
1545-46	270	Torches	<i>Corpus Christi</i>	3s 8d	
		Torch 11 lbs	Jesus altar		
1546-47	271	2 total 7½ lbs	Jesus altar	3s 9½d	6d
		Torches from old wax		* 6d	
1553-54	100	2		6s 2d	
1557-58	103	Torches		* 4d	

Torches were also used at the burial of the dead and carried in outdoor processions, as they remained alight in wind and rain. One such procession was the feast of *Corpus Christi*, which began to be celebrated in England in 1318, although the volume containing the text of the liturgy for this feast was not purchased by St Edmund's Church until 1474.²²⁷ The celebration required that the priest instruct the laity on the sacrament of the eucharist, following which parishioners were encouraged to take communion, do penance, and give alms.²²⁸ Following Mass, there was a splendid procession of the blessed sacrament which was carried under a canopy; the priest of St Edmund's wore a special cope for the occasion, which was decorated with 'ij angels of silver and on gilt'.²²⁹ Banners, musicians and four lit torches (see Table 3-16) accompanied the procession along its unknown route. Torches were purchased specifically for this purpose from 1523-24, suggesting that the celebration gained popularity in Salisbury during this time.²³⁰ The weight of these torches ranged from 3¾ lbs to 20 lbs, whilst the cost varied from 2d to 4½d a pound until after 1540, when there was a significant price increase to between 6d and 12d per pound. After 1557-58, torches were no longer purchased by the churches of Salisbury.

²²⁷ *Corpus Christi* was celebrated on the Thursday after the octave of Pentecost. It was thus a summer festival, which may have included a play, with much of the celebration taking place outside. Jeremy Davies, 'The Celebrant Reflects: Theological and Spiritual Priorities Expressed through Sarum Use', in *Late Medieval Liturgies Enacted: The Experience of Worship in Cathedral and Parish Church*, ed. by Sally Harper, Paul Barnwell and Magnus Williamson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2016), p. 220. The 'Story of Corporis Xpi' was purchased by St Edmund's Church in 1473-74 at a cost of 2s 4d. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 15.

²²⁸ Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 199-200, 213.

²²⁹ The canopy required maintenance occasionally. 1477-78, 1499-1500, 1543-44, 1553-54, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 22, 52, 88, 100.

²³⁰ Inventory: see WSA: 1901/65, *St Edmund churchwardens accounts and vestry minutes*, p. 12. Also see for instance: Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 6, 33, 37, 45, 51, 68, 84, 63, 88, 270. A new canopy for the sacrament was constructed from 2½ yards of satin, ¾ ounces of silk fringe, 4 els of 'Garnsey' cloth, and 3 yards of purple velvet at a total cost of £3 16s 10d, in 1475-76. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 20. Torches purchased by St Edmund's in 1523-24, 1538-39, and annually from 1542-46, and for the final time in 1556-57, however, processions took place more often. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 45, 51, 57, 63, 64, 67, 68, 70, 72, 84, 85, 88, 101. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 208, 242, 249-250. Alexandra F. Johnston, 'The Feast of Corpus Christi in the West Country', *Early Theatre*, 6.1 (2003), 15-16. The accounts of St Edmund's in 1461-62 show the purchase of various costumes including headdresses. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 8.

With regard to medieval funerary practice, this was underpinned by the doctrine of purgatory (see Chapter 2). The funeral was in five parts: a vigil, the procession to church, the Office for the dead (*Placebo* and *Dirige*), Requiem Mass, and finally the burial.²³¹ Once deceased the corpse would have been prepared for burial, possibly using cerecloth which was a waxed linen fabric used for a shroud.²³² Burning candles around the corpse was thought to protect it from demonic possession; the accounts of St Thomas's note the vigil of the body in church as 'corse present with lights'.²³³ Evidence of the purchase of wax for funerals at St Edmund's is scanty; however, the entry of 'a gret candelstick of tree broken made & ordeyned to stonde a bowte the sepultur' of dedd peple wt ynne the church', indicates the use of lights at funerals there.²³⁴ Similarly, the use of torches specifically for burials is not noted in the churchwarden's accounts and it is possible that these were provided by the relatives of the deceased where they could be afforded, or by the fraternity of Jesus based at the church (see Chapter 2) if not. However, a cross, candlesticks and pall, known in the accounts as 'sepultures with ornaments' were rented to relatives at both St Edmund's and St Thomas's.²³⁵

²³¹ David Lepine, 'High Solemn Ceremonies: The Funerary Practice of the Late Medieval English Higher Clergy', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 61.1 (2010), 19.

²³² British Museum. Egerton 2019, f.142. See Figure 44 in H. S. Kingsford, *Illustrations of Occasional Offices of the Church in the Middle Ages from Contemporary Sources* (London: Mowbray & Co Ltd, 1921), p. 60. The later Burial in Woollens Acts of 1666-1680 prevented the use of cerecloth.

²³³ SCA: FA/2/1/18, *Accounts of the procurator of St Thomas with the masters of the fabric, 1513-14*. The accounts differentiate between a 'corse present', *de corpore presenti*, and a mortuary, *de corpore*. The former denotes a voluntary donation brought to a funeral, as opposed to a mortuary for which a donation was required by the church as of right. My thanks to Henry Howard for this definition.

²³⁴ Purchase of wax for the dead. 1456-57, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 359. In 1484-85 John Bullock, 'kerver', was paid 4d to mend this wooden candlestick. WSA: 1901/65, *St Edmund churchwardens accounts and vestry minutes, 1484-85*, p. 63. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 369.

²³⁵ At St Edmund's the sepulchre was purchased in 1477-78 and rented out until 1537-38. WSA: 1901/67/6, *St Edmund churchwardens account roll, 1490-91*. WSA: 1901/69/11, *St Edmund churchwardens account roll, 1538-39*. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 37, 83. St Thomas's, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 273, 279, 280, 364. WSA: 1900/75, *St Thomas churchwardens account roll, 1557-58*. WSA: 1900/76, *St Thomas churchwardens account roll, 1559-60*. They sold it in 1559-60.

Oblations were paid for post-mortem candles to be erected at St Thomas's Church, for obits and other memorial services of parishioners.²³⁶

Manuscript illustrations providing some idea of candles used for the Office for the dead, showing the coffin placed inside a wooden hearse or candle frame, sometimes with openings to hold large candles or torches (see Figure 3-25). At the Requiem Mass additional shorter candlesticks on the altar containing lit candles would have differentiated this service from the Office for the dead.²³⁷ Once the services in church were complete, the coffin was escorted to the grave by mourners carrying torches, probably those from around the hearse.²³⁸

²³⁶ For Margery Tayler, Mistress Peirs, Richard Hasleward armiger, James Atkyns, Master Holeway, and Master Taylwey. Oblations for these varied from 16d to 6s 8d. SCA: FA/2/1/24, *Accounts of the procurator of St Thomas with the masters of the fabric, 1537-38*. SCA: FA/2/1/1, *Accounts of the procurator of St Thomas with the masters of the fabric, 1486-87*.

²³⁷ Sarum Use 15th century, Book of Hours in Percy Dearmer, *Fifty Pictures of Gothic Altars* (London: Longmans Green & Co, 1910), p. 206.

²³⁸ British Museum, Julius E. iv f. 27, Pageant of Richard Beauchamp, Kingsford, *Occasional Offices of the Church*, pp. 88-89.

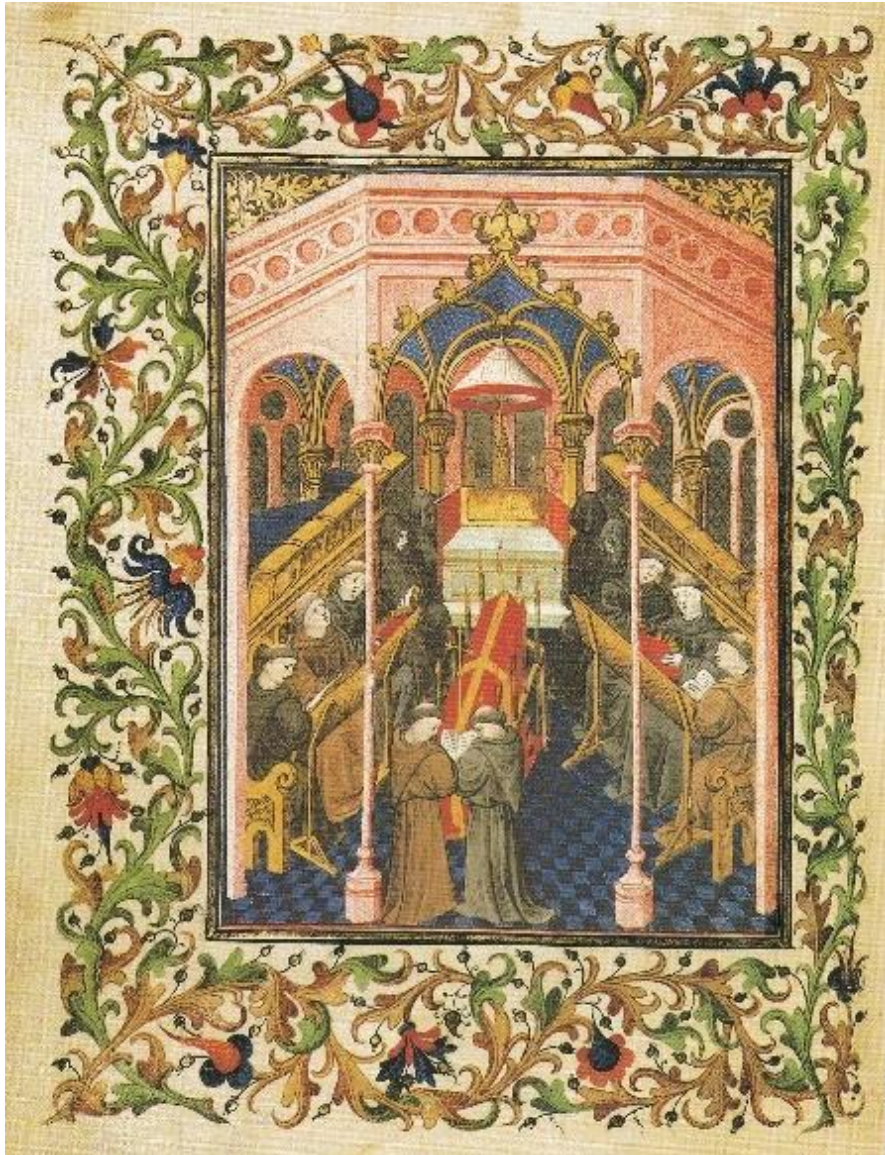


Figure 3-25: Office for the dead²³⁹

There is evidence for the ritual use of lights in Salisbury at the services of two of the seven sacraments: baptism, and the anointing of the sick.²⁴⁰ The service of baptism, in which a beeswax candle played an essential part, is described in the Sarum Manual of 1543 (see Figure 3-26). Firstly, the water in the font was blessed, and secondly, a lit font taper was held over the water and melted wax was dripped into it. Thirdly, the extinguished candle was used

²³⁹ Nicholas Bell, *Music in Medieval Manuscripts* (London: British Library, 2001), p. 44.

²⁴⁰ The seven sacraments were: baptism, eucharist, confirmation, ordination, marriage, penance & absolution, and anointing the sick.

to divide the water, before finally dipping the base of the candle into the font and removing it, before adding the chrism oil.²⁴¹ During the immersion of the infant, one of the Godparents held the candle until the child was dressed in the chrism cloth, after which it was placed into the child's hand by the priest (see Figure 3-27).²⁴² Beeswax font tapers (*cereum fontis*) were purchased annually, using money from parish collections gathered on 'Shere' Thursday, Easter Eve and Easter Day. In some years the collection exceeded the annual bill for beeswax: for instance in 1474-75, the cost of three font tapers at St Edmund's was 1s 5d, out of a total income of £2 9s 8d, which raises the question as to how the difference was spent.²⁴³ Two tapers each of one pound were usually purchased each year, although in 1479-80 eight were acquired, weighing three pounds each, perhaps indicating an increase in the number of baptisms that year.²⁴⁴ The font taper was not only lit during baptisms but also on the eves of Easter and Whitsunday during the liturgy of the blessing of the font. There is no mention of candles presented to the child to take home and therefore it must be presumed that the font taper was presented symbolically, and then retained in church for the next baptism.²⁴⁵

²⁴¹ Chrism: Sacred oil, consecrated at Mass on Maundy Thursday, used for anointing at baptism, confirmation, and ordination. Bangor University, *The Experience of Worship Project: Glossary*; Bryan D. Spinks, *Early and Medieval Rituals and Theologies of Baptism: From the New Testament to the Council of Trent* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006), p. 139. A. Jefferies Collins, *Manuale ad usum percelebris ecclesie Sarisburiensis* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1960), pp. 35-43. Font taper, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 39, 41, 50, 53, 273, 275, 276.

²⁴² Bodleian Library: MS. Laud Misc. 740 f.5v, *Pelerinage de la vie humaine*, 15th Century 2nd quarter. http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/detail/ODLodl~1~1~47404~113657:P%C3%A8lerinage-de-la-vie-humaine--Engli?sort=Shelfmark%2CFolio_Page%2CRoll_%23%2CFrame_%23&qvq=q:candle*;sort=Shelfmark%2CFolio_Page%2CRoll_%23%2CFrame_%23;lc:ODLodl~29~29,ODLodl~7~7,ODLodl~6~6,ODLodl~14~14,ODLodl~8~8,ODLodl~23~23,ODLodl~1~1,ODLodl~24~24&mi=59&trs=77# [accessed 25 May 2017]. Kingsford, *Occasional Offices of the Church*, pp. 14-15. The illustration is only partially correct as the child is shown nude and should have been covered with the chrism cloth, before being handed a candle. Chrism cloth: a white cloth or robe provided by the parents and worn by the child for seven days after baptism. The chrism cloth was given to the priest at the purification of the woman and sold for the benefit of the church. Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 29.

²⁴³ Shere Thursday was another name for Maundy Thursday. The total bill for beeswax that year was 17s. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 17, 367.

²⁴⁴ St Edmund's 1479-80, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 367. At St Thomas's, the only entry regarding the size is in 1546-47 when the single candle weighed four pounds. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 274. WSA: 1900/69, *St Thomas churchwardens account roll, 1546-47*.

²⁴⁵ Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 161.



Figure 3-26: Baptism of infant (Bodleian MS Laud Misc. 740 f.5v)



Figure 3-27: The presentation of a candle by the priest to a child following baptism²⁴⁶

²⁴⁶ Kingsford, *Occasional Offices of the Church*, pp. 14-15.

A further example of the use of artificial light comes from the purchase of a lantern by St Edmund's Church in 1481-82, for use when visiting the sick.²⁴⁷ At both St Edmund's and St Thomas's, the taper burning before the sacrament was also known as the visitation light, which would be carried in the lantern by the clerk when the priest took the reserved sacrament in a tabernacle to the dying.²⁴⁸ Those who saw the procession in the street would have been alerted to the news that an individual was dying and in need of their prayers.²⁴⁹

The service of the purification of women following childbirth involved the woman bringing a lighted candle to church along with the chrism cloth which had wrapped her child following baptism. The candle was blessed by the priest at the church door to symbolize her purification, following which she was 'ritually readmitted by the priesthood into the Mass and to the community of the faithful'.²⁵⁰ In 1513-14 at least sixty-seven women gave birth in the parish of St Thomas's, which purchased thirty-two pounds of candles for the service.²⁵¹ The provision of wax would have been particularly necessary when individuals were unable to meet this expense themselves.

²⁴⁷ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 27. A lantern was stipulated as necessary equipment for the parish church, in the so-called statutes of Robert Winchelsey. F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church. II. 1205-1313* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 1388.

²⁴⁸ *Instauro ecclesie pro cereis fontis tempore grave infirmitatis iijd.* Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 36. For 1492-93, HRO: 44M69/L7/9, *Notes from St Edmund's CWAs (1490-1570)* by Henry Sherfield. 1481-82 see Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 27. Usually one or two tapers of beeswax each weighing one pound were purchased each year. For instance, 1481-82, 1482-83, 1483-84, 1494-95, 1499-1500, 1500-01, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 22, 30, 32, 43, 51, 54.

²⁴⁹ It would not make a difference whether it was dark or daylight; the clerk would still accompany the priest to the sick with a lit lantern. Nuremberg Chronicle, 1493. Kingsford, *Occasional Offices of the Church*, pp. 46-47.

²⁵⁰ Sue Niebrzydowski, 'Asperges me, Domine, hyssopo: male voices, female interpretation and the medieval English purification of women after childbirth ceremony', *Early Music*, 39 (2011), 328. Quoting G. McMurray Gibson, 'Blessing from sun and moon: churching as women's theater', in *Bodies and disciplines: intersections of literature and history in fifteenth-century England*, ed. by Barbara Hanwalt and David Wallace (Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), pp. 144-145.

²⁵¹ SCA: FA/2/1/18, *Accounts of the procurator of St Thomas with the masters of the fabric, 1513-14*.

3.3.6 Other uses of lights

Lights were also lit near reliquaries during indulgences; for instance at St Edmund's, the Portiuncula indulgence which had been granted in 1400 required wax tapers during the feasts of Michaelmas (the feast of St Michael the Archangel), and of the Annunciation of our Lady.²⁵² Around two pounds of beeswax was provided which would have remained alight for almost 168 hours: that is, one candle each for one week or seven candles for one day (see Investigation 4 in Appendix 11). In addition, candles would have been provided for purchase by pilgrims visiting the relics at St Edmund's.²⁵³

Candles, or tapers, were also used at or near all the altars at the churches of Salisbury, where in addition to their liturgical significance, they provided illumination for reading the missal. Payments were made for cleaning the candlesticks, and this provides information about the altars present at St Edmund's. For instance, 'grete bras kandelstikkes' were 'stondynge afore the high awter', indicating that they stood in front of the altar rather than on it. Side altars such as the Lady Chapel altar and the altar of the chapel of St John the Baptist were generally each furnished with only one candlestick.²⁵⁴

The use of lights for individual (or small group) devotion, whilst being part of pre-Reformation ritual, could also have served a practical purpose by providing light at specific locations within the church. From the earliest accounts of St Edmund's a picture can be established regarding the number of altars, images, and sculptures of saints present in the

²⁵² The Portiuncula indulgence was granted by the Pope in 1216 to the Portiuncula, a Franciscan chapel outside Assisi. Robert Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 364-365, 505. WSA: 1901/65, *St Edmund churchwardens accounts and vestry minutes, 1483-84*, p. 60. Michaelmas (the feast of St Michael Archangel) was on 29 September, and the Annunciation of our Lady on 25 March.

²⁵³ In 1474, 2 lbs wax cost 17½d; rather less was used in later years, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 362. In the accounts of 1483-84 the indulgence is described as 'letters of olde tyme graunted'. Various indulgences were granted by the Pope to St Edmund's Church including those of St Osmund, and St John of Jerusalem.

²⁵⁴ WSA: 1901/67/6, *St Edmund churchwardens account roll, 1490-91*. Dummelow, *Wax Chandlers*, p. 22.

church and the commensurate number of lights (see Table 3-17). Unfortunately, few of these can be located accurately within the building except for the altars of St John the Baptist and Our Lady (see diagram of St Edmund's in Figure 2-13).²⁵⁵ Over time other altars were dedicated to St Nicholas, St Laurence, St Fabian, and St Andrew, as well as an altar of St Katherine which was situated in the cemetery. Further, the information in Table 3-18 provides an indication of the 'groups' at St Thomas's who maintained a light in the pre-Reformation period. These included the guild lights of the butchers and the cobblers, as well as the lights of the women of the parish.

John Ludlow (churchwarden 1520-21) bequeathed twenty sheep for the maintenance of the light of St Sebastian at St Edmund's: these were rented to a Master Chacy over a period of more than ten years. He presumably sold the lambs and gave at least part of the profit to the church.²⁵⁶ St Sebastian was considered to intercede to protect from plague, which affected Salisbury like many other areas in England from the fourteenth century onwards.

Unfortunately there are no known early records as to when it was rife in Salisbury, although the years when lights were purchased for placing before St Sebastian may have been those when his protection was most required, for example in 1473-74 and 1479-80, and later in 1531-32 and 1534-35.²⁵⁷ Images of St Gregory and St Nectan were also present at St Edmund's; these and others may have been wall paintings with a plinth or sconce attached to the wall for a candle, as at St Alban's Abbey (see Figure 3-28). Other lights included those of

²⁵⁵ St John the Baptist was in a chapel of the same name, north of the quire. The Lady chapel was south of the quire. Extant piscinas are present on the north wall of the chapel of St John and the south wall of the Lady chapel.

²⁵⁶ The sheep were rented out for 6s in 1531-32, 6s in 1538-39, and 12s in 1542-43, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 61, 84, 63.

²⁵⁷ Paul Slack, *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), pp. 61-62. During the long Reformation the plague was rife in Salisbury in 1546, 1558, 1563-64, 1579-80, 1596-97, 1604, and 1626-27. There was also the influenza epidemic of 1556-59. John Broad, 'Our Pestilential Past', *Rural History Today*, 40 (2021), 2.

the Trinity, the confraternity which was situated in the quire by the high altar, St James and St Christopher.

Table 3-17: Lamps, lights and altars at St Edmund's

Year	Swayne page ²⁵⁸	Image or light	Year	Swayne page	Image or light
1473-74	14	Image of St Sebastian Altar of St Nicholas Altar of St Laurence	1518-19	64 63	Rood light Visitation light
1474-75	17	St John's altar	1521-22	66	Rood light
1477-78	365	Altar of Our Lady Light of the Trinity Light of the brotherhood of the Holy Cross Cross belonging to the wives	1523-24	66, 68	Rood light Light of the servants Visitation light
1479-80	366	St Fabian and St Sebastian	1527-28	68-69	Rood light Visitation light
1480-81	367	Rood light			
1480-82	25-26	Altar of St Nicholas Rood light	1530-31	80	Rood light Light of the wives Light for the sacrament (i.e. visitation)
1481-82	26-27, 31, 33	Light of St Christopher Lamp of the confraternity in the quire	1531-32	60-61	Rood light Light of St Sebastian
1483-84	369	Picture of St Gregory Light of St Christopher Figure of St Nectan	1532-33	70	Rood light
1490-91	37-38	Rood light	1534-35	72	Rood light Light of St Sebastian
1491-92	39-40	Altar light of St Andrew Rood light	1538-39	84	Image of St Gregory
1494-95	42	Light of St Katherine Light of St Christopher	1541-42	86	Rood light
1495-96	46	Light before the great cross Visitation light	1542-43	62-63	Visitation light Rood light
1497-98	49 47-48	Light of the maidens Cross light Lamp in the quire Light of St James Light of BVM Light before the cross	1543-44	88	Rood light
1499-1500	50-52	Rood light Visitation light Lamp in the quire	1549-50	91	Rood dismantled
1500-01	54	Visitation light Cross light	1556-57	101	Light of the wives
1502-03	56-57	Cross light Visitation light			

²⁵⁸ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*.

Table 3-18: Lamps and lights at St Thomas's

Year	Swayne page ²⁵⁹	Image or light
1486-87		Lamp of the butchers; Lamp of St Christopher ; Lamp of the cobblers ; Lamp of the fishermen; Lamp of the women; Lamp of the smiths ²⁶⁰
1546-47	274	Light of the daughters; Light of the wives; Light of the servants
1547-48	275	Light of the maidens; Light of the wives



Figure 3-28: St Alban's Cathedral - plinth inserted in lower painting for support of light

A 'Great Cross' was sited over the screen between the nave and the quire of St Edmund's Church from as early as 1474-75: however, a rood light is not noted in the accounts until 1479-80.²⁶¹ In the same year, extensive work was carried out in this area when the space above the pulpitum was in-filled with wainscot and decorated with gilded stars, following

²⁵⁹ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*.

²⁶⁰ Not in Swayne. SCA: FA/2/1/1, *Accounts of the procurator of St Thomas with the masters of the fabric, 1486-87*.

²⁶¹ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 17, 366-367.

which the cross and images of Mary and John the Evangelist were erected.²⁶² Painted wooden candlesticks were added, and a trendle wheel hung in front with other candles held in candlesticks and secured by wires.²⁶³ This beautiful sight representing heaven, would have filled the tympanum at St Edmund's with light, in stark contrast to the frightening painting of the Last Judgement situated in a similar place at St Thomas's. The total cost of these renovations was over £17, which was a tremendous investment for the parishioners, showing their devotion to Jesus.²⁶⁴ The sexton Nicholas Cobler was paid to tend the lights before the cross, as were sextons after him; the payments were for lighting 'in due seasons and tymes' and therefore they may not have burned continuously.²⁶⁵ However, depending on the hours that the rood was lit, it may have acted as a 'landmark in the dark', enabling those in the building to find their way around.

A special collection for the upkeep of the rood light was made on Christmas Day each year, thereby showing its particular importance to the parish.²⁶⁶ In order to understand the degree to which parishioners were personally prepared to invest in this light, indirectly reflecting the level of devotion to the rood, the income received over time has been examined (see Figure 3-29), rather than the expenditure: it is possible that the latter would be affected by the amount of wax in stock or other more pressing expenditure requirements. Figure 3-29 shows

²⁶² 'Et Johi Aley, Joynor pro factura dorsi de waynescotte in posteriori parte Crucis in tot ad taskam xs, Et Wo Webbe pro iij^{bz} Waynescotis ad iden opus precii pecii xijd (plus pro id) sma iijs id, Et Johanni Coleyn pro pictura Crucis cum Maria & Johanne & pro deauracione Imaginum cum stellis deauratis in toto xvi li. Et Johi Sendall pro lez Crampayns ponendis ad fixand Crucem noui operis cum Maria & Johanne in toto ijs. Et pro claus occupatis ad totum opus vz lathnaylle sixpeny-naille vd, naille iiijd naille xd naille & stubnaille in toto xvijs ix d.' Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 49. Wainscot is an area of wood panelling. This was the same year as a new window was inserted.

²⁶³ A trendle (or trindle) is a long length of wick rolled in beeswax and then coiled up. C. Vincent, *Fiat Lux. Lumière et luminaires dans la vie religieuse du XIIe au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 2004), pp. 445-448. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 40. WSA: 1901/67/6, *St Edmund churchwarden account roll, 1490-91*. Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 165.

²⁶⁴ Equivalent to more than £10,000 at 2019 prices. MeasuringWorth.com, *Relative Value in UK £ at 2019 prices*.

²⁶⁵ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 49.

²⁶⁶ The accounts in Latin state *Colleccio pro sustent' luminis coram cruce*.

that the income reached its zenith in 1491-92 and then slowly reduced over the period to 1543-44. The reasons for this cannot be determined; however, it cannot be interpreted as a general decrease in the level of devotion in that a similar decrease in interest in the fraternity of Jesus is not evidenced from the accounts of St Edmund's: the fraternity maintained its income until it was disbanded in 1547-48 (see Chapter 2).²⁶⁷ Further, the quantity of beeswax purchased to make the rood light and tapers for the trendle varied tremendously: in 1499-1500 12 lbs were bought whereas in 1538-39 this had increased to 120 lbs.²⁶⁸ One reason for this was that it could have included donations of wax in some years, as a demonstration of piety by the laity which would have helped make up the weight.

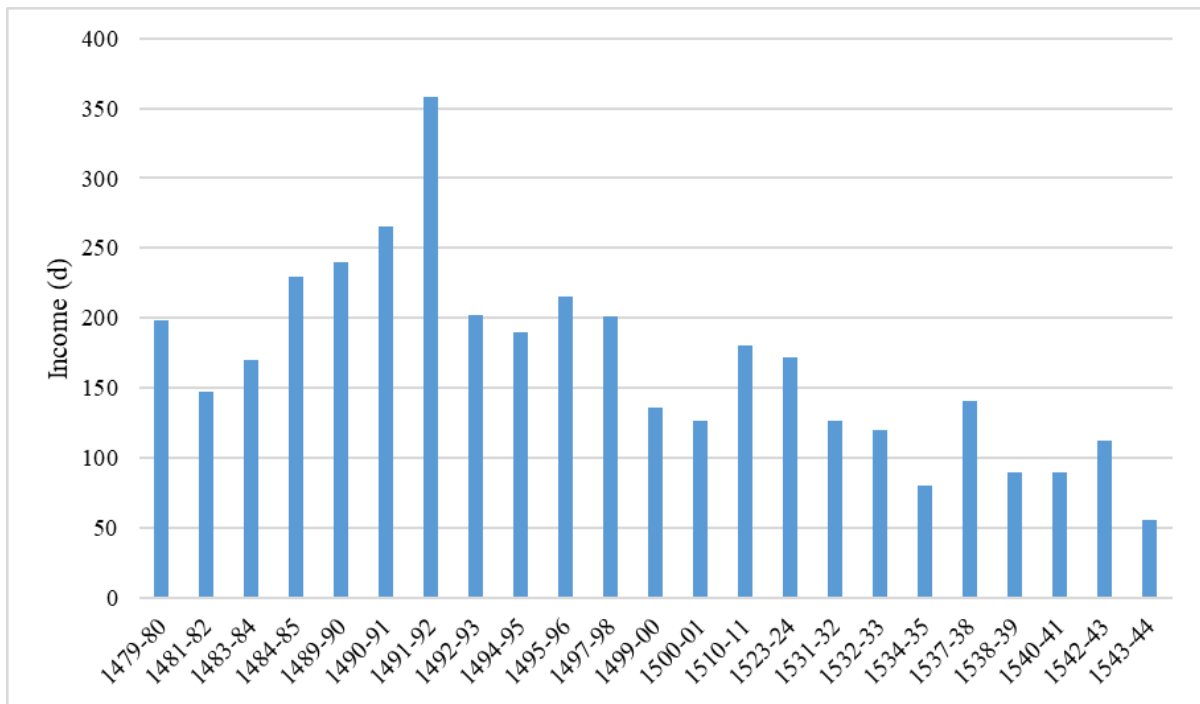


Figure 3-29: Income from St Edmund's parishioners for rood light

²⁶⁷ WSA: 1901/108, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1547-48*. In addition to money, goods in kind were also given to the rood; these included a pair of beads, a girdle, a pot of brass and fifty-five pounds of lead in 1490-91. WSA: 1901/67/6, *St Edmund churchwarden account roll, 1490-91*. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 36.

²⁶⁸ This low figure may reflect the purchase of 75 lbs in the previous year, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 84, 51.

3.3.7 The impact of Reformation

A reduction in lighting in the churches of Salisbury began in 1536 with the first Henrician injunctions. From this point, it was illegal to make offerings to the relics of saints or images; instead, such remittance was to be given to the 'poor and needy'.²⁶⁹ Two years later, Thomas Cromwell wrote a further set of injunctions on behalf of the king which specifically prohibited the 'offering of money, candles or tapers to relics'. In the parish churches the priest was to ensure that his flock did not put their trust in such idolatry, instead teaching 'works of charity, mercy, and faith'.²⁷⁰

Henceforth, at least some images at the parish churches in Salisbury were removed, thus altering both the religious and sensory facets of the church, and the touching and kissing of saints in order to form direct contact with their intercessory power was now banned. Included in this removal were the three crowns of St Gregory and the image of St George, both of which were located at St Edmund's.²⁷¹ However, as with the removal of the heads and hands of saints in windows, not all lights were removed at once: for instance, the Easter sepulchre continued to be used, as did the two lights on the high altar, and those on the rood.²⁷²

Nevertheless, there was a resulting decrease in the purchase of beeswax implied through the reduction in income shown in Figure 3-29, but the cathedral continued to pay the wax chandler for a candle to burn before the high altar on the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 'in accordance with old custom'.²⁷³

²⁶⁹ Injunction no. 4 in Bray, ed., *Documents of the English Reformation*, pp. 176-177.

²⁷⁰ Injunction no. 6 in Bray, ed., *Documents of the English Reformation*, p. 180. Injunction no. 10 in Bray, ed., *Documents of the English Reformation*, p. 181.

²⁷¹ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 83. WSA: 1901/69/11, *St Edmund churchwardens account roll, 1538-39*.

²⁷² WSA: 1901/69/11, *St Edmund churchwardens account roll, 1538-39*. Duffy, *Voices of Morebath*, p. 118.

²⁷³ SCA: FI/1/1/1541_3, *Communar's accounts Jul-Oct 1541*.

However, this situation was not to last, as the Edwardian injunctions of 1547 built upon the earlier orders removing the veneration of relics and images as well as the lighting of candles before them.²⁷⁴

Item ... you shall ... suffer from henceforth no torches nor candles, tapers or images of wax to be set afore any image or picture, but only two lights upon the high altar, before the Sacrament, which for the signification that Christ is the very true light of the world, they shall suffer to remain still.²⁷⁵

Thus only the ritual lights of the altar remained, and with all the others banished this was the only area drawing the attention of the laity. At least one of these lights may have been that burning continuously before the reserved sacrament.

Throughout the first year of Edward's reign, the Latin Mass, the elevation of the host and the belief in transubstantiation continued, along with the seven sacraments; however, in 1549 the injunctions of 1547 were countermanded as a whole, resulting in the prohibition of lights on the altar as well as the light leading the sacrament to the sick.²⁷⁶ Instead of paying for candles for the church any money raised for this purpose was to be put into the poor man's chest. Money which was earned from 'the rents of lands, the profit of cattle, and money given or bequeathed to the finding of torches, lights, tapers and lamps' also had to be given to the poor.²⁷⁷ In addition, articles were issued which prohibited the Easter ceremonies including candles and fire; in other words the sepulchre, Paschal candle, and the lighting of the new fire on Holy Saturday.²⁷⁸ The sight and smell of the weeks leading up to Easter, with its rituals of

²⁷⁴ Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1536-1558*, p. 115.

²⁷⁵ The injunction referring to lights was copied directly from that of Henry VIII. Injunction no. 6 in Bray, ed., *Documents of the English Reformation*, p. 181.

²⁷⁶ Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1536-1558*, pp. 116, 191, 194-196.

²⁷⁷ Bray, ed., *Documents of the English Reformation*, pp. 255-256, 177. Unfortunately, the churchwardens' account for St Edmund's Church is missing for 1547-48.

²⁷⁸ Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England*, p. 81.

creeping to the cross and lighting of the candles before the sepulchre were all gone; the laity must have felt the loss of their traditional religious and sensory experience, some perhaps contemplating how they were to mark Easter in future years as the most holy season in the Christian calendar.

At the same time, further images were removed from the parish churches: at St Thomas's, repairs were made to the places where they had stood. The lights of the maidens, and that of the wives, along with the *Corpus Christi* celebration also disappeared.²⁷⁹ Instead, in the following year, a new entry occurred in the accounts noting candles purchased for 'the fyrst Comunion'.²⁸⁰ St Edmund's parish coped with similar changes by selling their precious 'table that the Rode dyd hange on': however, no collection for the maintenance of the rood had been made since the previous year. Altars, including the high altar, the altar for the deacon and subdeacon, the first Mass altar, the second Mass altar, and the Lady altar, were all demolished and sold, further reducing the need for lights even to read by.²⁸¹ The reduction in church furniture would have made the church seem larger, leaving space for the much needed pews which would be required for listening to long sermons.

An inventory taken at the start of Mary's reign for St Edmund's shows that not everything from the old religion related to lighting had been sold or destroyed: the list included three pairs of candlesticks of brass, two torches of wax, the Paschal of wax, nine tapers, nine candlesticks for the same, and five candlesticks of brass.²⁸² Mary repealed much of the legislation of Edward VI and issued her own set of injunctions in which candles and lights

²⁷⁹ The 'table' was sold for 2s 8d in 1550-51. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 275-276.

²⁸⁰ The candles cost 6s, WSA: 1900/72, *St Thomas churchwardens account roll, 1549-50*. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 277.

²⁸¹ 1550-51, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 91.

²⁸² WSA: 1901/65, *St Edmund churchwardens accounts and vestry minutes, 1554-55*, p. 219. 1554-55, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 373. Items are missing in the latter.

were not specifically mentioned. However, she demanded that ‘all manner of processions of the Church be used, frequented and continued after the old order of the Church, and in the Latin tongue’ and ‘the laudable and honest ceremonies which were wont to be used, frequented and observed in the Church be also hereafter used, frequented and observed’. The demand for the reintroduction of processions led to payment for a new canopy for *Corpus Christi* at St Edmund’s, which was taken on procession in the city, led by torchbearers from the cathedral.²⁸³ Thus, lights for ritual purposes were re-instated, albeit for only a short period.²⁸⁴ The Salisbury churches once more abided by the monarch’s wishes, and although there were few specific references to lights before images, St Edmund’s replaced their Easter sepulchre, the Paschal candle made a brief return, and the wives once more venerated the Blessed Virgin with a light.²⁸⁵ Tapers were purchased for baptisms, and for the singers from the cathedral to sing the *Salve* during Lent.²⁸⁶ More major construction work included a new first Mass altar, and the reinstatement of the rood loft by inserting painted posts under it, along with iron clamps and bars. Finally, the wall behind the cross was painted – but probably not with gilded stars as before.²⁸⁷

Further changes to the physicality of worship occurred in 1559 when Queen Elizabeth issued her own injunctions, which reinstated those of Edward VI with only minimal changes.²⁸⁸ In addition, she added a further paragraph entitled ‘For the Tables in the Church’ stating that ‘the altars of the churches be removed and tables placed for ministration of the Holy

²⁸³ St Edmund’s 1556-57, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 101. The torchbearers were paid 2d, SCA: FA/1/1/15, *Fabric account, 1558-59*, p.19.

²⁸⁴ Injunctions were issued on the 4th March 1554, Bray, ed., *Documents of the English Reformation*, p. 315. Injunctions nos. 11 & 13, Bray, ed., *Documents of the English Reformation*, p. 317.

²⁸⁵ The Easter sepulchre was constructed of wood and painted, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 100. WSA: 1901/70/7, *St Edmund churchwardens account roll, 1553-54*.

²⁸⁶ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 103.

²⁸⁷ The cost was only 6s 8d on this occasion, 1556-57, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 101.

²⁸⁸ Bray, ed., *Documents of the English Reformation*, p. 335.

Sacrament'.²⁸⁹ Once again the use of lights for ritual purposes in the Salisbury churches was obviated: the rood was dismantled, and the altar stones were destroyed at St Thomas's, which also sold its funeral pall along with 'the gylte of the pycures'.²⁹⁰

The timing of services reverted to those held during the reign of Edward VI, when clergy were to 'surcease from singing of Divine service in the night tyme'. The royal injunctions for Salisbury Cathedral dated 1559 stated that services were to be held:

every morning from the first day of April until the last day of September at five of the clock after the bell is rung, and from the last day of September until the first day of April at six of the clock, use Common Prayer in this form following ...²⁹¹

Thus, only two candles were required for practical use at morning prayer, one for the priest and the other for the clerk, and these would have been necessary for only around half the year except when the weather was very poor. In addition evensong was likely to have taken place as at York Minster, where it was held at three o'clock in summer and two o'clock in winter.²⁹² Bishop John Jewel concurred with this, preaching that 'In the daytime it needeth not but was ever a proverb of foolishness to light a candle at noon-time'.²⁹³ A further candle may also have been required on each of the two lecterns - one of which was now sited to the north of the altar for the reading of the Gospel, and one to the south for the Epistle.

The emphasis in Salisbury, at least, was now on the use of the cheaper tallow candles, rather than the more expensive beeswax. Tallow candles were purchased to illuminate text at St

²⁸⁹ Bray, ed., *Documents of the English Reformation*, p. 347.

²⁹⁰ The rood is noted as being taken down on two occasions: in 1559-60 and in 1561-62. The pall was sold for 6s in 1559-60, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 280. 282. WSA: 1900/76, *St Thomas churchwardens account roll, 1559-60*.

²⁹¹ Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1559-1575*, p. 33.

²⁹² Henry Bradshaw and Christopher Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral vol. II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897), p. 109.

²⁹³ Tomlinson, *Altar Lights: Their History and Meaning*.

Edmund's Church from 1556-57, and from at least 1571-72 perchers of tallow were also used. These were constructed specifically for placing on a shelf at the back of the altar, where their height allowed light to fall onto the book, to provide a larger pool of illumination.²⁹⁴ Tallow candles were also purchased several times a year by the clerk of the works for general use in the cathedral. In 1561-62, sconces were installed in the quire between the singers to support these lights in order to illuminate their music.²⁹⁵ Additional beeswax candles were acquired by the communar for use by the cathedral choir during the celebrations of Christmas and Epiphany only (see Table 3-19).²⁹⁶

At St Thomas's, candles continued to be purchased until at least the end of the sixteenth century, specifically for the services of marriage and the churching of women following childbirth.²⁹⁷ In addition, an extraordinary purchase in 1570-71 included four 'link's, three 'staffe torches', and 2 lbs of candles of tallow, to celebrate 'the change of the queenes matres Raigne of the xiiijth yeare'.²⁹⁸ The links were around a yard long, and like the torches themselves, were probably made of either rosin, or wax and rosin; in London, links could be purchased in either yellow or black, presumably denoting the quality of beeswax used.²⁹⁹ The following year '2 lynkes and 2 li of great candels' were used to light the church at the visit of

²⁹⁴ 1556-57, 1571-72, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 102, 178. Perchers were sometimes called Paris candles which cost 3d each in 1571-72. In 1596-97 St Thomas's employed a joiner to install two shelves 'to set the candlestickes on'. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 302.

²⁹⁵ SCA: FA/1/1/16, *Fabric account, 1561-62*.

²⁹⁶ *In solut pro candelis ardentibus choro ad ffesto natalis dni et epiphanie*. SCA: FI/1/1/1569_3, *Communar's accounts, Oct-Dec 1569*.

²⁹⁷ WSA: 1900/96, *St Thomas chrysom book, 1569-92*. These are transcribed in Edmund R. Nevill, 'The Chrysom Book of St. Thomas, New Sarum', in *Wiltshire Notes and Queries volume 5*, ed. by Unknown (Devizes: George Simpson, 1908-1910), pp. 462-514, 561-566. Also in Edmund R. Nevill, 'The Chrysom Book of St Thomas, New Sarum', in *Wiltshire Notes and Queries volume 6*, ed. by Unknown (Devizes: George Simpson, 1911), pp. 19-25, 57-60, 107-110, 208-211, 266-268, 302-305, 344-348, 391-395, 455-459, 492-498, 547-550.

²⁹⁸ Link – a crude type of torch which were still used in the nineteenth centuries for lighting doorways and were carried by link boys escorting sedan chairs. Note 22, Dummelow, *Wax Chandlers*, p. 93.

²⁹⁹ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 285. Dummelow, *Wax Chandlers*, pp. 77, 93.

the monarch, 'during service time and sermon'.³⁰⁰ This may either have reflected the monarch's own position regarding the use of lights during services, whereby in the early years of her reign, candles were lit before the crucifix, or alternatively, such lighting at St Thomas's was of a celebratory nature, to be enjoyed by the parishioners.³⁰¹

By the end of the sixteenth century, an important change in illumination in worship can be seen in a cathedral inventory of 1583, where only five candlesticks are listed, and which by 1601 had been reduced to a single pair.³⁰² Similarly, at St Edmund's, by 1568 there were no candlesticks or lamps noted in the accounts, until 1582 when two were purchased with a further one of 'latten' donated in 1597 by Walter Burgges.³⁰³ However, in the seventeenth century, lighting seems to have become more important, perhaps due to an increased desire to read the prayer book by those able to afford their own copy.³⁰⁴ In 1622-23 a large candlestick with six sockets, and a five-foot board for two double brass sockets were installed at St Edmund's, which may have been placed in front of the pew belonging to the mayor and other civic dignitaries, as a similar board was present at St Thomas's.³⁰⁵ Six years later, the inventory reveals that both the minister and the clerk had frames with sockets to hold two candles each, fitted in front of their seats. The church also owned a brass candlestick with nine sockets, a wooden lamp with six brass sockets, and a single brass candlestick.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁰ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 286.

³⁰¹ Tomlinson, *Altar Lights: Their History and Meaning*.

³⁰² They were provided by the dean. SCA: Box 238, *Inventories for 1583, 1601 and 1624*.

³⁰³ WSA: 1901/65, *St Edmund churchwardens accounts and vestry minutes*, p. 210. Undated but probably for the year 1597.

³⁰⁴ The St Edmund's church inventory of 1607 states 'one brassen candlestick'. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 194.

³⁰⁵ The total cost was £1. 1662-63, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 175. There was a board in front of the mayor's pew at St Thomas's in 1619-20. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 309.

³⁰⁶ 1628, WSA: 1901/65, *St Edmund churchwardens accounts and vestry minutes*, p. 188. 1627-28, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 185.



Figure 3-30: Wooden pulpit candlestick at Weston-sub-Edge Church, Gloucestershire

In the seventeenth century, following the accession of King James, lights on the altar became a subject of controversy. In 1626, the puritan Peter Smart (1568/9-1652), prebendary of Durham Cathedral, accused those at the cathedral of popery when they burned two hundred wax candles at Candlemas, including sixty around the altar.³⁰⁷ He also condemned the way that they were lit by two choristers bearing lighted torches, bowing on their way to, and at, the altar and then lighting the candles and returning in a similar fashion, but backwards.³⁰⁸ Lancelot Andrewes of Winchester (+1619-26) agreed with him, stating in a similar way to John Jewel that ‘their burning of tapers in their churches at noon-day is altogether a pagan

³⁰⁷ Peter Smart, *To the Honourable, the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the Commons House of Parliament, the humble petition of Peter Smart, a poore prisoner in the Kings Bench* (London, 1640), p. 9.

³⁰⁸ In due course Peter Smart was accused of preaching a seditious sermon, and later he was imprisoned. Elizabeth Allen, 'Smart, Peter', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25745> [accessed 11 September 2019]. Candles for the cathedral were usually purchased during the period October to December each year.

custom'.³⁰⁹ However, in both the Chapel Royal, and in Andrewes' private chapel, unlit candles in candlesticks were present on the holy table, as was also the case at the coronation of Charles I in 1633; it is possible therefore that the candlesticks remained as a symbol of the presence of Christ, even though no light burned in them.³¹⁰

On the basis of available evidence, there were no similar issues at Salisbury Cathedral, where the quantity of tallow candles purchased was almost static during the period 1614-15 to 1632-33 (see Table 3-19). However, after 1635-36, there was a significant reduction in the use of tallow candles, and a small increase in the use of beeswax candles, as part of the Laudian 'beauty of holiness', which included the purchase of beeswax tapers for the communion table as well as for Christmas and Epiphany (see Chapter 5). The revival of lights seems to have been fundamental to Laudianism, and it is also possible that beeswax was specifically used on the altar at this time, perhaps because it was more expensive and therefore more precious. Further conclusions are problematic given the sparse nature of the available data (see Table 3-19 and Table 3-20).

³⁰⁹ Lancelot Andrewes, ed., *A Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine and other minor works of Lancelot Andrewes sometime Bishop of Winchester* (Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1846), p. 372.

³¹⁰ James Robertson, *How shall we Conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England?* Second edn (London: William Pickering, 1844), p. 89.

Table 3-19: Tallow and beeswax purchased by Salisbury Cathedral 1614-1643

Year	Tallow (lbs)		Beeswax (lbs)		Total weight (lb)
	Fabric accounts ³¹¹	Communar's accounts ³¹²	Fabric accounts	Communar's accounts	
1614-15	132	10	0	17	159
1615-16	132		0		
1617-18	132		0		
1618-19	132		0		
1625-26		16		16.5	
1626-27		10		15	
1630-31	132		0		
1632-33	132		0		
1635-36	156	10	0	26	192
1637-38	66	10	21	11	108
1639-40		10		11	
1640-41		10		11	
1642-43	72		24		

Table 3-20: Quantity of tallow candles purchased by Salisbury Cathedral 1558-1665

Date	FA/1/1/	Candles purchased	Date	FA/1/1/	Candles purchased
1558-59	15	30 lbs plus 4 lbs for visitor's horsemen at 3d per lb	1595-96	39	No candles
1561-62	16	50 lbs at 2d per lb	1596-97	40	12 dozen at 3s 4d a dozen
?1563 (part only)	17	24 lbs and 2 dozen at 2d per lb	1597-98	41	11 dozen at 3½d the lb
1566-67	18	31 lbs at 2d per lb	1600-01	42	11 dozen at 3s 6d the dozen (3½d each)
1567-68	19	42 lbs at 2d per lb	1601-02	43	6 dozen at 4d the lb (probably 72 candles for 132 lbs)
1569-70	20	57 lbs at 2d per lb	1602-03	44	11 dozen at 3s 6d the dozen (3½d each)
1570-71	21	56 lbs at 3d per lb	1603-04	45	15 dozen at 3s 6d the dozen (3½d each)
1571-72	22	44 lbs of which 16 lbs at 2.5d and 28 lbs at 4.25d	1604-05	46	11 dozen at 4s 2d the dozen
1572-73	23	Damaged	1605-06	47	11 dozen at 3½d the lb
1578-79	24	18 candles at 3d each plus 35 lbs at	1609-10	48	Candles 40s
1579-80	25	7 dozen candles plus 1 lb at 3d per lb	1611-12	49	No candles
1581-82	26	No candles	1612-13	50	To the Chandler for candles 40s

³¹¹ SCA: FA/1/1/52-55, *Fabric accounts, 1614-15 to 1618-19*. SCA: FA/1/1/59-60, *Fabric accounts, 1630-31 & 1632-33*. SCA: FA/1/1/62-64, *Fabric accounts, 1635-37, 1637-38 & 1642-43*.

³¹² SCA: FI/1/1/1614_4, *Communar's account, Oct-Dec 1614*. SCA: FI/1/1/1625_5, *Communar's account, Oct-Dec 1625*. SCA: FI/1/1/1626_6, *Communar's account, Oct-Dec 1626*. SCA: FI/1/1/1635_2, *Communar's account, Oct-Dec 1635*. SCA: FI/1/1/1639_1, *Communar's account, Oct-Dec 1639*. SCA: FI/1/1/1640_5, *Communar's account, Oct-Dec 1640*.

Date	FA/1/1/	Candles purchased	Date	FA/1/1/	Candles purchased
1582-83	27	10 dozen at 3s a dozen	1613-14	51	11 dozen at 3s 8d the dozen
1584-85	28	10 dozen and 7 lbs (127 lbs) at 3d per lb	1614-15	52	11 dozen at 3s 8d the dozen
1585-86	29	137 lbs at 3d per lb	1615-16	53	11 dozen at 4s the dozen
1586-87	30	10 dozen and 3 lbs (123 lbs) at 4d a lb	1617-18	54	11 dozen at 4s the dozen
1587-88	31	9 dozen and 10 lbs (118 lbs) at 4.25d per lb	1618-19	55	11 dozen at 4s the dozen
1588-89	32	114 candles at 3.75d per lb – each candle weighed 1 lb	1630-31	59	11 dozen at 4s 4d the dozen
1589-90	33	10 dozen plus 1lb for the glazier at 3.75d per lb	1632-33	60	11 dozen at 4s 6d the dozen
1590-91	34	10 dozen plus 1lb for the glazier at 4d per lb	1635-36	62	13 dozen at 5s 4d
1591-92	35	138 plus 4 lbs for the glazier at 3.75d per lb	1637-38	63	3 dozen for morning prayer and the belfry 13s; 2 dozen for the branch in the choir 9s; 6 lb candles for the lantern 2s 2d; 21 lb wax lightes for the quior £1 1s 10d
1592-93	36	108 at 3.5d per lb	1642-43	64	5 ½ dozen £1 7s 6d: 2 doz. for the branch; 6 lb for the lantern; 2 dozen for morning prayer and the belfry; Tapers for the communion table [...]3s beeswax
1593-94	37	132 plus 1½ of wax for the plumber to use in soldering at 3.75d per lb	1664-65	65	No candles
1594-95	38	11 dozen at 3.5d per lb			

3.3.8 Conclusion

Artificial light during the period of this thesis was regarded as a very precious commodity, which required forethought by the purchase of candles. During this period the laity would have found candlelight to be almost mesmerising, particularly when playing on such wondrous images such as the sculpture of the Blessed Virgin, who may almost have seemed alive, particularly with the interaction of multiple colours through the stained-glass in the windows and the shadows of passing clouds. Lighting also provided spiritual succour in a dark world, when death was always just around the corner. The association of this cherished light with the superstitious worship of images may have caused particular alarm to reformers who could not altogether ban the lights themselves, but only the images. This hold on the

public's imagination must have been the reason for the state ensuring the removal of lights in church. Although this reformation could be policed in the parish churches, the homes of the men and women of Salisbury could not be similarly controlled.

It is probable that before the Reformation more beeswax was used in the parish churches than appeared in the accounts, as donations were made by parishioners at Candlemas and during periods of indulgences; in addition, bequests were made either to specific altars, or to a deceased testator's parish church. During the period of the long Reformation the churches of the city of Salisbury appear to have abided by the legislation of the prevailing monarch, where with regard to ritual lights, Henry VIII had reduced their use, Edward VI banned them, and Mary once more allowed them. From the reign of Elizabeth I until the archiepiscopacy of Laud, candles representing Christ disappeared, although Laud seemed at least to encourage their use on the altar. Further, during the sixteenth century, altars and images were eliminated, resulting in a changed sensory experience for the worshipper, who no longer experienced the interplay of light and dark, or texture and colour, or the scents of burning beeswax and tallow. Instead, by the seventeenth century pew lighting had been installed and the laity were expected to use their sense of sight in order to read. There is no way of knowing how many images were destroyed or left defaced: however, saints could no longer be called upon in times of need. Touching, bowing and kissing images in order to activate a spiritual conversation were now forbidden. Whilst practical lighting in church was still allowed, this too was diminished by the abolition of services during the hours of darkness and it is possible that the removal of services which took place specifically at night was instigated expressly to obviate the requirement for candles and their superstitious associations. The reduction in the number of services led to a great decline in the requirement for beeswax, which may have led to the unemployment of some wax chandlers. However, there was now a corresponding

upswing in the quantity of cheap tallow candles purchased. This increased need, along with outbreaks of the plague, resulted in the requirement for more tallow than could be produced in the city. The corporation therefore became involved, ensuring that a fair price was set for candles and indeed, lending money to the chandlers to ensure that artificial light could continue to be provided in the city.

4 SOUND MAKERS

4.1 Introduction to sound



Figure 4-1: Rabbit tolling church bells¹

‘Bells call others, but themselves enter not into the Church’, stated George Herbert.² On the other hand, the church organ was rarely heard outside the building. Both church bells and organs were part of the aural world of the people of Salisbury; the only place where the sounds of these instruments emanated was the churches of the city. Both of these heavy instruments were capable of making loud sounds – probably the loudest that early modern man would have heard except perhaps for those associated with warfare. Noise can be distinguished from sound in that it is the result of many sounds brought together, where

¹ The Walters Art Museum, W.102, *Book of Hours*, f. 81r, c. 1300
<https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W102/description.html> [accessed 24 September 2020].

² Robert Aris Willmott, ed., *The works of George Herbert, in prose and verse* (New York: D. Appleton & Co, 1856), p. 320.

individual sounds are difficult to distinguish from one another. Although noise is sometimes considered to be sound out of place or unwanted, it was a crucial aspect of celebration and both bells and organs were ideally suited to this purpose.

The marking of bells with a cross in chrism oil at their holy baptism was a reflection of their religious importance, and although there is no evidence for the baptism of organs it is probable that they were blessed, but not baptised, at their inauguration.³ There is no indication of either such ceremony in Salisbury, but such events would have been a cause for huge celebration within the parish, particularly in that both bells and organs required substantial investment in their purchase, maintenance and replacement.⁴

Although fundamentally different in that bells were sounded through the striking of a clapper and organs through the forcing of air through tubes and pipes, both could be construed as musical instruments used to communicate with the people of Salisbury which required interpretation through their sense of hearing. In this respect bells could be seen as a form of corporate prayer, as they were rung both externally and internally before and during a multitude of services. This chapter explores the aural world of the churches of the city, firstly by considering the church bells and then the organs and singers. In the cases both of bells and organs, I ascertain how the construction and maintenance of these instruments is reflected in the accounts, and how their use in the city changed from the time of Edward VI. I argue that there was an increase in the ringing of bells for reasons other than services and sermons, and

³ Organs continue to be blessed in the twenty-first century. *Rituale Romanum, Blessings Directory: 26. Blessing of a church organ* (n.d.) <http://ritualeromanum.info/blessings-and-other-sacramentals-introduction-and-general-rules/blessings-of-things-designated-for-sacred-purposes/26-blessing-of-a-church-organ/> [accessed 26 October 2020]. The new organ at St Nicholas's Church in North Bradley, Wiltshire was officially blessed by the Bishop of Ramsbury, the Rt Rev Dr Edward Condry, at a service in January 2017.

⁴ Liturgy for this is to be found in the *Bangor Pontifical*. Manlio Sodi and Achille Maria Triacca, *Pontificale Romanum (1595-1596)* (Vatican: Vatican, 1997), pp. 520-536.

that the organ continued to be played in the churches of Salisbury throughout the Reformation even though the Book of Common Prayer did not specify music, unlike the Missal.

4.2 The church bells of Salisbury

‘If all the bells in England should be rung together at a certain hour, I think there would be almost no place but some bells might be heard there’ stated the Bishop of Worcester, Hugh Latimer in a sermon in 1555.⁵ In this he may have been correct, in that there were around 10,000 churches at that time from which 1,970 bells from the medieval period still survive in England. Further, around 415 bells founded before 1640 are extant in the diocese of Salisbury, of which four are to be found in the city of Salisbury: two at St Thomas’s and two at St Martin’s.⁶

Throughout the period covered by this thesis, the ringing of bells denoted prayer, worship, and liturgy, although over time their use was co-opted also to instil political celebrations - such as the accession of a monarch - with religious significance as well.⁷ In the seventeenth century ringing became less related to church services, as the bells were also used to announce local events. Before the invention of clocks with dials and hands, bells were used to announce the time of day. They also invited deliverance from tempest, voiced joy and grief, and spoke to God on behalf of the parish.⁸ Bruce Smith considers that church bells also provided ‘soundmarks’, whereby different churches could signal their news and mark the start and end of the day.⁹ As there were fewer churches in Salisbury than in London, it would have

⁵ Sermons Preached in Lincolnshire. George Elwes Corrie, *Sermons by Hugh Latimer, sometime Bishop of Worcester, Martyr 1555* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1844), p. 498.

⁶ George Dawson, *A National Bell Register* (2013) <http://georgedawson.homestead.com/nbr.html> [accessed 14 March 2019]. The four bells are located at St Martin’s: 1582 John Wallis (7th bell), 1624 John Wallis & Dawton (8th bell in F#); St Thomas’s: two 1581 bells by John Wallis.

⁷ Cressy, *Bonfires & Bells*, p. 50.

⁸ Percival Price, *Bells and Man* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 107.

⁹ Bruce Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1999), p. 53.

been easier for the citizens to recognise the soundmarks of their own church, which would have been rung at varying times of the day and night according to custom.

Bells were referred to by the gendered pronoun 'he', as though living, and were also named by the parish: for instance at St Edmund's there was a 'pancake bell', at St Thomas's a 'Coll Taylor', and at the cathedral a 'St Osmund's bell', and a 'Bishop's Bell'.¹⁰ Texts such as *Ora Pro Nobis* or *Ave Maria Gracia Plena Dominus Tecum* were inscribed on the crowns of bells before the Reformation, providing evidence that the sound of the bell in the air was considered to be able to carry the prayers of the people to heaven where God would hear their cry for succour.¹¹ Following the Reformation, inscriptions of this nature were sometimes chiselled away, particularly in instances when the bells had been dedicated to saints.¹² New bells now commemorated those who had contributed towards their cost; at St Edmund's these included 'John Strickland, Minister, August 1656' and 'William Stone, Maior, August 1656', thus memorializing men within both the sacred and the secular institutions of the city.¹³ With an improvement in bell-wheel technology, ringing also changed from a rhythmical clanging to a more musical sound whereby bells were tuned and rung in sequence, and with this came a new form of sport for the laity.¹⁴

This section of the chapter explores the changing methods of ringing in Salisbury and examines the costs of repair and replacement. Reasons for ringing the bells of the city are

¹⁰ Pancake bell 1641-42, the 'Coll Taylor' 1549-50, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 212, 277. St Osmund's bell, was first mentioned in 1558-59 during the reign of Mary I and some 23 years after the saint's feast was last celebrated. SCA: FA/1/1/15, *Fabric account, 1558-59*. For the bishop's bell, SCA: FA/1/1/50, *Fabric account, 1612-13*. In 1630-31 labourers were paid to roll 'him' into the belfry at the cathedral. SCA: FA/1/1/59, *Fabric account, 1630-31*. 1607-08, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 156.

¹¹ Pray for us. Hail Mary full of grace the Lord be with you.

¹² Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation*, p. 298.

¹³ H. B. Walters, *The Church Bells of Wiltshire* (Bath: Kingsmead Reprints, 1969), p. 175.

¹⁴ Christopher Marsh, 'At it ding dong: Recreation and Religion in the English Belfry, 1580-1640', in *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Natalie Mears and Alec Ryrie (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p. 152.

analyzed, arguing that although secularization did occur, bells continued to be rung throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for services and sermons, a practice which in turn provides an understanding of sensory, religious, and social change in the city.

4.2.1 Bells great and small

Bells were situated in all the pre-Reformation churches and hospitals in Salisbury.¹⁵ From the earliest records the church tower of St Edmund's contained six bells, as did St Thomas's; St Martin's had four bells which by 1590-91 had increased to at least five.¹⁶ By the sixteenth century there were also ten bells in a very substantial detached bell-tower sited to the north west of Salisbury Cathedral (see Figure 4-2), there being no bells in the tower of the cathedral itself.¹⁷ In 1635 Lieutenant Hammond visited the city and wrote that the cathedral had 'a strong and stately high Bell-Clotcher, with a merry and brave Ring of 8 tunable Bells therein'. Thus unlike St Martin's Church, where the number of bells increased over time, the number at the cathedral had decreased by two.¹⁸ Further, an alehouse, kept by the sexton was now sited next to the belltower, providing a useful location for refreshment following ringing.¹⁹

¹⁵ For instance, at De Vaux College, at the chapel of St John which was associated with St Nicholas's Hospital, and at Trinity Hospital. The chapel of St Nicholas was to be conducted with the same ritual as the cathedral. Wordsworth, ed., *St Nicholas' Hospital Salisbury*, p. lxiii.

¹⁶ WSA: 1899/65, *St Martin churchwardens and overseers account book, 1590-91*.

¹⁷ Paul Cattermole, 'The Bells', in *Norwich Cathedral: church, city and diocese 1096-1996*, ed. by Ian Atherton, et al. (London: Hambledon Continuum, 1996), p. 495. Chichester Cathedral has the only surviving English cathedral detached belltower. The belltower at Salisbury was 200 feet tall, and on four levels; in addition, by the early seventeenth century it was battlemented with the door to the south. J. M. J. Fletcher, 'The Old Belfry in the Close of the Canons of Salisbury', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 47 (1935-37), 609. 'Item to Kittle for xxxvij li of soder in & about the middle battlementes of the bellfree'. SCA: FA/1/1/54, *Fabric account, 1617-18*. The bell tower was demolished in 1790 when the sixth bell was re-located to the cathedral tower. Rev. W. C. Lukis, 'History of Salisbury Bell-Foundry', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (1859), 143. Fletcher, 'The Old Belfry in the Close of the Canons of Salisbury', 612. Crittall, 'Salisbury: The liberty of the close'.

¹⁸ L. M. W. Legg, ed., *A Relation of a Short Survey of the Western Counties Made by a Lieutenant of the Military Company in Norwich in 1635* (London: Camden Society, 1936), p. 64.

¹⁹ The alehouse was one of three shops in the close for which 26s is noted in the cathedral income. SCA: FA/1/1/58, *Fabric account, 1629-30*. Crittall, 'Salisbury: The liberty of the close'. Robertson, *Sarum Close*, p. 233.



Figure 4-2: Salisbury Cathedral from the west showing the freestanding bell tower drawn by Wenceslaus Hollar, 1671²⁰

Whilst the church bells signalled the times of services, the clock bells at each church were equally important in that they governed when the population was to rise for work and finish in the evening.²¹ A clock bell was also rung at noon on Saturdays, which may have signalled the Lady Mass before the Reformation.²² The clock belonging to the cathedral was housed in a locked clock-house, where it was tended by the sexton.²³ Salisbury is distinctive in that this clock is the oldest still in operation in England, where it was constructed in or before 1386. As with all early clocks, it had no hands or dial and only chimed the hours.²⁴ The clock at St

²⁰ Wenceslaus Hollar, (n.d.) <https://salisburymuseum.org.uk/collections/art-collection/west-view-salisbury-cathedral> [accessed 10 February 2019].

²¹ Rising at 5 am and finishing at 7 pm. 1623-24, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 176.

²² St Edmund's 1551-52, 1552-53, 1572-73, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 119, 196, 197.

²³ SCA: FA/1/1/40, *Fabric account, 1596-97*. SCA: FA/1/1/43, *Fabric account, 1601-02*.

²⁴ SCA: Press I Box 21 Document 33, *Clock indenture*. The clock is now installed in the north aisle of the cathedral. When the bell tower was pulled down by Wyatt in 1790 the clock and its bell were moved to the first

Edmund's was in existence from at least 1468-69, when 'Johanni Clokkemaker' was employed to repair it.²⁵ It would seem that the face was added sometime later by the bellfounder Henry Pynkere in that his insignia, that of a spread eagle, was sold by the church in 1633-34.²⁶ Although there may have been a clock at St Thomas's before 1546-47, this is the earliest record. The bell was replaced in 1593-94, and the chimes and jacks were maintained by T. Feyld of Westbury.²⁷ In both these parish churches the sexton was responsible for 'keeping the clock and the chime'.²⁸

Hand bells were also present in the city churches for use both inside and outside the church. A small bell was listed in the fifteenth century inventory of St Edmund's as 'a Belle of silv[er] wrytyn abowte w^t gloria in excelsis deo weyng xv uncs' which, given its weight, was likely to have been a hand bell.²⁹ The only other entry pertaining to such bells is that for a rope for the little bell that belongs 'to the ffyrstmas auter xd'. This bell was hung on a wall, or the rood screen, and rung using the rope which was attached to the clapper.³⁰ Such small bells were known as the *Sanctus* (or 'sance') or sacring bells; the former was rung at the start of the eucharistic prayer, and the sacring bell at the elevation of the host, in order to draw attention to the action of the priest and to heighten the sense of expectation amongst worshippers.³¹ At

stage of the central tower of the cathedral. Anthony J. Duley, *The Medieval Clock at Salisbury Cathedral* (Much Wenlock: R. J. L. Smith & Associates, 1997), pp. 6-7, 9.

²⁵ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 11.

²⁶ The spread eagle is to be found on shields on the crowns of bells to this day, including that at Winterbourne Earls. The emblem was sold for 4s 4d in 1633-34, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 199. Lukis, 'History of Salisbury Bell-Foundry', 144.

²⁷ 1568-69, 1571-72, 1572-73, 1591-92, 1593-94, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 283, 285, 287, 298, 299. A new clock was purchased in 1610-11 from Hans Thomas at a total cost of £21 19s 5d. Valued at around £4,000 in 2019. MeasuringWorth.com, *Relative Value in UK £ at 2019 prices*.

1610-11, 1611-12 Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 306-307.

²⁸ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 274.

²⁹ Although this inventory is undated in the vestry book and Swayne places it at around 1472, the bell appears with other items in the inventory in a different hand. WSA: 1901/65, *St Edmund churchwardens accounts and vestry minutes*, p.13. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 6. Lukis, 'History of Salisbury Bell-Foundry', 176.

³⁰ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 90. John Neale Dalton, *The Collegiate Church of Ottery St Mary being the Ordinacio et Statuta* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1917), p. 238.

³¹ During the final three days of Holy Week bells were not used but instead a 'clapper or clap' may have been used to signify the elevation of the host. J. T. Mickelthwaite considers that this may have been a piece of wood

Exeter Cathedral the great bell was rung from the tower at the same time as the *Sanctus* bell was rung internally, in order to inform the local population of the wonderful occurrence inside the church.³² It is possible that small bells may also have been rung at other times during the service, such as during the *Pater noster*, or at the elevation of the chalice. Again these would have drawn attention to the action at the altars in the church, potentially re-engaging the attention of the laity.³³

Other small bells were attached to the banners which were used in various festive processions around the city, when they must have added to the general joyful hubbub.³⁴ On the other hand a less happy event was signalled by the bell-men who were employed to go about Salisbury to inform the citizens of an obit or funeral, in order to encourage them to pray for the deceased (see Chapter 2). Further, the priest when visiting the sick was accompanied by his sexton who rang a hand bell; again this audible signal was intended to encourage prayer for the soul of the sick from those within earshot.³⁵ The scarcity of records in the accounts for these smaller bells probably correlates to the lack of maintenance which they required in comparison to the tower bells which in the case of St Edmund's resulted in more than 600 entries in the extant accounts, between the years 1474 and 1640.³⁶ Given the large number of services in Salisbury before the Reformation and the number of bells in the city, there would have been an almost

struck with a mallet. Micklethwaite, *The Ornaments of the Rubric*, pp. 56-57. A similar situation occurred at St Omer where pieces of wood were struck together to produce a rattling sound. Andrew Kirkman, *Music and Musicians at the Collegiate Church of St Omer: Crucible of Song 1350-1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), p. 181.

³² Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation*, p. 149. In some poorer churches these bells were one and the same. The eucharistic prayer includes the hymn *Sanctus* (holy), it is sung as the final words of the preface of the eucharistic prayer before the canon of the Mass. Robert Adam Hill, 'The Reformation of the Bells in Early Modern England' (unpublished Doctoral thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2012), pp. 62-64. Dalton, *The Collegiate Church of Ottery St Mary*, p. 238.

³³ Price, *Bells and Man*, p. 108.

³⁴ For instance, 'ij clappers to the bellis of ye banars'. 1523-24, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 67.

³⁵ For instance, in 1449-50, 4d was paid 'for 2 belman to pray in the town for John Moner's obit'. Swayne, 'Gleanings 13', 3. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 359. Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England*, p. 73.

³⁶ Small bells were also easy to destroy or sell for other purposes, unlike bells in towers.

continuous clamour throughout the day, designed to have been heard above the general noise of the populous at work and play.

4.2.2 How were bells rung before the Reformation?

Differing aural experiences for both the bellringers and for those in the city were determined by the method according to which the bells were rung. The majority of bells in England were situated high up in church towers, or in bell shelters on the roof to enable the sound to travel distances of a mile or more.³⁷ The very earliest bells were probably rung through the use of a board fitted at right angles across the headstock, on which men would stand with one foot on the board and the other on the bell frame in order to swing the bell to and fro.

Later in time, long ropes were attached to the bells which allowed ringing from the floor, or shorter ropes from the bells to a ringing chamber in the tower.³⁸ Different methods of ringing would produce different sounds. For instance ‘clocking’, whereby the bell was hung on a spindle and rung by pulling a rope resulting in the striking of the clapper on one side only, causing wear to the bell.³⁹ Tolling, or *pulsatio*, occurred when the bell was gently swung and then stopped slowly, which allowed the clapper to continue onwards to strike the bell.⁴⁰

Although some bells in the later medieval period were attached to part wheels (see Figure 4-3), they could still only be swung, and therefore with each pull of the rope, the clapper

³⁷ In countries such as France, bells were often sited outside the building in a bell cloche, and rung *en volée*. This method necessitated climbing out onto the roof area and pushing the bell to move the clapper. Although not on the roof, the great bell at Canterbury Cathedral required twenty-four men to ring it and it was probably rung in this way, as very heavy bells on the continent are still rung today. Tom Ingram, *Bells in England* (London: Frederick Muller, 1954), p. 6.

³⁸ Access to the ringing chamber would be directly via a staircase or through the clerestory passages. Toby Huitson, *Stairway to Heaven: The Functions of Medieval Upper Spaces* (Oxford & Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2014), p. 76.

³⁹ Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 462. Ingram, *Bells in England*, p. 7. This method seems to have been used at St Edmund’s, where the clapper wore the metal thin in the area where it was hitting the bell, and in 1518-19 the great bell required turning and rehangng. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 64.

⁴⁰ Ingram, *Bells in England*, p. 7.

would strike one side of the bell and then the other, known as *depulsatio* or ‘ringing out’.⁴¹ In addition, different church services may have been denoted by ringing the bells singly, in groups, or one after the other, and by varying the rhythms.



Figure 4-3: Old half wheel at Taylor's Bell Foundry, Loughborough

Apart from the text in section XLIV of Roger de Martival's Code, which states that bells were to be rung inside the church for the Mass of the Blessed Virgin, the 'collation' in Lent, and curfew, the main sources of information regarding the methods of ringing the bells in Salisbury before the Reformation are the Old and New Customaries, with further information gleaned from statutes of other churches.⁴² Although instructions regarding the method and duration according to which they were to be rung do not exist specifically for the parish churches of Salisbury, it may be assumed that they would have followed the procedure of the

⁴¹ Dalton, *The Collegiate Church of Ottery St Mary*, p. 232.

⁴² Wordsworth and Maclean, eds., *Statutes and Customs*, pp. 260-263.

cathedral. The customaries state that it was the duty of the treasurer to ensure that the bells of the cathedral were properly hung and kept in good condition; in the case of the parish church this would be the work of the churchwardens.⁴³ The altarists of the cathedral were to ring the cathedral bells under the supervision of the sacristans. In particular they were to ring on feasts of nine lessons, when the invitatory was sung three times, and on double feasts, and every day for matins, evensong, and none, as shown in Table 4-1.⁴⁴

Table 4-1: Bell ringing from Salisbury Customaries

Source	Day or feast	Service	Method
NCS, 56 ⁴⁵ NCF, 61 ⁴⁶	On every double feast	Evensong & matins	To be distinguishable and of the correct length to avoid men arriving either too late, or too early for services
NCF, 61	On all other feasts, weekdays and Sundays	None	None if after dinner: the ringing shall last for as long as it takes to walk a mile (about 20 minutes)
NCS, 56	Every day	Compline	A bell is rung once
NCS, 56 NCF, 61	On every double feast	Compline	A bell is rung twice
NCF, 61	On all other feasts, weekdays and Sundays	Compline	A bell is rung once
NCS, 56	Maundy Thursday and Good Friday	Compline	No bells
NCS, 56	Vigil of Easter only	Compline	Two bells are rung at compline, twice or thrice
NCS, 56	On all double feasts throughout the year	None	A bell is rung twice on the preceding day.
NCS, 56	Every Saturday and the vigil of St Lawrence	None	A bell is rung once
NCS, 56	Every day throughout Quadragesima up to Maundy Thursday and after dinner on Sundays	Collation	A bell is rung 'simpliciter'
NCS, 56	On double feasts falling between Quadragesima and Maundy Thursday	Collation	A bell is rung 'dupliciter'
OCO, 25.1 ⁴⁷	First Sunday of Advent	First vespers	A peal of bells to be rung before the reading of the Lord's Prayer at the start of the service

⁴³ He was to do this at his own expense and to fund any repairs. Section 5.2, Sarum Customary Online, *Old Customary (OCO)*. Section 5.2, Sarum Customary Online, *New Customary (NCS)*.

⁴⁴ The invitatory was an antiphon used as a refrain to Psalm 94 in the opening section of matins. Bangor University, *The Experience of Worship Project: Glossary*. Altarists were clerks in minor orders who in 1475 were behaving negligently and were thus admonished by Bishop Beauchamp following his visitation. Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions*, pp. 155-156. Wordsworth and Maclean, eds., *Statutes and Customs*, pp. 375, 379.

⁴⁵ Sarum Customary Online, *New Customary (NCS)*.

⁴⁶ Sarum Customary Online, *The New Customary of Salisbury Cathedral, from W. H. Frere, ed., The Use of Sarum, I (Cambridge, 1898) (NCF)* (2012) http://www.sarumcustomary.org.uk/exploring/PDF_files/6%20NCF/NCF-LE.pdf [accessed 6 March 2017].

⁴⁷ Sarum Customary Online, *Old Customary (OCO)*.

Bishop Martival's Code of 1319 also indicated that the bells were to be rung for as long as it took to walk a mile, perhaps twenty minutes; this length of time was to avoid men arriving either too early or too late for church (see Table 4-1).⁴⁸ Later fourteenth-century instructions were provided for the ringing of bells at compline, none, and at collation (a short rite which occurred before compline). These stated that the bell was to be rung once at compline except on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday.⁴⁹ It is probable that this does not signify one strike of the bell, but perhaps continuous ringing for the twenty minutes referred to above. On the vigil of Easter two bells were to be rung at compline, twice or three times: this could mean that the length of time the bells were rung was doubled or tripled. For all double feasts and the vigil of St Lawrence, the bells were to be rung as at none on the preceding day. During Quadragesima until after dinner on Maundy Thursday and for double feasts falling within this period, except for Sundays, a bell was to be rung once, and twice at collation.⁵⁰ From this it appears that the number of bells to be rung at any one time increased depending on the importance of the feast.

The New Customary of Salisbury uses the terms *simpliciter* and *dupliciter*, which may indicate 'once' or 'twice'; however, this is not altogether clear. The pattern of ringing is hard to establish and questions such as the number of bells to be rung together, and how often each pattern was to be repeated before a service are significant. If the translation is 'once' or 'twice', then again this would not refer to a single bell stroke, but perhaps one or two periods of ringing before the service. The word *simpulsatio* may have referred to the clapper hitting the side of the bell for one stroke with the mouth of the bell hanging downwards. When

⁴⁸ Wordsworth and Macleane, eds., *Statutes and Customs*, p. 261.

⁴⁹ Collation usually took place in the cloister or chapter house. It was a short rite with a reading prior to compline. Bangor University, *The Experience of Worship Project: Glossary*.

⁵⁰ Sarum Customary Online, *New Customary (NCS)*.

several bells were rung in succession this was termed *classicum* or chiming, and this type of ringing may have taken place during periods of mourning, or during storms.⁵¹ The statutes for Lincoln Cathedral provide further clues as to how ringing during the fifteenth century may have proceeded (see Table 4-2).

Table 4-2: Bell ringing according to statutes of churches other than Salisbury

Reference	Day or feast	Service	Method
Lincoln Cathedral ⁵²	Daily	Matins and vespers	Ring for an hour and a half prior to the service: ring one bell (unspecified); after a period of time ring two smaller bells, then ring two bigger bells after 'halfe the interval of time as the first', then two bigger bells to be rung, followed by the same two bigger bells after the original interval. The 'fifth peal' followed with bigger and smaller bells. Continue to ring as long as necessary [<i>per longum tempus absens fuerit</i>]
Ottery St Mary ⁵³	Ferial days	Matins and evensong	Four tolls – the first with a lesser bell, the second with the next largest, the third larger still, and the fourth with the two last mentioned bells
Exeter Cathedral ⁵⁴	Greater doubles	Matins and evensong	Two medium bells for first toll, two great bells for second toll, two heavier bells for third toll, all ten bells in succession [<i>simul omnes campane ad classicum sunt pulsande</i>]
	Ferial days for matins and evensong	Matins and evensong	First toll with one lesser bell, second toll with the next size, third toll with the next in size and the fourth with the last two mentioned [<i>copulatis</i>]

There, the bells for matins started an hour and a half prior to commencement of the service by ringing one bell; after a period of time two bells were rung, then after 'halfe the interval of time as the first' two bigger bells were rung, followed by the same two bells being rung after the original interval. The 'fifth peal' followed with bigger and smaller bells. This method of ringing would have given those who were asleep ample time to rise, dress and walk to the

⁵¹ Dalton, *The Collegiate Church of Ottery St Mary*, p. 233. According to John Aubrey the St Aldhelm's bell of Malmesbury Abbey acted as a talisman, when it was rung from the central tower 'when it did thunder and lighten to send the Tempest from the Town into the Country'. John Edward Jackson, ed., *Wiltshire: The Topographical Collections of John Aubrey* (Devizes: Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 1862), p. 255.

⁵² John R. Ketteringham, *Lincoln Cathedral: A History of the Bells, Bellringers and Bellringing, with an Account of the Lincoln Bellfounders* (Lincoln: J. R. Ketteringham, 1987), p. 39. Henry Bradshaw and Christopher Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral vol. I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1892), p. 273.

⁵³ Ottery St Mary had four bells. Dalton, *The Collegiate Church of Ottery St Mary*, p. 233.

⁵⁴ At the time of Bishop Grandison (+ 1292-1369), Exeter Cathedral had ten bells. Dalton, *The Collegiate Church of Ottery St Mary*, p. 233.

cathedral for matins, with the increasing intensity in ringing emphasising the urgency to make one's way to church. As in Salisbury, the five o'clock bell was then tolled, following which Masses could be said at side altars, and obits were to be celebrated. Halfway through high Mass at the *Sanctus* either two bells or three larger bells were rung. Ringing for vespers appears to have occurred in much the same way as for matins. Compline, the final service of the day, began with the ringing of the two largest bells.⁵⁵

The Soissons Processional, although not from England, may be used as an indication of the way in which bells were used to signal different services within a single feast.⁵⁶ In particular, the instructions for the anniversary of the dedication of the church are very detailed (see Table 4-3). The feast began at none when the bells were rung, before the 'gold and silver' were placed upon the altar. As the table shows, some methods of ringing were repeated, such as ringing the bells two by two, and ringing the major, or two major bells. The words *glassus* and *glasse* may suggest the chiming of bells one after the other, resulting in a combination of bells sounding simultaneously.⁵⁷ A possible method for this is to be found in the statutes for the College of Ottery St Mary. These statutes also suggest that at Exeter Cathedral ringing for matins and evensong involved four tolls – the first with a lesser bell (1), the second with the next largest (2), the third larger still (3) and the fourth with the two last mentioned bells (2 and 3).⁵⁸ Thus pre-Reformation ringing before and during services was a complicated process and a clear picture of the soundscape in Salisbury is unlikely ever to be determined due to a lack of evidence; however, some indication may be gleaned from other churches.

⁵⁵ Bradshaw and Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral vol. I*, pp. 365-366. Ketteringham, *Lincoln Cathedral: A History of the Bells*, pp. 39-40.

⁵⁶ *Ordinarius et processionale ad usum episcopi Suessionensis*, Paris Bib Nat MS Latin 8898, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8432463d/f1.image> [accessed 11 January 2019].

⁵⁷ Kirkman, *Music and Musicians at the Collegiate Church of St Omer: Crucible of Song 1350-1550*, p. 183.

⁵⁸ Dalton, *The Collegiate Church of Ottery St Mary*, p. 233. Further instructions for the ringing of bells are to be found on p. 142.

Table 4-3: Bell ringing in the Soissons Processional – dedication of church

Folio(s) ⁵⁹	Service	Method
161r	None	<i>sata altare oum[o] auro & argento p' none au[...] pulsatum</i> [Before all the gold and silver are spread on the altar, the bells are rung]
	First Vespers	<i>binis et binis pulsetum</i> [Ring the bells two by two until vespers]
161v-162r	Compline	<i>Signa maiora ad co[m]pl[ine] pulsent[ur]</i> [Ring the major (or great) bell until compline]
162r	Matins	<i>pulsentur signa bina et bina</i> [Ring the bells two by two until matins], <i>Post omnium autem signo[r]um pulsatum fiant tres glassus</i> [After each increase of the bells, the ringing of three 'glassus' takes place]
	Prime	<i>pulsentur signa maiora</i> [Ring the major bell]
162v	Before Procession	<i>pulsentur nouies maior ca[m]pana</i> [Ring the major bell nine times]
	After Terce, before Mass	<i>pulsentur omnia signa</i> [Ring each bell]
163r	After Mass	<i> finita missa pulsentur omnia signa</i> [At the end of Mass ring all the bells]
	At None	<i>pulsentur signa maiora</i> [Ring the major bell]
	After None	<i>pulsentur signa bina et bina et aduta m[is]u uno glasse</i> [Ring the bells two by two having one lesser 'glasse']
	Before second Vespers	Not noted
	Compline	<i>pulsentur ad co[m]pl[ine] duo signa maiora</i> [Before compline ring the two major bells]

4.2.3 Maintenance, replacement and development of the bells

In 1580-81 a rope belonging to the cathedral was damaged in use whilst dragging a bell from the bellfounders in Culver Street to St Edmund's Church.⁶⁰ Between the years 1467 and 1607-08, at least ten bells were cast for St Edmund's, the majority in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and whilst the evidence for St Thomas's and St Martin's is sparse, new bells were certainly purchased (see Table 4-4). Further, the final cost of a new bell is difficult to ascertain in that the cost of metal varied with the weight of the bell, and in addition, charges for the various components sometimes stretched over several accounting years.⁶¹

⁵⁹ National Library of Paris, *Ordinarius et processionale ad usum episcopi Suessionensis*, MS Latin 8898 (1501) <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8432463d/f1.image> [accessed 11 January 2019].

⁶⁰ Bells made in Culver Street were dragged on timber sledges with attached cable ropes to the churches. The damaged rope belonging to the cathedral cost St Edmund's Church 6s 8d in 1580-81. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 127. Culver Street (or Bellfounder Street) was in St Edmund's parish, where the bellfounder John Wallis (the younger) was churchwarden at St Edmund's in 1605 and 1606; he was buried there in 1624-25.⁶⁰ There was also an area of the city known as Bell Mead see Wordsworth, ed., *St Nicholas' Hospital Salisbury*, pp. 296, 303. Lukis, 'History of Salisbury Bell-Foundry', 143-144. For Bellfounder Street see Chandler, *Endless Street*, p. 109. Culver derives from the Old English *culfre* meaning dove or pigeon.

⁶¹ In addition, the bellfounder allowed for the cost of the metal of the old bell against that of the new. Lukis, 'History of Salisbury Bell-Foundry', 144. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 293.

Table 4-4: Bells founded for Salisbury parish churches

Year	Bell founded	Founder
St Edmund's		
1467 ⁶²	Dawbeney's bell	Henry Pynkere
1495 ⁶³	Treble & fourth	Henry Pynkere
1580-81 ⁶⁴	Great, third & fifth	John Wallice
1586-87 ⁶⁵	First	Wallice
1588 ⁶⁶	Fourth	John Wallice
1603-04 ⁶⁷	Great	John Wallis
1607-08 ⁶⁸	Third and fifth	John Wallis
St Martin's		
1581-82 ⁶⁹	Unknown	John Wallis
St Thomas's		
1582-83 ⁷⁰	Unknown	Unknown
1593-94 ⁷¹	Clock bell	Unknown
1630-31 ⁷²	Fifth	John Danton
1630 ⁷³	Fourth	John Danton
1662 ⁷⁴	All six bells	William Purdew

Bells were obviously important to St Edmund's parish in that in around twenty years at the start of the seventeenth century, John Wallis was employed by the church to cast the first, third, fourth and fifth bells, representing a substantial investment. Information in the bond for the replacement of the fourth bell in October 1588 states that the bell was to be: 'tunable in all things to accord & agree together in hermony (& musicke wth the) ffyve bells of the same p'ishe churche aforesaid. And so to contynewe sownde p[er]ffect (& tunable as he ought)'.⁷⁵ In that there were six bells, they were tuned to a hexachord with the assigned syllables ut, re,

⁶² Lukis, 'History of Salisbury Bell-Foundry', 144.

⁶³ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 43.

⁶⁴ Walters, *The Church Bells of Wiltshire*, p. 178. WSA: 1901/75/4, *St Edmund churchwardens account, c.1580-90*.

⁶⁵ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 134.

⁶⁶ Lukis, 'History of Salisbury Bell-Foundry', 149-150. James Leylande and Roger Thorpe were churchwardens in 1588-89 for which the account is wanting, but the handover at the year-end is to be found in WSA: 1901/65, *Ancient account and memoranda book with vestry minutes*, p.135.

⁶⁷ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 152-153.

⁶⁸ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 157.

⁶⁹ WSA: 1899/65, *St Martin churchwardens and overseers account book, 1581-82*.

⁷⁰ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 293.

⁷¹ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 299.

⁷² Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 315.

⁷³ WSA: 1900/174, *St Thomas vestry minute book, 10 November 1630*.

⁷⁴ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 334-337.

⁷⁵ Lukis, 'History of Salisbury Bell-Foundry', 149.

mi, fa, sol, and la.⁷⁶ The casting and hanging of a new bell and its associated components provided employment for a range of craftsmen and labourers in the city, including a carpenter, blacksmith, and labourers, in addition to the founder and his men. Items such as bell stocks and wheels were made by the carpenter, whilst ‘bolts, gudgins, verrils, keys, nails and clamps’ were the prerogative of the blacksmith.⁷⁷ Further, such irregular occurrences required the cooperation of other churches in the city who lent items such as sledges and rope for transporting the bell, and labour to raise ‘him’ into the tower.⁷⁸ It must have been an exciting moment for the parishioners when the bell was rung for the first time, sounding out across the city.

Both the bells themselves and the ringing apparatus wore out over time and required maintenance. The main elements which were replaced included metal parts such as clappers, crowns, canons and gudgeon bolts; wooden frames, boxes, and wheels; and baldricks which required leather from the tannery. Bell ropes were made of rough hemp with a protective covering of white leather in order to prevent chafing of the ringers’ hands. The sense of touch on the rope in order to get the bell to sound at the correct time was almost as important to the ringers as their ability to hear individual bells, particularly the one that they were ringing, so that they could ring in time.⁷⁹ The sexton regularly applied grease, in the form of lard, tallow,

⁷⁶ Wallis was to be paid six pence per pound of metal over and above the weight of the old bell, and he was to pay the churchwardens four pence a pound if the new bell did not require all the metal of the old. Lukis, 'History of Salisbury Bell-Foundry', 149-150. Hexachord: a scale segment of six adjacent notes, with intervals of tone–tone–semitone–tone–tone. Five bells were tuned to the diatonic scale. David Hiley, 'Hexachord', in *Oxford Companion to Music*, ed. by Alison Latham (2011) <https://www.oxfordreference-com.ezproxie.bham.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780199579037.001.0001/acref-9780199579037-e-3243?rskey=cxHm2X&result=1> [accessed 12 October 2020].

⁷⁷ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 147.

⁷⁸ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 153.

⁷⁹ White leather is horse leather. 1531-32. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 61. Ropes were obtained from ropers in Bridport, Dorset. 1547-48, 1624-25, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 181, 275.

or fish oil in order to lubricate and protect the metal components.⁸⁰ Table 4-5 shows the percentage of income at St Edmund's spent on the maintenance of the bells for a sample of years during the period 1500 to 1640. The high figures in 1603-04 and 1607-08 represent years in which new bells were cast: there were many individual costs associated with maintenance and replacement, and excluding these two years, the percentage of the total annual income spent on bell maintenance ranged between 0.7% and 7.2%.

Table 4-5: Percentage of income spent on bell maintenance at St Edmund's Church

Year	Spent on maintenance			% spent on maintenance	Year	Spent on maintenance			% spent on maintenance
	£	s	d			£	s	d	
1500-01	0	18	11.5	3.9	1603-04	19	10	1	63.9
1510-11	0	9	3	1.5	1605-06	3	3	0	4.6
1517-18	0	11	6.5	1.9	1606-07	4	13	10	7.3
1518-19	1	2	5.5	7.2	1607-08	11	8	3	23.6
1521-22	0	17	9	6.3	1608-09	2	7	8	6.2
1551-52	0	3	0	0.7	1635-36	3	4	2	4.5
1552-53	0	0	16	1.1	1636-37	2	3	0	5.4
1553-54	1	14	4	6.1	1637-38	1	19	0	3.5
1556-57	0	10	4	5.2	1638-39	1	16	0	1.5
1571-72	0	9	4	1.1	1640-41	2	11	3	5.4
1573-74	1	0	1	2.5					

The introduction of change ringing occurred with the innovation of three-quarter wheels, and in turn, full bell wheels (see Figure 4-4 and Figure 4-5).⁸¹ It was this significant improvement which enabled the bell to be set with its mouth upwards, allowing bells to be stopped as required, thus allowing intricate repeating patterns of ringing bells.⁸² However, if the bell rope was pulled too hard, the bell frame and supporting structure could be damaged; the innovation of a stay and slider prevented this, as noted in the accounts of St Martin's in 1627-28.⁸³ In

⁸⁰ 1523-24, 1549-50, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 67, 90. In 1523-24 lard was used, but by 1549-50 this had changed to tallow. From the mid-sixteenth century there are references to the purchase of 'oil for the bells' and 'oil for the wheels' in the relevant accounts. 1550-51, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 91.

⁸¹ St Martin's had three-quarter bell wheels by 1619-20, although it was not until 1624-25 that work was carried out on the bell tower, and in 1627-28 full-circle ringing was introduced at the church with the purchase of 'stays for the bells'. WSA: 1899/65, *St Martin churchwardens and overseers account book, 1619-20, 1627-28*.

⁸² Association of Ringing Teachers, *History of Bell Ringing* (n.d.) <http://www.bellringing.org/history/> [accessed 18 January 2019].

⁸³ Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, p. 262. WSA: 1899/65, *St Martin churchwardens and overseers account book, 1627-28*.

addition, the bells were now tuned such that their tonal relationship would allow fragments of liturgical melody or other tunes such as ‘Three blind mice’ to be rung.⁸⁴ In 1662 when the bells of St Thomas’s were recast, the bellfounder William Purdue promised to ‘make a verrii Compleat & tunable Ringe of six bells to the note of St. Edmondes six bells or [within] a q’ter of a note’.⁸⁵ This agreement was endorsed by the mayor, providing an example of cooperation between the church and the city within the realms of bell provision in Salisbury. Although there is no direct evidence that all the churches rang their bells simultaneously, this may have been the case when the king rode through the town, and thus the co-ordinated tuning of bells at the different churches would have ensured that they were less discordant.

⁸⁴ Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, p. 484. This was documented in publications such as: Richard Duckworth and Fabian Stedman, *Tintinnologia* (1668) <http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/gutbook/lookup?num=18567> [accessed 28 February 2019]. Fabian Stedman, *Campanologia Improved: or the Art of Change Ringing made easy* (1677) <https://www.whitingsociety.org.uk/old-ringing-books/campanologia-file-06.pdf> [accessed 28 February 2019].

⁸⁵ Swayne, *Churchwardens’ Accounts*, p. 334.

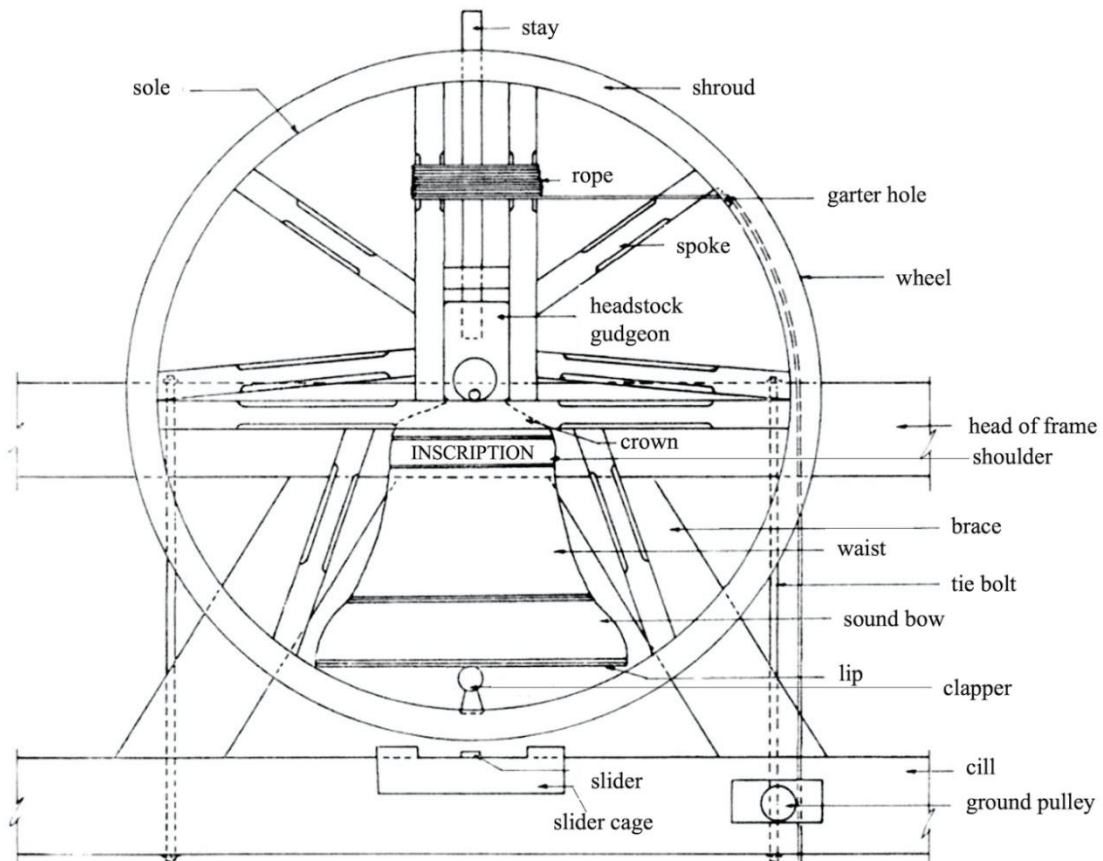


Figure 4-4: Diagram of bell and wheel used for full-circle ringing⁸⁶



Figure 4-5: Construction of full bell wheel at Taylor's Bell Foundry, Loughborough

In 1619-20 a peal was rung at the request of Sir William Jorden, this being the first record of change ringing in the accounts for St Edmund's.⁸⁷ For this to be possible a new ringing loft had been constructed and three-quarter wheels installed in the church.⁸⁸ Not only the parishioners at St Edmund's, but also members of the corporation, were keen to see these changes take place, as contributions amounted to £17 8s 4d, including those from the city elite.⁸⁹ The younger members of the laity, consisting of the maidens, and young men, along with the wives raised money towards the painting of the ringing loft and the stairs leading to it, which they would have considered to be their contribution.⁹⁰ The new-style bell wheels involved not only the manufacture of the wheels themselves but their installation 'in order for to be Runge up compass' (see Table 4-6).⁹¹ The total cost for the construction of the loft and wheels was significant at £44 9s 6d.⁹² The organisation of the building works would have been an enormous voluntary community effort by the parishioners and other citizens which would have been considered essential due to an increase in bellringing at this time.

Table 4-6: Cost of the ringing loft and 3/4 bell wheels at St Edmund's in 1619-20

Item	Cost	Item	Cost
Timber	£14 19s 2d	Labour	£0 10s 6d
Carpenter	£12	Scaffolding	£0 1s 6d
Painter	£3	Mason	£0 9s 6d
Plastering the stairs	£0 10s 6d	Plastering	£1 5s 2d
Nails	£2 19s	Lock and key	£0 2s 6d
Labour	£0 18s	Total for loft	£42 2s 0d
Timber for battens and boards	£4 16s 8d	¾ Bell wheels	£2 7s 6d
Bannisters	£0 9s 6d	Grand total	£44 9s 6d

⁸⁶ The Central Council of Church Bell Ringers, *Maintenance Handbook, Practical Bell Maintenance: A Pocket-Book for Steeple-Keepers* (The Central Council of Church Bell Ringers, 1979), p. 4.

⁸⁷ The charge was 12d. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 170.

⁸⁸ It was common at this time to rebuild the upper sections of towers in order to accommodate this new method of ringing. Andrew Woodger, 'St Cuthbert's, Wells, reconsidered', *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History*, 133 (1990), 196.

⁸⁹ Contributions included three trees which were sold for £3 as a bequest from Gyles Tucker (city recorder), and 22s from Henry Sherfield (soon to become recorder). Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 170.

⁹⁰ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 170. Peals were often rung at dawn on Christmas Day. Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England*, p. 248.

⁹¹ That is, rung up the hexachord. WSA: 1901/79, *Churchwardens Accounts, 1620-21*. This account is not in Swayne.

⁹² Around £10,000 in 2019. MeasuringWorth.com, *Relative Value in UK £ at 2019 prices*.

4.2.4 Changes in bell ringing in Salisbury during the Reformation

Prior to the Reformation, the main reasons for ringing church bells in the city had been services, parish processions and other feast days including those of the city guilds (see Chapter 2). The reform of the bells began in 1538, when Henry VIII banned the ‘knollynge of the *aves* after servyce and certain other times’, as the bells were thought to be the sound of forgiveness of sin.⁹³ Later, the Edwardian injunctions of 1547, which were subsequently reiterated by Elizabeth I, also forbade the ringing of holy bells which included both the *ave* bell and the *Sanctus* bell.⁹⁴ The only ringing now permitted during services was the knolling of a single bell, that previously used as the *Sanctus* bell, before the sermon.⁹⁵ Driving away the devil during storms was now also considered to be superstitious ringing and was thus forbidden; this prohibition may have caused some consternation on the part of the parishioners, who would have considered that damaging storms were a punishment from God.⁹⁶ Ringing before services and sermons, however, was encouraged: in 1566-67, Rafe the sexton was paid to ring a single bell for morning prayer, whereas ‘Nycolas burges & other ryngers’ were paid to ring at noon on Saturdays and saints’ eves.⁹⁷ Thus, the aural landscape changed according to the day and time as it had before the Reformation.

Ringling for funerals and obits was a major part of both the pre- and post-Reformation soundscape of Salisbury. In addition, it performed an important social function as well as providing an income stream to the parish finances. The ‘forthfare’ or passing bell, was rung

⁹³ It was only the ringing that was prohibited, not the prayers themselves. Hill, 'Reformation of the Bells', pp. 107-108.

⁹⁴ Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1536-1558*, pp. 126, 186. Hill, 'Reformation of the Bells', p. 110. Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1559-1575*, pp. 14-15.

⁹⁵ Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1536-1558*, p. 124. Hill, 'Reformation of the Bells', p. 63.

⁹⁶ Corrie, *Sermons by Hugh Latimer, sometime Bishop of Worcester, Martyr 1555*, p. 498.

⁹⁷ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 153. WSA: 1901/65, *St Edmund churchwardens accounts and vestry minutes*, p. 150.

for the dying; an example of its reduced usage comes from Worcester, where Bishop Hooper stated in 1551 that ‘from henceforth there be no knells or forthfares rung for the death of any man’.⁹⁸ However, no such proscription occurred in Salisbury, where ringing for this reason continued into the seventeenth century. It acted both as a call to the priest to administer the last offices, and to encourage the intercessory prayer of parishioners who would have instantly recognised the ringing.⁹⁹ Knells after death were rung for those in the parish, and for others such as the Pembroke family of Wilton, who had been associated with the city.¹⁰⁰ Bells were also rung again at the funeral and the burial, when the status of the deceased was denoted by the number of bells rung, and in turn, the higher the number the greater the expenditure.¹⁰¹ However, the cost levied by each of the parish vestries was such that virtually everyone could afford at least one bell. The charge varied from 5d for a single bell, to 10s for all the bells; those at St Edmund’s were more expensive than at St Martin’s, as more bells were available (see Table 4-7).¹⁰²

⁹⁸ The rest of the paragraph appears to contradict this initial statement. Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1536-1558*, p. 287.

⁹⁹ For instance in 1491-92 see Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 39.

¹⁰⁰ ‘Of goodwife loveday for a knell wt ye second bell for hir daughters childe’. WSA: 1899/65, *St Martin churchwardens and overseers account book, 1590-91*. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 143.

¹⁰¹ Before the Reformation, bells were considered to protect both the living and the dead against evil forces. Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England*, p. 72.

¹⁰² St Martin’s had four bells until a fifth was cast by John Wallis in 1581-82. WSA: 1899/65, *St Martin churchwardens and overseers account book, 1581-82*.

Table 4-7: Charges for bells rung for funerals at St Edmund's and St Martin's Churches

Date	St Edmund's		St Martin's	
	No. of bells	Cost	No. of bells	Cost
1581-82 ¹⁰³			1 (2 nd)	6d
			2	6d
			3	1s 9d
			All	2s 6d
1588 ¹⁰⁴	Second (2 bells)	5d		
	Third (3 bells)	1s 2½d		
	Four	2s 4d		
	Five	6s 3d		
	All	10s		
1607-08 ¹⁰⁵	Knell	2s 6d		
	2	1s	2	6d
	3	3s	3	1s 9d
	4	4s 2d	4	2s 6d
	5	7s 10d	All	5s
	6	10s		

Although the Salisbury accounts do not state how long the bells were rung for, the 1563 Convocation proposed to limit the ringing to one hour after death, and half an hour at the burial; a further proposal was to limit the ringing to one bell only; however, neither of these suggestions became law.¹⁰⁶ The Elizabethan injunctions of 1559, interpreted by the bishops the following year, established the parameters of ringing for the dying by stating 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.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ WSA: 1899/65, *St Martin churchwardens and overseers account book, 1581-82.*

¹⁰⁴ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 136. WSA: 1901/65, *St Edmund churchwardens accounts and vestry minutes*, p.135.

¹⁰⁵ St Edmund's, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 194. WSA: 1901/65, *St Edmund churchwardens accounts and vestry minutes*, p.205. St Martin's, WSA: 1899/65, *St Martin churchwardens and overseers account book, 1607-08.*

¹⁰⁶ Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 162.

¹⁰⁷ Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1559-1575*, p. 62.

This rule remained virtually unchanged in 1604, when the canons stated that ringing was to be limited to no more than three short peals: one after death, one before burial, and another after the burial.¹⁰⁸ This was corroborated by St Thomas's Church, where the sexton was told 'not to ring any knell on the death of any person above the space of one Houre'; if he did he would lose his employment.¹⁰⁹

In addition to knells, funerals, and burials, All Saints' day was also associated with the deceased. Tower bell ringing for this day seems to have begun in Salisbury before the Reformation but was then discontinued, to be re-started with the accession of Mary until at least 1560-61. Bells were rung from the end of the evening service until midnight.¹¹⁰ The approach of winter, with its inherent cold and dark, gave rise to the memory of the dead, with the bells being rung to drive away death during the coming season.

4.2.5 Reasons for ringing the bells of Salisbury

Within the context of nationwide injunctions for the use of bells over the period, this subsection examines the available evidence for the specific changes over time within the churches of Salisbury. From 1500 to 1547 the only evidence for the ringing of bells was for regularly occurring services, which at St Edmund's required the sexton to 'toll the little bell for a full quarter of an hour beforehand'.¹¹¹ However, during the reign of Mary I the bells were rung on the Monday to Wednesday of Rogation week, Maundy Thursday, *Corpus*

¹⁰⁸ Marshall, *Beliefs and the dead in Reformation England*, pp. 162-163. A bell-man was still employed in Oxford to tell the town of the death of a citizen into the seventeenth century; however there is no record of this in Salisbury. Marshall, *Beliefs and the dead in Reformation England*, p. 166.

¹⁰⁹ 1633-34, 1636, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 317. In 1639 the sexton, Joseph Gibbald, was not paid for three months because he disobeyed these instructions. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 320.

¹¹⁰ The bell-man had rung in the street of the city prior to 1560, and additional lights were also purchased. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 88. All Saints' Day is 1 November: in some places, ringing extended to the following day as well. Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England*, p. 45. St Edmund's 1473-74, 1556-57, 1560-61, St Thomas's 1546-47, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 14, 101, 105, 274. The feast of All Souls on 2 November was abrogated from the calendar with the Prayer Book of 1549 as being 'popish and superstitious'. Marshall, *Beliefs and the dead in Reformation England*, p. 97.

¹¹¹ Undated vestry minutes. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 153.

Christi, All Saints' eve and Christmas eve.¹¹² From the accession of Elizabeth I, ringing for *Corpus Christi* no longer took place, and that in Rogation week had been reduced to the Monday only.¹¹³

From 1549-50 onwards, ringing could be allocated to one of four categories: that for parish services and processions as before, for one-off local events, for one-off national events, and for annually occurring national events (see Figure 4-6). The ringing of the bells to celebrate events specific to the city of Salisbury provides an insight into the history of the city through its visitors. The death of Lady Pembroke, supposedly in 1549-50, is the first instance of such ringing for a one-off local event.¹¹⁴ Other events in the period 1548-1603 included several visitations by the bishop; the visit of Queen Elizabeth and the burial of Bishop Jewel, both occurring in 1571-72; the visit of the King of Portugal in 1585-86, and – at the command of the mayor - in the same year the ringing of the bells on race day.¹¹⁵ Bells were rung to announce the death of John Salcot alias Capon (d.1557) who was Bishop of Salisbury, and of John Piers (d.1594) the Archbishop of York.¹¹⁶ From the seventeenth century onwards the broadcasting of city events became more numerous, using a greater percentage of the parish revenue (see Table 4-8). These later events were dominated by visits from the reigning monarch and aristocracy, in particular King James I and his Queen, and Lord and Lady Pembroke. Further, in 1638-39 the bells were rung at St Edmund's when the churchwardens

¹¹² Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 101, 103.

¹¹³ 1560-61, 1580-81, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 105, 126.

¹¹⁴ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 277. Lady Pembroke did not die until 28 February 1552; the knell was also too late for her sister, the Dowager Queen Catherine, who died on 5 September 1548. The bells must therefore have been rung in error!

¹¹⁵ Visitations of the bishop: St Edmund's 1560, 1635-36, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 105, 204. St Thomas's 1578-79, 1641-42, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 291, 321. Cathedral, SCA: FA/1/1/61, *Fabric account, 1633-34*. SCA: FA/1/1/62, *Fabric account, 1635-36*. SCA: FA/1/1/63, *Fabric account, 1637-38*. Other events, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 287-288, 295. The bells for the races were also rung in 1590. WSA: 1899/65, *St Martin churchwardens and overseers account book, 1589-90*.

¹¹⁶ John Salcot alias Capon, Bishop of Salisbury 1539-1557. John Piers had been Bishop of Rochester (1576-77) and Bishop of Salisbury (1577-89).

were selected, and in 1641-42 when their new minister was chosen.¹¹⁷ It is of interest, though, that church bells in the city never appear to have been rung when the mayor was elected, or when corporation meetings took place. In 1588-1589 the churchwarden at St Martin's paid the 'somner for the warninge for to kepe holy day for the tryumpe of the victory over oure enymyes'.¹¹⁸ In other cases it is possible that the mayor would have received notice of his appointment and disseminated the information to the churchwardens or clerks of each parish. One-off national days of celebration began to be marked by ringing in Salisbury from the mid-sixteenth century: the first instance of this was for the proclamation of the accession of Mary I in 1553.¹¹⁹ Later, such events included the beheading of Mary, Queen of Scots in 1586-87 and the 'triumph in Ireland' in 1601-02.¹²⁰ In the seventeenth century, ringing took place for the coronation of James I, and the proclamation of the accession of Charles I and his later coronation.¹²¹ All these events were associated with either the monarch or with war. Ringing for annually occurring national events began in 1568-69 with bells rung to commemorate the accession, or 'crownation', day of Elizabeth I on 17 November, which had taken place some ten years earlier.¹²² Unlike the church of St Bartholomew Exchange in London, the churches of Salisbury did not continue to ring for Queen Elizabeth's coronation day following her death.¹²³ By 1608 the church was regularly ringing for four, and occasionally five, events all of which had been instigated by the monarch: Gunpowder Plot,

¹¹⁷ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 207, 213.

¹¹⁸ WSA: 1899/65, *St Martin churchwardens and overseers account book, 1588-89*.

¹¹⁹ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 98.

¹²⁰ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 134, 150. The Nine Years' War took place in Ireland between 1593 and 1603 and was the largest conflict during the reign of Elizabeth I. It was resolved through a resounding victory against the Irish alliance and their Spanish allies at the Siege of Kinsale in 1601-02, known as the 'triumph in Ireland'. Peter Marshall, *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 214-215.

¹²¹ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 152, 180, 183.

¹²² Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 77.

¹²³ Cressy, *Bonfires & Bells*, p. 60.

Proclamation Day, King James I's birthday, coronation day, and the king's deliverance from the Gowrie Plot. From 1627 this had been reduced to coronation day and the Gunpowder Plot.¹²⁴

Overall, ringing for annually occurring national events (shown black in Figure 4-6) became more frequent after 1568 and for one-off local events (green) from 1570 onwards; ringing for one-off national events (red) occurred more often after 1585 but it was not until 1610 that ringing for services and processions (blue) declined. For those years for which data is available for both St Edmund's and St Thomas's, it can be shown that St Edmund's rang its bells on more occasions for annually occurring national events; further, from the documented evidence, there was a greater use for services and processions at St Edmund's, although these are likely to have been of similar frequency at both churches.

¹²⁴ There is no extant churchwardens account for 1626-27.

Year		Cathedral				St Edmund's				St Thomas's				St Martin's					
1599	1600						█	█	█	█						█	█	█	█
1601	1602					█	█	█	█										
1602	1603						█	█	█								█	█	█
1603	1604					█	█	█	█								█	█	█
1605	1606					█	█	█	█										
1606	1607					█	█	█	█								█	█	█
1607	1608						█	█	█										
1608	1609					█	█	█	█										
1609	1610						█	█	█								█	█	█
1610	1611		█	█	█		█	█	█								█	█	█
1611	1612		█	█	█		█	█	█										
1612	1613					█	█	█	█										
1613	1614						█	█	█										
1614	1615						█	█	█										
1615	1616						█	█	█										
1616	1617																		
1617	1618		█	█	█		█	█	█										
1618	1619		█	█	█		█	█	█										
1619	1620						█	█	█										
1620	1621		█	█	█		█	█	█								█	█	█
1621	1622						█	█	█										
1622	1623						█	█	█										
1623	1624						█	█	█										
1624	1625						█	█	█										
1625	1626						█	█	█										
1627	1628					█	█	█	█										
1628	1629						█	█	█										
1629	1630		█	█	█		█	█	█										
1630	1631		█	█	█		█	█	█										
1631	1632						█	█	█										
1632	1633		█	█	█		█	█	█										
1633	1634		█	█	█		█	█	█										
1634	1635						█	█	█										
1635	1636		█	█	█		█	█	█										
1636	1637						█	█	█										
1637	1638		█	█	█		█	█	█										
1638	1639						█	█	█										
1639	1640						█	█	█										
1640	1641						█	█	█										
1641	1642						█	█	█										
1642	1643		█	█	█		█	█	█										
1643	1644						█	█	█										
1644	1645						█	█	█										
1645	1646						█	█	█										
1646	1647					█	█	█	█										
1647	1648						█	█	█										
1648	1649						█	█	█										
1649	1650						█	█	█										

4.2.6 The cost of ringing

Bells never appear in the inventories of church goods in Salisbury even though they were financed by and therefore belonged to the parish, which also paid the ringers for their services. Table 4-8 shows the percentage of income recorded under the heading ‘church works’ which was spent on bells and ringing for a sample of years. The year 1603-04 was unusual in that a total of £4 12s 4d was paid to the bell ringers of St Edmund’s, of which only 6s was for regular services and 2s for feast days. Regular national events cost £1 3s 4d and one-off local events, including visits of the king, queen and Earl of Pembroke to Salisbury, cost the parish a further £3 1s 0d.¹²⁵ This was also the year when the new great bell was cast and there may have been a requirement for ringers to be available as part of the commissioning process. The year 1619-20 was also unusual in that income was raised for the parish by ringing for the feast days of the companies of parchment makers, iron mongers, and bakers; this was a further example of cooperation between the parish and city.¹²⁶ Table 4-8 shows the percentage of church income expended on ringing the bells which increased during the period of the long Reformation, probably as a result of the changes in purpose for ringing identified above.

Table 4-8: Income recorded under ‘church works’ at St Edmund’s for bell ringing

Year	% of income spent on ringing	Average % spent on payments to ringers for each period	Year	% of income spent on ringing	Average % spent on payments to ringers for each period
1500-01	0.3	0.2	1603-04	15.1	5.0
1510-11	0.1		1605-06	2.3	
1517-18	0.2		1606-07	2.9	
1518-19	0.3		1607-08	4.3	
1521-22	0.2		1608-09	6.2	
1551-52	1.0	1.3	1635-36	2.5	2.2
1552-53	1.8		1636-37	2.5	
1553-54	0.2		1637-38	2.7	
1556-57	1.3		1638-39	1.2	
1571-72	2.0		1640-41	3.4	
1573-74	1.3				
				Average 2.475	

¹²⁵ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 152.

¹²⁶ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 170.

4.2.7 Ringing for pleasure

Much has been written regarding the pleasure gained by those who rang the bells, but these teams of skilled men were in the minority. Those who heard the bells sounding out across the city must also have enjoyed listening to them as they were responsible for financing their upkeep. In addition, Queen Elizabeth was pleased with the exercise that those ringing were taking as it was a 'sign of the health of the people'.¹²⁷ A development at St Thomas's proved that the bells were there to stay: prior to June 1623, the only entrance to the belfry was through the sexton's dwelling. To allow the ringers to enter without disturbing the sexton, it was agreed that he should move to the refurbished 'Beare howse' and a new entrance made to the belfry. Once again the mayor was involved in the church works by endorsing the church's decision.¹²⁸

The ringers themselves would have sensed the vibration of the heavy bells within the tower, as change ringing exerted considerable stresses on the building, which were to result in the downfall of the building structure of St Edmund's. During the year 1652-53, the bells were only rung on the fifth of November, the annual celebration of the Corporation of Weavers, and once by 'some strangers for ringinge for pleasuer'.¹²⁹ By June 1653, the ringing had caused so much damage that 'the Tower ... bee so Clift wth shaking, by meanes of the Ringing of the Belles ... that wee cannot without great danger of the Towers falling downe suffer any Peale to be rung againe'. Thus all the bells were removed except the great, which was used by the sexton to ring for services, and the treble bell which was used as the five

¹²⁷ Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England*, pp. 52-53.

¹²⁸ 1623, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 310.

¹²⁹ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 226.

o'clock bell.¹³⁰ Even so on the night of 27 June of the same year the tower fell.¹³¹ The accounts of July 11 stated that:

Amongst the many Eminent Mercyes that the Inhabitanes of St Edmundes parish have received ... [we] were saved from Remarkeable and Iminent danger on the Sabbath day ... when the Maior and many other principall Inhabitanes of the Citty with a great Multitude of Godly Christianes weer mett at [St] Edmundes Church for the Publique Worshipe of god. The walles of the Tower thereof were become ruinous ... and (by the unwary attemptes of Some, who had uncovered the Roofe and undermined some Pillars) onely not fallen. The maine pillars did bulge out, and sensibly shake: the cleftes in the walles were seen to open and shutt with Ringing the Sermon Bell ... so nothing but the very hand of God did keep the Stones and Timber from falling untill the next morning yt his one people were all Secure at home.¹³²

The account goes on to describe how this was a new salvation and the people were to praise, glory, and honour the Lord. Thus, although the falling tower could be seen as a sign of God's wrath, providence had prevented the death of the citizens of Salisbury and for that they were exceedingly thankful.¹³³ This terrible tragedy was now to be kept in the memory of the parish through an annual public thanksgiving day on 26 June. The loss of the bells was a major change to both the parish and the city; the original nave was to be dismantled, the east end repaired to form both nave and chancel, and a new tower eventually erected.¹³⁴ The bells at the cathedral, St Thomas's, and St Martin's continued to ring, with payments made to the

¹³⁰ June 19 1653, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 227.

¹³¹ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 227-228.

¹³² Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 228.

¹³³ For a discussion of providential language, Walsham, *Providence in early modern England*.

¹³⁴ 'The tower to be built up forthwith'. 5 March 1654, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 228, 230.

ringers for thanksgiving days and services including funerals, although less was spent on repairs, perhaps reflecting an improvement in technology.

4.2.8 Conclusion

From the early Reformation onwards, bell ringing became influenced by external events beyond the local parish, the city and further afield. It is unsurprising that church bells continued to be popular in Salisbury throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as they were of economic importance to the city, with men employed to found, install, and maintain them. On the other hand, bells involved a significant economic commitment by the parish, which paid for their maintenance and carried out extensive building works in order to house and ring them. As technology developed, ringing became more technically demanding, developing into a healthy form of exercise and pastime, and a useful addition to the household income of the ringers. The aural experience affected the entire city: both those ringing in the towers and those who had to endure or enjoy the sound externally. From around 1558, the cacophony must have improved somewhat as the bells, at St Edmund's at least, became more harmoniously tuned.

As has been observed in previous chapters, the mayor was involved in endorsing agreements for large scale works in the parish churches, thus accentuating the relationship between the sacred and the secular powers of the city. In the case of bells, this included the founding of new bells and associated building works such as the new tower at St Edmund's. Further, it is likely that the mayor was also involved in the determination and dissemination of the specific days and times that bells were required to be rung in order to broadcast news of events to the city. The input of secular institutions was further emphasised by the provision of an alehouse for thirsty ringers sited next to the cathedral belltower.

At no time does it appear that bells were threatened with removal during the progress of the Reformation in the city; in fact quite the opposite, as the number of events requiring ringing increased and developed over this time to herald not only worship, but also significant national and local events across the city such as the celebration of the Salisbury race day in 1647 when Lord Pembroke's horse won the cup.¹³⁵

4.3 Organs and musicians in the churches of Salisbury

In the year 2020, the Father Willis organ at Salisbury Cathedral was restored at a cost of £700,000, much of which was found by music lovers in the city and from further afield: in 1876, it had been a gift from a local benefactor, Miss Chafyn Grove.¹³⁶ Apart from the period during the Interregnum at least one instrument had been present continuously in the cathedral for over 500 years.

In this section of the chapter I argue that music was of great importance to the citizens of Salisbury and that this was especially true of organs, in that both the cathedral and the parish churches of the city retained their instruments until the Civil War. In this, Salisbury was distinctive in that the common occurrence nationally was for their destruction in the sixteenth century. Moreover, in the 1560s at least two of the churches and the cathedral purchased a replacement instrument, and the cathedral also extended and renovated its organ in the 1630s. This section begins by reviewing the use and replacement of these instruments in Salisbury prior to the Reformation before moving on to the later sixteenth century when the change in liturgy provided different opportunities for musicians including singers. At this point, the Salisbury churchwardens' accounts provide detailed evidence of the construction of a new

¹³⁵ Marsh, 'At it ding dong', p. 152. 1646-47, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 216.

¹³⁶ Salisbury Cathedral, *Father Willis Organ* (2020) <https://www.salisburycathedral.org.uk/worship-music-father-willis-organ/father-willis-organ-history> [accessed 15 October 2020].

organ at St Edmund's which, along with a later contract and the fabric accounts from the cathedral, demonstrate the processes involved in providing replacement instruments. The visual and aural sensory aspects of the organs are also considered throughout this section.

4.3.1 Pre-Reformation organs: provision, nature, and usage

In England it is likely that all early organs were single manual instruments with between two and eight 'ranks'.¹³⁷ By at least 1513, the separate 'ranks' were controlled by stops, referred to as 'obstructiones' as illustrated by the payment for draught stops at Salisbury Cathedral in 1530-31. Knowledge of the instruments themselves is limited, with only three fragments of pre-Reformation English organs in existence: these consist of parts of the organ case at Old Radnor in Powys, and two soundboards both found in Suffolk, one from Wingfield and the other from Wetheringsett (see Figure 4-7, Figure 4-8, and Figure 4-9). These were used by Goetze and Gwynn to reconstruct the organs for the Early English Organ Project.¹³⁸ Although there is a lack of physical evidence from the first half of the sixteenth century, archival evidence suggests that organs were constructed for all religious settings, and with the dissolution of the monasteries, instruments from these institutions may have been acquired by parish churches.¹³⁹ These small organs sounded very different from the later much larger

¹³⁷ Robert Bates in Kirkman considers the word 'rank' to be a misnomer as although this word is used, the number of pipes per note increased with ascending pitch; however, Dominic Gwynn states that a rank is a row of pipes, but none of the ranks had stops enabling other pipes to 'speak'. Mixtures are always referred to as having three, or four ranks etc. but only one stop. Kirkman, *Music and Musicians at the Collegiate Church of St Omer: Crucible of Song 1350-1550*, p. 143. Dominic Gwynn, *Personal communication*, 18 December 2020.

¹³⁸ These were also used for the 'Experience of worship in late medieval Cathedral and Parish Church' project. Goetze & Gwynn, *Wingfield Organ New Organ in Tudor Style* (n.d.) <https://www.goetzegwynn.co.uk/organ/the-wingfield-organ/> [accessed 26 June 2019]; Goetze & Gwynn, *Wetheringsett Organ New Organ in Tudor Style* (n.d.) <https://www.goetzegwynn.co.uk/organ/the-new-wetheringsett-organ/> [accessed 26 June 2019]. John Harper, 'An organ for St Teilo: a Welsh instrument in the pre-Reformation tradition', *British Institute of Organ Studies*, 35 (2011). Sally Harper, *The St Teilo Organ* (2016) http://s361690747.websitehome.co.uk/EoW2/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/da_01_org.pdf [accessed 26 June 2019]. Royal College of Organists, *Tudor Organs* (2019) https://www.rco.org.uk/library_tudor_organs.php [accessed 30 June 2019].

¹³⁹ John Harper, 'Continuity, Discontinuity, Fragments and Connections: The Organ in Church, c.1500-1640', in *Essays on the History of English Music in Honour of John Caldwell*, ed. by Emma Hornby and David Maw (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), p. 216.

instruments, with relatively few pipes and the need for large bellows to provide the necessary wind. From a sensory viewpoint, the early organ was a reflection of the sounds and sonorities of the human voice of the time, with the timbre of the wooden pipes sounding more natural than the metal ones.



Figure 4-7: 'Wetheringsett' organ at St Swithun's Church, Worcester¹⁴⁰



Figure 4-8: The bellows with handles which are pulled in turn to inflate the organ

¹⁴⁰ My grateful thanks to Andrew McCrea for showing me around this reconstruction of the Wetheringsett organ.



Figure 4-9: Showing the keyboard



Figure 4-10: The bellows with lead weights

There are only around 160 pieces of English liturgical organ music surviving from before 1560, of which the great majority are based on plainsong and are to be found in two manuscript sources: British Library, Add. MS 29996, and the Mulliner Book (British Library, Add. MS 30513).¹⁴¹ Much of the music during this period was evidently improvised, perhaps using a volume of plainsong melodies which may have included that in the 1472 inventory of St Edmund's listed as 'j booke for the organes in the ijde fo. jam tuam'.¹⁴² The surviving repertoire from the period shows that the organ was used in four different ways at this time: first, to replace the choir, sometimes with intonation by singers; second, to alternate with the singers as one side of the choir; third, to replace the choir in part of a chant whilst singers sang the solo sections, and finally, it could replace the soloists whilst the choir sang part of the chant.¹⁴³ Importantly, there is nothing to suggest that the organ was ever used to accompany singers in the Latin liturgy. The repertoire shows that it was used in the services of matins and lauds, as well as for vespers or compline on Sundays or feast days, but not for the 'little

¹⁴¹ Harper, 'Continuity, Discontinuity, Fragments and Connections', p. 215. John Caldwell, *Early Tudor Organ Music I: Music for the Mass* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1966). Denis Stevens, *Early Tudor Organ Music II: Music for the Mass* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1969). John Caldwell, *The Mulliner Book* (London: Stainer & Bell, 2011).

¹⁴² This is the only book in the Salisbury accounts which is listed as 'for the organs'. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 4. WSA: 1901/65, *St Edmund churchwardens accounts and vestry minutes*, p.9. This is likely to be the end of the phrase *propter magnam gloriam tuam* from *Gloria in excelsis*. Jane Flynn, 'Tudor organ versets: echoes of an improvised tradition', *Journal of the Royal College of Organists* 12 (2009). Andrew Wathey, 'Lost Books of Polyphony in England: a List to 1500', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 21 (1988), 10.

¹⁴³ Harper, 'Continuity, Discontinuity, Fragments and Connections', p. 228.

hours' of prime, terce, sext and none. Organ solos were used in the place of antiphons to the psalms or canticles in the Office and the offertory in the Mass.¹⁴⁴

The earliest mention of an organ in Salisbury was the purchase of a new instrument from the organ maker Robert Denby for St Edmund's in 1443-44 for which he was paid the sum of 11s 10d (see Table 4-9).¹⁴⁵ A further organ was installed by John Jekys in 1480-81, when two iron bars were purchased to reinforce the area where the organ was sited, possibly on the rood loft.¹⁴⁶ In 1517-18, St Edmund's Church undertook extensive repairs to the tower, the windows, and the bells; it is unsurprising therefore that a parish collection was required specifically for the maintenance or replacement of the organ at a cost of £16.¹⁴⁷ Such benevolence towards funding the instrument indicated that parishioners considered its use in services to be essential and also, as with the church bells, that they presumably enjoyed hearing it being played.

Table 4-9: New organs installed in the churches of Salisbury

Date	Church	Organ maker	Cost
1443-44	St Edmund's	Robert Denby	11s 10d
1480-81	St Edmund's	John Jekys	£2 0s 0d
1517-18	St Edmund's	'Organ maker'	£16 0s 0d
1530-31	Cathedral	Michael Langhedull	£13 6s 0d
1539-40	Cathedral	Robert Clarke	£1 13s 8d
1567-69	St Edmund's	Hugh Chappington	£24 12s 11d
1567-68	Cathedral	Possibly Hugh Chappington	Unknown
1568-69	St Thomas's	Hugh Chappington	£35 5s 6d
1603-04	St Martin's	Unknown	Unknown
1632-33	St Martin's	Possibly John Hayward	At least £4 7s 11d
1635-36	Cathedral	John Burward	£220

¹⁴⁴ John Harper, *Organ music and liturgy 1500-1800* (unpublished work), pp. 3, 8.

¹⁴⁵ WSA: 1901/66/1, *St Edmund churchwarden account roll, 1443-45*. 'Roberto Denby pro factura le Orgelis xjs xd'. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 358.

¹⁴⁶ 'Et in denariis solutis pro factura & renouacione Organorum Ecclesie ad Tacham hoc anno xls'. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 25, 26.

¹⁴⁷ The parish raised £5 0s 9d. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 59.

The churches of Salisbury seem to have possessed multiple organs: for instance from at least 1449, there were two instruments at St Edmund's, and at least three at Salisbury Cathedral, all of which required maintenance.¹⁴⁸ As these instruments were cumbersome and difficult to move once they were installed, they needed to be sited in the area where they were to be played. Organs of different sizes also provided differing aural experiences: for instance smaller instruments were more suited to confined areas where fewer men gathered to sing, such as the side chapels, whereas larger ones were used in the nave for festivals, where the clergy and congregation were more numerous. Prior to the Reformation, one organ stood in the cathedral Lady Chapel, which may have been the same instrument as that noted as being present by the altar of the Holy Trinity in 1527; it was in the same year that the first records of payments to an organ player and organ blower were made.¹⁴⁹ A further instrument was present in the nave, and it is likely that a third was situated in the quire.

In July 1530, Michael Langhedull was paid the sum of £13 6s 8d for a new instrument and for improving that in the Trinity chapel.¹⁵⁰ Langhedull was from a family of organ builders who were originally from Ypres: Michael was known to have constructed organs in England and later in Flanders.¹⁵¹ In November 1539, a further small instrument was erected on a stand in an enclosure in the quire, possibly near the high altar. This was the work of the organ maker Robert Clarke of Winchester, who also repaired the organ in the Lady Chapel, and that in the nave of the cathedral. Carriage of the new instrument was arranged by Thomas Knyght from

¹⁴⁸ 1549-50, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 89.

¹⁴⁹ The organ in the Trinity Chapel was repaired by Robert Clerc. SCA: FA/1/3/1, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric*, p. 4. Betty Matthews, *The Organs and Organists of Salisbury Cathedral* 3rd edn (Salisbury: Salisbury Cathedral, 1983), p. 4. In both cases Thomas Flege the blacksmith was paid to repair iron staples and hasps. SCA: FA/3/1/1/22, *Mr Harding's notes on the fabric, 1891*, p. 37.

¹⁵⁰ 'Itm solut Michi Langhedull factore organor[um]'. SCA: FA/1/3/1, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric*, Term IV, 1529-1530, p. 24. SCA: FA/1/3/1, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric*, Term I, 1530-31, p. 29. SCA: FA/1/1/12, *Fabric Account, 1530-31*, p. 16.

¹⁵¹ Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 63.

Winchester, where he may have been employed as cathedral organist at some time prior to moving to Salisbury Cathedral, where he was later to become organist.¹⁵²

4.3.2 The Reformation

The period from 1534-50 saw religious and political transformation across England. In 1547 with the suppression of the chantries, and later of the guilds and collegiate churches (see Chapter 2), including that of St Edmund's, both personnel and funding for music were drastically reduced.¹⁵³ At first, there were few changes to the liturgy, until the introduction of the first Book of Common Prayer (BCP) by Edward VI in 1549 (see Figure 4-11), which reduced services to matins (morning prayer), Mass (holy communion) - which was only to be celebrated at the high altar - and evening prayer. Further, the elevation of the host, votive Masses and most of the traditional feast and fast days which had taken place in side chapels were also abolished.¹⁵⁴ At a stroke the music sung in Latin was rendered obsolete, in that it now had to be in the vernacular. This was a major change for the laity across the country, where the choir had been an important feature in services but was now no longer aurally significant, having been generally reduced to a clerk and a priest.¹⁵⁵ However, the parish churches of Salisbury continued to pay some singers from 1551-52 until the end of the sixteenth century. Whilst all of these changes would have reduced the need for organ music, and therefore also for the organs, there is little direct evidence of this in the Salisbury accounts, although instruments which had been placed in the Lady Chapel, or beside a

¹⁵² Knyght first appears as vicar choral at Salisbury Cathedral around 1526.

¹⁵³ Peter LeHuray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1967), p. 13.

¹⁵⁴ Bray, ed., *Documents of the English Reformation*, pp. 266-267.

¹⁵⁵ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 465. The titles minister and priest were used interchangeably in the Prayer Book at this time. Brian Cummings, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 14, 22, 48, 49.

specific altar for votive Masses, were likely to have been dismantled at this time, in that they were surplus to requirements.¹⁵⁶

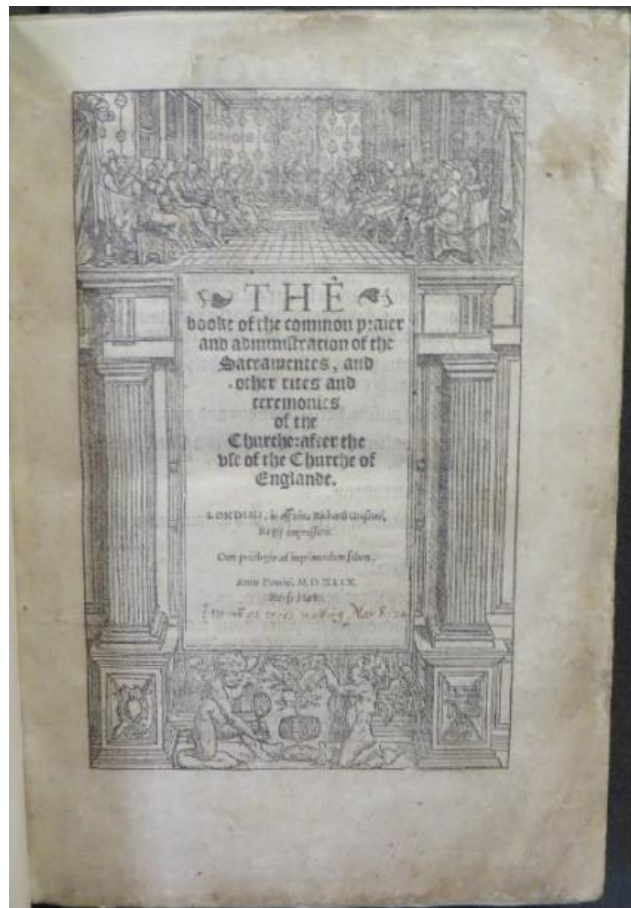


Figure 4-11: Frontispiece of the Book of Common Prayer 1549¹⁵⁷

In 1556-57 major repairs to the organ at St Edmund's were required; these were initiated by the clerk, who may have found the instrument in worse repair than was first thought, as the organ maker later carried out repairs to the bellows and to the metalwork as well. It would seem that the churchwardens were unable to find all of the money for this, as the following year a collection was once again taken from the parishioners to cover the remainder of the

¹⁵⁶ In 1550, there were still however two organs at St Edmund's, referred to in the accounts as a 'Greate' and 'lytle'. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 89. Magnus Williamson, 'Liturgical Music in the Late Medieval Parish: Organs and Voices, Ways and Means', in *The Parish in Late Medieval England: Proceedings of the 2002 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Clive Burgess and Eamon Duffy (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2006), p. 221.

¹⁵⁷ DCL: F.IV.56, *Book of Common Prayer 1549*.

bill.¹⁵⁸ This suggests that there was still a demand for these instruments, supported through the generosity of the laity. Although the organ maker was not named, it was likely to have been Mr Ham, who seems to have been employed elsewhere in the city. In 1546-47 he was sent for 'to execute his office' at St Thomas's and he was also paid the following year for 'keypyng the organs' there.¹⁵⁹ He continued to maintain the organ at St Thomas's over the next few years and in 1552-53 he also repaired the instrument at St Edmund's.¹⁶⁰ A typical problem with early organs was leaking bellows, for which sheep skins and white leather straps were a regular feature in the accounts, necessitated by the sheer volume of action as well as rodent damage.¹⁶¹

The advent of the Prayer Books of 1549 and 1552 had left the organ as the main means of polyphonic embellishment.¹⁶² However, within a year of the death of Edward VI and with the accession of Queen Mary, the Latin rite, feast days, and processions were allowed to recommence, although insufficient funds and staff precluded the full reinstatement.¹⁶³ Following Mary's early death, Elizabeth I promulgated injunctions in 1559 which allowed sacred music before and after services only. However, the liturgy could still be sung where there was a statutory or endowed choir, such as in cathedrals, so long as the words could be clearly understood by clergy and laity.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁸ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 101-102, 103.

¹⁵⁹ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 276, 279. Mr Hamme was sent for in 1547-48 to 'execute his office', in 1548-49 he was paid for glue and skins for mending the organs, and in 1549-50 paid for keeping the organs, which could have meant maintaining them, but he was also paid for books for the choir. In 1550-51 he was paid wages of 40s. Mr Games was also present in the parish from 1549-52, where he may have sung in the choir or deputized for Ham. However, Magnus Williamson considers that Mr Ham and Mr Games are the same person.

¹⁶⁰ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 97.

¹⁶¹ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 63, 89, 101, 115, 277.

¹⁶² Harper, 'Continuity, Discontinuity, Fragments and Connections', p. 216.

¹⁶³ Queen Mary's Articles of 1554. Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1536-1558*, pp. 322-329.

¹⁶⁴ Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1559-1575*, pp. 22-23.

The repertory which can be securely dated prior to 1600 confirms that the organ was used for the accompaniment of canticles and anthems. Some anthems with organ accompaniment may have originated as sacred music outside the church; but canticles must always have been intended for use in divine service, where an independent organ part was used. In addition organ voluntaries by composers such as William Blitheman, and Farrant may have been played.¹⁶⁵ Although there is no extant music from Salisbury at this time, composers such as William Byrd probably composed his Verse or Second Service at Lincoln, before he left for the Chapel Royal in 1572, and Thomas Morley must have written his First Service during Elizabeth's reign, since he died in 1601.¹⁶⁶ The organ was also played in the Chapel Royal at Easter 1593 at the offertory, when John Bull was 'organist of her Majesty's Chapel', and also during times of entrance into the chapel by royalty and this marks the first use of the organ as a solo instrument in church services.¹⁶⁷

Many clergy returning from exile on the Continent were opposed to the use of organs in that they were considered to be 'superstitious'. In 1563, the Convocation of the Church demanded:

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 the Organs may be removed.

¹⁶⁵ John E. West, 'Old English Organ Music', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 12 (1911), 213. Blitheman was organist of the Chapel Royal, 1585-91. Farrant was probably Richard Farrant, organist at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, 1564-80, as opposed to either John Farrant the elder or John Farrant the younger who were organists at Salisbury.

¹⁶⁶ William Byrd, 'Magnificat & Nunc Dimittis for Verses - The Second Service', ed. by Andrew Johnstone (Norwich: The Royal School of Church Music, 2007); Harper, *Organ music and liturgy 1500-1800*, p. 5.

¹⁶⁷ Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music Volume VI (1558-1603)* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992), p. 61. Harper, *Organ music and liturgy 1500-1800*, pp. 4-5.

This motion was defeated by a single vote, but it was followed by a further request that the ‘use of organs be removed’.¹⁶⁸ Among those voting for the motion was the treasurer of Salisbury Cathedral, Thomas Lancaster, whose opinion seems not to have held sway in chapter, where the other three dignitaries held alternative views, in that the organ continued to be played there.¹⁶⁹ Change or stasis, even when related to organs, was dependent on the opinions, priorities and influence of individuals, as well as on practicalities. In this, Lancaster’s opinion failed to prevail either nationally or locally.

Some bishops, for example Horne of Winchester, actively sought to suppress organs, and across the country many parish organs were removed or left to decay as perhaps at Old Radnor.¹⁷⁰ Removal may have been the case at both St Thomas’s and at St Edmund’s in Salisbury, where the churchwardens’ account for the year 1561-62 witnesses the ‘taking downe of the roode lofte and organs’. Alternatively, it is possible that the instrument was simply re-erected on the floor of the church, or more likely on a platform against the wall, thereby allowing the removal of the rood loft to comply with the injunctions.¹⁷¹ Jonathan Willis suggests that only around 20% of the parish churches which began the Elizabethan period with an organ were still repairing one by 1590.¹⁷² This situation continued until the late seventeenth century; however, this outcome was not so pronounced for cathedrals, colleges

¹⁶⁸ Roger Bowers, ‘The Chapel Royal, the first Edwardian Prayer Book and Elizabeth’s settlement of religion 1559’, *The Historical Journal*, 43.2 (2000). The second motion was also defeated but the vote was similarly close: 58 for the motion and 59 against. John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation, I part i* (Oxford, 1824), pp. 499-506.

¹⁶⁹ Strype, *Annals of the Reformation, I part i*, p. 504. This gives the list of names voting for the motion.

¹⁷⁰ Three organs were taken down at Worcester Cathedral under Bishop Hooper, but organs in the quire were replaced during the reign of Queen Mary. Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, p. 49.

¹⁷¹ St Edmund’s 1561-62 (in two parts), St Thomas’s 1561-62, Swayne, *Churchwardens’ Accounts*, pp. 73, 105, 282. WSA: 1900/76, *St Thomas churchwardens account roll, 1559-1600*. A new organ was constructed at St Thomas’s in 1568-69. Ian Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals, c.1547- c.1646: A Comparative Study of the Archival Evidence* (Connecticut: Garland Publishing Inc, 1993), p. 54.

¹⁷² Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England: Discourses, Sites and Identities* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p. 90.

and some household chapels including the Chapel Royal.¹⁷³ The organ was removed at Worcester Cathedral in 1560 and also at King's College, Cambridge c.1570, whilst from 1570 onwards, the use of the organ was restricted in Lincoln Cathedral, where William Byrd was organist and master of choristers: limitations also applied at both Magdalen College, Oxford from 1561 and Winchester College from 1571.¹⁷⁴ Salisbury however was distinctive, in that organ music continued to be heard in both the cathedral and the parish churches throughout the sixteenth century, suggesting that the majority of the clergy and citizens did not consider such a sound to be either papist or idolatrous. The Salisbury parishes were also wealthy in comparison with many in England and were thus able to afford to maintain their organs, although a few churches with a lower income elsewhere also achieved this, for instance at Chudleigh in Devon, Braunton in Somerset, and Wing in Buckinghamshire.¹⁷⁵ Further, towards the end of the sixteenth century, there is evidence for the increasing use of the organ nationally, but by that time, the decline of organ usage had been matched by a decline in the organ-building trade.¹⁷⁶ Organ builders were distributed across the country, but their demise was rapid, even in London with the end of the Howe dynasty.¹⁷⁷

In the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, it was the West Country family of Chappington who travelled as far as Oxford and London to construct and repair the organs at Magdalen College and Westminster Abbey.¹⁷⁸ At least five members of the family are known

¹⁷³ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *All things made new: Writings on the Reformation* (London: Allen Lane, 2016), p. 146.

¹⁷⁴ Harper, 'Continuity, Discontinuity, Fragments and Connections', p. 217.

¹⁷⁵ Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, pp. 100-101.

¹⁷⁶ Payne, *Provision and Practice*, pp. 66-67. Dominic Gwynn is currently completing a comprehensive study of the organ-building trade in Britain up to the eighteenth century.

¹⁷⁷ Cecil Clutton and Austin Niland, *The British Organ* (London: Batsford, 1963), pp. 50, 53. Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, p. 54.

¹⁷⁸ John Chappington may have built an organ at Westminster Abbey around 1596; he also either built or re-built the organ of Magdalen College chapel, Oxford, in 1597. W. R. Loosemore, *Loosemore of Devon: an outline family history* (2006) <http://www.loosemore.co.uk/Chapter6/CHAPTER6text.htm> [accessed 30 June 2019]. John Harper, 'The Organ of Magdalen College, Oxford', *The Musical Times*, 127 (1986).

to have been active as organ-builders and repairers during the period 1536 to at least 1628 (see Table 4-10). The earliest known member was Richard, who constructed organs in Exeter and Woodbury from 1536. Hugh Chappington and his sons John and Ralph all worked in Salisbury. John recruited apprentices, which was unusual in the sixteenth century when organ making was generally learnt within other trades such as clockmaking and blacksmithing.¹⁷⁹ The will of Ralph Chappington shows that at his death he was owed a total of £3 18s 0d from various churches, including 13s 4d for servicing the organ at Salisbury Cathedral, and 10s by both St Thomas's and St Edmund's. He also looked after the organ at St Martin's, for which he was paid 5s.¹⁸⁰ Finally, Richard Chappington serviced the Salisbury Cathedral organ and others in the city from at least 1625 until 1629.

Table 4-10: The Chappington family of organ builders

Name	Notes
Richard	In 1536 built an organ at St Olave's Church, Exeter and in 1538-39 for St Swithun's Church, Woodbury.
Hugh	Died 1582, father of John and Ralph. Built the organs at St Edmund's, St Thomas's and possibly Salisbury Cathedral. ¹⁸¹
John	Died in Winchester in 1606 where he was noted as organ maker. Son of Hugh. Serviced the organ at St Edmund's from at least 1586-87 until 1606-07.
Ralph/Raphe	Died in 1619 in Netherbury, Dorset. Brother of John. Serviced the organ at St Edmund's and St Thomas's until 1619-20. ¹⁸²
Richard	Named in the communar's accounts of 1625 and 1629 for servicing the cathedral organ. ¹⁸³
Radolpho	Named in the communar's accounts of 1628 for servicing the cathedral organ. ¹⁸⁴ However, Richard services the organ the following year, therefore Radolpho may be a misspelling.

¹⁷⁹ TNA: PROB/11/108/53, *Will of John Chappington, 4 July 1606*. Thomas Dallam for instance was apprenticed to a blacksmith in 1589. Betty Matthews, 'The Dallams and the Harrises', *British Institute of Organ Studies*, 8 (1984), 58.

¹⁸⁰ Bridgewater Church 10s; St Augustine's, Bristol 20s, and Wedmore, Somerset 15s. TNA: PROB 11/135/430, *Will of Ralphe Chappington, organist of Netherbury, Dorset, 5 May 1620*. St Martin's 1611-12, Loosemore, *Loosemore of Devon: an outline family history*.

¹⁸¹ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 286.

¹⁸² 1617-18, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 167.

¹⁸³ FI/1/1/1625_5, *Communar's account, Oct-Dec 1625*. SCA: FI/1/1/1627_4, *Communar's accounts, Apr-July 1627*. FI/1/1/1629_2, *Communar's account, Jan-Apr 1629*.

¹⁸⁴ FI/1/1/1628_5, *Communar's account, Oct-Dec 1628*.

4.3.3 Organ repair and construction by Hugh Chappington in Salisbury

During the period 1567-69 new organs were installed in two of the parish churches in Salisbury and probably a further instrument at the cathedral. The instigators of this major investment are not known, although there must have been some collaboration between representatives of the various institutions, including the Bishop of Salisbury, John Jewel (+1559-71). As the city mayor seems to have endorsed many of the major items of expenditure at the parish churches, it can be surmised that the corporation may also have had some involvement, although there is no direct evidence of this either in the form of a signed agreement or the re-direction of city funds for this purpose. However, what is key is that the citizens considered the instrument to have been sufficiently important to require this work to be completed and for them to pay for it. Although there may have been a short hiatus with the removal of the organ from the rood screen of St Edmund's, musical provision continued, as in the year prior to the new organ construction (1566-67) the choir was singing polyphony, as revealed by the fact that books had been purchased in which to prick songs.¹⁸⁵ It is also significant that at this time St Edmund's decided to sell many of its pre-Reformation goods, possibly to finance the organ, including the rood cloth, banners of St Eustace and of St Nicholas, and the holy water pot, many of these items being purchased by the mayor, John Ayre.¹⁸⁶

At some stage in 1567, the organ at St Martin's Church was repaired by Hugh Chappington, who was already in the city, either working on the installation of the new instrument at St Edmund's, or preparing to do so.¹⁸⁷ The latter is documented in detail in the churchwarden's

¹⁸⁵ St Edmund's 1561-62 (this account is on two separate pages), St Thomas 1561-62. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 74 & 104, 282. WSA: 1900/76, *St Thomas churchwardens account roll, 1561-62*. There are no clues as to the destiny of either of these organs. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 75.

¹⁸⁶ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 110-111.

¹⁸⁷ WSA: 1899/65, *St Martin churchwardens and overseers account book, 1567-68*.

accounts, illustrating the involvement of skilled tradesmen and the sourcing and use of materials. Apart from the ironwork and platform of the instrument, the whole of this organ appears to have been fashioned by Chappington and his team, including the pipes, bellows, windchest, keyboard, frame, and case. Chappington also appears to have undertaken the decoration of both the pipes and case, in contrast to the organ made by Robert Dallam for York Minster in 1633, which was decorated by additional craftsmen.¹⁸⁸ In the year prior to the start of construction (1566-67), two letters were delivered to Hugh Chappington in South Molton, Devon, by Thomas Mylbrydge: the first may have been the commission (invitation to tender) and the second the agreement (contract). Chappington was then made three separate payments totalling £2 7s 8d, 'towards his charges'.¹⁸⁹ A parish collection was held towards the funding of the organ in the following year, to which around 150 men from Salisbury and beyond contributed, including many of the city elite, thus suggesting that an organ built at one parish church was of significance to the whole city.¹⁹⁰ The construction of a new instrument on site would have resulted in major upheaval in the church and its environs, where the odour of melting metal and the noise of carpentry and metal working would have been pervasive (Appendix 12 documents the cost of items used in the organ construction).¹⁹¹

Work began in earnest on 22 August 1567, when elm board was purchased to make the bellows, which also required two dozen sheepskins, four calfskins, and glue, all of which were procured later. Once completed, the bellows were weighted with forty-nine pounds of

¹⁸⁸ James Raine, ed., *The Fabric Rolls of York Minster* (Durham: Surtees Society, 1859), pp. 319-325.

¹⁸⁹ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 75.

¹⁹⁰ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 111-112. Mr Snelgar (mayor 1557), Mr Bryante (churchwarden 1525), Mr Ayre (mayor 1567), Mr Venarde (mayor 1568), Mr Tucker (vestry man), Mr Mogeredge (vestry man), Mr Batt (mayor 1552).

¹⁹¹ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 113. This analysis assumes that the items in the churchwardens' account were laid out in order of procurement. The organ used a total of 1,262 nails in a range of sizes, purchased mostly by the hundred at different prices depending on size. From the fifteenth century nails were usually classified by their price per hundred. see: L. F. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1952), p. 315.

lead to act as a counter-balance (see Figure 4-10).¹⁹² The next task was to melt lead and tin for the organ pipes, the heat for which was provided by a total of eleven sacks of coal and thirty faggots of wood.¹⁹³ The molten metal was poured into a metal tray lined with the fabrics, ‘jene fustian’ and ‘pampyllon’; this tray would have been at least two yards long, which was the length of the longest pipe.¹⁹⁴ The metal was then rolled and bound with ‘packthread’ to hold the shape of the pipes whilst they were soldered with tin and tin glasse (bismuth): once complete, the pipes were washed in a ‘whyte wyne caske’.¹⁹⁵ Brass wire was used for springs, and a pound of iron wire for the stop action.¹⁹⁶

In addition to wood for the bellows, other timber was acquired locally, including that for the platform on which the organ was to stand.¹⁹⁷ The sides of the organ case were probably constructed with ‘syllinge’ board or panelling. Seasoned board may have been specially selected for the keyboard, and dry quarter-sawn timber for the uprights of the organ frame or soundboard, in that this provided stable timber which would not twist or wind, being necessary characteristics for these components.¹⁹⁸ However, the wind chest, upper boards and panels, along with any wooden pipes, required wainscot, which was sturdy close-grained timber, making it less likely to split: wainscot was acquired from the merchant John Capplyn

¹⁹² My thanks to Dominic Gwynn for this information.

¹⁹³ ‘Hudred of tyn & a hudred of led’. It is not known whether this was 100 lbs or a hundredweight (120 lbs), a ‘hudred’ or hundred sometimes referring to the quantity of 120. W. H. Stevenson, ‘The Long Hundred and its use in England’, *The Archaeological Review*, 4.5 (1889), 313. Either way it was significantly less than the 1,600 pounds required for the much larger Dallam organ made for King’s College in 1605-06. Nicholas Thistlethwaite, ‘The organ of King’s College, Cambridge: 1605-1802’, *Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies*, 32 (2008), 12-15. A pan was also purchased ‘to make fyre in’.

¹⁹⁴ A close woven heavy cotton twill with a layer of ‘pampyllon’ over it (probably a coarse woollen fabric). OED, *Pampillon* (2017).

¹⁹⁵ Eight pounds of tin and four pounds of tin glass were used as solder for the St Edmund’s organ.

¹⁹⁶ One pound of brass wire was required.

¹⁹⁷ Sixty feet of board for the ‘fote pace’.

¹⁹⁸ Seventy-five feet of panelling was purchased. Salzman, *Building in England*, p. 572. General information on boards and planks can be found in Salzman, *Building in England*, p. 242. The timber listed in the accounts would have included that used for the casting bench and also the trestles used for sawing timber.

of Southampton, whose name appears in the list of donors towards the organ.¹⁹⁹ The timber would have been imported from the Baltic to Water Ower, a natural inlet to the west of Southampton Water from where it would have travelled overland to Salisbury.²⁰⁰ The organ structure was completed with the addition of hinged doors, which were lockable to prevent damage.

Finally, the instrument was decorated, and this seems to have taken place in two stages: firstly, the pipes were painted with Brazilwood (a reddish brown) and bice (green-blue), following which copper plate was probably used in sheets like gold leaf or as a paste in the form of verdigris. The rest of the organ was then decorated using red paint and 200 sheets of gold leaf. The instrument must have looked quite spectacular, reminiscent of the colours of the images and wall paintings present in the church before the Reformation; this was something which the majority of the parishioners would never have seen, but such visualisations would have been passed down to them through the memories of their fathers and grandfathers. It would have been interesting to know who had chosen the colours, for instance whether the organ maker had a signature palette which identified his organs from those of other makers, or whether the parish chose red, blue-green and gold to blend with other furnishings such as cushions in the church.

The work took three months to complete, with payment made to Hugh Chappington of £15 7s 8d, which included a bonus of £1 and the £2 7s 8d paid as a deposit; in addition, the Salisbury joiner Robert Hart was paid £2 for his work.²⁰¹ Materials cost a further £24 16s 10d, giving a

¹⁹⁹ 'John Capplen of hampton ijs'. 2s. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 111. WSA: 1901/71/9, *St Edmund churchwarden account roll, 1567-68*.

²⁰⁰ 'Water Ovell', later flooded for Fawley Power Station. Salisbury was an important trading partner of Southampton. Hare, 'Southampton's Trading Partners: Salisbury', p. 62. A customs charge of 6d was paid in Salisbury.

²⁰¹ The organ at St Edmund's was finished on 6 November 1567. The work at the cathedral also took three months – June to August in the following year. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 113.

total cost of £40 4s 6d. The finishing touches were added by local men in the following year with the insertion of a seat, and the installation of curtain rods and pull cords, the latter indicating that the curtains were hung high and that these may have veiled the whole instrument when drawn.²⁰² The following year a professional organist, Thomas Bluet, was employed at £8 a year to play the new acquisition to its best effect, no doubt to the satisfaction of the parishioners.²⁰³

Chappington probably returned to Salisbury in June 1568 to install a new organ at the cathedral. Although there are no direct payments to the organ maker recorded in the accounts, a mason carried out various works including placing foundations for the posts that held up the loft and making up the wall underneath it. In addition, the blacksmith inserted two iron clamps and the door to the organ loft was locked. In August the mason was employed again, this time in setting irons into the wall in order to fasten the organ; his final job was to insert a curtain rod for the modesty curtain.²⁰⁴ These entries tend to indicate that the new organ was not on the screen but perhaps on a platform against the wall on the north or south side of the quire.²⁰⁵ As with the organ at St Edmund's, Chappington completed the work in a three-month period.

St Thomas's was the final church in the city to have a new instrument at this time: this was again partly paid for by a collection from parishioners, who had perhaps experienced the prestigious nature of the sounds and sights of the other two recently-installed organs in St Edmund's and the cathedral.²⁰⁶ As at St Edmund's, the church also sold various goods to local

²⁰² Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 77.

²⁰³ 1568-69, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 77.

²⁰⁴ SCA: FA/1/1/19, *Fabric account, 1568-69*.

²⁰⁵ In 2020, the cathedral organ is located on both the north and south sides of the quire, whereas that at Gloucester Cathedral, for instance, is sited across the screen between the nave and chancel.

²⁰⁶ The parish collection raised £7 13s 5d, but the donors are not named, unlike at St Edmund's.

people which raised a total of £87 1s 0d, from which Hugh Chappington was paid £35 5s 6d.²⁰⁷ In 1579-80 John Chappington was invited by the mayor to service the organ at St Thomas's – thus blurring the division between the sacred and secular administrations of the town once again.²⁰⁸ The Chappington family continued to service all the new organs installed by them in Salisbury: that at St Thomas's was maintained initially on a three-yearly contract, until at least 1622-23.²⁰⁹ Although those in Salisbury may have been pleased with the sound of their new organs, a prayer written elsewhere in 1586 paints the noise of both choir and organ in a rather different light:

all cathedral churches may be put down where the service of God is grievously abused by piping with organs, singing, ringing, and trowling of psalms from one side of the choir to another, with the squeaking of chanting choristers disguised in white surplices.²¹⁰

Although the organs themselves may have been carved and decorated and were therefore a beautiful sight, the music emanating from them was perhaps more important particularly in the sixteenth century, and for this it was necessary to employ a man who could excel at playing the instrument, for which his senses of touch and hearing were of key importance. Little is known, however, about the ability of the organists in Salisbury, although it is

²⁰⁷ There is no bill for its decoration, but a desk and modesty curtain are noted separately in the accounts at a cost of 10d. 1568-69, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 283. Charles Haskins, 'The Church of St Thomas of Canterbury', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 36 (1909), 7-8.

²⁰⁸ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 291.

²⁰⁹ At a cost of £1 10s 0d a year. WSA: 1900/76, *St Thomas churchwardens account roll, 1568-69 & 1571-72*. WSA: 1900/81, *St Thomas churchwardens account roll including pew rents, 1622-23*. The will of Ralph Chappington of Netherbury, Dorset of 1619 states that at the time of his death he was owed 13s 4d by the cathedral in Salisbury, 10s by St Thomas's and 10s by St Edmund's. TNA: PROB 11/135/430, *Will of Ralph Chappington organist, 1620*. At the cathedral, Richard Chappington is also noted in the communar's accounts as being *custos organorum* in 1625 as was Radolpho three years later. SCA: FI/1/1/1625_2, *Communar's accounts c. 1625*. SCA: FI/1/1/1628_5, Roll 319, *Communar's accounts Oct-Dec 1628*.

²¹⁰ Brian Crosby, 'The choral foundation of Durham Cathedral, c.1350 - c.1650' (unpublished Doctoral thesis, Durham University, 1993), p. 139.

probable that poor playing would not have been tolerated in that from the 1560s onwards the citizens had a sense of ownership and pride in the parish organ. Records show that the cathedral employed an organist from at least 1463. Whilst this does not necessarily signify that the organ was played, payments to an organ blower make it more likely, in that he pumped the bellows (see Table 4-11).²¹¹ Organ blowers at the cathedral are known to have held several roles including those of sexton, greasing the bells, and managing the clock. They were often employed for many years: for instance Hugh Mads (Maude) held these positions at the cathedral from 1600 to 1629. The position of organ blower at the parish churches may have been held by the sexton, or as a voluntary position, in that payments to an organ blower are rarely recorded in the accounts. At St Thomas's only a single payment is mentioned (in 1640-41), and at St Martin's an organ blower was also paid in only one year (1639-40), at which time Edmund Tooker seems to have moved from the cathedral, where he was organist, to the same role at St Martin's Church, and may therefore have required a competent man to drive the bellows who was known to him.²¹²

Table 4-11: Organ blowers at Salisbury Cathedral

Starting date of employment	Name
1536-37	William Crede paid 20d
1558-59	John Pyke paid 6s 8d
1561-62	Nicholas Atkynes
1571-72	Richard Golly
1578-79	Luke Nelson
1581-82	Thomas Heede (Head)
1600-01	Hugh Mads (Mauds)
1629-30 until at least 1637-38	'For blowinge the organs'

²¹¹ Organists were paid £1 6s 8d a year from the fabric accounts, which was augmented from 1614-15 by an additional £1 6s 8d; from 1558-59 until the Civil War, the organ blower received a wage of 6s 8d annually. In 1542 there was a change in terminology from 'organ player' to 'organist'. SCA: FA/1/3/1, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric*, Oct-Dec 1542, p. 97.

²¹² At St Thomas's in 1640-41 the payment was 4s a year (by 1739 this had increased to 25s). 1640-41, 1739, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 321, 353. Edmund Tucker was organist at the cathedral from 1618-31, and at St Martin's from 1639-41, at £2 a year.

4.3.4 Singers in the parish churches

In the pre-Reformation period, in addition to the organs, the laity would have heard choristers and adults singing polyphony and plainsong at St Edmund's Church. Boys were present there from at least 1473-74, when the accounts note the purchase of vestments, probably until the Reformation.²¹³ Although there is no evidence of choristers at St Thomas's at this time, it is likely that they were present there too. During this period children would also have carried out tasks such as carrying candles or the cross, and acting as censers or water-bearers; following the Reformation, however, the only activity still open to them was that of singing in the choir.²¹⁴ This can be observed at St Thomas's, where boys were present from 1575-76, when three seats were constructed for them, and during the period from 1582 to 1587, when there were payments made for clothing them – no longer surplices and albs, but coats and breeches, consistent with the plainer apparel of the vicar (see Table 4-12 and Appendix 13).²¹⁵

Additional musicians were often employed during the important festival of Easter. In particular singers were present on Palm Sunday to sing or recite the passion, as at St Edmund's in 1534-35 when payments were made for 'oyle & drynke [for him] that redeth the Passheon ijd'.²¹⁶ At St Thomas's, singers were also employed for this service, receiving payment in wine and cake, reflecting the elements of the Mass and providing them with earthly refreshment. Following the change to the Book of Common Prayer, however, the

²¹³ For instance, in 1473-74 'albs and aubys' were made for children, in 1490-91 'bawdekyne' and nine ells of 'cresclothe' were purchased to make lined 'tenables', and in 1492-93 and 1500-01 repair work was carried out on vestments for the boys. Albs were long white garments usually worn with a cincture like a belt. An amice was a rectangle of cloth folded and tied around the chest and worn as a collar to the alb. '*Et pro emendacione infularum & dalmaticarum Puerilium xd*'. A dalmatic is a long wide-sleeved tunic usually worn by a deacon. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 15, 36, 54.

²¹⁴ Jane Flynn, 'The Education of Choristers in England during the Sixteenth Century', in *English Choral Practice 1400-1650*, ed. by John Morehen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 180. The final reference to children at St Edmund's was in 1550-51 when a surplice was repaired. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 91.

²¹⁵ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 289, 293-296.

²¹⁶ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 73.

singers were paid cash, to avoid any association between the payment, and the blood and body of Christ.²¹⁷ Unlike churches in other towns such as All Saints, Bristol, there is no direct evidence that the Passion was performed from the rood loft, although St Thomas's ceased singing this after 1561-62 when the rood loft in the church was dismantled.²¹⁸

Adult singers were also present following the Reformation at both St Edmund's and St Thomas's, where payments were made to individuals. However, it is possible that there were additional singers who were either volunteers drawn from the congregation and therefore did not appear in the accounts, or men who were already employed under another guise, for instance the clerk or sexton. This can be seen specifically in an entry from St Thomas's in 1569-70 under the heading 'wages paid to the quere', where the list included the minister, Mr Nowel, the organist Robert Duckett and the clerk William Saunders.²¹⁹ In addition there were two other men, John Gallye and John Harrison: the former may have sung in the choir and he may have been the 'singingman' who came from Winchester in 1560-61, from where St Edmund's also acquired a singer five years later.²²⁰

The parish clerk continued to be of great importance in assisting the minister, particularly as cantor leading the singing of psalms.²²¹ At St Thomas's in 1568-69, the parish went to some trouble to acquire William Saunders from Andover for the same position (see Appendix

²¹⁷ 1547-48, 1549-50, 1559-60 Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 275, 277, 280.

²¹⁸ Williamson, 'Liturgical Music in the Late Medieval Parish', pp. 212, 223. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 282.

²¹⁹ A. Smith considers that Mr Nowell was 'probably organist and master of the choristers in 1569-70 where he was paid £12 for the year'. However, I disagree with him, in that Nowell is sometimes referred to as 'Sir', a title given to an ordained minister, and given that he also had a house paid for by the churchwardens. He took over from Jackson sometime between 1562 and 1567. A. Smith, 'Parish Church Musicians in England in the Reign of Elizabeth I (1558-1603)', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 4 (1964), 67.

²²⁰ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 284. The other possibility is that John Harrison was the organ blower; however, the wages of the organ blower at the cathedral only amounted to 6s 8d a year, so it is unlikely that the parish church would be able to afford to pay a man £2 a year for this task. There was also a John Harrison who worked at St Edmund's Church from 1570-71, for whom a surplus was purchased, and a pew repaired. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 117-118.

²²¹ J. Wickham Legg, *The Clerk's Book of 1549* (London, 1903), pp. 75-77.

13).²²² Further, John King was paid as both parish clerk and organist from around 1638 until 1646, at which time the organ was removed.²²³ At St Edmund's the clerk received £8 a year, some of which was provided by the laity towards the 'clarkes wages'; this annual collection began around 1562 and continued into the Restoration period. The varying amount raised may have reflected the popularity of the incumbent at the time, or the ability of the parishioners to contribute towards these costs. From 1624, the clerk at St Edmund's was also responsible for reading morning prayer each day, for which he received an additional stipend which would have been an important contribution towards his living expenses.²²⁴

At St Edmund's, as at St Thomas's, the parishioners may have heard polyphony sung at the beginning and conclusion of services until towards the end of the sixteenth century. Named singers were employed regularly for thirty years from 1551 until 1582 (see Table 4-12 and Appendix 14); in particular, John Saunders served for nine years from 1560.²²⁵ Saunders' stipend of 6s a year would have been insufficient to live on, and it is probable that he was the local carpenter of the same name who carried out work in the parish churches on the bells and other tasks including making new pews between c. 1563-64 and c. 1580-81.²²⁶ The standard of music at St Edmund's was likely to have been particularly high during the period 1576-79 when the composer Elway Bevin (c.1554-1638) was employed as a clerk: it is probable that he may also have deputised as organist there.²²⁷ Although little is known of his early life, Bevin was probably born in Wells, Somerset, and he may have been a pupil of Thomas Tallis.

²²² William Saunders was paid to travel from Andover in 1568-69; he remained in post until 1575-76. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 281. The clerk was paid a wage of £6 in the sixteenth century, which was raised to £8 after the Restoration; generally he also had his accommodation found.

²²³ After this John King was paid only as clerk. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 319-324.

²²⁴ 1624, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 177.

²²⁵ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 95, 131.

²²⁶ Other family members were Thomas and George. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 75, 110, 114, 122, 126.

²²⁷ Bevin was also paid to copy out the churchwarden's accounts. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 123, 124. Also, 1901/72/7, *St Edmund churchwarden account roll, 1577-78*.

It is not known how he came to be in Salisbury, but it is likely that he composed music during his time there; extant examples of his works include the *Te deum*, *Benedictus*, *Kyrie*, *Credo*, and 'Evening', which were later copied into an organ book at Durham Cathedral (see Figure 4-12). Following his time at St Edmund's, he can then be traced from 10 May 1579 to Wells Cathedral, where he served as a vicar choral until c.1584-85: Bevin moved thereafter to Bristol Cathedral, where he became organist in 1589 and from 1605 he served as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal.²²⁸

All of these musicians and their music were paid for by the laity, with the vestry men and churchwardens responsible for employing them. Thus whilst it is impossible to know the standard of musicianship in the parish churches, it is likely that many of the parishioners considered that music was worth their personal financial support and that they looked forward to listening to live sacred music each Sunday. However, there would appear to have been little, if any, direct or indirect involvement of the mayor or corporation in the funding or management of choral provision in the parish churches before or during the long Reformation.

²²⁸ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*. Magnus Williamson, *Personal communication*, October 2019. Helen Barlow, 'Bevin, Elway', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2329> [accessed 13 November 2019]. LeHuray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*, p. 266.

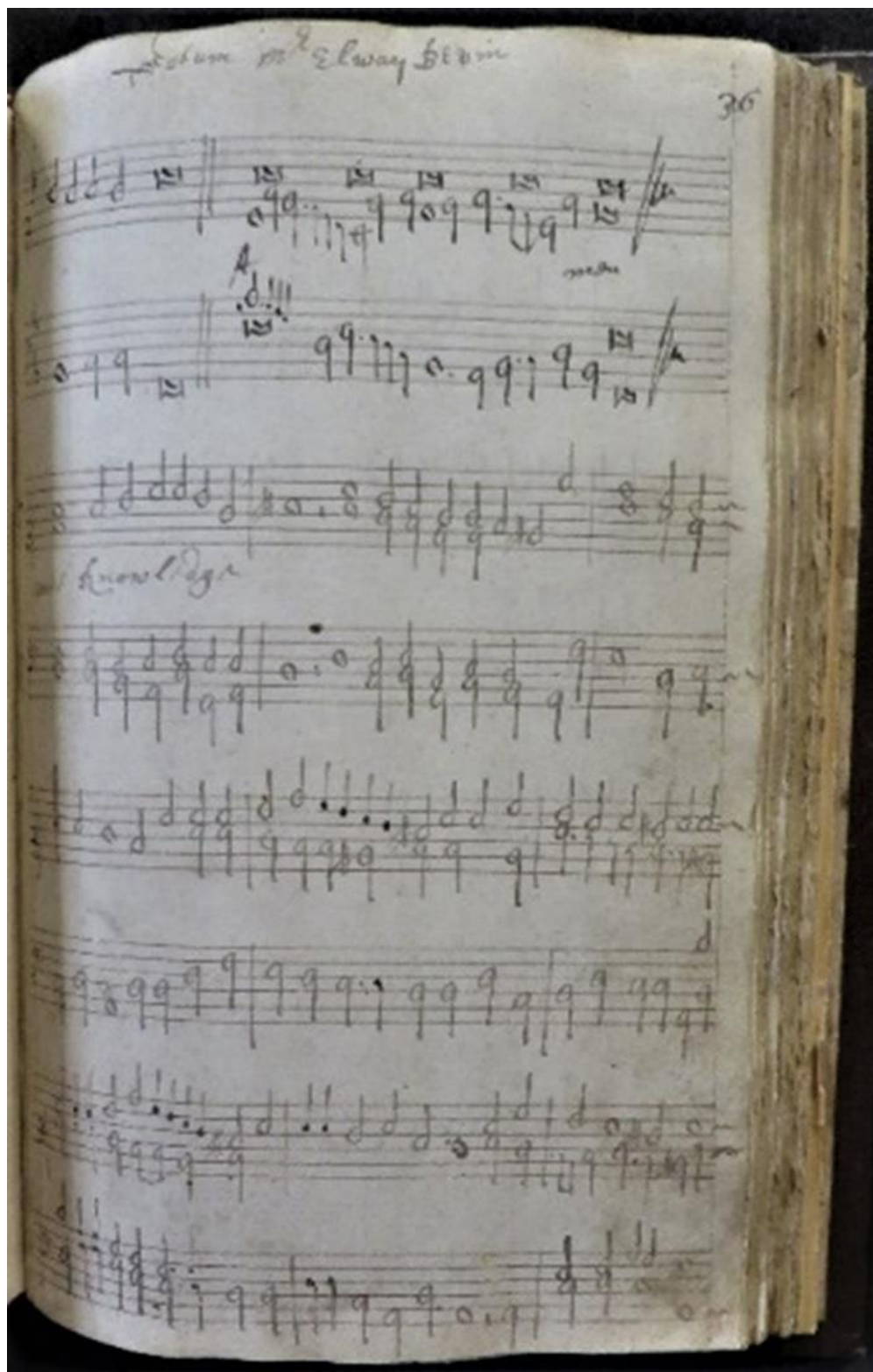


Figure 4-12: *Te deum* composed by Elway Bevin²²⁹

²²⁹ DCL: MS A3, *Organ book: anthems and services*, n.d.

Table 4-12: Singers at St Thomas's and St Edmund's Churches

St Thomas's		St Edmund's	
Year	Entry ²³⁰	Year	Entry
1560-61	A singyngman that came from Winchester ijs R. Duckat for songe bookes 20s	1551-52	Merydyth for singinge iiijd
1568-69	William Saunders for his chargys when he came from Andover 12d. ²³¹ To Mr Wylton that he payed to a singing mann that was here for a staye 2s.	1557-58	Edmond the syngyng man ijs ijd
1569-70	Mr Walter Nowel £12 William Saunders	1560-61	John Saunders for to helpe synge in the quyer iiijs Wyllyam Durley xls
1575-76	Michell Dove makinge 3 seates for children in the quier &c js viiij To a singing man ijs vjd	1562-63	John Saunders for to helpe synge in the quyre vs iiijd
1582-83	5¾ yardes to make Distine the boye wch singeth in the quire acoate and apaire of breches 7s 5d The sexton, Raffe, 2s for the choir and ringers	1563-64	John Sawders to help synge in ye quyer vs
1583-84	3¼ yardes of ffryes to make John Distine a coate 3s 9d	1564-65	To John Sawnders for to help to singe in the quyre vis
1585-86	6 yerdes for 2 boies that was ye curattes sonnes and Parsivalles sonne 6s 6d	1565-66	A singinge man for his wagis for hallfe a quart' w ^{ch} came from winchester ijs, John Saunders to singe in the choir vijs vjd
1586-87	A cotte cloth for the Curattes sonne 2s 10d	1566-67	To John Sawnders for to help to singe in the quyre vis
		1568-69	John Sanders to helpe singe in the quyre vijs vid Johnson the synginge man apon his wages xxvjs viiij
		1573-74	John Deane vjs viiij A Strange Singinge man of Steple Ashtone ijs John Mill for his travell to Steple Ashtone to cause the sayde Singinge man to come vjd
		1576-79	Elway Bevin, lay clerk
		1580-81	Wylliam Ambrose singing man liijs
		1581-82	William Ambrose singing man for one whole yeares wages liijs iiiij

²³⁰ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 281-296.

²³¹ William Saunders was then paid wages as the parish clerk for three-quarters of the year: he also carried out other paid tasks including writing the register.

4.3.5 Musicians in the cathedral: the choristers and their masters²³²

Prior to the Reformation, the cathedral choristers were overseen by a canon known as the *custos puerorum*, with a vicar choral as their master, who taught singing and also held the post of organist at the cathedral (see Table 4-13 and Appendix 15). Later, the *custos* was entitled the 'keeper of the choristers' and held three offices: providing board and lodging to the boys, teaching the choristers, and playing the organ. The choristers' house was located at 5 The Close and was in existence prior to 1503-04.²³³ The pre-Reformation contract of Thomas Knyght states that he:

shall sufficiently from time to time yerely teach and instruct the Choristers of the said Church and every of them playnsonge, pryckisonge, faburden or deskante, as the rules of museyke' and 'to have, hold, occupie, and exercise the said offices of Keeper and Player of Orgaynes and Scole Master of the Choristers.²³⁴

²³² Roger Bowers and Dora Robertson have already written much regarding the Salisbury Cathedral choir. For this thesis the names of members of the vicars choral and lay vicars at the cathedral from the Reformation onwards have been collated, using the fabric accounts and communar's accounts (see Appendix 15). Bowers, 'The Reform of the Choir of Salisbury Cathedral'. Bowers, 'Choral institutions'. Robertson, *Sarum Close*. A further source of information is the surviving Chapter Act books where names of vicars choral and lay clerks are noted on admission.

²³³ SCA: CO/CH/1/1/8, *Chorister's collector, 1503-04*. This is still the residence of the cathedral organist. RCHME, *Houses of the Close*, pp. 73-74.

²³⁴ SCA: FA/1/3/1, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric*, April-June 1528, p. 12. There was a Thomas Knyght, who was a lay vicar and instructor at Salisbury from c.1526 onwards. WSA: CC/Bishoprick/460/1, *Indenture of Thomas Knight, 30 April 1538*, p. 24. Thomas Knyght was paid to play the organ during Pentecost in 1539. Possibly he had come from Exeter, as three separate payments were made to Knyght and to the succentor of Exeter Cathedral of 13s, 4d and 15s. SCA: FA/1/3/1, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric*, 1 April 1528 to 30 June 1528. Knyght was paid as organist. SCA: FA/1/3/1, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric*, Oct-Dec 1531. Wordsworth and Maclean, eds., *Statutes and Customs*, pp. 262-267. SCA: CO/CH/1/1, *Chorister's collector*. Less than twenty of these accounts now exist. Bowers, 'Choral institutions', pp. 2039-2040. SCA: CO/CH/1/1/8, *Chorister's collector, 1503-04*. SCA: CO/CH/1/1/12, *Chorister's collector, 1519-20*. The master and organist wore the same livery as his pupils.

Table 4-13: Organists and masters of the choristers of Salisbury Cathedral

Date	Organist	Date	Master of choristers
From c. 1463- ?	John Kegewyn ²³⁵	March 1461- April 1462	John Thatcher ²³⁶ (Catherow)
1517-18	John Weber (Wever) ²³⁷	May 1463- April 1467	John Kegewyn ²³⁸
1528	John Fryer ²³⁹	June 1467-September 1478	John Cacherowe ²⁴⁰
1538- c.43	Thomas Knyght	1500-26	Alexander Bell ²⁴¹
1558-1559	Sir Beckwyth ²⁴²	1500-38	John Wever
1561-1564	Robert Chamberlayne ²⁴³	1538-c. 43 ²⁴⁴	Thomas Knyght
c. 1566-1587	Thomas Smythe (Smith) ²⁴⁵	1569-?	John Taylor
1587-1591	John Farrant (the elder) ²⁴⁶	1571-92	John Farrant the elder
1591-92 (one quarter only)	Lambert Lade ²⁴⁷	1593	John Fennell (temporary)
1592-c. 1600	Richard Fuller ²⁴⁸	1593-98	Richard Fuller
c. 1600-1618	John Farrant (the younger) ²⁴⁹	1598-1621	John Bartlet
1629-30	'Mr Daulton an organist' ²⁵⁰	1621-29	John Holmes
1618-1631	Edmund (Edward) Tooker (Tucker) ²⁵¹	1629	James Clarke (temporary)
c. 1636	Giles Tomkins (re-appointed in 1660 until 1668)	1630	Giles Tomkins

Following the introduction of the Book of Common Prayer, the teaching of the choristers became less onerous as the music became less complex, fewer services equated to less time spent in church, and in turn there was less music to be practised. Chant, apart from that

²³⁵ SCA: CH/1/12, *Chapter acts book Newton, 1461-1467*.

²³⁶ Bowers, 'Choral institutions', p. A051.

²³⁷ Played for Ascension Day. SCA: FA/1/1/10, *Fabric account, 1517-18*.

²³⁸ Bowers, 'Choral institutions', p. A051.

²³⁹ Matthews, *The Organs and Organists of Salisbury Cathedral*, p. 25.

²⁴⁰ Bowers, 'Choral institutions', p. A051.

²⁴¹ Bowers, 'Choral institutions', p. A051.

²⁴² SCA: FA/1/1/15, *Fabric account, 1558-59*. 'Sir' reflects his status as inferior clergyman.

²⁴³ SCA: FA/1/1/16, *Fabric account, 1561-62*. SCA: FA/1/1/17, *Fabric account, 1563-64*.

²⁴⁴ WSA: CC/Bishopprick/460/1: *Indenture of Thomas Knight as organist and schoolmaster, 30 April 1538*.

SCA: FA/1/1/14, *Fabric account, 1539-40*. SCA: FA/1/1/13, *Fabric account, 1536-37*. It would seem that Knight may have been organist prior to the issue of his indenture.

²⁴⁵ SCA: FA/1/1/18, *Fabric account, 1566-67*. SCA: FA/1/1/30, *Fabric account, 1586-87*. He was buried on 21 February 1588. SCA: *Register book, 1564-1718*.

²⁴⁶ Itm paid the iiiijth day for a sauter booke for mr ffarrant mr of the children. SCA: FA/1/1/22. *Fabric account, 1571-72*. SCA: FA/1/1/31, *Fabric account, 1587-88*. SCA: FA/1/1/34, *Fabric account, 1590-91*.

²⁴⁷ SCA: FA/1/1/35, *Fabric account, 1591-92*.

²⁴⁸ Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c. 1538* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 260.

²⁴⁹ Robertson, *Sarum Close*, p. 166 & 171. SCA: FA/1/1/42, *Fabric account, 1600-01*. SCA: FA/1/1/52, *Fabric account, 1614-15*. SCA: FA/1/1/53, *Fabric account, 1615-16*. SCA: FA/1/1/54, *Fabric account, 1617-18*.

²⁵⁰ SCA: FA/1/1/58, *Fabric account, 1629-30*.

²⁵¹ SCA: FA/1/1/55, *Fabric account, 1618-19*. SCA: FA/1/1/57, *Fabric account, 1621-22*. From 1629-30 the organist is not named but the music pricker is Tooker see SCA: FA/1/1/58, *Fabric account, 1629-30*. SCA: FA/1/1/61, *Fabric account, 1633-34*. Matthews, *The Organs and Organists of Salisbury Cathedral*, p. 28.

required for psalmody, was no longer taught and neither was there a requirement to learn the ceremonies surrounding the Mass, with the result that the education of choristers became more academic.²⁵² The indenture for John Farrant dated 31 May 1571 demanded that he was to attend in the quire in ‘certain order & tyme bothe in singinge & playinge upon the organes’, to find eight choristers ‘havige good & comendable voyces for trebles & meanes’ and to teach them the art and science of music; this reflected the standard of musicianship expected at the cathedral.²⁵³ Further, as was usual at the time, none of the indentures for the organist or choir master specifically mention teaching a musical instrument, or the need for the choristers to learn how to compose music for the liturgy. However, in later years they may have studied this skill through the use of the book ‘A Briefe and Short Instruction of the art of Musicke, to teach how to make Discant’ written by Elway Bevin in 1631, which included examples suitable for the ‘learner or practitioner’. In addition, the choristers may have learned music which was not related to the liturgy, in order to prepare them for later life in careers such as music teaching, performing, or composing, in sacred or secular positions of employment.²⁵⁴

Another organist and master of the choristers was John Farrant the elder, who came from Bristol to Salisbury for the period 1571 to 1592. He was infamous for trying to kill the dean of the time, John Bridges, in February 1592, an account of which attempt is to be found in the cathedral’s Chapter Acts.²⁵⁵ This was told by a chorister, William Deane, who was in the choir at the time. The incident began when John Farrant was at evening prayer in the

²⁵² Flynn, ‘The Education of Choristers in England’, p. 181.

²⁵³ In addition he was responsible for their board and lodging, but not for the upkeep of the choristers’ house. For his stipend and for the board and lodging of the boys, he was to receive a total of £45 11s 0d, a reduction of £6 14s 8d in the two years since John Taylor took office, possibly reflecting the removal of the expense to upkeep the house. SCA: Box 167: *Indenture of John Farrant, 1571*. SCA: Box 167, *Indenture between the Dean & Chapter and John Taylor, 1569*.

²⁵⁴ Flynn, ‘The Education of Choristers in England’, pp. 194, 195, 198. Elway Bevin, *A Briefe and Short Instruction of the art of Musicke, to teach how to make Discant* (London, 1631). Discant or descant was used as an alternative word for composing.

²⁵⁵ SCA: CH/1/16, *Chapter acts book Penruddocke, 1588-1599*, ff. 21-22.

cathedral: at the start of the second lesson he called William to follow him to the deanery where he sent him to the dean's study to tell the dean that Mr Farrant would like to speak with him. However, the dean refused to see him as he was writing his sermon and suggested that Farrant should return the following day. However, this did not please Farrant, who went straight to the study saying "By God I will speak with thee" and threw off his surplice and gown, and then drawing a knife from its sheath, he took the dean by the collar of his gown saying "Thou goest to take away my living, but God's wounds I'll cut thy throat". The dean urged William to get some men to help, but Farrant told him to remain in the study. The dean got free, but Farrant grabbed his gown, ripping it down the back, at which point the dean shrugged it off and ran to his bedchamber, locking himself in. Farrant meanwhile picked up his own gown and surplice and he and William returned to the cathedral and sang the end of the anthem. It would seem from this incident that Farrant's position was already under consideration, in that perhaps he was not teaching the choristers properly or playing the organ as he should have been. Either way, he resigned his post at Salisbury, following which he took up a post at Hereford Cathedral as Master of the Children there.²⁵⁶

With his departure, John Fennell, one of the vicars choral, was appointed on a temporary basis, before the post was taken by Richard Fuller.²⁵⁷ John Bartlet succeeded Richard Fuller at the Cathedral in 1598 and he remained there until around 1621.²⁵⁸ Soon after the appointment of Fuller, a visitation was held by Bishop Coldwell, one outcome of which was the separation of the two roles of organist and teacher of the choristers. As a result, John Farrant the younger became organist from 1598 at 26s 8d for the year, and John Bartlet was re-employed at a later

²⁵⁶ Robertson, *Sarum Close*, p. 155.

²⁵⁷ Robertson, *Sarum Close*, p. 154. SCA: LC/RE/1/1, *Register book 1564-1718*.

²⁵⁸ There is no record of the date of John Bartlet's appointment, however, he appears in the fabric accounts from 1610-11. SCA: FA/1/1/48, *Fabric account, 1610-11*. Robertson, *Sarum Close*, p. 166.

date to be in charge of the choristers only.²⁵⁹ Although Bartlet's name does not appear in the communar's accounts, there are regular quarterly payments of fifty shillings (£10 per year) to the teacher.²⁶⁰

In 1607 Bishop Henry Cotton (+1598-1615) carried out a visitation of the cathedral. The responses to the articles of enquiry regarding the choristers stated that some of them attended the grammar school (and some did not), and they were short of one chorister as he had been taken by the King's Chapel; in addition both the teacher of the choristers and the boys themselves were defective because the teacher was negligent in his choice of boys with suitable voices.²⁶¹ Despite these shortcomings, Bartlet was named in conjunction with the visit of the king in the cathedral fabric accounts for 1610-11, in which year he was sent to Windsor to fetch choristers.²⁶² Further, he was still in post in 1619 when a Chapter meeting on the 8th October, noted John Bartlet as holding the post of perpetual lay vicar and master of the six choristers.²⁶³ He remained in post until 1621 when he was removed as instructor of the choristers.²⁶⁴

Further change occurred in 1621 with the employment of John Holmes who had served as organist of Winchester Cathedral prior to his employment in Salisbury as master of the

²⁵⁹ Robertson, *Sarum Close*, p. 166 & 171. The appointment of John Farrant the younger dates from 1600, although according to Dora Robertson he was paid from 1598. The fabric account for 1597-98 shows Richard Fuller as organist and there is then a hiatus in accounts until 1600-01, by which time John Farrant is in place. SCA: FA/1/1/41, *Fabric account, 1597-98*. SCA: FA/1/1/42, *Fabric account, 1600-01*.

²⁶⁰ SCA: FI/1/1/1625_1, *Communar's account, c. 1625*. 'Stipend pedagogi hoc Primo Is'.

²⁶¹ Mr Everett considers that either John Fuller or John Farrant was the teacher of the choristers at this time. C. R. Everett, 'An Episcopal Visitation of the Cathedral Church of Sarum in 1607', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 50 (1942-44), 172, 186. The history of the Grammar School in Salisbury is found in: Dora Robertson, 'Notes on some Buildings in the City and Close of Salisbury Connected with the Education and Maintenance of the Cathedral Choristers', *The Wiltshire Magazine*, 48 (1937), 11-22.

²⁶² SCA: FA/1/1/48, *Fabric account, 1610-11*.

²⁶³ SCA: DA/1/5/21, *Dignitaries & Archdeacons, Various papers, Oct 1619*.

²⁶⁴ Robertson, *Sarum Close*, p. 173. His departure probably arose as a result of a series of complaints concerning his teaching and behaviour brought by the dean and chapter. SCA: Box 236b, *Personal answers of custos of choristers to articles by dean & chapter, n.d.* SCA: Box 167, *Articles against Mr J. Bartlet, teacher of the choristers, n.d.*

choristers; Ian Payne suggests that John Holmes was appointed as lay vicar in 1621, before becoming master of the choristers later in the same year.²⁶⁵ Holmes was a prolific composer, writing *Preces*, Psalm 89 for trebles for Christmas Evensong, two services, and eighteen verse anthems, several of which were dated between 1602 and 1610 whilst he was still at Winchester, although they were likely also to have been sung at Salisbury.²⁶⁶ Holmes was not unknown to the cathedral in that in 1612-13 he had visited the city with one of his choristers, in order to augment the choir during the visit of James I.²⁶⁷ John Holmes was buried at night on 30 January 1629, suggesting that he had either suffered from the plague and burial needed to be carried out quickly, or that his family wished to emphasise the gravity of death, perhaps with a large cortège accompanied by torches.²⁶⁸ The inventory of his house following his decease included a chest of viols with other instruments and books, a pair of organs with virginals, and three pairs of old virginals.²⁶⁹

James Clark, John Holmes's son-in-law, was appointed as a temporary *sub-custos*. He was probably living in the instructor's house, in that it seems that the choristers no longer boarded with their master, as indicated by the response of Canon John Barnston to the question referring to the choristers at the metropolitical visitation of Archbishop Laud in 1634, which states that 'they cohabit not as they should, and as longe agoe they did, but not of late'.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁵ SCA: FA/1/1/57, *Fabric account, 1621-22*. Ian Payne, 'The Will and Probate Inventory of John Holmes (d. 1629): Instrumental Music at Salisbury and Winchester Cathedrals Revisited', *Antiquaries Journal*, 83 (2003), 371.

²⁶⁶ LeHuray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*, pp. 162, 224, 268.

²⁶⁷ The fabric account states 'To mr Holmes of winchestor for him self being here & for his Choristor'. SCA: FA/1/1/50, *Fabric account, 1612-13*. He is not mentioned again in the accounts until 1621 when a service book is purchased for him at a cost of 4s. SCA: FA/1/1/57, *Fabric account, 1621-22*.

²⁶⁸ SCA: LC/RE/1/1, *Register book 1564-1718*. Burial at night in London in the seventeenth century was generally reserved for those who had died of the plague. Vanessa Harding, *Burial of the Plague Dead in Early Modern London* (1993) <https://archives.history.ac.uk/cmh/epiharding.html> [accessed 1 December 2019]. Anita Davison, *17th Century Funeral Practices* (2009) <http://hoydensandfirebrands.blogspot.com/2009/07/17th-century-funeral-practices.html> [accessed 13 January 2021].

²⁶⁹ WSA: P5/1628/54, *The inventory of John Holmes, 31 January 1628*.

²⁷⁰ George Simpson, 'Archbishop Laud's visitation of Salisbury in 1634', *Wiltshire Notes and Queries*, 1 (1896), 72. Robertson, *Sarum Close*, pp. 176-185.

There then followed a dispute regarding the permanent position which involved the dean and chapter, who wished to place Giles Tomkins, as opposed to the Bishop of Salisbury who desired to approve Thomas Holmes, son of John Holmes; however, the dean considered that the bishop had no right to vote on this matter.²⁷¹ The appeal eventually reached the Archbishop of Canterbury, who tried to settle the case but informed the king that he considered that Giles Tomkins had been lawfully elected. The king, however, responded indecisively, causing the problem to rumble on.²⁷² Eventually, the dean and chapter placed Giles Tomkins in the position of instructor of the choristers and reclaimed the choristers' house for him. Whether the debacle improved the standard of music in the cathedral we will never know.

Giles Tomkins (c.1587-1668) therefore continued the musical tradition at Salisbury Cathedral by teaching the choristers music from the end of 1629.²⁷³ As with others before him the cathedral had been able to attract an experienced musician: he played the virginals in the King's Musick from 1630, was organist with the Chapel Royal during the Scottish visit of 1633, and from around 1641 he was musician at court for lutes, viols, and voices. His court appointments, which were all renewed at the Restoration, were held concurrently with his duties at Salisbury, where he seems to have been living for the majority of the time in the 1660s.²⁷⁴ Thus, as seen in the parish churches, the management of appointments for the delivery of music in the cathedral was under the control of the religious authorities, with no involvement of the city.

²⁷¹ The bishop then, as today, holds the prebendary of Potterne and as such has a right to vote as a canon of the cathedral.

²⁷² SCA: CH/1/17, *Shuter's Memorial 1622/3-1642, 16 July 1629*. TNA: C 2/ChasI/S99/22, *Instructor of Salisbury Cathedral Choir v Holmes, November 1629*. Unfortunately, no response to this document is available.

²⁷³ SCA: FA/1/1/58, *Fabric account, 1629-30*.

²⁷⁴ John Irving, 'Tomkins, Thomas (1572–1656)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27515> [accessed 9 March 2017]. He was buried in Salisbury in 1668 and left his organ books to Salisbury Cathedral. TNA: PROB 11/330/92, *Will of Giles Tomkins, 24 May 1669*.

4.3.6 Musical provision in the seventeenth century

Most of the known sources of choral church music, including all those with organ accompaniment, were written after 1600.²⁷⁵ During the reigns of James I and Charles I, the instrument was used to accompany singers in both morning and evening prayer in *preces*, festal psalms, canticles, and anthems. In many cases there was no independent organ part: these were written in the ‘full’ style without solo verses, and the organ evidently doubled and supported the voices, which made the music particularly suitable for a relatively small choir in a large church or cathedral space, ensuring that it was audible to a large congregation.²⁷⁶

The organ was not the only instrument played at services in Salisbury Cathedral at this time; the use of sackbuts in the quire was first noted in March 1625 in relation to ‘Mr Tooker’, who was ‘to have the next altarist place and playing on the sackbutts’.²⁷⁷ On 28 July in that same year, payments were recorded to ‘2 single sackbuts and 2 cornets Sundays & Holydays’; these men were paid at a rate of 40s per quarter for eleven years from 1625 to 1636.²⁷⁸ What part they played in the services is a matter of some conjecture: John Harper considers that the organ played the treble and bass and the cornets and sackbuts filled in the middle parts,

²⁷⁵ Ralph Daniel and Peter LeHuray, eds., *The Sources of English Church Music, 1549-1660* (London: Stainer & Bell for the British Academy, 1972).

²⁷⁶ Harper, *Organ music and liturgy 1500-1800*, p. 5.

²⁷⁷ This man is Mr Tooker, who had been organist at the cathedral and later at St Martin’s. SCA: CH/1/17, *Shuter’s memorial, March 26 1625*, p. 39.

²⁷⁸ SCA: CH/1/17, *Shuter’s memorial, July 28 1625*, p. 5. ‘*Itm solut Will Madge pro le Cornetts et Sackbutts in choro hoc ano xls*’. SCA: FI/1/1/1625_2, *Communar’s accounts, c. 1625*. SCA: FI/1/1/1625_4, *Communar’s accounts, Oct-Dec 1625*. SCA: FI/1/1/1625_5, *Communar’s accounts, Oct-Dec 1625*. SCA: FI/1/1/1626_6, *Communar’s accounts, Oct-Dec 1626*. SCA: FI/1/1/1627_2, *Communar’s accounts, Jan-April 1627*. SCA: FI/1/1/1627_3, *Communar’s accounts, April-July 1627*. SCA: FI/1/1/1627_4, *Communar’s accounts, April-July 1627*. SCA: FI/1/1/1627_6, *Communar’s accounts, Oct-Dec 1627*. SCA: FI/1/1/1628_3, *Communar’s accounts, April-July 1628*. SCA: FI/1/1/1628_5, *Communar’s accounts, Oct-Dec 1628*. SCA: FI/1/1/1629_1, *Communar’s accounts, Jan-April 1629*. SCA: FI/1/1/1630_2, *Communar’s accounts, Jan-April 1630*. SCA: FI/1/1/1631_2, *Communar’s accounts, Oct-Dec 1631*. SCA: FI/1/1/1643_3, *Communar’s accounts, July-Sept 1643*. SCA: FI/1/1/1635_1, *Communar’s accounts, July-Oct 1635 & Incerti Receipts Oct 1634-Sept 1635*. SCA: FI/1/1/1635_2, *Communar’s accounts, Oct-Dec 1635*. SCA: FI/1/1/1636_1, *Communar’s accounts, c.1636*. William Madge was the recipient of the stipend, presumably on behalf of the band, which may also have included his brother, Edward, along with William Coleman and William Richardson. TNA: PROB 11/176/41, *Will of William Madge of Salisbury, 19 January 1638*. TNA: PROB 11/201/160, *Will of Edward Madge, Musician of Salisbury, 7 July 1646*. TNA: PROB 11/142/691, *Will of John Bacon, 12 December 1623*.

whereas Magnus Williamson suggests that the cornets and sackbuts may have played during the movement of people in order to cover the noise of footfall, and in addition that they could have provided a backing for singers as an accompaniment to metrical psalms.²⁷⁹ However, according to Matthew Locke, the cornet was used as a substitution (along with men singing falsetto) for boys' voices in the Chapel Royal following the Restoration, when there were presumably no trained choristers available.²⁸⁰ Peter Smart stated that at Durham Cathedral in the 1620s, 'morning service, which used to be read was [now filled] with Organs, Shackbuts and Cornets which yield an hydeous noyse', and that the Nicene Creed was 'sung with Organs, Shackbuts, and Cornets, and all other instruments of Musicke'.²⁸¹ In whatever way these instruments were deployed, they provided either an additional sound to the organ, or were used in combination with it, thus providing a novel auditory experience for the citizens of Salisbury.

The provision of new organs in Salisbury continued into the early seventeenth century with the acquisition of an instrument in 1603 for St Martin's Church constructed by an unnamed maker.²⁸² He was paid only £3 19s 3d, with the case and decoration adding a further 8s 10d. Although it is possible that this was a small instrument, it is equally likely that the costs entered in the churchwardens accounts did not reflect the true value of the instrument, but rather supplemented funds which had been raised by the parishioners specifically for this purpose, as observed earlier.²⁸³ This organ appears to have been constructed away from

²⁷⁹ John Harper, Personal communication, August 2016. Magnus Williamson, Personal communication, October 2019.

²⁸⁰ John Harley, 'Cooke, Henry', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6167> [accessed 20 November 2019].

²⁸¹ Quoted in Crosby, 'The choral foundation of Durham Cathedral, c.1350 - c.1650', pp. 169-170.

²⁸² WSA: 1899/65, *St Martin churchwardens and overseers account book*, September 1603.

²⁸³ The accounts do not name either the organ-maker or the painter. The organ was completed with a cover for the keys and a lock early the following year. WSA: 1899/65, *St Martin churchwardens and overseers account book, 1603-04*. The organ may have been similar in size to that made for Mere church in 1575 for £2 3s 8d by the Chappington family. WSA: PR/Mere, St. Michael the Archangel/2944/44, *Account book*.

Salisbury, as also occurred in the case of the later cathedral chair organ, built by John Burward. Thirty years later St Martin's appears to have purchased a further instrument, when money was set aside for 'setting of ye organs and paynting'.²⁸⁴ It is possible that this instrument was at least partially funded through a gift from one of the wealthy city merchants, William Windover, who in 1633 provided the sum of £50 to be used for the fabric of the church as necessary.²⁸⁵

Although there was a considerable puritanical element at St Edmund's, led by their minister Peter Thatcher, who could have sought the removal of the organ (see Chapter 5), the church continued to maintain it, thus providing evidence that puritans were not necessarily against such music in church. In 1633-34, a considerable sum was laid out for locks for the organ, in addition to £10 for repairs, which was paid to John Burward, the organ maker, and £3 6s 8d to Mr Tucker, who was organist at the cathedral.²⁸⁶ In the following year, prior to Archbishop Laud's visitation of Salisbury, an item in the accounts states 'order removinge organs and reversinge that order 10s'. This suggests that either an application had been made by St Edmund's to remove the instrument, or they had been instructed to do so. The outcome was that the organs were not removed, enabling the archbishop's representatives to see its continued use as an expression of the Laudian 'beauty of holiness'.²⁸⁷ However, there are mixed messages here as it would appear that the repairs to the organs by Burward the

²⁸⁴ In 1632-33 the organ maker was likely to have been John Hayward, who also repaired the organ in 1636-37: Hayward was active in the west country at this time. Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, p. 104. WSA: 1899/65, *St Martin churchwardens and overseers account book, 1603-04*.

²⁸⁵ WSA: 1899/177, *St Martins minute book and churchwardens accounts*, p. 1. TNA: PROB 11/163/322, *Will of William Windover of Salisbury, 22 March 1633*.

²⁸⁶ WSA: 1901/80, *St Edmund churchwarden account roll, 1633-34*. 'Three keyes, newe locke, & mendinge of two lockes for ye Organs 2s 6d'; to 'J. Burte [Burward] in full of his Byll for repayreng the Organs £10'; to 'Mr Tocker of the Close in full for his paynes about the Organs £3 6s 8d'. Edmund Tocker or Tooker pricked the music books for the choir at the cathedral and was cathedral organist until at least 1622. SCA: FA/1/1/61, *Fabric account, 1633-34*. No name is attributed after the account for 1621-22, only the statement: 'Item to the organist his fee 26s 8d'.

²⁸⁷ 1634-35, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 202.

previous year might have anticipated that visitation. By 1635, however, the organs of the city were all in good condition, as when Lieutenant Hammond of the Company of Norwich visited the city he stated that ‘The Citty hath 4 Churches in her, with this Cathedrall, and in every one of them are neat Organs’.²⁸⁸

4.3.7 Another ‘neat organ’: an addition and improvements by John Burward

Why was a new organ necessary at Salisbury Cathedral at this time, and who instigated its replacement? The Chappington organ was by now around sixty years old, and must still have been in use, as organists were paid and polyphony sung. Thus, as at the parish churches, there was musical continuity, although the laity had less influence at the cathedral than at the other churches in the city. The provision of an upgraded organ designed by John Burward therefore involved a more up-to-date instrument that was larger and more complex, suited to accomplished organists such as Giles Tomkins (see above), who was organist from around 1636 until the Civil War, following which he was reinstated.²⁸⁹ When Archbishop Laud carried out the metropolitical visitation of the cathedral in 1634, matters were found to be in some disarray: the responses to the twelve Articles addressing the state of music revealed that it was generally poor, as the vicars choral were often absent, as was the master of the choristers, Giles Tomkins, who was variously engaged as a musician at court.²⁹⁰ It would seem that the cathedral struggled to employ good musicians who were continuously resident in Salisbury, rather than working for the king elsewhere.

Laud persuaded the king to install his protégé and nephew-in-law, the Arminian Richard Baylie, as Dean of Salisbury, replacing Edmund Mason, a Calvinist conformist who died

²⁸⁸ Legg, ed., *A Relation of a Short Survey of the Western Counties*, p. 64.

²⁸⁹ It is known that Giles Tomkins was organist by 1637. Robertson, *Sarum Close*, p. 185.

²⁹⁰ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, p. 262. Irving, ‘Tomkins, Thomas (1572–1656)’. Simpson, ‘Archbishop Laud’s visitation of Salisbury in 1634’, 21, 75. WSA: D1/36/2/3, *Laud metropolitical visitation, 1634*.

around this time. Baylie remained in post from 1635 until the suspension of the cathedral in 1649 and returned at the Restoration of 1660, remaining until his death in 1667. From 1613 he had been nurtured by Laud and in due course he followed him to London, where in 1631 Baylie received a canonry at St Paul's.²⁹¹ Salisbury Cathedral now had a dean who was in every way close to Laud, and one of the early consequences of his appointment was the commission for work on the new organ. It is possible that the dean and chapter had planned work on the instrument during the last months of Dean Mason's tenure following the withering comments of the visitation. It is equally possible that Baylie had been lined up by Laud by the time of the visitation to take over from Mason, and that plans for the work on the organ had been formed in London between Baylie and Burward before Baylie's installation as dean. No matter whether either was the case, the surprise is that work on the organ took precedence over other demanding needs in the cathedral: the visitation had also established that the cathedral floor needed repair, there was a lack of altar ornaments, and there were no copes.²⁹² Despite these other deficiencies, the dean and chapter opted to rebuild the existing great organ, and add a new chair organ, thus avoiding the higher costs of an entirely new instrument.²⁹³

The contract with John Burward (see Appendix 16) was signed on 14 May 1635, just a few weeks after Baylie's installation as dean on 22 April 1635, which was only four weeks after Dean Mason's death. By that time Baylie would have had recent regular experience of two

²⁹¹ A. J. Hegarty, 'Baylie, Richard', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008)

<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/65650> [accessed 28 June 2019].

²⁹² This is supported by SCA: Box 238, *Inventory*, 1624.

²⁹³ The term 'chair' is an old French word meaning face or front. Paul Binski, 'The Origin of the term Chair Organ', *Journal of the Institute of British Organ Studies*, 30 (2017), 180. The earliest documented reference to a chair organ in England was that built by Thomas Dallam for King's College. Thistlethwaite, 'The organ of King's College, Cambridge: 1605-1802', 18. John Burward also constructed one for the royal chapel at Hampton Court in 1637-38 and possibly at other palaces such as those at Whitehall and Greenwich. Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music Volume III (1625-1649)* (Snodland: Andrew Ashbee, 1988), pp. 94, 141.

organs: that built at St John's, Oxford, by Thomas Dallam in 1617; and that of St Paul's Cathedral, London, probably constructed by Thomas Hamlyn in 1609 (Figure 4-13).²⁹⁴ It was the latter that John Burward was directed to take as his model for the organ at Salisbury Cathedral: the specification was for an upgrade to the existing great organ plus the addition of a chair organ, at a total cost of £220, with £80 due on 18 June 1635 in Westminster and £140 on 1 June 1636, or when the work was complete. This price excluded the cost of carriage and the carpentry work, and metal from the great organ which was not reused was to be returned to the dean and chapter. The work was phased: the new chair organ to be completed by 25 December 1635 or 2 February 1636 at the latest, and the rebuilding of the great organ by 1 June 1636.²⁹⁵ Burward had been in the city several times in the years preceding his engagement and it is possible that Giles Tomkins, who had been instructor of the choristers from around 1629, had influenced the decision to award the contract to Burward, as he would have known him at court where Burward was organ maker to the king.²⁹⁶

The chair organ would probably have had a compass of four octaves and one note extending from C to d³, but sounding F to a³ on the principal. It was a separate division with its own case located behind the player, and therefore closest to the singers. It is not known whether the organist would have had to turn around to play the chair organ on its own independent keyboard, or whether a second keyboard was placed under that of the great organ, as at Chirk Castle.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁴ Dominic Gwynn, *Personal communication*, 21 June 2016.

²⁹⁵ The first two dates are stated in the agreement as the Feast of the birth of our Lord and the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

²⁹⁶ Peter LeHuray, John Irving and Kerry McCarthy, 'Tomkins family', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2014) <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.28090> [accessed 30 June 2019].

²⁹⁷ Burward had built an organ of two divisions in a single case at Chirk Castle in 1632. Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, p. 377. William Reynolds, 'A study of music and liturgy, choirs and organs, in monastic and secular foundations in Wales and the Borderlands, 1485-1685' (unpublished Doctoral thesis, Bangor University, 2002), p. 191. NLW: Chirk collection, group F, MS 5526, *Organ contract*.

Burward was commissioned to make:

a good and sufficient Chaire organ according to the model and fashion of the chaire Organ in St Pauls church London, with five stops, one stopt Diapason of wood, one Flute of wood, one Principal of metal wrought & embossed for the forefront, one small principal of metal and one fifteen of metal.

This was therefore to be a five-foot organ, but with a stopped diapason sounding an octave lower (equivalent to a ten-foot pitch).²⁹⁸ The work was also to include all joiners' work, gilding and painting of the pipes and the organ case.

The commission for the work on the great organ is less precise since the contract does not give full details about the existing instrument. In addition to repairing the bellows, and supplying a new soundboard, conveyances and conduits, Burward was directed to:

repair or cause to be repaired the great Organ of the Cathedral church of Sarum ... and make and add or cause to be made and added thereunto, three and twenty new Diapasons [and] repair also or cause to be repaired the other Pipes in the front of the said organ that are or shall be needful to be repaired and likewise all the inner pipes of the same Organ that are or shall be faulty ... and moreover ... make or cause to be made in and to the said great Organ one stopt Diapason of good Wainscot to be placed where the Rigall now standeth ...

This agreement identifies only two stops, both sounding as diapasons.²⁹⁹ It seems that there were to be new metal diapasons to add to the existing front pipes; and a new stopped diapason

²⁹⁸ In modern pitch terms this would be 16, 8, 8, 4, 2. The cases of comparable five-foot chair organs survive at Gloucester Cathedral (Robert Dallam, 1641), Stanford-on-Avon (formerly at Magdalen College, Oxford, c.1630), and Parkend Church, Gloucestershire (formerly at Salisbury Cathedral, and thought to be Burward's case of 1636).

²⁹⁹ Diapasons are 10-foot stops.

to replace the regal, which would have sounded flute-like.³⁰⁰ The contract demanded that ‘those great Pipes of the Diapason stop, to be of the model with those of the Great organ of St Pauls church London.’ From a report of their measurement in 1665, it is known that the largest of the pipes at St Paul’s was eight inches in diameter.³⁰¹



Figure 4-13: The organ at St Paul’s Cathedral (on north side)³⁰²



Figure 4-14: Dallam organ case at Tewkesbury Abbey³⁰³

In the reconstructed Wetheringsett organ, the soundboard has holes near the front which appear to have been intended for a regal, and it also has stopped basses as in the Burward organ.³⁰⁴ There is just one original pre-Commonwealth ten-foot great organ case surviving,

³⁰⁰ As in the chair organ, a stopped pipe with a maximum length of 5-foot but sounding at 10-foot pitch.

³⁰¹ Note from Nathaniel Tomkins to John Sayer, May 1665, referring to Dallam’s organ at Worcester Cathedral, cited by Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, p. 78.

³⁰² William Dugdale, *The History of St Paul's Cathedral in London* (London, 1716).

³⁰³ Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, p. 70.

³⁰⁴ The stop list of the reconstructed Wetheringsett organ made by Goetze and Gwynn is basses (19 notes, stopped) (c – F#, sounding F¹ to B), 2 principals, 2 small principals, 1 fifteenth, 1 regal (unison to the principals).

now located at Tewkesbury Abbey (see Figure 4-14).³⁰⁵ The Burward contract implies that the existing organ at Salisbury was a five-foot instrument; it seems therefore that the twenty-three new diapason pipes (undoubtedly made of metal) may have been combined with an existing principal rank in the façade of the case.

The progress of the work, and the involvement of other craftsmen and trades, can be traced in the cathedral accounts, from which it is possible to some extent to piece together the process of construction (see Appendix 17).³⁰⁶ There are references to coal for a fire, but a melting pot or a pit and a casting bench are missing and there is no reference to lead or tin: it is likely therefore that the organ pipes were constructed elsewhere, in this instance at Burward's workshop which was probably in London.³⁰⁷ The chair organ was certainly built there, and the cost of carriage was added to the bill. The building work at the cathedral appears to have begun in January 1636, when the labourers from the cathedral, known as Orpin and Neete, began work with the 'organist' (likely in this case the organ builder).³⁰⁸ The chair case arrived at an early stage and was installed, possibly cantilevered out from the gallery, as in the following month the beams were strengthened with iron rods to reinforce the area where the existing great organ stood, which would then support the additional weight of the new chair organ.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁵ This was formerly at Magdalen College, Oxford, probably built around 1632 by Robert Dallam.

³⁰⁶ There are, however, some caveats. Materials listed do not always state their use: for instance, timber purchased may be for organ construction or for some other purpose; similarly, labour including masons and joiners, where the accounts do not specify their purpose, may be organ-related, or for another job within the close.

³⁰⁷ SCA: FA 1/1/62, *Fabric account, 1635-36*. This contrasts with the construction of the Chappington organ at St Edmund's Church, Salisbury in 1567-68.

³⁰⁸ The term 'organist' could at this time refer to the organ builder, as well as to the musician, as in modern parlance. Dominic Gwynn, Personal communication, 7 December 2016.

³⁰⁹ At this time good quality iron was usually shipped from the Continent, and in particular from Toledo in Spain: this may have been converted in the hand forge which had existed in Salisbury since the fifteenth century. E. J. T. Collins, 'At the cutting edge: edge tool production in southern and south-west England, 1740 to 1960', *Agricultural History Review*, 64 (2016), 201. The churchwardens account for St Thomas's Church in 1551-52 includes a payment to the smith who purchased 'viiij lb of spanysse Iron'. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*,

In April, the labourers constructed the stairs for the organ loft, which was followed by the arrival of the pipes, bellows, and windchest: at this stage Burward began work on updating the great organ.³¹⁰ A new scaffold was constructed, and Orpin and Neete worked in the organ loft, continuing into May, when they moved to the area where the new bellows were to be situated. Rails were constructed in June, prior to plastering the underside of the organ loft. As with the Chappington organ at St Edmund's, wainscot was used to fill the arch above the great organ.³¹¹ Finally, Thomas Babb, a member of the London Painter-Stainers' Company, carried out the 'cullaringe and guildinge' of the organ; however, in contrast to the Chappington organ at St Edmund's, there is no record of the specified colours.³¹² What is considered to be the Burward chair organ case from Salisbury Cathedral is still extant with some of its original pipes at St Paul's Church, Parkend in the Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire, and this provides an idea of the original carving, but not the colouration or gilding of the completed organ (see Figure 4-15 and Figure 4-16).³¹³

In total the construction of the organ took 157 man-days, plus an unspecified number of days' work from Burward and his men, both at the cathedral and at his own workshop. Records of the payments due to Burward are far from complete: the first instalment of £80 according to

p. 279. The original is wanting. Such an arrangement can be seen in an eighteenth-century painting of the choir of Canterbury Cathedral reproduced in Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, p. 114.

³¹⁰ Burward received a payment of £11 at this stage.

³¹¹ Again the painting of the Pease organ in Canterbury Cathedral may be indicative of the arrangement. See Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, p. 114.

³¹² Tittler, *The Face of the City*, p. 56. According to the Salisbury accounts, Babb was paid 44s for his work, and an extra 5s was paid to his servant, John Powell. Babb had also decorated the Dallam organs at York and Bristol. For the latter he was paid £100 'for gilding the organs, beautifying and gilding the upper end and lower end of the quire and beautifying and gilding the horologue'. Andrew Freeman, 'The Organs of Bristol Cathedral', *The Organ*, 2 (1922-23), 66. By contrast, he was paid 100s for labour on the organ at York Minster in 1634. Raine, ed., *The Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, p. 325.

³¹³ There is some debate as to whether this case is actually from the Burward chair organ. Whilst it seems that this organ did originate in the cathedral, the Reverend Andrew Freeman considered that it was part of a later organ constructed for Salisbury Cathedral by Thomas Harris, soon after his return from Brittany. He states that 'the appearance of both case and front pipes suggest this as their origin [and] the case is unmistakably of the old English type ... it shows no trace of either Dutch or French influences' as in Harris's later work. More recent organ historians, including Dominic Gwynn, are content at this stage to regard it as Burward's case. Andrew Freeman, 'Two Organs in Gloucestershire', *The Organ World* (1933), 1043-1044.

the agreement was to be made to him by William Ireland in Westminster, but the fabric accounts of the cathedral for 1634-35, which may have shown this deposit, are wanting.³¹⁴ Payments in the accounts amount to only £110 9s 0d out of the promised total of £220: that is, around one-half is unaccounted for. As with payments for the construction of other organs in the city seen earlier in this section, the balance may have been covered by the benevolence of citizens from Salisbury and elsewhere, as was the case in the year 2020.³¹⁵

It is unclear whether it was the direct influence of Archbishop Laud directly, or indirectly through the new dean, Richard Baylie, which resulted in the addition of a new chair organ and the rebuilding of the great organ in the cathedral; however, given the apparent shortfall in the cathedral accounts, questions remain about the outstanding funding required to pay Burward for its construction. Even more frustrating is the absence of repertory from Salisbury. It is possible that the contemporary organ books preserved at Durham Cathedral or Batten's organ book (associated with St Paul's) may provide an indication, along with the surviving music by John Holmes; however, there is nothing which specifically links the organ with any repertory played in Salisbury in the same way as exists for the Burward organ at Chirk Castle, where vocal partbooks, organ book and agreement are all extant.³¹⁶

Salisbury Cathedral now had an up-to-date organ that it could be proud of, constructed by an organ maker to the king, which would have looked magnificent and sounded wonderful, to such an extent that most of the citizens would never have experienced anything like it before,

³¹⁴ William Ireland paid Burward for both the organ at Westminster and part-payment for that in Salisbury. He was a vestry man at St Margaret's in Westminster, and an important local businessman. J. F. Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster: Abbey, Court and Community 1525-1640* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 128, 134. TNA: PROB 11/178/666, *Will of William Ireland of Westminster, Middlesex, 11 December 1638*.

³¹⁵ The fabric account for 1635-36 contains payments to John Burward and his son, to a total of £28 only: £11 in April, £10 in June, and £7 in August 'in full payment' with an additional £2 9s 0d paid to Babb and his man directly.

³¹⁶ Reynolds, 'A study of music and liturgy', pp. 252-258, 272-274.

in terms of visual and aural encounters. The organ thus renovated and augmented was, however, only used briefly, before the political and religious dissensions which resulted in the Civil War and the suppression of church services threatened its use. In April 1643, only seven years after the completion of Burward's contract, the organ was dismantled and safely stowed away. The organist that year did not receive his full stipend and no organ blower was paid.³¹⁷ However, in 1661, immediately after the Civil War, the Burward organ was reinstated on site by 'Mr Thomas Harris organ maker'.³¹⁸



Figure 4-15: Chair organ at St Paul's Church, Parkend, early 20th century
(Photo: Maurice Bent)

³¹⁷ The cathedral organ was taken down by four men at a cost of 9s, plus 6d for beer. SCA: FA/1/1/64, *Fabric account, 1642-43*.

³¹⁸ In 1662-63 there are other payments relating to an organ including painting it at a cost of £40, and a new door and wainscot. SCA: FA/3/1/1/22, *Mr Harding's notes on the fabric, 1891*, p. 40. In 1668-69 Thomas Harris built a small organ at the cathedral, which was partly paid for by settlement of a debt. SCA: Box 33, organs, *Contract between Harris ye Organmaker & DC Dec 29 1668*. Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, p. 122.



Figure 4-16: The case of the chair organ at St Paul's, Parkend, 2016

Parish organs up and down the country were removed and choirs were disbanded following the issue in May 1644 of the 'Ordinance for the further demolishing of Monuments of Idolatry and Superstition'.³¹⁹ This suppressed the use of organs in churches throughout the period of the Commonwealth with the result that the organ at St Thomas's was sold for scrap in 1646, with 271 lbs of metal raising £12 8s 5d.³²⁰ In the same year St Edmund's also removed its organ, with the accounts showing a receipt 'for old mettles £12 14s', which at 11d a pound

³¹⁹ 'All Organs, and the Frames or Cases wherein they stand in all Churches or Chappels aforesaid, shall be taken away, and utterly defaced, and none other hereafter set up in their places'. C H Firth and R S Rait, 'May 1644: An Ordinance for the further demolishing of Monuments of Idolatry and Superstition', in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, in *British History Online* (1911) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/acts-ordinances-interregnum/pp425-426> [accessed 13 January 2021].

³²⁰ The metal from the organ was sold sometime between 4 July and 27 November 1646 at 11d a lb. WSA: 1900/174, *St Thomas vestry minute book, 1594-1673*.

would equate to 277 lbs, only 6 lbs more than at St Thomas's.³²¹ The instrument constructed at St Martin's in 1632-33 lasted longer than those of the other churches, being demolished in 1653, but it may have been disconnected earlier. Alternatively, the parishioners of St Martin's who had invested in it could still remember paying for it and were reluctant to see it removed, even though this would have been contrary to the 1644 Ordinance.³²²

4.3.8 Conclusion

The sound of both organs and singing would undoubtedly have lifted the hearts of the clergy and the laity in post-Reformation Salisbury and brought sacred music to the city in the later Reformation which was accessible to all social levels. On the other hand, for those who were morally opposed to its use, the sound and sight of the instrument would have been a constant reminder of the failure of Reformation. The grandeur of later organs may also have acted as a focal point for at least some of the congregation, with the carved and coloured cases and pipes appearing as a stark contrast within the whitewashed walls which covered the original vivid images.

In this chapter, the process of the construction of two organs in Salisbury some seventy years apart has been examined. The earlier one was built entirely in situ, and the later at least partially repaired and extended on-site, with the addition of a chair organ which was constructed elsewhere and added to the original instrument. Churchwardens accounts, as in the case of the Chappington organ, and fabric accounts with or without a contract, can therefore be used not only to provide an idea of the cost of individual items, but also to trace the order of construction and the time taken to build such instruments. That there was a

³²¹ In the same year, all the churches of Salisbury including the cathedral were instructed to dismantle their fonts and this is noted as a separate sale of lead at St Edmund's. 1646-47, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 216. WSA: 1901/81/3, *St Edmund churchwarden account roll, 1646-47*.

³²² The account for 1653-54 is wanting. The organ case was sold to Anthony Wilkinson for 10s. T. H. Baker, *Notes on St Martin's Church and Parish* (Salisbury: Brown & Co., 1906), p. 36.

continued use of the instrument throughout the city, when organs in other cities such as Worcester were being removed, makes Salisbury distinctive, particularly given that there was a strong puritan faction in at least one parish church. The continued use was partially due to the influence of Bishop Jewel in the 1560s and Archbishop Laud in the 1630s, who both maintained that churches should continue to have such instruments. As in previous chapters, the mayor was involved in decision-making, in this case in demanding that the Chappington family maintain the instruments that they had constructed in the city. Further, the mayor also contributed financially towards the new organs, certainly in the case of that at St Edmund's, and in doing so, he may well have encouraged other members of the corporation to contribute similarly.

By contrast, the management of, and financial provision for, those individuals involved in singing appears to have remained within the control of the church hierarchies. From this, it could be construed that the mayor and corporation were prepared to fund the long-lasting physical fabric of the churches in the city, as opposed to payments made for the services of individuals through the short-lived provision of their oral output.

Some eighty years on from the 1563 Convocation, and with the advent of the Civil War, Thomas Lancaster, treasurer of Salisbury Cathedral (if he had still been alive), would have finally achieved his desire for the removal of organs within both the cathedral and parish churches in Salisbury. Whilst many instruments were destroyed and their metal sold for scrap at the interregnum, the cathedral organ was taken down and stored, and then re-erected following the Restoration. However, this was not the case in the parish churches of the city, where continuity of musical provision in the Salisbury parishes was finally broken, with an apparent lack of an instrument to accompany its worship, and no evidence of payment to the parish clerk as organist immediately after the Restoration.

5 CAROLINE CHURCH

5.1 Introduction

There was a time when churchmen were as great in this kingdom as you are now; and let me be bold to prophesy, there will be a time when you will be as low as the Church is now, if you go on thus to contemn the Church.¹

Thus stated William Laud, Bishop of London in 1633 as part of his summing-up at the trial of the iconoclast and puritan, Henry Sherfield. In saying this Laud was referring to Sherfield's arrogant attitude towards the Bishop of Salisbury, and also towards himself at this event.

Little was Laud to know that he too would be sent for trial which would result in his execution in 1645, and by 1646 the episcopate would have been disbanded along with the cathedrals. The appearance of Sherfield in the Star Chamber raises several questions, not least the definition of idolatry at this point in the seventeenth century and the opinions held by Bishops Laud and Neile and various members of the judiciary and social elite.

This chapter focusses on the case of Henry Sherfield, who broke some quarrels of glass in St Edmund's Church for which he was prosecuted, the story of which has been partially re-told many times.² With regard to this incident, Margaret Aston for instance, centres her argument on the prosecution of Sherfield as an iconoclast in that the window he broke contained images which he considered to be superstitious. On the other hand, Paul Slack states that Sherfield

¹ Sollom Emlyn, ed., *A Complete Collection of State-Trials and Proceedings for High-Treason and other Misdemeanours from the Reign of King Richard II to the Reign of King George II, Volume I* (London, 1742), p. 414.

² WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, p. 40. Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation*, pp. 663-672. Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c.1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 141-142. Julie Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), pp. 22-24. Chandler, *Endless Street*, pp. 201-202. Paul Slack, 'Religious protest and urban authority: the case of Henry Sherfield, iconoclast 1633', in *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest*, ed. by Derek Baker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 295-302.

was prosecuted in order to ‘attempt to demolish a major pillar of strict puritan magistracy’, in that he was a known puritan who was active in the vestry of St Edmund’s, and he was the recorder of the city.³ In this chapter, I will argue that, whilst both of these opinions are valid, Sherfield had other reasons to make his challenge, driven by his puritan views that the church should not be dependent on the bishop, and further his belief that the attention of all clergy should be dedicated to their parish and parishioners.

The period from 1630 until the Interregnum was a time of change for the citizens of Salisbury, with the corporation taking on greater responsibility for the city and becoming more involved with the churches, mainly through the employment and housing of ministers. The sensory aspects of this period are also considered at a time when the parish churches in Salisbury had a tendency towards puritanism in contrast to supporters of Archbishop Laud at the cathedral. Peter Marshall considers that there have been fewer detailed studies of the effects of Laudianism in local areas than of the reforms during the reigns of Henry, Edward and Mary, and this study sets out to address this lacuna, at least partially.⁴

5.2 The situation in the city

Prior to the charters of 1612 and 1630, which provided the corporation with the freedom to govern Salisbury, there had been numerous disagreements between the corporation and the bishop regarding their interrelationship. During the sixteenth century, there were two significant disputes: the first occurred in 1537, when an underbailiff was appointed who had not been endorsed by the mayor, and in fact was considered to be of insufficient ‘gravity and substance’. At the same time Bishop Shaxton, who presided over one of the more reforming

³ Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation*, pp. 663-664. Slack, ‘Religious protest and urban authority’, p. 302.

⁴ Marshall, *Reformation England 1480-1642*, p. 226.

episcopates, had determined that the Scots chaplain, John Macdowell, was to preach in the cathedral during Lent 1537. Macdowell spoke against 'the Bishop of Rome' and promoted the new translation of the Bible into English; in addition, he had questioned the status of the corporation who had been unable to find the culprit who had removed posters about the city which declared that fasting in Lent was no longer a requirement. Uproar ensued amongst the citizens of Salisbury, who imprisoned the preacher: the mayor, Thomas Chaffyn, asserted that 'the city is the king's city, and the mayor is the king's mayor', in opposition to the charter of the time which stated that he was the bishop's.⁵ The second dispute occurred in 1593 whilst Bishop Coldwell was in power. A document had been issued from central government regarding the collection of subsidies and was addressed to the bishop, in which the mayor was described as 'absolutelie his Mayor' (that is, the bishop's), which once again rankled with the citizens.⁶ Neither of these instances amounted to much in themselves, but the underlying concerns seem to have been the wording of the mayoral oath made annually to the bishop's bailiff, and the fact that the supremacy of the bishop was also affirmed therein. The situation came to a head in 1594 when it was decided that the mayoral oath to be taken by Thomas Grafton would completely omit any reference to the bishop and his jurisdiction, or the fact that the mayor was bound to inform the 'bishop's officers of escheats and casualties'.⁷ This matter was brought before the Privy Council which drafted a compromise document. Although found acceptable by the Salisbury corporation, it was declined by the bishop with the result that the matter remained a bone of contention. There appears to be a lack of

⁵ Street, 'Relations of the Bishops and Citizens', 322-323. Claire Cross, 'Reformation in Salisbury', *Sarum Chronicle*, 13 (2013), 102-103.

⁶ WSA: G23/1/3, *Corporation ledger C*, ff.135v-136r.

⁷ Escheats: reversion of property to the bishop on vacancy. Street, 'Relations of the Bishops and Citizens', 335, 337.

evidence regarding what followed, with the extant papers in the archives being both undated and unsigned, and hence uninterpretable in terms of the succession of events.⁸

Thus, during the majority of the sixteenth century, bishops had struggled to exercise control over the citizens and corporation in the way that their predecessors had been able to do. However, the situation in the early years of the seventeenth century was different; Bishop Cotton appears to have been slightly more amenable towards the corporation, who in turn strove to bargain with him. It was perhaps not so surprising that Cotton was less interested in Salisbury in that as a canon of Winchester Cathedral he is said to have stated that he ‘spent the greatest parte of my tyme’ in Winchester.⁹ Even in his will Cotton did not show much care towards the poor of the city of Salisbury, leaving a bequest of only £5, unlike Bishop Jewel who had bequeathed 100 marks.¹⁰ James I was now monarch and a frequent visitor to the city, which provided the corporation with the opportunity to petition him to provide a charter allowing them more freedom to govern; this was to be a protracted and expensive pursuit, but one which the citizens eventually procured.¹¹ Their main requests to the king relied on the issue of divided governance of the city, and also the hope that the trades of Salisbury could become incorporated, thereby preventing their degeneration. The corporation suggested that the bishop should receive compensation from the king, who in turn would lease Salisbury to the citizens for the same amount. This would allow the city to regulate itself but still retain the liberties previously experienced under the bishop.¹²

⁸ Street, 'Relations of the Bishops and Citizens', 338, 344.

⁹ Julian Lock, 'Cotton, Henry', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/61738> [accessed 20 June 2019].

¹⁰ 100 marks was £66 13s 4d. Felicity Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes: A Study of the Economic and Social Position of the Tudor Episcopate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 261.

¹¹ Shelagh Bond and Norman Evans, 'The Process of Granting Charters to English Boroughs, 1547-1649', *The English Historical Review*, 91 (1976), 120.

¹² Street, 'Relations of the Bishops and Citizens', 345-346.

In January 1606 Gyles Tooker, the city recorder, drew up the proposed incorporation for presentation to the bishop.¹³ However, in March 1607 Bishop Cotton, and the dean and chapter, rejected the draft articles of incorporation as they considered them to be detrimental to the church and therefore an infringement not only of the king's coronation oath, but also those taken by the bishop, dean, chapter, and mayor. A new draft was prepared in 1609 and sent to the king, who passed it to his Attorney General in order 'to draw up a book conteyninge his Ma[jes]t[ies] graunte and charter'. The clauses in the draft appeared under the following four headings in the document:

To be incorporated by charter; To make laws and orders for the good ordering of that incorporacion; To exclude Foreyners; and To have a standing Commission of the peace as other Citties have.

At this time, loans were taken out by the corporation and donations accumulated from around 550 citizens who were prepared to back the preparation of the charter.¹⁴ In addition, members of the corporation were sent to London to assist Gyles Tooker.¹⁵ The bishop however disagreed with some of the clauses under the above headings, stating that 'noe Cathedrales Churches and Close hath ever ben subject to the townes government, and to be soe heare where the Church made the Cittie were very harde'. The delays continued whilst the document passed through the various courts. As a final plea, Bishop Cotton asked that the close be excluded from the authority of the city through a separate charter. This was agreed upon and

¹³ Street, 'Relations of the Bishops and Citizens', 347.

¹⁴ Donations from the: merchants £1-£3, craftsmen 5s-£1, the guilds with charters i.e. the weavers £6 and tailors £10, the Twenty-Four £5 each, the Forty-Eight £2 each. Haskins, *Salisbury Charters and History of St Edmund's College*, p. 29.

¹⁵ It was necessary for the beneficiary to transfer documents between offices. Bond and Evans, 'The Process of Granting Charters to English Boroughs, 1547-1649', 115. Street, 'Relations of the Bishops and Citizens', 348.

on 2 March 1612, two new charters dividing power between the city and the close were issued.¹⁶

The new governing body for the city remained much the same as before, consisting of an annually elected mayor, whose oath was now prescribed in the charter. He was still to be sworn in before the bishop, or in his absence, the dean and chapter, or alternatively before the ex-mayor and recorder along with four aldermen; the bishop's bailiff was also to be elected as bailiff of the city.¹⁷ A further charter was granted by Charles I in August 1630 which seems to run counter to the wider trend, in that the king did not grant any additional privileges to the bishops but merely confirmed the charter promulgated by his father with a few additional changes which benefitted the management of the corporation.¹⁸ At this time Henry Sherfield was the city recorder and would have managed the introduction of this charter.¹⁹

It is of note that Gyles Tooker, who was the first city recorder of Salisbury, as well as being a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, had gone to great trouble to obtain the 1612 charter, which had taken around six years to become an actuality.²⁰ It is thus possible that this action, which effectively cleaved control away from the bishop, led the episcopate to bear a grudge against the position of city recorder, which Henry Sherfield was later to hold.

¹⁶ Street, 'Relations of the Bishops and Citizens', 349-351. Crittall, 'Salisbury: City government, 1612-1835'.

¹⁷ Street, 'Relations of the Bishops and Citizens', 352, 354. Other officers included a recorder, twenty-four aldermen, forty-eight assistants, two chamberlains, four chief constables, thirteen petty constables and three serjeants-at-Mace.

¹⁸ Andrew Foster, 'The Clerical Estate Revitalised', in *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642*, ed. by Kenneth Fincham (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993), p. 147.

¹⁹ This charter allowed for removal of corporation offices, changed the election day of the mayor from 2 November to 2 September, provided the city bailiff with the same powers as the county sheriff, and increased the fines for those who would not take office. Haskins, *Salisbury Charters and History of St Edmund's College*, p. 9. It was not until the reformation of the boroughs through the Municipal Corporations Act in 1835 that the bishop finally lost all power in the city.

²⁰ WSA: G23/1/3, *Corporation ledger C, 1606*, ff. 193, 198. In 1611 Giles Tooker and John Puxton were granted a lease of 'the capital Messuage of St Edmund's College with garden, orchards and two ditches adjoining, replenished with Elms and other trees'. Haskins, *Salisbury Charters and History of St Edmund's College*, p. 36.

5.3 Who was Sherfield?

Henry Sherfield was the youngest of four children. He was baptised Henrye Shervyll on 13 September 1572. His father, Richard, was a farmer and corn dealer at Winterbourne Earls, and his mother was Mawde Martyne.²¹ Little is known of Henry's early life, although it is thought that he may have lived at Walhampton in Hampshire and was later employed as a clerk in Southampton, during which time he may have acquired the patronage of Sir Thomas Fleming, who was recorder of Winchester and Southampton. In 1598, Sherfield entered Lincoln's Inn to train as a barrister, before being called to the bar in 1606. From 1622 until his death in 1634, he was one of the governors at Lincoln's Inn.²² Sherfield served as Member of Parliament for Southampton in 1614, 1621 and 1624, and later for Old Sarum; he was also recorder of Southampton from 1618. This was followed by the post of justice of the peace for Wiltshire in 1617, and he became the recorder of Salisbury in 1623.²³

St Edmund's was Sherfield's parish church, where he was a known puritan and also a member of the vestry.²⁴ In addition to having several positions of authority he also contributed financially towards the church on several occasions, which may have led him to consider that he had possessive rights over the fabric there.²⁵

²¹ WSA: PR/Winterbourne Earls St Michael, *Marriage and Baptism Registers*.

²² Paul Slack, 'Sherfield, Henry', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25361> [accessed 19 January 2020]. The National Archives, *Sherfield Family* (n.d.) <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/rd/de3fa3d6-bd07-407e-b5fa-35c7b207477c> [accessed 3 February 2016].

²³ G. Dyfnallt-Owen, 'Cecil Papers: 1624, in Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House, 22, 1612-1668', in *British History Online* (1971) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-cecil-papers/vol22/pp188-204> [accessed 19 January 2020].

²⁴ Sherfield held a pew at St Edmund's for which he paid 25s as a lump-sum rather than paying an annuity. 1607-08, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 156.

²⁵ For instance, he contributed 22s towards the building of the ringing loft in 1619-20 and lent the church £6 in 1632-33. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 170, 197.

5.4 Puritanism and Laudianism

At the time when Sherfield damaged the window there were both puritan and Laudian influences in the city of Salisbury, as well as those with views across the spectrum. In pre-Civil War Salisbury, there was division between - on the one hand - the Laudian dean and chapter at the cathedral and St Thomas's which was maintained by the dean and chapter, and - on the other hand - St Edmund's, where the vestry men considered the church to be a peculiar.²⁶ We do not know whether St Martin's inclined towards puritanical or Laudian tendencies at this time.

The term puritan had first been applied in 1567 as a contemptuous term initially used by Catholics and later picked-up by Protestants to describe individuals who attended churches based on congregations such as those in Geneva, which elected their own elders and ministers and held regional synods.²⁷ During the 1560s many considered that the church had undergone insufficient reform, by 1590 those who demanded a reformation of both the liturgy and organization of the Protestant church had largely been silenced. A key event was the Hampton Court Conference which was held in January 1604 between James I and representatives of the Church of England. This also failed to deliver any major changes, although one of the beliefs of godly Calvinists, that of the doctrine of predestination, was discussed.²⁸ The main opposing standpoint, held by the Arminians, was the belief that the sacraments offered divine grace to all.²⁹ James I chose the conformist Richard Bancroft as Archbishop of Canterbury, rather than

²⁶ A fee or estate in land held in consideration of secular services, as distinguished from an ecclesiastical fee. OED.

²⁷ Marshall, *Reformation England 1480-1642*, p. 131.

²⁸ Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales, 'Introduction: The Puritan Ethos, 1560-1700', in *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700*, ed. by Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1996), p. 4.

²⁹ Arminianism: the doctrines of Arminius, especially in respect of his rejection of the Calvinist doctrine of predestination; belief in or advocacy of these doctrines. OED. Laud was arrested in 1640 and executed in 1645. Durston and Eales, 'Introduction: The Puritan Ethos, 1560-1700', p. 5.

the puritan Tobie Matthew, as he was afraid of opposition from puritans.³⁰ However, Bancroft was succeeded by George Abbot, who was more relaxed towards those who did not agree with the liturgical and ceremonial components of the Elizabethan Settlement.³¹ The rise of William Laud, who controlled the church in the 1630s, both as Bishop of London and then as Archbishop of Canterbury, led to a redefinition of the boundaries of puritanism and eventually to the Civil War, when the puritans demanded the removal of interference from the monarch, and the ejection of the episcopate. As Patrick Collinson has commented, puritanism was ‘not a thing definable in itself but only one half of a stressful relationship’, the other being Protestantism.³²

In 1621 the Member of Parliament Sir Robert Harley composed a list of puritan attributes: these included the belief in predestination, the maintenance of godly behaviour, and a search for assurance of salvation. From 1624 to 1629 both Harley and Henry Sherfield spoke in the House of Commons on the issue of the Arminian attack on predestination and religious reform.³³ In 1626, Parliament considered whether it had the right as a political body to debate this subject, to which Sherfield responded: ‘How can we make laws and not debate religion? Never was there more need for this House to be careful in religion, for religion cannot be divided from the state’. This may have been a sign that Sherfield considered that in Salisbury the sacred and secular institutions of the city were by now inextricably bound, providing a localised example of the national situation whereby the secular and sacred were interwoven. Three years later Sherfield was enraged when the government, influenced by Bishop Richard

³⁰ Rosamund Oates, *Moderate Radical: Tobie Matthew and the English Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 175.

³¹ Durston and Eales, 'Introduction: The Puritan Ethos, 1560-1700', p. 5.

³² Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988), p. 146. Orme, *The History of England's Cathedrals*, p. 125.

³³ As did John Pym and Francis Rous. Durston and Eales, 'Introduction: The Puritan Ethos, 1560-1700', p. 8. Slack, 'Sherfield, Henry'.

Neile of Winchester, had granted pardons to the clerics John Cosin, Richard Montagu, Roger Manwaring and Robert Sibthorpe, who had been accused of supporting both arbitrary rule and Arminianism.³⁴ It was only the fact that Parliament was once more dissolved that prevented court proceedings against Neile for his action in this matter.³⁵ Neile, who was later to be Archbishop of York (+1631-40), was a patron of John Cosin and Richard Montagu, as well as William Laud. Both Laud and Neile were to act as judges in the Star Chamber in the case of Henry Sherfield, whom they would have known from his time as a Member of Parliament.

A puritan was defined by the scholar John Gere (1600-1649), minister of Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire, as ‘one that honoured God above all, and ... [made] the Word of God the rule of his worship’. In addition, the life of a puritan was about prayer and preferably extempore prayer, as opposed to that prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer, thus allowing the individual to express his feelings according to his present life. The senses of sight and hearing were paramount at this time in that reading the Bible carried both doctrinal and moral truth, with the majority of puritans owning or having ready access to a copy. The Geneva Bible was considered the preferred version in that it contained Calvinist marginal notes, and many puritans learned biblical texts at length. However, music in church, such as that played by the organ, was generally rejected by puritans in that it ‘moved sensual delight [and] was a hindrance to spiritual enlargements’, although as has been noted in Chapter 4 those responsible for the organs in Salisbury did not agree with such a view.³⁶ However, this did not prevent the puritan Andrew Willet from enjoying music recreationally at home, even though he considered the organ to be ‘unedifying in church’. Music which was acceptable in a civil or

³⁴ In 1630, *The History of Parliament, Sherfield (Shervill), Henry (1572-1634), of Lincoln's Inn, London and Salisbury, Wilts.* (2019) <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/sherfield-henry-1572-1634> [accessed 20 January 2020].

³⁵ The National Archives, *Sherfield Family*; *The History of Parliament, Sherfield (Shervill), Henry.*

³⁶ Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, p. 72. Durston and Eales, 'Introduction: The Puritan Ethos, 1560-1700', pp. 14-15.

domestic setting, was unacceptable in the context of worship in church, where the focus was on the relatively unadorned Word of God.³⁷ An exception to this was the singing of metrical psalms, which were rehearsed not only in church, but on the way there, and also when walking or ‘gadding’ to local towns and villages to hear ministers preach: as Patrick Collinson suggests, seventeenth-century puritanism was ‘born in song’.³⁸

Attendance at lectures and sermons was considered particularly important, as was attendance at the Lord’s Supper. The sense of taste was circumscribed by the puritan tenet of fasting which was used as preparation of the mind for worship, in that hunger sharpened the wits and made praying more ardent.³⁹ This may have been driven by the physiological effect of hunger on the human body. Sunday was considered to be sacrosanct, with a continuous round of worship and Bible study. This belief led to a division between the puritans and those less zealous, when Charles I re-issued the Book of Sports in 1633 which officially sanctioned ‘honest mirth or recreation’ following Sunday evening worship.⁴⁰

It is probable that there was a relationship between the development of puritanism and the management of a society in which there was a growing population, poor harvests and an increase in poverty, all of which were true for the city of Salisbury, which in addition suffered several occurrences of the plague during the seventeenth century.⁴¹ The social and economic aspects of puritanism may have appealed particularly to the ‘middling sort’ in society, and this was considered to be behind the puritan attempts to control the behaviour of parishioners, for

³⁷ Anthony Milton, 'Willet, Andrew', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29445> [accessed 20 January 2021].

³⁸ Patrick Collinson, 'Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism as Forms of Popular Religious Culture', in *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700*, ed. by Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), p. 56.

³⁹ Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation*, pp. 320-321.

⁴⁰ David Cressy and Anne Ferrell, *Religion and Society in Early Modern England: A Source book* 2nd edn (New York & London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 169-172.

⁴¹ Outbreaks of the plague occurred in 1603-05, 1627, 1644 and 1646. Slack, 'Poverty and politics in Salisbury 1597-1666', pp. 170-171.

instance, with regard to swearing, sexual immorality and drunkenness, as well as minding one's neighbour's business.⁴² As William Hunt stated, 'puritan ... implies a will to impose certain standards upon society as a whole'.⁴³ This can be seen in the bequests of the puritan John Ivie, who had been mayor of Salisbury during the plague of 1627, when he gave six houses for poor couples who were also to receive a monthly allowance, but in return they were to avoid drunkenness and swearing and were not to take part in lewd begging but were instead to attend church on the Lord's day.⁴⁴ William Laud also believed in the moral life of the cathedrals and their closes, 'ensuring [they were] free of usurers, drunkards, adulterers, simoniacs, recusants and schoolboys throwing stones'.⁴⁵ The latter offence was presumably a case in point in Salisbury arising from Laud's visitation, following which the grammar and chorister schools were told to be more strict with the boys, who were often left to their own devices.⁴⁶

In his declaration on the dissolution of Parliament in 1628, Charles I chose to back the group of clerics who preached for his authority, as opposed to the puritans. Following the death of Archbishop George Abbot, William Laud then Bishop of London, was promoted to the archiepiscopate (+1633-1645), and he and Richard Neile, Archbishop of York (+1632-40), were able to implement their vision with the backing of the king.⁴⁷ Laudians now diverged from the puritan godly who opposed their ideas, particularly the doctrines of the pre-

⁴² Marshall, *Reformation England 1480-1642*, p. 149.

⁴³ Durston and Eales, 'Introduction: The Puritan Ethos, 1560-1700', p. 26.

⁴⁴ Each couple was to receive an allowance of 8s 4d. They were also to attend lecture days, and the funerals of their brothers and sisters. TNA: PROB 11/322/375, *Will of John Ivie the elder, Gentleman, 24 November 1666*.

⁴⁵ Usurer: a person who lends money at unreasonably high rates of interest; Simoniac: a person engaged in the buying or selling of ecclesiastical privileges. Ian Atherton, 'Cathedrals, Laudianism, and the British Churches', *The Historical Journal*, 53.4 (2010), 914. Marshall, *Reformation England 1480-1642*, p. 146.

⁴⁶ Robertson, *Sarum Close*, p. 190.

⁴⁷ Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: the rise of English Arminianism, c. 1590-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), p. 181. John Rushworth, 'Appendix: Charles I's Declaration on the dissolution of Parliament, 1628, in Historical Collections of Private Passages of State: Volume 1, 1618-29', in *British History Online* (1721) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rushworth-papers/vol1/pp1-11> [accessed 24 February 2020].

Reformation church, and the enforcement of uniformity in the Church of England. This led to the use of a new definition used by Laudians in opposition to puritans: *praedestinatiani*, defined as ‘a kinde of heretiques that held fatall predestination of every particular matter, person or action, and that all things came to passe and fell out necessarily, especially touching the salvation and damnation of particular men’.⁴⁸

By the late 1630s Laudianism was in its prime, with many churches, including those in Salisbury, reordered according to the ‘beauty of holiness’, the central precept of which was the altar-wise position (that is, north-south) of the communion table.⁴⁹ Prior to the Reformation the chancel had been protected from profane use by laity and dogs by the rood screen; and now with the erection of rails around the holy table, which occurred in 1636-37 at St Martin’s Church, the area was effectively an elite location for clergy only, although the laity still entered the chancel and knelt at the rails to receive communion.⁵⁰ This presented a greater transformation of the interior of the parish churches than at any other time since the Elizabethan settlement. In May 1640 a revised set of canons sanctioned east-end altars with the table standing north-south in every chancel or chapel and ‘decently severed [sic] with rails’. In addition a requirement was stipulated for ‘reverence and obeisance both on entering and exiting ... church, according to the most ancient custom of the primitive church in the purest times and this church also for many years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth’.⁵¹ The inclusion of images of the crucifix in east windows was encouraged and the laity were urged to confess their sins at least annually. However, as with the puritans, regular holy communion and public prayer were still considered to be central to worship as can be seen in Salisbury,

⁴⁸ The word was included in the 1633 edition of the Latin-English dictionary, which was dedicated to Laud. Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, pp. 183-184.

⁴⁹ Atherton, 'Cathedrals, Laudianism, and the British Churches', 907.

⁵⁰ Whiting, *The Reformation of the English Parish Church*, pp. 3, 33. WSA: 1899/65, *St Martin churchwardens and overseers account book, 1636-37*.

⁵¹ Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, p. 173.

where the churches often celebrated the eucharist weekly at this time.⁵² Notwithstanding these developments, by the end of 1640, Archbishop Laud was in prison and his policies were in disarray; within two years there was Civil War.⁵³

The cathedrals had survived the Reformation and their duty was to provide an elaborate daily round of liturgy, including the use of professional singers, who had in most cases had been in place from the Reformation.⁵⁴ Several reforming bishops, including Tobie Matthew, had attempted to redefine their sees to become centres of preaching and education. This also seems to have occurred at Salisbury Cathedral, where those in charge continued dutifully to provide the liturgy using a choir, but also provided regular lectures and the addition of a new library over the cloisters to encourage the education of canons and preachers.⁵⁵

Cathedrals were generally wealthy, which allowed the monarch, or other patron, to show their appreciation to those who supported their policies through the allocation of valuable prebends. Ian Atherton states that cathedral chapters had to be persuaded to carry out the new Laudian policies, as chapters consisted of a mix of people with both puritan and Laudian tendencies. Norwich Cathedral, like those of York and Salisbury, had attracted godly Calvinists during the mid-sixteenth century along with those of a more conservative bent. In 1636, the godly corporation of Norwich sponsored preachers of a puritan persuasion, suggesting that early modern cathedrals were more varied in their doctrinal leanings than Diarmaid MacCulloch

⁵² Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, p. 146. Peter Lake, 'The Laudian Style: Order, Uniformity and the Pursuit of the Beauty of Holiness in the 1630s', in *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642*, ed. by Kenneth Fincham (Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1993), pp. 165-170.

⁵³ Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, pp. 198-199. Marshall, *Reformation England 1480-1642*, p. 232.

⁵⁴ The existing monastic cathedrals that had to be reorganised were Canterbury, Carlisle, Durham, Ely, Rochester, Winchester, and Worcester. Norwich was refounded individually in 1538. The six ex-monastic new foundations were: Bristol, Chester, Gloucester, Oxford, Peterborough, and Westminster (short-lived). Old foundation (secular) cathedrals already in existence were: Exeter, Hereford, Lichfield, Lincoln, London, Salisbury, Wells, and York. Coventry was suppressed. Orme, *The History of England's Cathedrals*, pp. 102-105.

⁵⁵ Oates, *Moderate Radical: Tobie Matthew and the English Reformation*, p. 195. 'Item to Mr Smekergill his fee in keepinge the newe liberarie'. SCA: FA/1/1/58, *Fabric account, 1629-30*.

has suggested.⁵⁶ However, the corporation were subject to a series of degrading acts, including the dropping of excrement from the cathedral gallery above them during the prolonged sermons.⁵⁷ In addition, David Marcombe considers that by 1620 English cathedrals were generally Protestant and as such set an example of preaching for their dioceses to follow.⁵⁸ Thus it would seem that Laudians could only gain control through the displacement of puritan dignitaries who disagreed with them, such as occurred at Salisbury Cathedral. Dora Robertson states that Laud had used the phrase ‘that in most parishes in Wiltshire, Dorsetshire and the West, there is still a puritan and an honest man chosen churchwardens together’, thus showing his dislike for those of puritan leaning.⁵⁹ Similarly at Christ Church, Dublin, following the substitution of most of the chapter by conservative churchmen, the cathedral was reformed in the Laudian manner, including the replacement of the organ and an emphasis on holy communion.⁶⁰ At Salisbury, however, it was not until 1637-38 that many of the changes took place, including the acquisition of copes, which unquestionably differentiated the Laudians from the puritans, who considered that even wearing a surplice was a contentious issue.⁶¹

At parish level, the king had asserted that practices including the positioning of the communion table were to be exercised in the way of the ‘Cathedrall Mother Church’, as can be seen to have occurred in Salisbury (see Appendix 18).⁶² However, the parish churches

⁵⁶ Atherton, 'Cathedrals, Laudianism, and the British Churches', 905. Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'The Myth of the English Reformation', *History Today*, 41.7 (1991), 29-30. Marshall, *Reformation England 1480-1642*, p. 130.

⁵⁷ The alderman was sitting next to the mayor when ‘some body most beastly did conspurcate and shitt upon his gowne from the galleryes above.’ Andrew Hopper, 'The Civil Wars', in *Norwich since 1550*, ed. by Carole Rawcliffe and Richard Wilson (London, Oxford: Bloomsbury Publishing plc, 2005), p. 92.

⁵⁸ David Marcombe, 'Cathedrals and Protestantism: The search for a new identity, 1540-1660', in *Close encounters: English cathedrals and society since 1540*, ed. by David Marcombe and C. S. Knighton (Nottingham: University of Nottingham, 1991), pp. 53-55. Cited in: Atherton, 'Cathedrals, Laudianism, and the British Churches', 903.

⁵⁹ Robertson, *Sarum Close*, p. 190.

⁶⁰ Atherton, 'Cathedrals, Laudianism, and the British Churches', 904.

⁶¹ SCA: FA/1/1/63, *Fabric account, 1637-38*.

⁶² Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, pp. 199-200. Atherton, 'Cathedrals, Laudianism, and the British Churches', 906.

generally differed from cathedrals in the way in which they provided worship, offering only the two main services of matins and evensong, along with occasional eucharists, which were held more regularly in Salisbury than in other towns. Nationally, there was little music except for the singing of metrical psalms, although music seems to have been more important to the citizens of Salisbury than was generally the case elsewhere (see Chapter 4). Therefore services focussed on the reading of the Word of God from the Bible, singing from the psalter, and hearing the sermon.⁶³

In some respects, therefore, puritans and Laudians were looking to achieve the same outcomes, through both sermons and regular holy communion. Further, both parties sought decent behaviour, the Laudians within cathedral and close and the puritans in their parish churches. As Arnold Hunt states, puritans and Laudians ‘should not be regarded as competitors but as a joint venture to promote an increase in the knowledge and standards of religion’, although of course their definitions of decency were radically divergent.⁶⁴

5.5 The situation at Salisbury cathedral

Prior to the 1630s the dean and chapter and episcopate of Salisbury generally held the middle way between protestant nonconformity and Catholicism. Bishop John Piers (+1577-89), for instance, condemned both ministers unwilling to wear the surplice and the recusant wives of gentlemen who obstinately refused to attend church.⁶⁵ Throughout the 1620s John Bowle as Dean of Salisbury opposed Bishop John Davenant’s demand to sit in chapter, where he had a prebendal seat.⁶⁶ Bowle was a loyal Calvinist who described the pope as the ‘vicar of hell’ and

⁶³ MacCulloch, ‘Myth of the English Reformation (HT)’, 31.

⁶⁴ Arnold Hunt, ‘The Lord’s Supper in Early Modern England’, *Past & Present*, 161 (1998), 80-81.

⁶⁵ Kennedy, ed., *Elizabethan Episcopal Administration: An Essay in Sociology and Politics*, p. v.

⁶⁶ Edwards, *Salisbury Cathedral*, p. 189.

was considered to be *puritanissimo* by the papal agent.⁶⁷ Bowle however approved of the Book of Sports and suspended those clergy who would not read it, thus treading a fine line between church policies which approved such recreation, and the beliefs of ardent puritans in the city who considered Sundays to be solely a day of prayer.⁶⁸ Although he promoted the erection of rails around the altar, he continued to be a staunch Protestant.⁶⁹

Table 5-1: Bishops & dignitaries at Salisbury Cathedral, 1630 - 1660

Bishop	Dean	Treasurer	Precentor	Chancellor
John Davenant (1621-41)	Edmund Mason (1630-35)	John Lee (1624-34)	Humphrey Henchman (1623-60)	Francis Dee (1618-34)
	Richard Baylie (1635-1667)	Edward Davenant (1634- 1680)		Brian Duppa (1634-38)
Brian Duppa (1641-46 and following the Restoration)				William Chillingworth (1638-44)
Humphrey Henchman (1660-63)			Thomas Hyde (1660-66)	John Earles (1644-63)

However, the staffing of the mainly Laudian cathedral chapter prior to the Civil War was driven by those in higher authority, and this in turn affected the promotion of the dignitaries (see Table 5-1).⁷⁰ John Bowle was succeeded as dean by Edmund Mason, tutor to Prince Charles; he was a supporter of Laud against Bishop Davenant, with whom he argued over the charges against Henry Sherfield, considering that they had been ‘watered down’.⁷¹ In 1634 Mason replied to the articles issued by Laud for the metropolitical visitation of Salisbury Cathedral, which was carried out by Nathaniel Brent as vicar general.⁷² The responses to the

⁶⁷ C. S. Knighton, 'John Bowle', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3065> [accessed 10 August 2016].

⁶⁸ The Book of Sports allowed for lawful recreation on the sabbath; it was originally issued in 1618 and was re-issued in 1633. It had to be endorsed from the pulpit on Sundays. Knighton, 'John Bowle'. Andrew Foster, *The Church of England 1570-1640* (London: Longman, 1994), p. 103.

⁶⁹ Knighton, 'John Bowle'. Whiting, *The Reformation of the English Parish Church*, pp. 3, 33.

⁷⁰ Edwards, *Salisbury Cathedral*, p. 189.

⁷¹ Simpson, 'Archbishop Laud's visitation of Salisbury in 1634', 17. Nicholas Cranfield, 'Mason, Edmund', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/65636> [accessed 10 August 2016]. Edwards, *Salisbury Cathedral*, p. 189.

⁷² Vivienne Larminie, 'Davenant, John', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7196> [accessed 23 March 2020]. Foster, *The Church of England 1570-1640*, p.

questions appear to show the cathedral in general disarray with minimal attendance at services by the canons.⁷³ Sermons, however, were preached every Sunday and on holy days, and weekday lectures were held every Wednesday and Friday in term time, usually given by the Chancellor Francis Dee, another supporter of Laud, who later arranged for Dee to become Bishop of Peterborough.⁷⁴

Humphrey Henchman was precentor of Salisbury from 1623. He was married to the niece of Bishop John Davenant and was also related to John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln (+1621-41). However, after ten years as precentor, Henchman had still not been granted residentiary status even though he had been ‘assiduous in his duties’ and Dean Mason considered that Henchman had ‘given better example than all the canons in the Church’.⁷⁵ Bishop Williams requested Edward Thornborough, another member of chapter, to obtain residence for Henchman.⁷⁶ The king recommended that he be admitted in May 1633, but John Davenant was still attempting to get him a place the following January, when he wrote to Secretary Windebank regarding the matter; Windebank, however, considered the issue to be one too trivial with which to bother Archbishop Laud.⁷⁷ Eventually the situation was resolved, but Henchman only received a single commons and not the double share of the common fund, as was traditional

101. There were twenty-nine questions directed at the dean and chapter, and twelve addressed to the ‘vicars choral ... Singing-men, choristers and the rest of ye Quire’. Simpson, ‘Archbishop Laud’s visitation of Salisbury in 1634’, 10, 14.

⁷³ Simpson, ‘Archbishop Laud’s visitation of Salisbury in 1634’, 18, 20.

⁷⁴ Simpson, ‘Archbishop Laud’s visitation of Salisbury in 1634’, 18. J. Fielding, ‘Dee, Francis’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7417> [accessed 21 March 2020]. Whilst Bishop of Chichester, Francis Dee issued the first set of episcopal visitation articles which insisted on the railing-in of communion tables.

⁷⁵ John Bruce, ‘Charles I - volume 239: May 18-31, 1633, in Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1633-4’, in *British History Online* (1863) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/domestic/chas1/1633-4/pp61-80> [accessed 25 March 2020].

⁷⁶ Bruce, ‘Charles I - volume 239: May 18-31, 1633, in Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1633-4’.

⁷⁷ John Bruce, ‘Charles I - volume 258: January 1-16, 1634, in Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1633-4’, in *British History Online* (1863) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/domestic/chas1/1633-4/pp390-418> [accessed 25 March 2020].

amongst dignitaries.⁷⁸ Throughout this situation the cathedrals of both Salisbury and Lincoln (where the bishop was related to HENCHMAN) had worked together to oppose the authority of William Laud, and this would not have gone unnoticed by him. Remarkably, following the Civil War and Interregnum, in 1660 HENCHMAN was promoted to the Bishopric of Salisbury.⁷⁹ As has been seen in Chapter 4, Richard Baylie, the nephew-in-law of William Laud and a strong supporter, became Dean of Salisbury in 1635, following which he set about reforming the cathedral, including the extension of the organ by John Burward.⁸⁰ The cathedral chancellor at the time was Brian Duppa (1634-38) who was later elected Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, where he instigated alterations to the interior of the cathedral there. He had previously supported the election of Laud as chancellor of Oxford University in 1630, and in return was elevated to Bishop of Chichester in 1638.⁸¹ His successor as chancellor at Salisbury was William Chillingworth, whose Godfather, friend and patron was William Laud.⁸² Therefore, with the exception of John Davenant and Humphrey HENCHMAN, all the cathedral dignitaries were now supporters of William Laud, and thus the conversion of the fabric 'to the beauty of holiness' following Laud's visitation was unsurprising.

5.6 The breaking of the window

On 16 January 1630, the vestry minutes of St Edmund's Church provide evidence of permission granted to the city recorder, Henry Sherfield, for the removal of pictorial glass

⁷⁸ There were three sources of income available to canons: their prebend, their share of the chapter's common fund and a share of endowments arising from obits. Edwards, *English Secular Cathedrals*, p. 39. Edwards, *Salisbury Cathedral*, p. 190. Royal statutes concerning residence at Salisbury were confirmed by Charles I. Wordsworth and Maclean, eds., *Statutes and Customs*, pp. 412-419.

⁷⁹ Edwards, *Salisbury Cathedral*, pp. 189-190. John Spurr, 'HENCHMAN, Humphrey', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12898> [accessed 21 March 2020].

⁸⁰ Nephew-in-law of William Laud and executor of his will. SCA: FA/1/1/63, *Fabric account, 1635-36*. Hegarty, 'Baylie, Richard'.

⁸¹ Ian Green, 'Duppa, Brian', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8303> [accessed 23 March 2020].

⁸² Warren Chernaik, 'Chillingworth, William', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2010) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5308> [accessed 23 March 2020].

from a window in the church and its replacement with white glass (see Chapter 3 and Figure 5-1).

Item it is ordered that Mr Recorder may if it please him take down the window wherein God is painted in many places, as if he were there creating the world: so as to doe in steed therof new make the same window wth white glasse for that the sayd window is somewhat decayed and broken and is very darksome whereby such as sitt neere to the same cannot see to reade in their books.⁸³

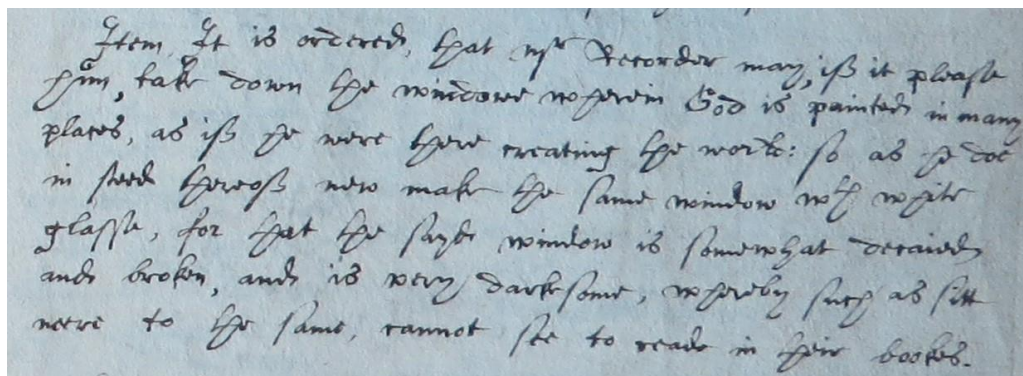


Figure 5-1: Extract from the vestry minutes giving permission to remove the window⁸⁴

However, it was not until October of 1630 that Henry Sherfield obtained the key for the church from the sexton's wife, climbed onto a pew and using his staff which had a pike on the end, and broke some quarrels of glass containing the faces and feet of God the Father.⁸⁵ These areas were destroyed as they were considered to invoke intercessory power and in addition the Ten Commandments stated that 'thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image'. It is not clear why he had not instructed a glazier to carry out the work, in that approval had been

⁸³ The permission was presumably for the removal of glass and not the window itself. WSA: 1901/65, *St Edmund churchwardens accounts and vestry minutes*, p.193. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 190. The vestry men present at this meeting comprised: Henry Sherfield (recorder), Bartholomew Tookie (mayor 1607 & 1610), Henry Dove (mayor 1616), John Ivie (mayor 1626), John Dove (mayor 1634), John Banger (mayor 1637), Thomas Hancock(e) (churchwarden 1633 & mayor 1638), along with John Leming, William Marshall, George Beach, Henry Pearson, and the minister Peter Thatcher.

⁸⁴ WSA: 1901/65, *St Edmund churchwardens accounts and vestry minutes*, p.193.

⁸⁵ A quarrel is a small square or diamond-shaped pane of glass.

obtained for it. In addition, if the requirement had been for more light in order to see to read, then why did he not break the whole window rather than just parts of it?⁸⁶

It is not possible to be certain of the location of the window which Henry Sherfield damaged; however, we are told in the 'Proceedings in the Star Chamber' that the window was always 'in Sherfield's eye'.⁸⁷ In addition, the churchwarden's account for 1622-23 states that when repairs were required there were 'defaultes betwene the tower and the churche where it rayned in uppon Mr Sherfeilde'.⁸⁸ In that the tower was placed centrally, Sherfield's pew at the front of the nave was probably just west of the tower, as this was the area reserved for members of the corporation.⁸⁹ Further, in extracts from the accounts which Sherfield used to prepare his case for the Star Chamber he states that the 'windowe is in the south side of the knave'.⁹⁰ Sherfield's pew was therefore at the east end of the nave, either on the south side facing east, or on the north side facing south across the church and therefore directly towards the offending window, depending on the orientation of the pews within the nave at this time. In that it may have been part of a narrative series around the church depicting stories from the Old Testament, then the story of the creation was likely to have been the first window in the south aisle.⁹¹

The window was described during the proceedings in the court: it consisted of four major lights (see Figure 5-2) and depicted the story of the creation with pictures of 'little olde men in blewe and red coates and naked in the head, feet and hands', which Sherfield had assumed

⁸⁶ WSA: 1901/65, *St Edmund churchwardens accounts and vestry minutes*, p.193. Whiting, *The Reformation of the English Parish Church*, p. 136.

⁸⁷ WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, p. 6.

⁸⁸ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 175.

⁸⁹ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 179.

⁹⁰ HRO: 44M69/7/9, *Notes from the Churchwardens' Accounts 1490-1570 St Edmond's [sic]*. WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, pp. 9, 12.

⁹¹ Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages*, p. 67.

were all images of God the Father.⁹² One of the lights showed God with a pair of compasses in his hand laying them ‘upon the sunne and moone’ and the creation of birds and beasts. It was stated that a further light showed a woman naked from the knee up, rising out of a naked man as if that were the way that God had made her, and not as is stated in the Bible, from a rib of Adam. On the seventh day, God is shown as taking his rest.⁹³ These pictures, Sherfield argued, were not set out in the correct order, and therefore did not tell the story as described in the Bible (see Table 5-2).⁹⁴

Table 5-2: Creation story from the Bible compared to the window at St Edmund’s Church

	Order in the Creation story	Order in the Creation window⁹⁵
Day 1	Heavens and earth, light and dark	Man in God’s image
Day 2	Earth and seas	
Day 3	Plants and trees	Sun and moon (? and birds)
Day 4	Sun and moon	Plants and trees
Day 5	Fish, birds and beasts	
Day 6	Man in God’s image	
Day 7	God resting	God resting

⁹² WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, p. 6.

⁹³ WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, p. 10.

⁹⁴ Gen. 1 & Gen. 2: 1-4.

⁹⁵ WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, pp. 4-5.



Figure 5-2: Window of four major lights at St Edmund's on the south side of the chancel

It is strange that the window in St Edmund's had survived until the seventeenth century in that a similar window at St Thomas's had already been removed with permission from the subdean in 1583.⁹⁶ Richard Neile, the Archbishop of York, was also surprised that it had escaped the scrutiny of Bishop Jewel (+1559-71), as he stated at the trial of Sherfield: '[he] ... tooke downe all idolatrous windows in his churches and set up in place those of clear glass, but he left alone this windowe [in St Edmund's] ... if he had thought it to be idolatrous he would have reformed it'.⁹⁷ At all following visitations by the bishop's representatives they too must have considered that the window did not contain 'superstitious' images. Nationally, the

⁹⁶ 1583, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 294.

⁹⁷ WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, p. 82.

majority of windows depicting God were destroyed, for instance in 1561 Bishop Parkhurst of Norwich (c.1511-1575) instructed churchwardens to ‘remove images ... of the Blessed Trinity or of the Father (of whom there can be no image made)’.⁹⁸ Similarly in 1552, the Calvinist Dean Horne (1513x15–1579) of Durham Cathedral ordered that the glass in the cloister depicting the life of St Cuthbert be destroyed, and some twenty years later as Bishop of Winchester, he also directed that ‘all images of the Trinity in the glass windows ... be put out and extinguished’.⁹⁹

There are few extant windows and other images of God the Father dating from the period before the Reformation. The St Cuthbert window in the south quire transept of York Minster, however, is one example dating from around 1440. Part of this window illustrates the *Te Deum* and depicts God dressed in blue with a red shawl and holding a pair of compasses.¹⁰⁰ It is the only window in England dedicated to a saint which is still in its original state without any missing glass (see Figure 5-3).¹⁰¹ A further fifteenth century-creation window is to be found in St Annes’s chapel in Malvern Priory, Worcestershire, where God is also shown dressed in a blue gown and holding a pair of compasses (see Figure 5-4). It is likely from the descriptions provided at Sherfield’s trial that the window in St Edmund’s Church was similar to these.

⁹⁸ Ralph Houlbrooke, 'Parkhurst, John', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21362> [accessed 18 March 2020]. Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1559-1575*, p. 104.

⁹⁹ Fowler, *Rites of Durham*, pp. 76-77. Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1559-1575*, p. 323. Ralph Houlbrooke, 'Horne, Robert', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13792> [accessed 18 March 2020].

¹⁰⁰ ‘God we praise you’ is an early Christian hymn of praise.

¹⁰¹ Chapter of York, *The Life and Miracles of a Northern Saint* (2020)

<https://yorkminster.org/discover/conservation/the-st-cuthbert-window/> [accessed 3 November 2020].



Figure 5-3: Detail of the St Cuthbert window in York Minster

Photo: Katharine Harrison



Figure 5-4: Stained glass from Malvern Priory depicting God with compasses

5.7 The ‘peculiar’ status of St Edmund’s

Sherfield’s defence at his trial was partially dependent on the fact that he considered St Edmund’s Church to have been a ‘peculiar’ or ‘lay fee’ and therefore he assumed that the vestry was not under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Salisbury. The College of St Edmund had been confiscated by the crown in the time of Henry VIII and was then granted to William St Barbe in 1547 for his ‘good and faithful service’.¹⁰² St Barbe now held the advowson of the church and was therefore responsible for providing a vicar, but he was not responsible for the parish church building of St Edmund’s. The college and related advowson were then sold to the Beckingham family, where they remained until James I granted the advowson only, to the

¹⁰² A number of papers relating to St Edmund’s and St Martin’s Churches are to be found in the papers of the Jervoise family of Herriard at Hampshire Record Office. It would seem that when Sherfield died intestate, one of the Jervoise family was involved in administering his estate. HRO: 44M69/L7/3, *Account & terrier St Edmunds, 1545*. HRO: 44M69/L7/4, *Particulars St Edmunds, 1545*.

parish: firstly to Gouge and Lloyd, and then in 1611 to Bartholomew Tookey and John Ivie, both puritan members of the corporation, and vestry men of St Edmund's.¹⁰³

Table 5-3: Owners of the advowson of St Edmund's

Date	Name of holder of advowson
1547	William St Barbe
1549	John Beckingham, Salisbury merchant
c.1575	Henry Beckingham, then Stephen Beckingham
James I	Gouge and Lloyd for the parish with the advowson ¹⁰⁴
1611	Bartholomew Tookey, John Ivie and others, advowson in trust for the parish, but not the trees in the churchyard ¹⁰⁵

5.8 Changes to the interiors of the parish churches and cathedral

At his trial, Henry Sherfield was accused, along with the other vestry men of the church, of carrying out changes to the interior of the building without obtaining permission from the bishop's chancellor, which they considered to be their right, in that the churchwardens and vestry held the advowson. These changes included making new windows, altering seating 'and many other Things done for Ornament, and otherwise, in the same'.¹⁰⁶ Whilst preparing the case for his defence Sherfield extracted entries from the churchwarden's accounts.¹⁰⁷

These included work carried out between 1490 and 1570 on the steeple, ceiling, tower, and in particular the windows - beside one entry from 1495-96 are the words: 'This is in truth the very window in question, But it is not made so it appeare by examynants'. The window was therefore in poor condition at that time and was to be reglazed. In addition, Sherfield extracted entries for work carried out in relation to injunctions such as the removal of the rood loft and

¹⁰³ The cathedral carried out its own audit of the status of St Edmund's in December 1624. SCA: Box 234, *Documents regarding the right of the parish of St Edmund's to present a rector and minister, 1624*. WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, p. 3.

¹⁰⁴ WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, p. 3. Emlyn, ed., *A Complete Collection of State-Trials*, p. 399. I have not been able to find details of either of these men – they do not seem to have acted as mayor or churchwarden in Salisbury.

¹⁰⁵ John Ivie was mayor in 1618-20, 1627; Bartholomew Tookey was mayor in 1611. Both were churchwardens and vestry men of St Edmund's.

¹⁰⁶ WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁷ HRO: 44M69/L7/9, *St Edmund's notes from the churchwarden's accounts 1490-1570*.

altars, and the erection of a table of the Ten Commandments, thereby proving that the vestry carried out work which was both necessary and lawful.

Additions and changes to the interior fabric of all three parish churches and the cathedral took place during the period 1628-46, at which point the episcopate was officially abolished and the cathedral became a parish church (see Appendix 18). This work took place at a time shortly after an outbreak of the plague when the corporation and churches of Salisbury were struggling with the level of destitution in the city, which affected around one-third of the citizens who required poor relief: at least 215 people died in the parish of St Edmund's alone.¹⁰⁸ By the autumn of 1627 the gates of the close were closed and there were no services in the cathedral for nearly a year; the dean and chapter along with other social elite deserted the city.¹⁰⁹ The additional cost of 'the beauty of holiness' must therefore have caused some anger and consternation amongst the citizens. The cost of painting and gilding the pulpit and minister's seat at St Thomas's, for instance, where they had to follow the mandate of the cathedral, would no doubt have bought many loaves of bread.¹¹⁰ Although the pulpit at St Edmund's does not seem to have been painted, it may have been carved; either way it was certainly large, in that the stairs included seats for the parishioners. In addition, it had a soundboard, or tester, above it to enhance the projection of the voice of the minister.¹¹¹ Additional colour was provided at all the parish churches by decorative pulpit falls and cushions with fringes: the pulpits also featured an hourglass in order that the minister did not outstay his welcome.¹¹² These attributes of colour and size set the minister and the Word of

¹⁰⁸ WSA: *Salisbury St Edmund, Burial register*. The average annual death rate for the city between the years 1631 and 1640 was around 200.

¹⁰⁹ W. A. Wheeler, *A Brief Record of the most Salient events in the History of Salisbury* (Salisbury: Brown & Co, 1889), p. 18.

¹¹⁰ The cost of this work is unreadable. 1630-31, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 315.

¹¹¹ 1623-24, 1627-28, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 176, 186.

¹¹² A pulpit fall is a decorative piece of cloth which hangs down in front of the pulpit. 1611-12, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 162. WSA: 1899/65, *St Martin churchwardens and overseers account book, 1605-*

God as centre stage, moving the focal point from the altar to the pulpit. There were few other visual distractions in the building: the communion table at St Edmund's had been moved to a north-south axis at the east end of the church and railed-in during 1633-34, as required by William Laud, and on the east wall there were newly painted boards containing the Ten Commandments (a requirement since 1559), Lord's Prayer and Creed.¹¹³ Other than that, the walls of St Thomas's, St Edmund's, and St Martin's remained austere white, offset only by the coat-of-arms of the monarch and the remaining stained glass.¹¹⁴ The sense of sight was considered to be important at this time, in that the eyes were believed to be 'the doors, gates or windows between the subject and the world', thereby opening a pathway between the individual and God.¹¹⁵ Those of the people who could read were able to explore the Bible further and to learn and comprehend the psalms and prayers so that they could be sung from the heart. This ability to read the Bible, both in church and at home, required sufficient light, as has been seen in the case of the window which Sherfield damaged, where the vestry minutes noted the inadequate light it provided for reading.

This limited sensory aspect of worship at the parish churches was in contrast to the addition of colour observed at the cathedral, where texture was also important, with the addition of fine silk copes, decorative hangings, and the embellishment of the communion table with carvings.¹¹⁶ Further changes to the interior included rails at the 'west end of the church'

06. In 1598 the pulpit at St Edmund's was enlarged. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 146. The fall and cushion at St Edmund's required 11¼ yards of velvet. The colour of the new pulpit cushion was called into question in 1652. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 227. Pulpit cloth and cushions in 1605, WSA: 1899/65, *St Martin churchwardens and overseers account book*. St Edmund's: 1630-31, 1635-36, 1646-47, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 192, 204, 216, 307.

¹¹³ 1634-35, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 202.

¹¹⁴ Re-whiting occurred at St Thomas's in 1594-95, 1613-14, 1648-49, 1662-63, and at St Edmund's in 1605-06, 1646-47, 1648-49. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 154, 216, 220, 300, 308, 326, 336.

¹¹⁵ Wietse de Boer and Christine Gottler, 'Introduction: The Sacred and the Senses in an Age of Reform', in *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern England*, ed. by Wietse de Boer and Christine Gottler (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2013), p. 4.

¹¹⁶ SCA: FA/1/1/58, *Fabric account, 1629-30*.

which may indicate the railing-in of the communion table, with an error in the location on the part of the accountant.¹¹⁷ In addition, new seats and forms were provided in the quire with mats and hassocks for the ‘deacons and quire to kneel on’ during prayer; further new forms and benches were installed between 1630 and early 1634. At his visitation Laud required the removal of permanent seating, with the erection of forms during sermons, in order to leave the nave clear to appreciate the architectural beauty of the building; similarly the cathedrals of Gloucester, Wells and Worcester had to clear their naves of distracting clutter.¹¹⁸ Part of the reasoning behind this was that the Salisbury preachers had complained about the new rows of seats which were very noisy and disturbed the sermon as people opened and closed the pew doors, so instead moveable seating was set up during sermons.¹¹⁹

One subject which is rarely discussed in relation to Laudianism is the cost of the additional requirements to achieve the ‘beauty of holiness’ (see Table 5-4). From 1637-38, the sense of sight and beauty came to the fore when the cathedral purchased velvet hangings for the quire, along with fabric for embroidered copes, which included ‘embroidred sattin flowred with Gold’, azure coloured satin, and azure taffeta at a cost of £73 11s 6d. These materials would have reflected the light from the additional wax candles which were also used there at the time. The cost of ‘Imbrodering the Borders Capes and Bitts and Borders for the bottoms of two copes wrought wth gold & silver and cullored naples silks uppon watchet sattin’ alone was £44. The total cost of the copes including their transport from London was £139 6s 10d, equivalent to £21,720 in 2019; the ‘beauty of holiness’ was far from a cheap option.¹²⁰ Azure blue, the colour of the unclouded sky at noon, and second heaven, was usually associated with

¹¹⁷ ‘West’ perhaps should read ‘east’.

¹¹⁸ Atherton, ‘Cathedrals, Laudianism, and the British Churches’, 911.

¹¹⁹ Work to this end seems to have taken place. SCA: FA/1/1/59, *Fabric account, 1630-31*. SCA: FA/1/1/61, *Fabric account, 1633-34*. Seats replaced, SCA: FA/1/1/62, *Fabric account, 1635-36*. Simpson, ‘Archbishop Laud’s visitation of Salisbury in 1634’, 23.

¹²⁰ SCA: FA/1/1/63, *Fabric account, 1637-38*. MeasuringWorth.com, *Relative Value in UK £ at 2019 prices*.

holiness and the Virgin Mary.¹²¹ She was the patron saint of both Salisbury Cathedral, and Worcester Cathedral, where in 1634 the Worcester accounts show that fabric of this colour was purchased to hang behind the altar, along with a pall and upper and lower frontals.¹²² All of these colourful items of display contributed to the sensory experience of those attending services at the cathedral and to the Laudian expectation of the ‘beauty of holiness’. The whole assemblage at Salisbury would have resulted in a resplendent display of ostentatious expenditure, anything but puritan in appearance and very different from that observable in the parish churches.

Table 5-4: The cost of the 'beauty of holiness' in 1637-38 at Salisbury Cathedral¹²³

Item	Cost		
	£	s	d
Hangings in the quire	1	13	6
Cushions		3	
Re-binding the Bible		5	
Mats in the quire	12	4	
Repairing the organ	2	8	8
Service book		4	6
8 Great books of paper for the choir	3		
Azure copes	139	6	10
Silver gilt basin	8	2	4
Total cost this year	167	7	10

Other purchases in the same year included ‘8 greate bookes of royall paper for the quier’ at a cost of £3, suggesting four parts for each side of the choir, thereby providing a full set of decani and cantoris partbooks.¹²⁴ It is not known whether they were already at least partly copied before they were bound, as it would have been difficult to do this in a bound book measuring around 17x10 inches.¹²⁵ These books would have been placed on lecterns so that

¹²¹ Other colours associated with the Blessed Mary were black and red.

¹²² Atherton, 'Cathedrals, Laudianism, and the British Churches', 911.

¹²³ SCA: FA/1/1/63, *Fabric account, 1637-38*.

¹²⁴ SCA: FA/1/1/63, *Fabric account, 1637-38*. The books were purchased in September.

¹²⁵ The royal paper measurement of 19 x 24 inches is for the uncut sheet as it came from the paper mill and would have been folded in half and then trimmed to give a visible page size after binding of 17 x 10 inches. My grateful thanks to Robert Thompson for this information. The largest books from the seventeenth century still existing at Durham Cathedral measure 20 x 12 inches DCL: MS E4, *Eight part-books, Preces, festal psalms and services*.

they could be read by several men at once and where they would be conspicuously displayed as a symbol of the importance of music and beautiful things. Little is known about the provenance of these books but Daniel Bamford considers that they may have been the Barnard partbooks now in the possession of the Royal College of Music, which are of a similar size and produced around the same time.¹²⁶ John Barnard, whose date and place of birth are unknown, began his musical career as a lay clerk in Canterbury Cathedral, following which he held a post as a minor canon at St Paul's Cathedral from 1623. Barnard was famous for music copying, collecting and editing, and in particular for a collection of church music known as his 'First Book'. He had died by the time of the Parliamentary Survey of 1649, when his wife, Katharine, is noted as living in the official residence at St Paul's.¹²⁷

In 1637-38, the total income at the cathedral was £410 17s 10d, which seems to have included large donations noted under the heading 'receipts and fines': these were received from Richard Baylie, Dr Henchman, and others of the chapter, totalling £140 5s 0d, including £11 from 'a benefactor'. Even so, by the end of the financial year, the provision of the 'beauty of holiness' resulted in the cathedral being in debt to the tune of £18 17s 4½d.

Changes to the interior of the churches were made once again with the advent of the Directory of Worship in 1645, at which time the church fonts in the four parish churches were ordered to be replaced by smaller basins which were to be set up on a frame near the minister's seat.¹²⁸ This was due to the puritan belief that the rite of baptism should take place in front of the whole congregation rather than more privately by the entrance to the church where fonts had

¹²⁶ Daniel John Bamford, 'John Barnard's First Book of Selected Church Musick: Genesis, Production and Influence' (unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of York, 2009), p. 302. RCM: MS1045, *Church Music in seven partbooks collected by John Barnard*. My thanks to Magnus Williamson for drawing my attention to this possibility.

¹²⁷ Bamford, 'John Barnard's First Book', pp. 1-6.

¹²⁸ At this time, the cathedral was a parish church. St Edmund's new font was made from marble and cost 35s. 1646-47, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 216-217. The new font was painted at St Thomas's. 1648-49, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 325-326.

originally stood.¹²⁹ The sense of touch was also distinctive in that non-conformist ministers no longer made the sign of the cross during baptism, but placed a hand on the head of the child as a 'sign of the covenant'.¹³⁰ However, seeing the old font removed must have been a sad moment for many of the congregation who would have received the sacrament there, although the fonts belonging to St Edmund's and St Thomas's were to be reinstated in their original positions at the Restoration.¹³¹ At St Edmund's, the space where the font had stood was used for more seating for the parish's ever-growing population. It is of interest that although St Thomas's had replaced its minister at this time with a man who had puritan leanings, the church also replaced its pulpit, and once again it was decorated with paint and gold leaf.¹³²

5.9 Ministers and preaching in Salisbury

In seventeenth-century Salisbury, the parish churches continued to be overseen by the bishop and the subdean, who was also archdeacon of the city churches, until the enactment of the Ordinance for the confiscation of land belonging to the bishop (1646), and the Act for the confiscation of land belonging to the dean and chapter (1649).¹³³ The Parliamentary Survey of

¹²⁹ Christopher Durston, 'Puritan Rule and the Failure of Cultural Revolution, 1645-1660', in *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700*, ed. by Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1996), pp. 214-215.

¹³⁰ David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage & Death: Ritual, Religion, and the life-cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 130.

¹³¹ The old font from St Edmund's is now situated at St Thomas's Church.

¹³² This may have occurred on the cusp of the abolition of the episcopate. 1646-47, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 325.

¹³³ 9 October 1646: Ordinance for the abolishing of Archbishops and Bishops in England and Wales and for settling their lands and possessions upon Trustees for the use of the Commonwealth. 30 April 1649: Act for the abolishing of Deans, Deans and Chapters, Canons, Prebends, and other officers or titles belonging to any Cathedral or Collegiate Church or Chapel in England and Wales, and for the employment of their revenues (of 31 July 1648, and 16 October 1650). C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, 'Table of acts: 1649, in Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660', in *British History Online* (1911) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/acts-ordinances-interregnum/lxvi-lxxvi> [accessed 23 March 2020]. An Ordinance is not an Act because Royal Assent was not received.

Wiltshire, as undertaken in other counties, was carried out in order to value land and property belonging to the cathedral so that it could be sold by the state.¹³⁴

The independence of St Edmund's from the episcopate had been emphasized in 1623 by the appointment of the puritan minister and preacher Peter Thatcher. Towards the end of 1622 a number of meetings of the vestry at St Edmund's took place with regard to the employment of Thatcher, the first at the end of December after 'the end of the sermon at St Thomas Church'. The next minuted meeting was not until 11 January 1623, which stated: 'It is now ordered that the agreement touchinge Mr Thatchers coming to be our minister shall p[ro]ceede without any longer deliberacon'. On 16 January 1623 thirteen members of the vestry met and agreed that Mr Thatcher should 'be placed here and be vested in our church as our minister before Shrove Sundaie next', and 'Mr Recorder' was desired to be present at the following meeting on the 16 February.¹³⁵ At this meeting a letter from the corporation recorder, Gyles Tooker, was read to the vestry, which seemed to concur with the appointment of the new minister; once more the corporation was involved in church business. The minutes noted that a book of collection had 'come to £63 18s 8d', and that those who had not yet contributed were to be contacted in this regard: presumably this money was to provide towards the moving cost or the stipend of the new minister.¹³⁶ St Edmund's seemed to be particularly keen to employ Thatcher in that he shared the same puritan values as those of the vestry including Henry Sherfield, who valued a preaching minister and a liturgy with no needless ceremonies.¹³⁷ However, at no time

¹³⁴ E. J. Bodington, 'The Church Survey in Wiltshire 1649-50', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, XL (1918), 254. The property belonging to the vicars choral, including that at St George's Okeborne, [now known as Ogbourne St George and Ogbourne St Andrew] was confiscated, as was the rectory at Preshute belonging to the choristers. E. J. Bodington, 'The Church Survey in Wiltshire 1649-50', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, XLI (1920), 112, 114.

¹³⁵ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 173-174.

¹³⁶ WSA: 1901/65, *St Edmund churchwardens accounts and vestry minutes*, pp. 168-170.

¹³⁷ Kenneth Fincham, 'The Protestant Church and its Churches', in *Places of Worship in Britain and Ireland, 1550-1689*, ed. by Paul Barnwell and Trevor Cooper (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2019), p. 4.

does there seem to have been any consultation with the bishop, who would normally nominate a minister or ratify the church's choice, which the vestry appeared to consider was unnecessary.¹³⁸

Peter Thatcher was born in Somerset and graduated BA from Corpus Christi, Oxford, in 1608, before proceeding to MA in 1611. It is not known how Thatcher was chosen, but his ability to preach must have reached the ears of those in Salisbury from his living thirty-eight miles away at Milton Clevedon in Somerset, where he was part of a group of 'much respected friends and brethren in the ministry'.¹³⁹ Having moved to Salisbury, he remained there until his death in 1641.¹⁴⁰ He was obviously a well-read man as his will listed around 100 books, many in Latin, which he left to his son Thomas, whose emigration to New England he had helped to finance in 1635 (see Appendix 19).¹⁴¹ Thomas may have been one of the puritan ministers who were deprived of their livings in the 1630s, when some moved abroad to either New England or the Netherlands.¹⁴² The book trade was important in the dissemination of works by puritan authors, and in 1630 the Calvinist works of Zacharias Ursinus and William Perkins were banned by the Laudian Archbishop of York, Thomas Harsnett (+1629-31).¹⁴³ Although Peter Thatcher did not appear to own a copy of the popular Geneva Bible, he did leave various works by Calvin in his will, including writings on the five books of Moses, Job, the Psalms, and the twelve minor prophets.¹⁴⁴ These law-giving books were used by some,

¹³⁸ Box 234, *Documents regarding the right of the parish of St Edmund's to present a rector and minister, 1624*.

¹³⁹ It is possible that a group of puritans from Salisbury had 'gadded' to a sermon there. Paul Slack, 'Thatcher [Thacher], Peter', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2009) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/56076> [accessed 1 January 2020].

¹⁴⁰ Barrie Williams, ed., *The Subscription Book of Bishops Tounson and Davenant 1620-40* (Devizes: Wiltshire Record Society, 1977), p. 24.

¹⁴¹ TNA: PROB 11/187/112, *Will of Peter Thatcher, 5 August 1640*.

¹⁴² Marshall, *Reformation England 1480-1642*, p. 229.

¹⁴³ Durston and Eales, 'Introduction: The Puritan Ethos, 1560-1700', p. 28. Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, p. 182.

¹⁴⁴ TNA: PROB 11/187/112, *Will of Peter Thatcher, 5 August 1640*.

including Oliver Cromwell, as a basis for their own 'personal and communal morality'.¹⁴⁵

Overall, the books which he owned were consistent with those of puritanical inclination.

Many of the St Edmund's vestry served as aldermen on the corporation, and over time, some also became mayor, thereby demonstrating their willingness to serve their city.¹⁴⁶ Wills of these men from the early seventeenth century have been consulted in order to determine whether their puritanism is reflected therein.¹⁴⁷ In general, few conclusions can be drawn from the preambles, which appear to have been written to a formula. Christopher Marsh and others agree that generally there is little indication of faith in these openings, as from the 1540s there were publications available which contained set texts from which the scribe could copy.¹⁴⁸ Occasionally, however, an individual dictated an authentic text to the scribe which stands out from the others as being particularly devout; this was the case with the will of Bartholomew Tookie, who was both mayor and vestry man in 1632:

¹⁴⁵ Durston and Eales, 'Introduction: The Puritan Ethos, 1560-1700', p. 17.

¹⁴⁶ Mayors include John Ivie 1627, Maurice Aylerugge 1635, Bartholomew Tookie 1611, Richard Checkford 1625, Richard Carter 1636, Thomas Hancocke 1638, and William Stone 1656.

¹⁴⁷ Fourteen wills are available. TNA: PROB 11/153/580, *Will of Thomas Slye, Clothier, 20 May 1628*. TNA: PROB 11/157/469, *Will of John Raye, Ironmonger, 30 April 1630*. TNA: PROB 11/159/81, *Will of Benedict Swayne, Gentleman, 27 January 1631*. TNA: PROB 11/170/188, *Will of Bartholomew Tookie, Gentleman, 13 February 1636*. WSA: P4/1637/10, *Will and inventory of Robert Norwell, Gentleman, 1637*. TNA: PROB 11/181/119, *Will of John Peirson, Upholsterer, 10 September 1639*. TNA: PROB 11/184/462, *Will of Maurice Aylerugge, Woollen draper, 30 November 1640*. TNA: PROB 11/186/52, *Will of Richard Checkford, Gentleman, 12 May 1641*. TNA: PROB 11/193/544, *Will of John Thorpe, Gentleman, 25 August 1645*. TNA: PROB 11/210/271, *Will of Richard Carter, Gentleman, 24 November 1649*. TNA: PROB 11/234/450, *Will of Thomas Keinton, Clothier, 26 July 1654*. TNA: PROB 11/308/282, *Will of Richard Phelps, Woollen draper, 4 June 1662*. TNA: PROB 11/310/151, *Will of William Stone, Gentleman, 2 February 1663*. TNA: PROB 11/322/375, *Will of John Ivie the elder, Gentleman, 24 November 1666*. TNA: PROB 11/331/427, *Will of Thomas Hancocke, Yeoman, 23 November 1669*.

¹⁴⁸ Christopher Marsh, 'Departing Well and Christianly: Will-Making and Popular Religion in Early Modern England', in *Religion and the English People 1500-1640*, ed. by Eric-Josef Carlson (Truman State University: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1998), pp. 201-202. J. D. Alsop, 'Religious Preambles in Early Modern English Wills as Formulae', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 40.1 (1989), 19-22. Margaret Spufford, 'Religious Preambles and the Scribes of Villagers' Wills in Cambridgeshire 1570-1700', in *When Death do us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England*, ed. by Tom Arkell, Nesta Evans and Nigel Goose (University of Hertfordshire: Leopard's Head Press Ltd, 2000), p. 146. Christopher Marsh, 'Attitudes to Will-Making in Early Modern England', in *When Death do us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England*, ed. by Tom Arkell, Nesta Evans and Nigel Goose (University of Hertfordshire: Leopard's Head Press Ltd, 2000), pp. 169-172.

First I doe joyfullie bequeath my soule to Almightye God my maker assuring my selfe that by the merits of that my all sufficient redeemer and Saviour Jesus Christ it shalbe received to his mercie, my bodie I doe willinglie yeild to the earth assuring my selfe of a joyfull resurrection in that onelie, and alone meritte of Christ Jesus, there to enioy the kingdome of heaven purchased for mee, and all the elect by the pretious blood and absolute obedience of that all sufficient sacrifice Christ Jesus; In whose mercy I heartilie begg that all my great unworthines and synnes may bee forgiven and in all humilitie I assure my selfe thereof.

This text includes pious wording which indicates that he asks for forgiveness of his sins, such that he can be sure of attaining heavenly wonder. Additionally, the body of his will also indicates his puritan piety in that he states that he leaves 20s to the parish church of Wilton, ‘beinge the place where it pleased the Lord first to give me the sweet taste and rellishe of his word and ghospell’.¹⁴⁹ Further, he left 20s to the church of St Edmund’s and ‘ten dozen of bread’ for the poor of the same parish; again, these examples seem to confirm his puritan faith. Bequests made by other vestry men included money to the puritan ministers in the city: for instance Peter Thatcher received 20s from Maurice Aylerugge, and £5 from John Raye; John Ivie bequeathed 40s to Pastor John Strickland, and four of the city ministers were left between 30s and 40s each by Richard Phelps.¹⁵⁰ Another vestry man, Richard Carter, obviously held Peter Thatcher in great esteem in that he wished to be ‘buried in the churchyard of the parish church of Saint Edmund within the said city as near as with convenience it may be unto the northside of the Tomb of my late reverend Pastor Mr Peter

¹⁴⁹ TNA: PROB 11/170/188, *Will of Bartholomew Tookie, Gentleman, 13 February 1636.*

¹⁵⁰ TNA: PROB 11/157/469, *Will of John Raye, Ironmonger, 30 April 1630.* TNA: PROB 11/184/462, *Will of Maurice Aylerugge, Woollen draper, 30 November 1640.* TNA: PROB 11/308/282, *Will of Richard Phelps, Woollen draper, 4 June 1662.* TNA: PROB 11/322/375, *Will of John Ivie the elder, Gentleman, 24 November 1666.*

Thatcher'; the use of the term pastor rather than minister is somewhat godly in nature.¹⁵¹ All of these wills show the high esteem in which the authors held their ministers and perhaps show their appreciation of their puritanical role as peacemakers and their concern for the needy in the city, as well as of their preaching skills.¹⁵² The puritan regard for the poor is evident in ten of the fourteen vestry men's wills, with legacies left to more than one church in Salisbury, showing their concern for the city as a whole, and not just for their own parish. On the other hand, Thomas Keinton and John Peirson left all their worldly goods to family members only, suggesting that they were possibly less puritan.¹⁵³

It is possible to compare a sample of the wills of the vestry men at St Edmund's with those of St Thomas's, the latter supposedly under the Laudian influence of the cathedral until 1646. For those dying before this date, vestry men from both churches generally provided bequests for both their parish church and the poor of their parish. Further, some also provided for other needy men and women of the city, suggesting that there may have been men of puritan persuasion at both churches.¹⁵⁴ However, after 1646, the vestry men of St Thomas's generally left their money and chattels only to their families, unlike those of St Edmund's, suggesting that the change from a Laudian to a puritan parish church at this date, did not leave its mark in their wills.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹ TNA: PROB 11/210/271, *Will of Richard Carter, Gentleman, 24 November 1649.*

¹⁵² Hunt, 'The Lord's Supper in Early Modern England', 63.

¹⁵³ TNA: PROB 11/234/450, *Will of Thomas Keinton, Clothier, 26 July 1654.* TNA: PROB 11/181/119, *Will of John Peirson, Upholsterer, 10 September 1639.*

¹⁵⁴ Poor of St Thomas's only: TNA: PROB 11/152/117, *Will of Roger Gauntlett, Gentleman, 13 June 1627.* TNA: PROB 11/178/205, *Will of William Dawlinge, Tailor, 27 October 1638.* Poor of St Thomas's, St Edmund's, St Martin's, and the Holy Trinity Hospital. TNA: PROB 11/186/360, *Will of William Raye, Gentleman, 23 June 1641.*

¹⁵⁵ For instance, TNA: PROB 11/195/188, *Will of William Hayter, Fishmonger, 10 February 1646.* TNA: PROB 11/310/208, *Will of John Greene, Goldsmith, 27 January 1663.* TNA: PROB 11/328/139, *Will of Thomas Oviatt, Merchant, 17 October 1668.*

From the time of Queen Elizabeth, the parish priest was required to preach one sermon a month; indeed the minister Josias Nichols in 1602 characterised lay puritans as ‘the people [who] do hear sermons, talk of the Scriptures, [and] sing Psalms together in private houses’.¹⁵⁶ Puritans had a zeal for hearing sermons and lectures and would walk long distances to hear preachers in the surrounding villages. With the focus of the congregation on the minister and the delivery of the sermon, rather than the altar, there was a reliance on the distance-mediated sense of sight and sound when clergymen delivered the Word of God through the ears of their congregations, who were told to be on their guard ‘lest the devil was to enter’.¹⁵⁷ The introduction to ‘The Preachers Chardge and Peoples Duty, about Preaching and Hearing of the Word’ published in 1631 by the minister John Brinsley declared that ‘The Preaching of the Gospell being a publike worke, though it requires not every mans mouth to preach it; yet his eare and his hand it doth, to receive it, to uphold it’.¹⁵⁸

As has already been stated, the period between 1627 and the Civil War was fraught with outbreaks of the plague and resultant destitution in Salisbury. Thus members of the corporation, in particular the godly city aldermen, John Ivie, John Dove, Matthew Bee, and Henry Sherfield, were involved in organising projects to sustain the poor of the city. These included the conversion of a workhouse from a penal institution to that of a training centre for apprentices, the establishment of city storehouses, and a municipal brewhouse: the latter had been attempted in Dorchester in 1622, when it was instigated by the puritan minister John

¹⁵⁶ Durston and Eales, 'Introduction: The Puritan Ethos, 1560-1700', p. 13. For 1559, see Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1559-1575*, p. 9. Prior to Elizabeth I, the stipulation had been for quarterly sermons. For 1538, see Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1536-1558*, p. 37.

¹⁵⁷ St Thomas's were still purchasing incense in 1630-31. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 315. Jennifer Rae McDermott, 'The Melodie of Heaven: Sermonizing the Open Ear in Early Modern England', in *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 186-187.

¹⁵⁸ Richard Cust, 'Brinsley, John', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2009) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3441> [accessed 14 March 2020]. John Brinsley, *The Preachers Charge and Peoples Duty about Preaching and Hearing of the Word* (London: R. Bird, 1631).

White.¹⁵⁹ All these projects were based on the puritan view that it was not only necessary to raise money for the poor, but also to provide work so that they could help themselves and keep out of trouble. As the minister, Peter Thatcher, commented: ‘drunkenness, idleness, running to the alehouse and other such courses, which have been and are the bane of our poor in Sarum’ should be reformed.¹⁶⁰ However, the corporation also sought to meddle in parish affairs by directing parish officers, including the overseers of the poor, in the administration of their duties by organising regular meetings with the mayor, recorder and justices, at which the overseers were to account for their actions and were to receive a fine for non-attendance.¹⁶¹ This was not well received by the parishes, who had little choice other than to conform and it set the scene for the engagement of the corporation in the affairs of the churches during the next thirty years or so.

The corporation was also involved with the appointment of lecturers in the city, which as Patrick Carter suggests were provided to increase the financial situation of ministers.¹⁶²

Christopher Eyre, a merchant adventurer of London, died in 1625 leaving a bequest of ‘£20 a yeare for ever for a sufficient minister to preach outt a weeke on the weeke daies at St Thomas Church in Sarum and to be a man fearinge god’.¹⁶³ The total sum of £260 was to be paid to the mayor and corporation and it was incumbent on them to find the right man for the

¹⁵⁹ Slack, ‘Poverty and politics in Salisbury 1597-1666’, p. 181. Underdown, *Fire from Heaven*, pp. 24-25, 38. WSA: G23/1/3, *Corporation ledger C*, 5 October 1626, f. 321r.

¹⁶⁰ Slack, ‘Thatcher [Thacher], Peter’. Underdown, *Fire from Heaven*, pp. 24-25, 38. Paul Slack and Peter Clark, *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700* (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1972), p. 28.

¹⁶¹ WSA: G23/1/3, *Corporation ledger C*, 8 March 1621, f. 281r.

¹⁶² Patrick Carter, ‘Economic Problems of Provincial Urban Clergy during the Reformation’, in *The Reformation in English Towns 1500-1640*, ed. by Patrick Collinson and John Craig (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1998), p. 157.

¹⁶³ The will was made in 1617 but it was not proven until 1625. TNA: PROB 11/145/28, *Will of Christopher Eyre, Merchant Adventurer, City of London, 11 January 1625*. In addition he left money for almshouses in both Salisbury (no longer extant) and London and for monuments to his parents in St Thomas’s. In 1801, a letter of administration was applied for by Susannah Harriet Eyre, to allow the time of preaching the sermon to move from a weekday to Sunday evening. WSA: P4/1801/4, *Letter of administration regarding the will of Christopher Eyre, 30 November 1801*.

job. The legacy may imply that the puritan relatives of Christopher Eyre, who lived in Salisbury, considered that the licensed itinerant preachers were of an indifferent nature.¹⁶⁴ In addition to financing sermons, Christopher Eyre also left money for almshouses in the city, and for a monument to himself and his wife in St Thomas's (see Figure 5-5).

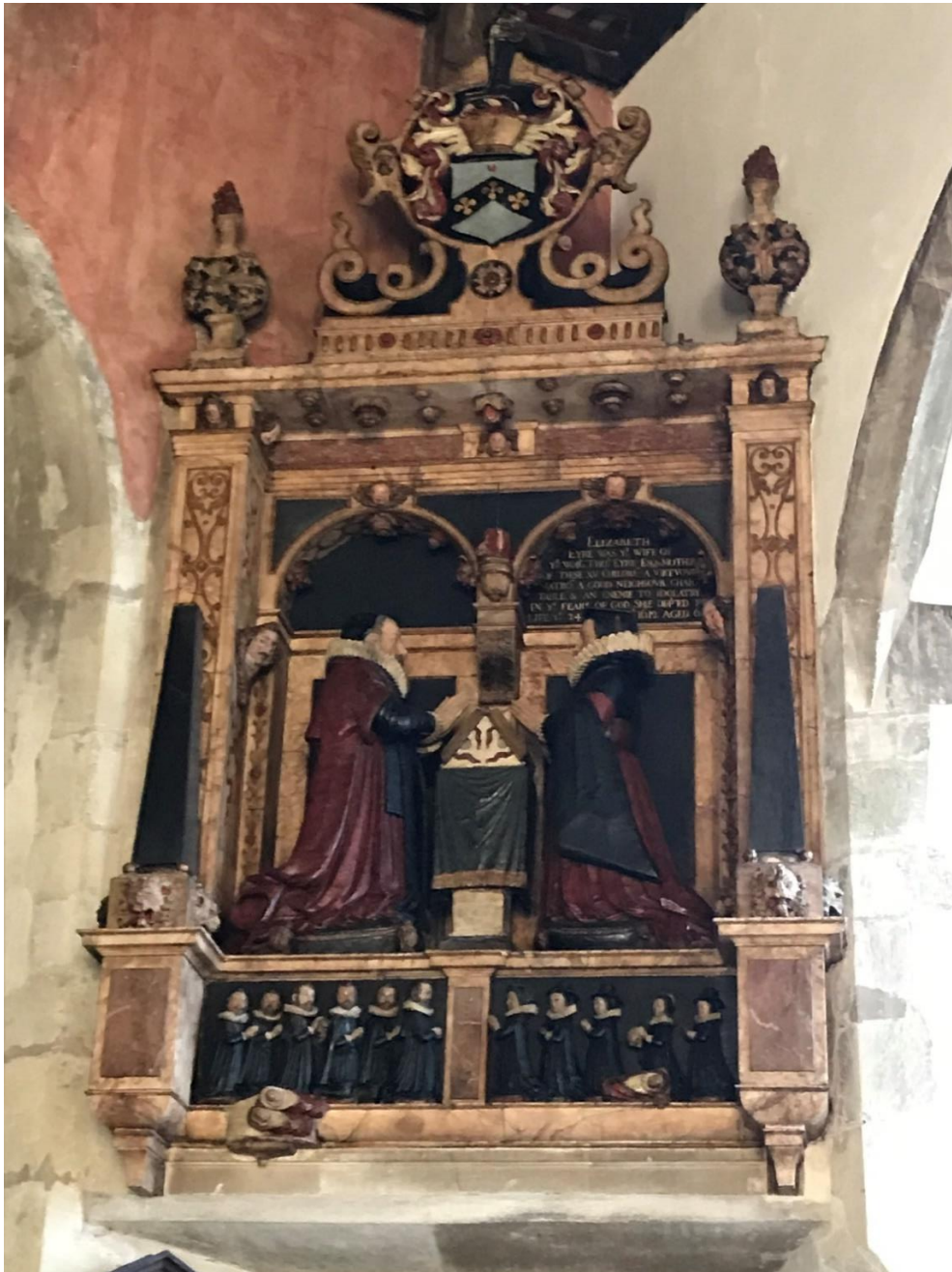


Figure 5-5: The monument to Christopher Eyre and his wife in St Thomas's Church
Photo: Andrew Robson

¹⁶⁴ Carter, 'Economic Problems of Provincial Urban Clergy during the Reformation', p. 157.

In January 1626 the corporation met and declared that Peter Thatcher, who was already minister of St Edmund's Church, should be the lecturer in St Thomas's parish, and was to deliver a sermon each Friday afternoon commencing on 20 January; the executors of the estate concurred with their choice.¹⁶⁵ By April of the same year, Peter Thatcher had been replaced, with the corporation minutes noting that Mr George Throgmorton, clerk, was elected the new lecturer - on this occasion this action had been agreed with the bishop.¹⁶⁶

Although little is known about Throgmorton, the change of heart may have been the result of interference from the vestry of St Thomas's or from the dean and chapter who maintained the church, neither party wanting a puritan lecturer. There are no further details regarding the Christopher Eyre bequest in the corporation accounts, but the lack of reference to the bishop with regard to the employment of Peter Thatcher at St Edmund's shows a similar shifting pattern of jurisdiction to that following the abolishment of the episcopate, when ministers at the Westminster Assembly made pronouncements instead.

The weekly lectures in Salisbury were obviously more costly than had originally been expected, as by October 1650 the 'Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen were to pay 12d a piece quarterly and the Assistants 6d ... towards the defrayinge of the chardge for the Wensdaye lecture'.¹⁶⁷ In this the civic authorities enabled the continuation of regular preaching, perhaps as much for their own edification as for that of the general populace. The corporation of York had been similarly appointing ministers of religion including a puritan city minister to preach

¹⁶⁵ WSA: G23/1/3, *Corporation ledger C, January 1625*, f. 323v. The following references state that John Davenport was the first incumbent of the post of lecturer. This would have been unlikely in that the will was not proven until January 1625, by which time John 'Davenant' was already Bishop of Salisbury. The codicil to the will was signed by a 'John Davenport, vicar and Jo: Stone'. Crittall, 'Salisbury: Churches'. Claire Cross, 'From Medieval Catholic Piety to Civil War Protestantism: the Impact of the Reformation in Two Salisbury Parishes', *Sarum Chronicle: Recent Historical Research on Salisbury and District*, 13 (2013), 107.

¹⁶⁶ WSA: G23/1/3, *Corporation ledger C, April 1626*, f. 328r.

¹⁶⁷ WSA: G23/1/4, *Corporation ledger D*, f. 59.

and perform ‘exercises’ since 1581.¹⁶⁸ Salisbury, as York, also enforced attendance at church services in the city, including the compulsory presence of members of the corporation and their wives at the cathedral, thus ensuring that the whole population heard the Word of God regularly. In 1620 the corporation had paid for seats to be built for themselves in the cathedral so that they could sit in comfort. From this time onwards there were disputes, due mainly to the inordinate length of the sermons, such that the mayor and aldermen did not attend for some months; the following year the original order was strengthened, with fines for non-attendance.¹⁶⁹ There were further disagreements when the corporation wives found themselves requiring a lock for the door, as well as a door keeper for the chapel where they sat for services; evidently some of the ‘other Gentlewomen’ considered that they too would like to sit in this private area.¹⁷⁰

As already seen, Archbishop Laud’s visitation of the Salisbury diocese in 1634 was carried out in order to promote religious conformity. The articles for the cathedral included whether the preacher was licensed, and if so, whether he preached in his own cure according to the 45th Canon. This Canon stated that he was to ‘preach one Sermon every Sunday of the Year, wherein he shall soberly and sincerely divide the Word of Truth to the Glory of God, and to the best Edification of the People’.¹⁷¹ In this, both puritans and Laudians seem to have been in agreement; however, a single sermon on Sundays only did not satisfy the zeal of the puritans, who also desired additional preaching during the week. To this end, a register of names of

¹⁶⁸ WSA: G23/1/3, *Corporation ledger C, April 1626*, f. 328r. P. M. Tillott, ‘The seventeenth century: Social and religious life’, in *A History of the County of York: the City of York* (1961) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/city-of-york/pp198-206> [accessed 10 March 2020].

¹⁶⁹ WSA: G23/1/3, *Corporation ledger C, 1620 & 1621*, ff. 280r, 281v. Robertson, *Sarum Close*, p. 189.

¹⁷⁰ WSA: G23/1/3, *Corporation ledger C, 1629*, f. 347v.

¹⁷¹ Bishop of London, *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical: 1604 Canons* (1604) <https://www.anglican.net/doctrines/1604-canon-law/> [accessed 6 January 2020].

‘strange’ or itinerant preachers was maintained, and these were recorded at St Edmund’s in 1640-41.¹⁷²

From the early seventeenth century until 1646, when John Conant was eventually employed as minister of St Thomas’s, the church was diametrically opposed to the puritan St Edmund’s, being under the leadership of the Laudian dean and chapter. In 1641, St Thomas’s vestry had wanted to employ the puritan John Conant MA as their minister; however, the bishop did not agree with the appointment.¹⁷³ Nonetheless, five years later, following the removal of the episcopate, the vestry had its way and John Conant became minister there, where he remained until his death in 1652. He was a keen preacher and was said to have provided a sermon twice every Sunday.¹⁷⁴ In 1649, Conant was invited to become chaplain to the mayor, who was once again the puritan John Ivie; thus in this event perhaps Conant was able to influence other members of the corporation.¹⁷⁵

As for St Martin’s church, the first man to become rector of the church was Anthony Hillery in October 1635 under the patronage of the Dean of Salisbury; Stanley Gower became minister in 1648, but he was soon succeeded by the presbyterian William Eyre who received an income of £150 a year from the committee of plundered ministers.¹⁷⁶ In 1653 Eyre left St Martin’s to become incumbent of St Thomas’s and was followed by William Troughton who served until 1661.¹⁷⁷ Unlike the puritan ministers in 1630s York, there is no evidence that any

¹⁷² Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 212.

¹⁷³ Crittall, 'Salisbury: Churches'.

¹⁷⁴ Dewey D. Wallace, 'Conant, John', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6051> [accessed 1 January 2020].

¹⁷⁵ The post included attending corporation meetings and leading prayers beforehand. Haskins, *Salisbury Corporation*, p. 68.

¹⁷⁶ The committee for plundered ministers was set up in December 1642 by the Long Parliament to find vacancies for deserving ministers and to increase the value of incumbents’ stipends. The National Archives, *Committee for Plundered Ministers: Orders and Papers* (n.d.) <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C13564> [accessed 10 January 2020].

¹⁷⁷ King's College London, *Clergy of the Church of England Database* (2013) <https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/> [accessed 23 January 2020]. Crittall, 'Salisbury: Churches'. Elizabeth Crittall, 'Salisbury: St Martin's parish', in *A*

of the clergymen in Salisbury were accused of puritan irregularities. The York ministers of the churches of St Martin, Coney Street; St Michael Spurriergate; and St Sampson, were all accused of such misdeeds, including offensive sermons, whilst others had refused to say the set prayers in the Book of Common Prayer or had preached on Sunday afternoons when members of the congregation should have attended catechism.

As has been seen, the evidence from the 1620s onwards shows that ministers were not in continuous attendance in their parishes and were therefore not carrying out the duties for which they were employed. From April 1624, Mr Thatcher was excused from reading morning prayer and instead Ellis Bagg the clerk was to take this service for 20s a year. The vestry book shows that there was a perception that preachers, both now and in the future, should be paid more for their time:

for the ease of Mr. Thatcher duringe his tyme, And likewise for the ease of his Successor beinge a preacher, And likewise shall have his day of Collection accordinge to fformer Order wth this enlardgmentt that he shall take his Choyse on what daie in euerie yeare he will make his Colleccion.¹⁷⁸

This was therefore remedied by a collection from parishioners as a supplement to Thatcher's stipend. In addition to morning prayer, Thatcher was sometimes not present at other services too; at Sherfield's trial in the Star Chamber in 1633, Thatcher was publicly criticised by William Laud who said that 'he knoweth that this Thatcher himselfe hath not read all the divine service in a whole year'.¹⁷⁹ In 1641, during the incumbency of the puritan John Strickland at St Edmund's, the churchwarden's accounts stated that other men were appointed

History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6 (1962) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp79-81> [accessed 26 October 2018].

¹⁷⁸ 1624 Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 177.

¹⁷⁹ WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, p. 28.

‘to serve cure here in Mr Strickland’s absence’: thus it appears that ministers were often away – perhaps preaching in surrounding towns and villages, perhaps due to a lack of proper remuneration that had resulted in pluralism.¹⁸⁰ Further, the ministers of all three parish churches - John Strickland, John Conant, and Stanley Gower - were often away at meetings of the Westminster Assembly, which had been established in 1643 as an addition to parliament and as a church synod.¹⁸¹

This intermittent absence of ministers in the city led in 1647 to the involvement of the corporation once again in church business, resulting in a letter being sent to the Westminster Assembly to voice the concerns of the corporation.¹⁸² The problem may be illustrated in part by the need to find replacement preachers, which incurred additional expense to the parishes. In 1645 the mayor, Francis Dove, went to London to speak to parliament regarding the need for an increase in ministers’ stipends ‘for ye good of ye Church & Parish’.¹⁸³ By January 1648 the matter was still unresolved and the corporation once again decided to petition parliament and the ‘prolocutor of the synod’, stating that they wished to settle the maintenance of the ministers within the city.¹⁸⁴

The situation was at least partially solved in 1649 through the purchase of houses in the close by the corporation, for the ministers of the parish churches.¹⁸⁵ By procuring houses originally

¹⁸⁰ For instance, in 1643 Strickland was replaced by at least four men; in 1645, by around seven. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 214-215. Fincham, 'The Protestant Church and its Churches', p. 4. Pluralism is where a minister holds more than one post. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 214-215. Williams, ed., *The Subscription Book of Bishops Tounson and Davenant 1620-40*, p. 35.

¹⁸¹ Synod: an assembly of clergy and sometimes laity. Stanley Gower is quoted in Elizabeth Crittall, 'Salisbury Churches: St Martin's', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6* (1962) *British History Online* <https://www-british-history-ac-uk.ezproxyd.bham.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp144-155#h3-0002> [accessed 19 September 2018]. Chad Van-Dixhoorn, 'Members of the Westminster assembly and Scottish commissioners', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2007) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/96925> [accessed 7 January 2020].

¹⁸² WSA: G23/1/4, *Corporation ledger D*, f. 35.

¹⁸³ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 215.

¹⁸⁴ WSA: G23/1/4, *Corporation ledger D*, f. 35.

¹⁸⁵ The houses included 56a and b The Close, 'Hemingsby' for Strickland of St Edmund's; 60 The Close, 'North Canonry' for John Conant of St Thomas's; 70 The Close, 'Leadenhall' for Dr Faithful minister of the parish

belonging to the dean and chapter, the puritan corporation may have been expressing a clearly visible derisory attitude towards them, thereby demonstrating their contempt towards the cathedral over which the former now had no control. The total cost of these substantial properties was £880, to which each of the parishes was required to contribute.¹⁸⁶ Following deliberations on this matter by the corporation, the vestry of St Edmund's met at various times during the year 1650 to discuss the subject.

On the first occasion, Mr Strickland expressed a desire to purchase the house for himself; however, the vestry rejected this proposal as future ministers would not have a dwelling. A second meeting later in the year took place with the mayor, where the minutes stated that apart from the deposit, money had not been forthcoming from St Edmund's, and in that the land had been purchased using funds belonging to the inhabitants of the city, there was a need to provide security, and to this end the deeds had been sealed under the common seal. It was agreed that St Edmund's would pay £190 4s 6d, St Thomas's £154, and St Martin's £78 13s 0d, and that the inhabitants of the close were to contribute £92 19s 7d.¹⁸⁷ Thus St Edmund's held a parish collection beginning with a contribution of £36 from members of the vestry.¹⁸⁸ In addition to this, each parish was required to find the money to pay its minister a reasonable stipend; once again this demand fell on parishioners.¹⁸⁹ Further money was procured through

church in the cathedral. WSA: G23/1/4, *Corporation ledger D*, f. 44. RCHME, *Houses of the Close*, pp. 27, 171, 193, 235. The house purchased by St Martin's was never lived in.

¹⁸⁶ RCHME, *Houses of the Close*, p. 26.

¹⁸⁷ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 222-223. WSA: 1901/213, *St Edmund vestry minute book, 1650*, ff. 39v-42r.

¹⁸⁸ WSA: 1901/213, *St Edmund vestry minute book, 1650*, f. 42r. Following the Restoration, the city churches were required to give up the houses of their ministers. RCHME, *Houses of the Close*, p. 26.

¹⁸⁹ The names of contributors at St Thomas's were written in a book. 1648-49, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 326.

an application to the committee of ‘plundered ministers’ in 1653 by St Thomas’s in order to attract Alexander Gregorie of Cirencester as its new minister.¹⁹⁰

Thus, during the period from 1630 onwards the corporation of Salisbury was regularly involved in matters of the church, ensuring that the citizens were able to worship together regularly. This was achieved in the early years through the employment of preachers and then later by the purchase of accommodation for them. Following the remodelling of the corporation with the Cromwellian charter of 1656, John Ivie and his puritan associates were replaced by indifferent aldermen, and by the 1660s the city of Salisbury was once more overloaded by the poor.¹⁹¹ Throughout this period, one way in which the puritans of Salisbury had been evident was through their service to others, both as leaders in the church and in the city, where they were able to assist those less fortunate than themselves and use their ingenuity to come up with novel ideas to achieve this.

5.9 Changes to the liturgy

At the start of the seventeenth century the Book of Common Prayer was used when celebrating the service of holy communion. The latest edition had been published in 1604; however, Durham Cathedral, perhaps like other churches being financially prudent, was still using a copy dated 1587 during the reign of Charles I, having crossed out the names of successive monarchs and written in the latest name (see Figure 5-6).¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 330. The National Archives, *Committee for Plundered Ministers: Orders and Papers*

¹⁹¹ Slack, 'Poverty and politics in Salisbury 1597-1666', p. 192.

¹⁹² DCL: O/III B/52/1, *BCP, 1587*. The revised book of 1604 included two key alterations to appeal to the godly: firstly, the rubric 'for remission of Sins' was added to the Absolution in both morning and evening prayer in order to explain that this was God's forgiveness; and secondly, lay baptism [meaning baptism conducted by the laity] was no longer acceptable. T. W. Gilbert, *A Short History of the Prayer Book: 6 - The Revision of 1604* (2003) https://churchsociety.org/issues_new/doctrine/bcp/gilberthistory/iss_doctrine_bcp_gilberthistory_6-1604.asp [accessed 19 January 2020].

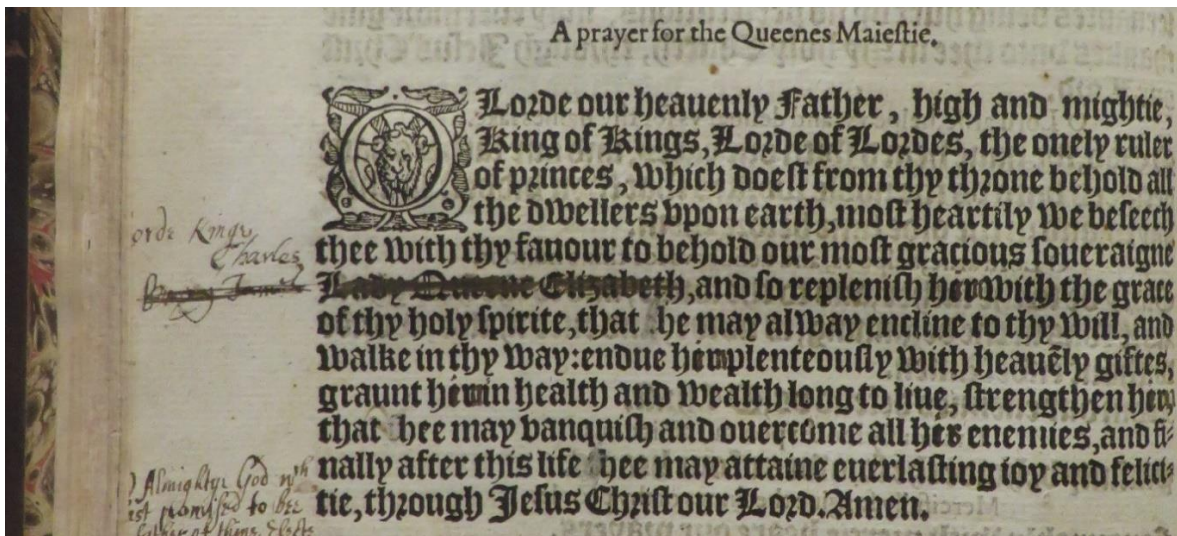


Figure 5-6: DCL: O/III. Annotated copy of the Book of Common Prayer

The 1604 Canons required that:

the holy Communion shall be Administered by the Parson, Vicar, or Minister, so often, and at such Times as every Parishioner may Communicate at the least Thrice in the Year (whereof the Feast of Easter to be one) according as they are appointed by the Book of Common Prayer.¹⁹³

In practice, most people only attended holy communion once a year; however, St Martin's, and probably all the churches in Salisbury, offered the sacrament at least every month. During the years when Archbishop Laud was in charge, the number of communion services held in churches increased nationally, only to fall again during the 1640s when churchwardens were no longer able to send those not communicating to court.¹⁹⁴ At the trial of Henry Sherfield, the deponents John Ivie and Peter Thatcher stated that Sherfield stayed in church to hear the sermon, and that he 'received the sacrament of the Lords Supper kneeling'.¹⁹⁵ These statements were intended to ascertain what faith Sherfield demonstrated and whether he, and

¹⁹³ Canon XXI in Bishop of London, *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical: 1604 Canons*.

¹⁹⁴ Hunt, 'The Lord's Supper in Early Modern England', 81-82.

¹⁹⁵ WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, p. 25.

perhaps others in the church, were adhering to Laudian rules, as puritans did not believe that they should kneel when receiving communion as this implied that they were receiving the body and blood of Christ rather than taking part in the fellowship of a shared meal in the name of Christ. However, two short forms were provided for kneeling on adjacent to the communion table at St Edmund's and three at St Thomas's (see Appendix 18).¹⁹⁶ Whether the minister insisted on their use, particularly at the puritan church of St Edmund's, is a matter for conjecture.

Information regarding the number of times that the eucharist was celebrated each year is particularly well documented in the churchwarden's accounts of St Martin's. The chart in Figure 5-7 shows that from 1580, the service was celebrated as many as twenty-two times per year and that there was no significant increase in this number during the episcopate of William Laud. From 1633 a rate was set to pay for the bread and wine, the quantity of the latter being substantial: for instance in 1637-38, three gallons were consumed at Easter. In January 1629, the churchwardens of St Edmund's were instructed that the type of communion wine was to be muscadine only, and that the superior claret previously served to the more socially elite in the congregation was no longer to be provided.¹⁹⁷ This edict had probably arisen from higher authority, perhaps as a form of discipline and was not due to financial difficulties at the church. However, the vestry men obviously considered that their senses of smell and taste were more discerning than the palates of the lower classes in the city, as by 1661-62, following the Restoration, St Thomas's once again notes the purchase of both 'Muskadin' and 'Sacke' for the communion.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 200, 316.

¹⁹⁷ St Edmund's 1629, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 190.

¹⁹⁸ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 335.

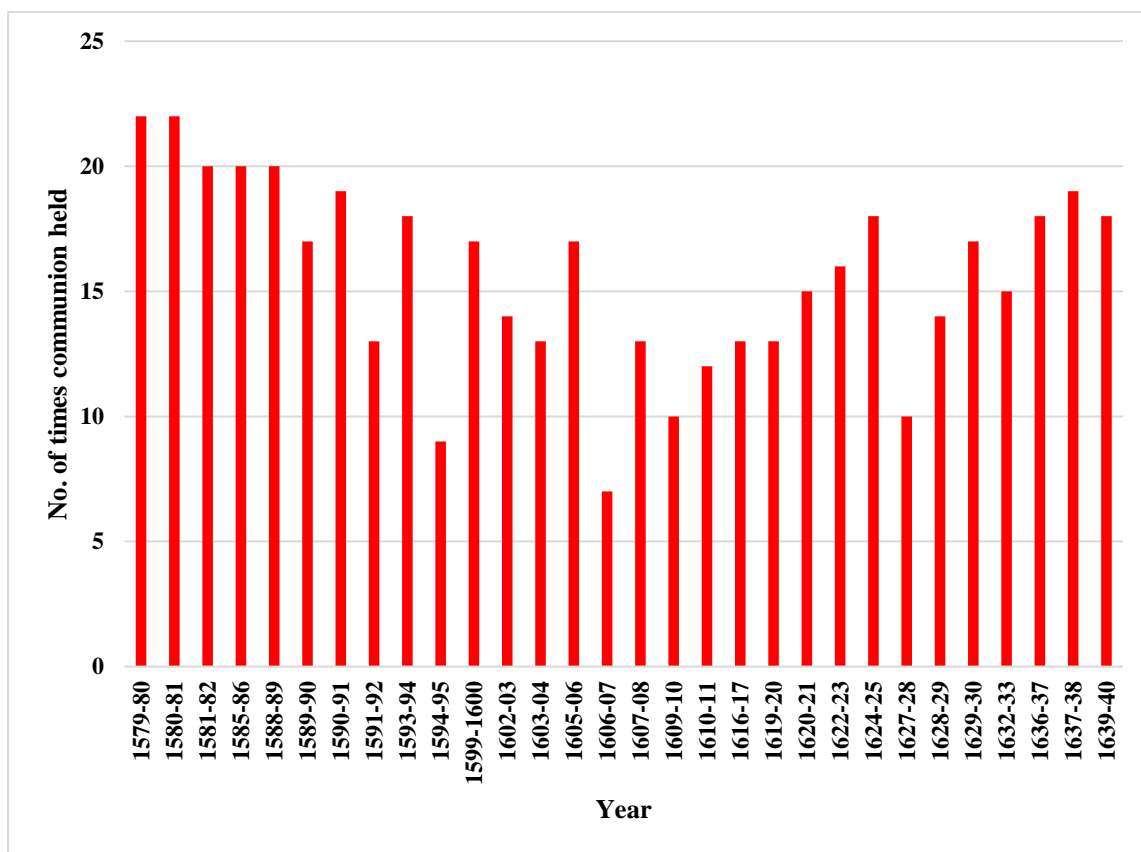


Figure 5-7: Number of times per year that holy communion took place at St Martin's

At St Mary in Aldermanbury, London, from 1595 sacramental tokens were issued to every householder after they had paid their Easter offerings and tithes, following which the tokens were exchanged for holy communion. However, it seems that these were only issued from December 1626 in Salisbury, when they could be purchased from the clerk.¹⁹⁹ By 1660 the cost of a token was 2d, which was only paid by those who could afford it, the money raised being used for the relief of the poor. The use of tokens, according to Nicholas Tyacke, was a method used by zealous puritans to reduce the indiscriminate admission of all people, no

¹⁹⁹ 'Brasse Tokens & for a Box to put them in & Two steele stamps 18s 2d'. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 184, 225. The accounts show this collection as 'Halfe pence for Easter dues'. It is impossible to derive the number of communicants from these accounts as the income remains static, that for 'Halfe pence for Easter dues' at 53s 4d and 'Bread and wine' at 34s 8d until at least 1641-42, after which the income is no longer mentioned. Tokens are noted again in 1661. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 213 & 238. H. S. A. Copinger, 'Communion Tokens used in England, Wales and the Channel Islands', *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society, Seventh Series*, 4 (1964).

matter what their situation, to the Lord's Supper.²⁰⁰ Closed communions had been attempted in East Hanningfield in Essex and at Kedington in Suffolk; however, this type of action usually resulted in the incumbent appearing before court.²⁰¹ Some puritans considered that abstinence from communion was better than irreverent and unprepared reception. However, both puritans and Laudians showed enthusiasm for the ritual, and puritan ministers were reluctant to exclude anyone from the service.²⁰²

The Westminster Assembly met to discuss the doctrine, liturgy, and government of the English church and was responsible for the 'Directory for the publique worship of God', which replaced the Book of Common Prayer in 1645.²⁰³ This became the liturgy to be used for all religious services in both the parish churches and cathedral until the re-introduction of the Book of Common Prayer in 1662.²⁰⁴ The new liturgy was directed at the minister, rather than the congregation, containing a list of recommendations and directions rather than prescribed rituals, thus appealing to puritans. Guidance was given on the behaviour of the people, the reading of the scriptures and singing of psalms, prayer and preaching; in addition there was information on the observation of days of public thanksgiving and the direction that 'every one that can read is to have a Psalm-Book', so that they could join in by singing psalms, thereby celebrating the senses of both sight and hearing. Finally, Easter and Christmas were no longer considered holy days, and all celebrations except those on the

²⁰⁰ Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, p. 225.

²⁰¹ Hunt, 'The Lord's Supper in Early Modern England', 64-65.

²⁰² Hunt, 'The Lord's Supper in Early Modern England', 66, 78.

²⁰³ Although St Thomas's spent 6d on a book of prayers in 1644-45, this may be too cheap to be a copy of the new 'Directory'. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 332.

²⁰⁴ BCW Project, *The Westminster Assembly* (2009) <http://bcw-project.org/church-and-state/first-civil-war/westminster-assembly> [accessed 7 January 2020]. The Westminster Assembly was a council of theologians who met with members of the English Parliament between 1643 and 1653 to discuss the restructuring of the church.

sabbath were discontinued. The service previously known as holy communion was now referred to at St Thomas's from 1648-49 as the 'sacrament of the Lord's supper'.²⁰⁵

5.10 The trial of Sherfield

Little is known of what occurred in the months following the breaking of the window by Sherfield in late 1630 and the ensuing investigation which led to a Star Chamber indictment in early 1633. However, a letter dated 31 January 1631, addressed to the Mayor of Salisbury, Matthew Bee, Thomas Hancock (churchwarden from 1632), and two Aldermen - Mr Baynes and Mr Godfrey - was sent from the Lord Keeper, Lord Privy Seal and eight others including the Earl of Salisbury. This stated that the Privy Council had heard that the glass windows in St Edmund's Church which were very 'rich and costly' had been broken by 'some turbulent and ill-affected person' and that he had been encouraged in this by the vestry men who had written orders for this in 'loose papers'. The bishop and chancellor wished to see these, but the minister, Peter Thatcher, and his curate refused in that the books were at the time in the possession of Henry Sherfield, which he was using in order to prepare his defence.²⁰⁶

The case of Henry Sherfield opened in the Star Chamber on Wednesday 6 February 1633 and was brought by the king and heard by twenty-two members of the Privy Council with the judges Bishop William Laud of London, and Archbishop Richard Neile of York.²⁰⁷ The trial

²⁰⁵ C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, 'January 1645: An Ordinance for taking away the Book of Common Prayer, and for establishing and putting in execution of the Directory for the publique worship of God, in Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660', in *British History Online* (1911) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/acts-ordinances-interregnum/pp582-607> [accessed 10 January 2020]. 1648-49, Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 326. 'The sacrament of the Lord's supper' is mentioned again in 1651-52.

²⁰⁶ P. A. Penfold, 'Acts of the Privy Council of England, Volume 46', in (1630-31) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/acts-privy-council/vol46> [accessed 12 December 2015]. Following Sherfield's death the books were recovered, for which Phillip Dawes received a payment of 19s 4d in 1634-35 in recompense for that which he 'disburst about o[u]r Church writings wich were in Mr Shervills studie'. WSA: 1901/80, *St Edmund churchwardens account rolls, 1625-1639*. Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 202. HRO: 44M69/L7/9, *St Edmunds notes from the churchwardens accounts 1490-1570*.

²⁰⁷ In the Stuart period there were usually three judges. Three members of the jury were not present at the start of trial. Henry Phillips, 'The Last Years of the Court of Star Chamber 1630-1641', *Transactions of the Royal*

was also attended by chief justice Finch who was within Laud's circle. The prosecution was undertaken by Sir Richard Shilton, solicitor general, and by William Noy, the king's attorney general and a good friend of Sherfield.²⁰⁸ Sir Robert Heath, who had held the position of the king's attorney general prior to Noy, had carried out the original interview with Sherfield, and represented the plaintiff.²⁰⁹ The defence was led by the accomplished barrister John Herne [Heron] (c.1593–1649), who was assisted by a Mr Herbert.²¹⁰ It seems that, unusually, Henry Sherfield was present for both days of the hearing, although the trial was carried out *ore tenus* and was therefore based on interviews carried out prior to the trial.²¹¹

The case was opened by the king's attorney general, who proceeded to summarise the situation, stating that Henry Sherfield was a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn and an inhabitant of the parish of St Edmund in the city of New Sarum. He went on to say that Sherfield took it upon himself, of his own authority, to deface the parish church in opposition to the church government and that he did this without authority from the bishop. However, as seen in section 5.6, Sherfield and others had met in January 1630 and agreed that Sherfield could remove the window and replace it with clear glass. In the following October, Sherfield obtained the keys of the church from the sexton's wife, went in and locked the door, and then

Historical Society, 21 (1939), 114. The second day of the trial took place on Friday of the same week: this is in contradiction to the original document of the first day of the trial. The relevant State Paper has been examined at The National Archives, where it seems that when it was accessioned by the Public Record Office it was incorrectly dated to 1631/2, as opposed to 1632/3. Erroneously this implies that the first day of the trial took place in February 1632, and the second a year later in 1633. This error was carried over into the edited version of the Calendar of State Papers Domestic. TNA: SP 16/211, *Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic Charles I. Letters and Papers, February 1632*. John Bruce, 'Charles I – volume 211: February 1632 in Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I 1631-33', in (1862) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/domestic/chas1/1631-3/pp264-279> [accessed 14 December 2015]. John Bruce, 'Charles I – volume 232: February 1633 in Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I 1631-33', in (1862) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/domestic/chas1/1631-3/pp525-553> [accessed 14 December 2015].

²⁰⁸ WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, p. 39. WSA: 479, *William Noye to Henry Sherfield of Salisbury, 1611*. This was a letter to Sherfield regarding the vicars and choristers of the cathedral.

²⁰⁹ WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, p. 7.

²¹⁰ D. A. Orr, 'Herne, John (c.1593–1649)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13085> [accessed 10 February 2016].

²¹¹ *Ore tenus*: verbal or oral statements – literally 'mouth shut'.

‘hee beat downe the said windowe, and utterlie defaced it and ... hee did boast and glorie in what hee had just done’.²¹² The actual cost of the window when installed seems to have been 31s 8d as noted in the churchwarden’s account for 1496-97.²¹³ In his interview Sherfield had stated that he had sat near the window for nearly thirty years (this number was later noted as twenty years), and that he had reached the conclusion during this time that it was unlawful, as depictions of God the Father were supposed to have been abolished.²¹⁴ As Laud was to say in his summing-up, instead of waiting so long he might have considered its legal removal before this. Sherfield often met with the Bishop of Salisbury (John Davenant), but the bishop had never spoken to him regarding the removal of the window. Sherfield also denied receiving a letter from the bishop, allegedly sent to him by Dr Lynne, the bishop’s chancellor, who was a later witness, but who could not actually prove that he had sent such a missive, much to the annoyance of Laud.²¹⁵ A description of changes made to the church by the vestry was then read with reference to a book of homilies on false and profane settings of images. This had been written by the Bishop of Salisbury, John Davenant, and was probably that known as ‘An Exposition of the Epistle of St Paul to the Colossians’, which contained several references to idolatry. The text was compared with the broken window, which contained seven images of God the Father although ‘there is only one God’, and which therefore must be idolatrous.²¹⁶

²¹² WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, p. 2.

²¹³ HRO: 44M69/L7/9, *St Edmunds notes from the churchwardens accounts, 1490-1570*. The original account for 1496-97 is wanting.

²¹⁴ WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, pp. 5, 13.

²¹⁵ A further witness, named as Francis Roberts, a servant to the bishop’s register, thought that the letter was regarding a window in the south porch. WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, pp. 6, 18, 20, 21.

²¹⁶ Faculties which provide permission to carry out works in the church, only survive sporadically prior to the 17th and 18th centuries. The earliest evidence, in the Diocese of York, is from 1613. Borthwick Institute for Archives, *Faculties and other records concerning the fabric of church buildings* (2006) <http://www.york.ac.uk/media/borthwick/documents/Faculties%20and%20other%20church%20fabric.pdf> [accessed 10 December 2015]. WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, p. 9. Josiah Allport, ed., *An Exposition of the Epistle of St Paul to the Colossians by the Right Rev. John Davenant, Lord Bishop of Salisbury* (London: Hamilton, Adams & Co, 1831), p. 281. Davenant refers to idolatry on several occasions in this book for instance on pp. lviii, 15, 160, 182, 506. WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, p. 11.

The prosecution then brought forward two witnesses: the first was Bowen, the sexton's wife, who had provided Sherfield with the church keys, and the second her daughter, Elizabeth.

Following Sherfield's entry to the church, Elizabeth had taken some pieces of glass to her mother, who entered the church and saw Sherfield standing on a seat four feet above the ground, breaking the glass in eleven places with a black staff with a pike at the end. At this stage she left the building but heard a groan and assumed that he had fallen off the seat.

Following this incident Sherfield apparently sent for his horse and stayed at home for a month. Bowen reported that this window and others in the church were subsequently subject to further damage, following which a watch on the church had been set for two weeks.²¹⁷

Sir Richard Shilton reported that the witness Dr Webb of Steeple Ashton, a village some twenty-seven miles from Salisbury, had said that he had met Sherfield at a Court Leet in the church there, and had questioned him regarding the removal of the window; Sherfield had told him that he knew of no reason why St Edmund's should be a lay fee and thus not under the jurisdiction of the bishop, thereby contradicting his argument that it was a 'peculiar'. In addition, one of the former churchwardens, John Lymminge, who was present when the vestry men gave permission for the replacement of the glass, stated that two of the vestry were not in agreement with its removal. Lymminge was later called to the bishop and was told to inform the vestry men that the window was not to be removed; however, there is no evidence of this in the vestry minutes of St Edmund's.²¹⁸ The defence read testimonies from the puritan alderman of Salisbury, John Ivie, and the minister Peter Thatcher, both of whom referred to renovations which had been carried out on the church and which were discussed in Sherfield's notes, presented prior to the trial (see above).²¹⁹ In response, William Laud indicated that the

²¹⁷ WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, pp. 15-16.

²¹⁸ WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, pp. 17, 18.

²¹⁹ HRO: 44M69/7/9, *Notes from the Churchwardens' Accounts 1490-1570 St Edmond's* [sic].

archdeacon should be scrutinizing the vestry to ensure that they were only repairing and not damaging the church – which would seem to have been the intention of the St Edmund’s vestry.²²⁰ A further testimony from Michael Mackerell, who knew Sherfield as a justice of the peace, stated that Sherfield had often punished people in the past for non-conformity.²²¹ Idolatry was the subject of the statement from William Antopp and a ‘further witness’, who both stated that some nine or ten years earlier, they had seen William Trumpeter (also known as Aldersoy) and his master, Beech, kneel to pray before the crucifix in one of the windows and that they had beaten their breasts. They had also raised Antopp’s suspicions through a discussion of Bellarmine’s writings; the witnesses assumed that they were ‘Romish recusants’ whose behaviour Sherfield considered to be idolatrous.²²² Another witness saw Trumpeter bow and speak to the creation window, which he considered to be idolatrous. Excerpts from Elizabethan canon law regarding idolatry were read out, including that ‘pictures of false and feigned miracles and all other relics of superstition were to be removed’.²²³ Similarly, the court considered the injunctions of James I which stated that a ‘book of homilies be in the churches which speak against idolatry and superstition’, and that the windows of the church were to be kept in good condition.²²⁴ In his summing up for the defence, Herbert questioned the quality of the witnesses for the prosecution, describing them as ‘poore people and sillie women, ledd by Mr Chancellor’ as opposed to Sherfield who was renowned for his ‘care and industry within the city’ and whose witnesses were justices of the peace, who had been

²²⁰ WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, p. 20.

²²¹ WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, pp. 24-29.

²²² WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, pp. 31-32. Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621) was one of the most important figures of the counter-Reformation: a cardinal and Jesuit.

²²³ However, windows were not to be broken or defaced without the bishop’s consent as it was necessary to maintain a waterproof exterior.

²²⁴ WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, p. 34.

mayors and aldermen.²²⁵ He also added that because Sherfield had removed the glass in private then it was less offensive than if he had done it publicly.²²⁶

5.11 Summing up and sentence

William Laud's summing-up stated that the vestry knew that St Edmund's was a 'Parochial Church' endowed with a vicarage and therefore the bishop's permission was required for all the renovations in the church, including the removal of glass. However, if Sherfield had removed the window because it made the building dark, then he would have accepted the deed; but because Sherfield had stated that the window was idolatrous then the episcopate was to be consulted and the vestry had no power to authorize Sherfield to remove the glass.²²⁷

Blame was also rendered by Laud on the archdeacon who, as *Magnus Oculus Episcopi*, who should have known what was happening in one of his parish churches.²²⁸ The offence was also considered to be of more consequence due to Sherfield's profession both in the judiciary and as recorder of Salisbury. It is of interest that at this time neither Laud nor Neile considered that a representation of the deity in glass windows was unlawful, although Neile stated that 'no man ever took upon him to paint the essence of the deity'.²²⁹ The emphasis here was on 'essence': that is, the substance of God rather than simply an image.

Following speeches from many of the Privy Council, the sentence was discussed at which time only two men considered that Sherfield was not guilty and therefore no sentence was required; one of the men was Phillip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, who owned Wilton House, near Salisbury and would have known Sherfield well. Laud and Neile were noted for their severe sentencing and this was certainly the case on this occasion, when they suggested a

²²⁵ Emllyn, ed., *A Complete Collection of State-Trials*, p. 404.

²²⁶ The chancellor was Marmaduke Lynne. WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, pp. 26, 37.

²²⁷ Emllyn, ed., *A Complete Collection of State-Trials*, p. 407.

²²⁸ Emllyn, ed., *A Complete Collection of State-Trials*, p. 405.

²²⁹ Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 141-142.

fine of £1000, the removal of Sherfield’s professional title as recorder, binding him over to good behaviour, and instructing him to acknowledge his offence both in St Edmund’s Church and in the cathedral to the bishop (see Appendix 20). Of the seventeen members of the Star Chamber who handed down a sentence, all agreed on one matter only: that Sherfield should acknowledge his offence in the cathedral to the bishop, and to any other people whom the bishop wished to invite; otherwise, opinion was divided.

Table 5-5: Sentences proposed by members of the Privy Council - fine

Value of fine	£1000 (1500 marks)	£500 (750 marks)	£333 6s 8d (500 marks)	None
No. of members	8	1	4	4

Table 5-6: Sentences proposed by members of Privy Council – other elements

Elements of sentence	No. of members voting “Yes”	No. of members voting “No”
Removal from post as Recorder	6	11
Removal from post as justice of the peace	1	9
Bound over to good behaviour	7	10
Acknowledgment of his offence in St Edmund’s	7	10
Acknowledgment of his offence in Cathedral to Bishop	17	0
Imprisonment according to the course of the court	2	2
Repair the window	1	0

The final sentence agreed upon was that Sherfield:

bee committed to the Pryson of the ffleete, And shall paye a ffyne of .500^{li.} to the kings Ma^{tie} And make acknowledgment of his offence before the Right Reverend ffather in God John Lord Bishopp of Sarum and before such persons as hee shall be pleased to call unto him.²³⁰

The fine of £500 was modest in comparison with other fines issued by the Star Chamber at this time. They were rarely paid in full; some were respited (payment suspended), others

²³⁰ WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, p. 90.

mitigated (reduced), and many estalled (paid in instalments).²³¹ It is thought that Sherfield died without paying his fine, and this too was not unusual. On this basis, the court may be considered to have been lenient rather than severe.

5.12 The aftermath

It is not known if, or for how long, Sherfield was incarcerated within the Fleet Prison; however, he must have been released by 8 April 1633, as this is when his submission and acknowledgement to Bishop Davenant took place. The Calendar of State Papers Domestic contains an earlier entry, which asserts that Sherfield had not been to see the bishop before 15 March in that the bishop was on his way to preach at court; therefore, the date would be put off until 8 April.²³² The Register of Bishop Davenant, however, states that ‘Mr Henry Sherfeild [*sic*] shall come into the cathedral church of Sarum upon Thursday eleventh day of this instant Aprill (Ano Dni 1633) by one of the clocke in the afternoon ...’.²³³ Sherfield originally refused to do more than appear at the bishop’s house, and may have attended there on 8 April, before going to the cathedral three days later. However, he eventually made his acknowledgment ‘in due reverend and comely manner’ and ‘before the prebendaries of the church and all the vestries in the town, besides other persons of the best quality’.²³⁴

It also appears that Marmaduke Lynne, the diocesan chancellor (1620-1640), who had brought the case on behalf of the bishop, was expected to pay the costs of the case, even

²³¹ From a total of 236 cases in this period, 60% were of more than £1000. £1000 is equivalent to around £168,000 at 2019 prices. MeasuringWorth.com, *Relative Value in UK £ at 2019 prices*. Phillips, ‘The Last Years of the Court of Star Chamber’, 119.

²³² John Bruce, ‘Charles I – volume 233: March 1-15, 1633 in Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I 1631-33’, in *British History Online* (1862) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/domestic/chas1/1631-3/pp553-572> [accessed 14 December 2015]. Easter Sunday in 1633 was 27 March.

²³³ 11 April 1633 was actually a Monday. WSA: D1/2/21, *Register Robert Townson, 1620-1621, John Davenant, 1621-1641*, f.4v.

²³⁴ John Bruce, ‘Charles I – volume 236: April 1-15, 1633 in Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I 1633-4’, in *British History Online* (1862) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/domestic/chas1/1633-4/pp1-21> [accessed 14 December 2015].

though Sherfield was found guilty: ‘but the Bishop’s chancellor’s petition for his charges is yet depending. Unless the king’s favour relieve him he suffers almost as great a penalty for prosecuting, as Mr Sherfield for committing the offence’.²³⁵ The lawyer, Lynne, had graduated with a doctorate in civil law from Oxford in 1617. He was appointed vicar-general in the diocese of Salisbury by Bishop Robert Townson (+1620-21) in 1620 and also served as justice of the peace for the county until his death in 1640.²³⁶ As such, he would have known Henry Sherfield well, but as Martin Ingram points out: ‘Formal legal qualifications ... were in themselves unlikely to please idealistic puritan critics who attached greater value to pastoral and spiritual qualities’.²³⁷ Indeed, there seemed to have been some apathy in the chancellor’s office during the period when Lynne was in charge; this is evidenced in the fact that Laud criticised him for not producing a letter from the bishop in respect of the case against Sherfield.

On 13 April 1633, a letter was sent from the bishop to the churchwarden, Thomas Hancocke the younger, at St Edmund’s, which contained two instructions: firstly, that the glass which Mr Sherfield had removed was to be replaced with white [clear] glass at Mr Sherfield’s expense, and that any other glass missing in the church windows was to be repaired with painted glass as before and this was to be completed before the following Easter. Secondly, that John Bowen, the sexton, was to remain in his occupation unless there was sufficient

²³⁵ As opposed to chancellor at the cathedral. Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex, and Marriage in England 1570-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 60. Bruce, ‘Charles I – volume 236: April 1-15, 1633 in Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I 1633-4’.

²³⁶ John Venn and J. A. Venn, *A Biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge from the earliest times to 1900, part 1, vol 3* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922) <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=yIwSb9UO--cC&pg=PA122&lpg=PA122&dq=marmaduke+lynne+chancellor+salisbury&source=bl&ots=vuKX6VGN8c&sig=hNBuOQ5uTtb25I1uupshFpN0VEQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwi2l5nk2e3KAhUFSCYKHSDdDmIQ6AEIODAF#v=onepage&q=marmaduke%20lynne%20chancellor%20salisbury&f=false> [accessed 10 February 2016]; Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex, and Marriage in England 1570-1640*, p. 60; King’s College London, *Clergy of the Church of England Database*.

²³⁷ Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex, and Marriage in England 1570-1640*, p. 60.

evidence against him.²³⁸ This part of the letter related to a statement made by Laud, during Sherfield's trial: 'I think that he [Sherfield] persecuted the poore Sexton of the Church, they put him in pryson and there kept him and would if my Lord Bishopp had not sent Bayle, and if it had not been for the bishop they would have sent him out of his place'.²³⁹ During his incarceration, Bowen had been replaced by John Nicholas, another puritan, and acquaintance of Thatcher.²⁴⁰ It seems though that Bowen was not entirely honest as, according to the vestry minutes of April 1628, he was accused of pilfering the church candles having apparently used seventeen pounds during one summer month, which was the equivalent to the amount normally used for the whole of the winter.²⁴¹

In that the proceedings of the Star Chamber stated that the case was 'against the defendant Henry Sherfield and others, but the rest are not proceeded against', it would seem that Sherfield was brought to court as an example of civic versus episcopal power, and conceivably this was in part due to a dispute with Lynne at some time in the past.²⁴² Part of the case also lay with denial of the powers of churchwardens to allow the destruction of idolatrous images and the need for permission from the bishop. Although Sherfield was not a churchwarden he had been given authorization to remove the window by them and the other vestry men. It is of note that Laud's later metropolitical visitation of 1634 included for the first time the article 'wether have any ancient monuments or glasse windowes beene defaced?'²⁴³ The case in the Star Chamber led the church of St Edmund's to refer in future to

²³⁸ HRO: 44M69/J37/1, *Episcopal order to Thomas Hancocke the younger, churchwarden of St Edmonds, Sarum, to replace glass in the church windows and not to eject John Bowen, the Sexton without further proof 13th April 1633.*

²³⁹ WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, p. 72.

²⁴⁰ Slack, 'Religious protest and urban authority', p. 301.

²⁴¹ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 189.

²⁴² WSA: 1780/8, *Star Chamber, Henry Sherfield, 1632*, p.45.

²⁴³ Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, p. 142.

the bishop when carrying out alterations - at least until the episcopate was abolished in 1646.²⁴⁴

What were the reasons why Sherfield damaged the window and was thus arraigned as a criminal in the Star Chamber, one of the highest courts of the land? I would argue that there are two major possibilities: firstly, his wish that the church be released from the authority of the bishops, which can be seen from his disregard of the authority of Bishop Davenant and the renovations of St Edmund's which were carried out without the latter's permission. Secondly, his puritan outlook, which held that ministers should be working on spiritual matters and aiding those in need within their parishes and not making temporal decisions, irrespective of their position in the church hierarchy.

From at least 1603, clergymen had been accused of 'meddling in secular affairs' with concern expressed about the increasing confidence of clergy.²⁴⁵ The episcopate sat regularly in the House of Lords and on committees, and in that they were better educated than many of the laity present, they had the upper hand in decision making. Similarly, clergy of a lesser status than bishop or dean were allowed to serve as justices of the peace, rather than these positions being allocated to the gentry. The Bishop of Salisbury, John Davenant, claimed that the clergy were able to perform jurisdiction in the civil courts on the understanding that 'it is no less expedient that clergymen should inflict one kind of chastisement rather than another'.²⁴⁶

Bills were brought before Parliament on a number of occasions in order to try to restrict the authority of clergy of all ranks who served on the bench, but they all failed.²⁴⁷ From around

²⁴⁴ HRO: 44M69/L7/8, *Case papers - Salisbury Archdeacons Court, John Peirson and Richard Carter v. Edward Tooker re. seats in parish church of St. Edmunds, Salisbury, n.d.*

²⁴⁵ Foster, 'The Clerical Estate Revitalised', p. 140.

²⁴⁶ Foster, 'The Clerical Estate Revitalised', p. 148.

²⁴⁷ Bills were brought in 1614, 1621, 1626, and 1628. Finally, the bill brought in 1641 was passed, bringing the situation to an end. Foster, 'The Clerical Estate Revitalised', pp. 157-158.

1614 there was hostility from the bishops in the House of Lords towards members of the House of Commons, and although King James mediated with Parliament and instructed the Archbishop of Canterbury to ‘prohibit all books and invective sermons against Parliament’, this did not alleviate the situation.²⁴⁸ With the accession of Charles I, who had the confidence of both Laud and Neile, the power of the clergy was extended beyond their spiritual remit. However, the employment of men in holy orders acting in such a capacity was to come to an end in 1641 with the ‘Act to restrain Bishops, and others in Holy Orders, from intermeddling with Secular Affairs’.²⁴⁹

In his article, Paul Slack states that the main reason for the trial was ‘the fact that the window was superstitious, absurd and idolatrous’.²⁵⁰ This was probably the public position communicated at the time of the trial and is consistent with Margaret Aston’s argument. Further, Slack is not wrong in his argument that Sherfield’s trial targeted strict puritanism and the power of magistrates in the country, both characteristics of Sherfield’s *persona*. These had previously brought him into disagreement with the authorities, and as such may have constituted the motivation of Sherfield’s opponents.²⁵¹

However, I would argue that, in addition, opposition was likely to have been motivated by the puritan views, strongly expressed by Sherfield, that the parish church should be independent of control by the bishop, and that all ranks of clergy should not be directly involved with secular affairs: that is, bishops should be working solely with a focus on the spiritual requirements of their dioceses and other clergy should be working for the welfare of their

²⁴⁸ Foster, ‘The Clerical Estate Revitalised’, p. 145.

²⁴⁹ Foster, ‘The Clerical Estate Revitalised’, p. 156. House of Lords, ‘House of Lords Journal Volume 4: 21 May 1641’, in *British History Online* (1641) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol4/p255> [accessed 22 June 2021].

²⁵⁰ Slack, ‘Religious protest and urban authority’, p. 296.

²⁵¹ Slack, ‘Religious protest and urban authority’, p. 302.

parishioners. In expressing such views, and by acting in a deliberately provocative way, not out of any objection to the window, but rather to test the issue of jurisdiction, Sherfield was presenting a direct challenge to the bishops, which they considered to require suppression. In all likelihood, therefore, it is the combination of all these considerations which brought Sherfield to trial in the Star Chamber, perhaps to make an example of him to others with puritan beliefs and similar views.

5.13 Conclusion

It would seem from the trial of Henry Sherfield that William Laud was determined to find him guilty in order to make an example of him, in part perhaps because he was a man of civic authority in Salisbury, even though his only offence was in failing to obtain the proper authority for the removal of a window which should have been replaced many years beforehand. Sherfield on the other hand may have carried out the iconoclasm in order to provoke Bishop Davenant and by default Laud, who was known for his opposition to puritanism. Thus Sherfield's motivation may have had less to do with a depiction of God the Father, which he had been aware of for many years, or the fact that it was too dark to see to read in church, and more to do with his religious outlook and his desire that the church should be released from the authority of bishops. Additionally, Sherfield's concern may have risen from his time working as a justice of the peace when he would have seen the infiltration of lower orders of clergy into temporal rather than simply spiritual matters.

Seventeenth-century Salisbury saw considerable change, with a rise in civic authority over that of the church. Salisbury achieved complete independence from the bishop through the granting of a charter in 1612 by the monarch, and later still by the nationwide closure of the cathedrals and the subsequent purchase of some of their land and property by the city. This freedom led to interference in church affairs by the mayor and aldermen who considered it to

be the moral and religious duty of puritans to ensure that ministers tended to the souls in their care. However, this meddling was a two-edged sword: on the one hand, the provision of additional sermons appealed to the social elite of the city who were at liberty to attend during the working week, but on the other hand, men overseeing the city poor were expected to provide regular reports to the mayor and judiciary.

Until the 1630s the dignitaries and canons of Salisbury had generally held a middle view between Calvinism and Catholicism; however, this changed when Archbishop Laud was able to influence the filling of vacant seats in the higher echelons of the cathedral in order to prioritise his own policies. Although he only served as Archbishop of Canterbury for around seven years, his programme of beautifying the interiors of churches made its mark in Salisbury, where repairs to the fabric and reordering of the interiors took place. However, the additional items purchased for use at the cathedral in order to accomplish this uniformity, such as books and vestments, whilst adding to the sensory experience, came at a time when the city was struggling to support its poor. This must have offended the sensibilities of many, leading to the mayor and aldermen's wish to have a greater input into the religious activity of the city. The changing sensory aspects were also evident in the parish churches, where pulpits – much enlarged and decorated at the wishes of the monarch - took precedence over the now railed-in communion table. In this way, the churches became auditory chambers enabling the voice of the preacher to be heard by all. The advent of Civil War brought about further changes, including a new liturgy which appealed to the preaching ministry of the church; however, this was short-lived and less than twenty years later the Book of Common Prayer was reinstated.

6 CONCLUSION

Item payd Mr Johnson the 9th September by the appoyntment of the Chapter for 5 weekes cap[itation] for billeting of souldiers at 10s the weeke. Item payde goodman longe by the appoyntment of the Chapter for the wating at the Close gate 2s everie weeke from the 22th of October untill the 5th of februarie being 16 weekes in toto - £1 12s.¹

At the start of the Civil War a watch was kept at the close gate and Parliamentary soldiers were billeted by the porter of the close. By this time, the corporation of Salisbury had achieved its aim, that of total control of the city, including the close: thus civic power had supplanted episcopal authority, albeit for only a short period of time. This transfer of power from the church to the city forms one of the main arguments of this thesis.

Drawing on surviving accounts of the churches of Salisbury, supported by an understanding of the workings of the city through its ledgers, I have been able in this study to plot the outcomes and fluctuations in the city over a period of some one hundred and fifty years of religious and political upheaval. This long view has shed new light on changes in the experience of worship, the social role of religion, and the rise of civic authority in the city of Salisbury, thereby crafting a multi-faceted story that takes in the development of guilds and fraternities, the sensory aspects of light and sound and the shifting sands of ecclesiastical power.

With just three parish churches (serving an adult population of around 7,000) in addition to its cathedral, Salisbury stood apart from other cities, most obviously Norwich, with some fifty parishes, many of which have survived to this day. Uniquely, this was a blueprint laid out when the new city of Salisbury was created at the beginning of the thirteenth century. In

¹ SCA: FA/1/1/64, *Fabric account 1642-43*.

setting the scene, consideration is given to the economy of the city, which was heavily based on the cloth trade, with some of the wealth being distributed to the surrounding rural area, albeit leaving disposable wealth which could be diverted to spiritual benefit. This is followed by an examination of the government of the city at the time, including the on-going power struggle between the bishops and the civic authorities.

In order to define the religious contextual setting in Salisbury, Chapter 2 starts with a summary of the ecclesiastical establishment of the city; this is followed by a discussion of the liturgical standards in the city, given that Salisbury was 'home' to the Use of Salisbury (or Sarum rite). As first conceived, devotional needs, differing over time, were provided for by the churches of Salisbury through the Mass and daily round of services, along with the various images of saints, the shrine of St Osmund, and the use of chantry chapels for the provision of post-mortem liturgy. In addition, the fifteenth century cult of the Name of Jesus flourished, particularly as the dedicated fraternity in St Edmund's, and at the cathedral, where the much grander Hungerford chantry chapel was likewise dedicated to the Holy Name. The fraternity does not seem to have held an annual celebration with procession or feasting, but instead focussed on the commemoration of dead members. In addition, it provided a priest to say the daily Morrow Mass, the Jesus Mass and antiphon on Friday each week, and the annual Mass on the feast of Jesus. This group would have appealed to many in the city, particularly those who wished to view the elevation of the host prior to work each morning. From the accession of Mary until that of Elizabeth, the organization, although not fully reinstated, employed musicians from the cathedral to sing during Lent each year.

One of the devotional outlets for both men and women in the city churches was the fraternity of Jesus at St Edmund's, whereas the maintenance of a light in the Lady Chapel there was the focus of maternal love and was solely for women. A light to the Blessed Virgin would have

existed in all the city churches for similar reverence by the wives and maidens of all standings in society.² Female devotion was only served by the parish church and not across the wider society of the city: further, women did not hold positions of responsibility such as that of churchwarden.

On the other hand, men often held multiple loyalties within the parish, trade guild (later trade company), and corporation, changing their livery and allegiance as necessary. The corporation guild of St George and the tailors' guild provided an early opportunity to oppose episcopal authority through dedicated ritual at St Thomas's Church, and via processions sanctioned by royal charter. Such gradual ascendancy of civic control throughout England reflected the fact that Henry VIII, who became the supreme head of the church, was also a layman. Following the Reformation the trade guilds were distinctive in continuing to hold sermons in the Salisbury churches on their patrons' days, albeit in the nave rather than in a chantry chapel, and their perambulations through the town brought together the sensory aspects of music, noise, banners, and colourful livery. Feasting as a focus of brotherly love, along with the additional sensory aspects that food and congenial company provide, bonded the various groups of the city. In addition, the construction of a civic memory through the memorialization of gifts continued to be of importance, as did the parish church to which the guild was allied, both for seating which allowed the group to worship together, and for the ringing of bells and celebratory services on patrons' days into the seventeenth century.

Chapter 3 examines the provision of light within the churches through the use of window glass for illumination and storytelling, and the changing use of the fuels of beeswax and tallow. Although across the country there seems to have been a move to replace coloured

² For instance there was a Jesina or image of the nativity of the Virgin in the cathedral.

glass with white glass as iconoclasm or deterioration occurred in order to allow the interior of the church to receive more natural light, the parish churches of Salisbury do not seem to have been influenced by the national trend until well into the seventeenth century. This may have been due to the relative wealth of the parishes which could afford the replacement glass (a lack of resource being the usual reason for non-replacement) or perhaps the desire in Salisbury to retain the glorious colours and stories therein, which entertained and educated the populace. Whilst printed copies of the Bible and Prayer Book became more readily available, there was still a substantial proportion of the laity who were illiterate: the images contained within the windows provided prompts to remember the stories which people knew. However, the elimination of parts of the images of saints in the windows, which rendered them ineffective as helpmeets, also eliminated the sensory interaction between the laity and these now inarticulate images. Unlike other cathedrals such as Hereford, Salisbury seems to have suffered more damage to its windows, probably as a result of both deterioration and iconoclasm, in the mid-sixteenth century.³ This study has followed the repair and replacement of those in the cathedral nave over a number of years - including an example of provision of windows to the 'mother church' at the expense of the rural deaneries – providing an example of lay piety at this time. Much restoration of the fabric was required, particularly during the Elizabethan period and also during the reign of Charles I, thus improving the worshipping experience for both the clergy and the laity. This challenges the narrative of the neglect of the fabric in churches elsewhere in the country.⁴

³ R. K. Morris, 'The Architectural History of the Medieval Cathedral Church', in *Hereford Cathedral: A History*, ed. by Gerald Aylmer and John Tiller (London and Rio Grande: The Hambleton Press, 2000), p. 243.

⁴ J. F. Merritt, 'Puritans, Laudians, and the Phenomenon of Church-Building in Jacobean London', *The Historical Journal*, 41.4 (1988), 935-936.

An important discovery in the section on artificial illumination was the increase in the trade in tallow candles, as opposed to beeswax, during the period from the beginning of the Reformation and into the seventeenth century. Salisbury was distinctive in that the city corporation considered lighting to be so essential that it was necessary to support the tallow chandlers financially. The use of so much of this fuel in the city supported the thesis that, as well as being much cheaper to purchase than beeswax, it was perhaps not the greasy, smoky commodity we are led to believe. The results of experimentation agreed with this hypothesis, and indeed I have shown that cattle tallow in particular was commensurate in functionality with beeswax, with the proviso that the wick required trimming during use which would have been possible, in particular, when used by those who are more or less sedentary such as singers, the minister or the parish clerk. The changing sensory experience from the use of many candles of expensive beeswax for ritual purposes, highlighting the architecture of the building, to fewer tallow candles used for practical reasons only during the long Reformation, reflected the shift in religious beliefs from the centrality of the sacrifice of the Mass and holy days, to services of the Word of God based on the Bible, and from services carried out by priests on behalf of the laity to a greater integration of the congregation who had the opportunity to read for themselves in church. By deliberately modulating one sense – directed towards the beauty of the building, it became possible for another sense – that of hearing, to be heightened.

This thesis has examined two main sources of sound: firstly the use of bells housed in the church towers which were used for calling and informing those beyond the church, along with smaller bells which jingled in the interior of the building to bring the attention of the laity to the priestly action at the altar; and secondly the organ which, along with singing, was integrated into services inside the church. The move away from the ringing of bells for the

almost continual round of services before the Reformation was due to the reduction in the number of services required by the Book of Common Prayer. However, it did not remove the opportunity to determine the number of bells rung at burial services, according to the wealth and/or status of the Salisbury deceased. The focus of ringing was now more on national celebrations, where ringing for the accession or the birthday of the monarch, for instance, provided ecclesiastical underpinning for secular festivities. In addition, the provision of improved technology led to the rise of bellringing as a pastime, with the men involved (I have found no evidence for women ringing bells at this time) also ringing to draw the attention of citizens to local events, hence providing further integration of the sacred and secular uses of the church. This provision came at a cost to the Salisbury parishes, both in the provision of ringing chambers and the installation of the new bell wheels, the whole representing an organizational and managerial challenge not just on the part of parishioners, but also involving members of the corporation. Indeed, for St Edmund's Church, it resulted in the collapse of the central bell tower, in turn destroying the nave, which was never rebuilt.

Within the Use of Salisbury, the church organ was only used as a solo instrument. This situation was to change from the Settlement of 1559: thereafter the organ did not have a defined role in the liturgy and the only music in church was usually led by the parish clerk.

Despite the absence of prescribed requirements for organ music, new instruments were installed in at least two of the parish churches and at the cathedral during the late 1560s, and this may in part have been a reflection of the enthusiasm for both the organ and for congregational psalm singing encouraged by the then Bishop of Salisbury, John Jewel.

Although psalms were not reliant on accompaniment, and in fact were usually sung unaccompanied, the presence of organ music would have allowed the parishioners to learn the melodies, particularly as they had hitherto been unaccustomed to such communal singing. In

addition, the background music would have kept the gathering of several hundred singing together at the same tempo. The organ may also have been used to play voluntaries, and to accompany anthems before and after services, depending on the availability of singers.

The fact that Salisbury was a relatively wealthy city was also likely to have been a contributing factor to the replacement and upgrading of organs, especially as the mayor was involved in the life of the church by determining who would maintain the instruments and by contributing financially towards the cost of at least some of the replacement parish organs from his personal funds. Later in the 1630s, a new organ was constructed at one of the parish churches, and an upgrade carried out to that at the cathedral: at this time, the physical appearance of the new instruments in terms of their decorative embellishment, which contributed to the ‘beauty of holiness’ required by William Laud, was as important as their musical impact. Although there was a puritan element in Salisbury, which did not generally favour instrumental music within services, the fact that organs were retained at all three parish churches and at the cathedral until the Civil War requires a reassessment of the puritan attitude to organ music and its use in services beyond Salisbury.

Salisbury Cathedral also employed the city waits to play at services from 1625 to 1636, augmented by at least one of the vicars choral. Although scholars argue as to how these instrumentalists were used, it would seem that the organ may also have been played at the same services. The waits were an important part of the civic identity of Salisbury, accompanying religious and secular processions and playing at important city events such as the visit of the monarch. This provides further evidence of the interconnectivity between the spiritual church and the materialistic city.

In the context of the senses, Catherine Hall writes about how Macaulay described Catholicism as ‘a religion which furnishes its votaries with a great deal to see and a great deal to smell but

nothing intelligible to hear'. However, with regard to pre-Reformation Salisbury, I would dispute this description as, although there was a great deal to see including candles and stained glass, and a great deal to smell with incense covering the odour of bodies, both dead and alive, there was also much to hear that was intelligible. Although the services of the Use of Salisbury were delivered mainly in Latin, at least some of this would have been familiar to the congregation. Further, as Christopher Woolgar asserts, the Word of God was conveyed from the pulpit and all reading of the Bible was carried out aloud, and therefore it was necessary to listen actively when in church.⁵ Additionally, the ringing of bells, singing, and the playing of the organ, although privileging music above words, certainly provided an intelligible auditory experience. This continued in 1549 with the introduction of the Book of Common Prayer which provided much to hear that was now written in the vernacular, as was the later Directory of Worship in which the liturgy was largely based on sermons and extempore prayer.⁶ Further, the seventeenth century also saw the advent of additional sermons delivered by preachers who could be heard on both Sundays and weekdays, and although we cannot know whether they held the attention of their congregations, it can be assumed that poor sermons would not have been tolerated in the city.

In the Epilogue to his book on the senses, Matthew Milner expresses the view that there is a 'need to integrate fully discussions of reformation change, adaptation and continuity with the histories of the body, art, music and literature, as much as the philosophical and theological'.⁷ I would agree with Milner's view in that having considered the overall theme of the changing sensory experience for the worshippers of Salisbury in this thesis, it has provided examples of

⁵ Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England*, pp. 64-65.

⁶ Catherine Hall, *Macaulay and Son: Architects of Imperial Britain* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2012), pp. 179-180.

⁷ Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation*, p. 350.

both continuity and gradual evolution in their experience over the period of the long Reformation, thereby supporting the importance of taking precisely such an integrated view. Finally, whilst Christopher Woolgar's focus is primarily on the senses in late medieval England, he notes in his concluding chapter that sensory perception is shaped by 'ideas that are distinct in time and place'.⁸ This thesis supports his view as, for example, in the case of the distinctiveness of Salisbury's retention, maintenance and replacement of organs in the cathedral and the parish churches. Further, Woolgar identifies the capacity for examination of other environments beyond the great household, 'such as the great cathedrals', and my work has made some contribution towards this aim.⁹

Chapter 5 commences by considering the power struggle between the bishops and the civic authorities. There had been on-going disagreements during the sixteenth century between the corporation and the bishop regarding their interrelationship, and this culminated in the first two decades of the seventeenth century when the corporation pursued a new charter for the city. Over a period of six years, much legal debate and expenditure led to two new charters being produced in 1612, one for each of the city and the close. This resulted in victory for the citizens of Salisbury who now had control of the city, whilst the bishop retained control of the close and the cathedral within. Nationally, discord had occurred between other city corporations and Charles I due to the granting of alterations to charters in favour of the clergy. As can be seen in the case of the Salisbury 1612 charter, James I had been more circumspect in this regard, finding a balance between the city and the close. Likewise, in 1630 when Charles I had provided a further charter to Salisbury, he did not grant the bishop any additional privileges but maintained the *status quo*.

⁸ Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England*, p. 272.

⁹ Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England*, p. 273.

Like other towns and cities across England, Salisbury suffered greatly when harvests failed and when the plague was rife. In 1622, for instance, the extremely poor harvest resulted in a petition to the justices of the peace for the county to establish fixed wages for cloth workers who were still prevalent in Salisbury.¹⁰ Less than five years later, this was followed by an outbreak of plague in the city, when the cathedral shut its doors and the dean and chapter abandoned their base, leaving the civic authorities (in particular, John Ivie) and the puritan ministers to manage the sick and poor. Over the following twenty years, different avenues of finding work for these men and women were pursued, including a workhouse for apprentices and a city brewhouse.

During the seventeenth century, both St Edmund's and St Martin's churches were predominantly managed by those of puritan leaning, whereas St Thomas's, which was associated with the cathedral, was influenced by William Laud, who ensured that his supporters became dignitaries there. This chapter uses the trial of Henry Sherfield, the puritan recorder of the city of Salisbury, as a case study to understand his alleged iconoclastic actions in the context of Laudianism and puritanism. In so doing, this thesis has partially challenged the work of Paul Slack, who considers that it was Sherfield's religious views that were the reason for his appearance in the Star Chamber for damaging a window at St Edmund's. However, I consider that Sherfield's case mainly centred on the rise of civic over episcopal authority, which reached its zenith in Salisbury from the period of James I onwards, as outlined above. Sherfield had served as a member of Parliament on a number of occasions, which enabled him to note the rise of the bishops in the House of Lords. As a justice of the peace for Wiltshire, he would also have noted the increasing number of clergy who, through

¹⁰ W. G. Hoskins, 'Harvest Fluctuations and English Economic History, 1620-1759', *Agricultural History Review*, 16.1 (1968), 40.

the encouragement of the king, were taking on similar temporal responsibilities, instead of concentrating on their spiritual duties in preaching the Word of God and managing the cure of souls; as a puritan, Sherfield would have considered this to be their most important duty.

Whilst in Westminster, he also had contact with William Laud, who was known to have been uncomplimentary regarding those puritans serving in the church vestries of the diocese, and also with Richard Neile. Both were vocal members of the House of Lords.

From the earliest records examined, the mayor and aldermen held seats at all the churches, with the mayor overseeing expenditure in the parishes by auditing the annual accounts, as well as monitoring the progress of major projects such as organ construction, glazing, and building. By the seventeenth century, similar to the corporation in York, the Salisbury civic authorities were arranging lecturers for the city; further, they were responsible for the purchase of housing in the cathedral close for the city ministers. These actions enabled high quality preachers to be attracted to Salisbury and would also have contributed to their continued retention, as well as strengthening ties between the church and the corporation. As the latter took more control, there was a gradual secularisation of the church or, as Patrick Collinson indicates, a 'dislocation and decoupling of the sacred and secular'.¹¹

This thesis has also demonstrated that the financial records of Salisbury can be used to piece together the construction and maintenance of major components of church architecture - including windows, bells and organs - with some degree of accuracy. Although payments to tradesmen do not always reconcile with the expected costs, this leads to the suggestion that funds sometimes went unrecorded or were taken from other sources, such as ring-fenced

¹¹ Patrick Collinson, 'Merry England on the Ropes: The Contested Culture of the Early Modern English Town', in *Christianity and Community in the West*, ed. by Simon Ditchfield (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), p. 144.

collections from parishioners for specific purposes.¹² The general method of producing a glazed church window has changed little up to the present day, although questions still remain unanswered regarding past designers and the method of acquisition of some of the materials. In the case of the manufacture of organs, the Chappington instrument at St Edmund's, which was made *in situ*, stands out as providing an example of the standard method of working deployed during the sixteenth century. Full records are available of the materials used, and in some cases, such as the wainscot for the organ case, it was possible to ascertain that the material required had been imported. The Burward construction at the cathedral in 1635 provided a different emphasis, in that work to the great organ took place in Salisbury, and as was common at the time, the chair organ was constructed offsite, apparently in London. However, there are also lacunae, particularly in respect of the total cost of the instruments and the method of financing them.

The research required for this thesis has revealed other sources which would make interesting and productive projects for the future and where the subject matter did not fit within this study. Firstly, although the income sections of the cathedral fabric accounts have been studied, they contain names of tenants, along with the locations of many of the properties owned by the cathedral, as well as details of rental income arising from them; information which extends their significance beyond the confines of the close and into the city. This could be used to understand the expansion and contraction of the cathedral's involvement in the provision of housing in the city, and the contribution that the income generated made to its funds. The results could then be compared with similar data from other cathedrals in England.

¹² For further discussion on this subject see, Clive Burgess, 'Pre-Reformation Churchwardens' Accounts and Parish Government: Lessons from London and Bristol', *The English Historical Review*, 117 (2002). Beat Kumin, 'Late Medieval Churchwardens' Accounts and Parish Government: Looking Beyond London and Bristol', *The English Historical Review*, 119 (2004). Clive Burgess, 'The Broader Church? A Rejoinder to 'Looking Beyond'', *The English Historical Review*, 119 (2004).

Secondly, there is much similar information to be gleaned from the quarterly cathedral communitars' accounts, from which this thesis has interrogated the expenditure and names of relevant personnel but has not examined the land owned and leased by them, from which income was derived, and which again could be used in a trans-national comparative study.¹³ Thirdly, much still remains to be discovered regarding the organization of major church works, particularly in the areas of the acquisition of materials and in decision making. Finally, there is much of interest to be distilled from the corporation ledgers which run to many hundreds of pages: whilst this thesis has addressed only snapshots of particular years and events from this source, there is scope for a wider and deeper stand-alone examination to facilitate an improved understanding of the detailed workings of the Salisbury corporation.¹⁴

In summary, the experience of the citizens of the city of Salisbury during the period of the long Reformation was one of on-going change and development, not only in the influence of civic authority but also in religious provision. Overall, the men and women of the parish churches and cathedral in Salisbury were generally conservative conformists and the city was not a hotbed of reform, but rather was prepared to conform to the required changes in liturgy and worship. Over time the worshipping space became a more open environment with the removal of rood screens and images, resulting in changing sensory circumstances, as the provision of light and sound evolved to meet the changing requirements of the new liturgy. Whilst many of the prescriptions came from the monarch of the day based in London, their interpretation was made in Salisbury at a distance from their point of emanation, which resulted in certain actions being distinctive to the city, as well as the continuity of a number of practices.

¹³ SCA: FV/1/1, *Communitar's accounts, 1343-1832*.

¹⁴ WSA: G23/1/1-4, *Corporation ledgers, A, B, C, D*.

The use of information contained in the historic accounts of the various institutions, both sacred and secular, has enabled detailed understanding regarding the levels of funding, the need for skilled individuals, both managerial and tradesmen, and the ability to source necessary building materials. At all times, the relationship between the personnel at the parish churches and the cathedral, as well as the city corporation, was key to the development of civic and religious provision. Whilst bishops such as John Jewel and John Davenant sought to oversee the renewal of the fabric of the Salisbury churches in order to improve the worshipping environment, in the period leading up to the Civil War, the influence of the episcopate was diminishing, being replaced by the secular influence of the city, which nevertheless insisted on the attendance of all its citizens at church services.

This research has shown that in the period studied, there were regular interactions between all of the organisations in Salisbury in order to maintain the on-going religious provision for its citizens, more or less in line with the requirements of the day. Overall, whilst the religious requirements may have been nationally prescribed, they were interpreted and implemented by Salisbury men and women, resulting in a conflation of continuity and change which was most definitely experienced locally in the minds, bodies, and senses of the individual citizens.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Bodleian Library

MS. Ashmole 1511, *The Ashmole bestiary*, http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/detail/ODLodl~1~1~31131~108835:Bestiary--known-as--The-Ashmole-Bes?sort=Shelfmark%2CFolio_Page&qvq=q:bees;sort:Shelfmark%2CFolio_Page;lc:ODLodl~29~29,ODLodl~7~7,ODLodl~6~6,ODLodl~14~14,ODLodl~8~8,ODLodl~23~23,ODLodl~1~1,ODLodl~24~24&mi=8&trs=45# [accessed 5 September 2018].

MS. Douce b. 2, 1582, *Machines et utensils de guerre*, http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/detail/ODLodl~1~1~44165~111791:Machines-et-ustensils-de-guerre--?sort=Shelfmark%2CFolio_Page%2CRoll_%23%2CFrame_%23&qvq=q:candle*;sort:Shelfmark%2CFolio_Page%2CRoll_%23%2CFrame_%23;lc:ODLodl~29~29,ODLodl~7~7,ODLodl~6~6,ODLodl~14~14,ODLodl~8~8,ODLodl~23~23,ODLodl~1~1,ODLodl~24~24&mi=47&trs=77 [accessed 17 May 2017].

MS. Laud Misc. 740 f.5v, *Pelerinage de la vie humaine*, 15th Century 2nd quarter.
http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/detail/ODLodl~1~1~47404~113657:P%C3%A8lerinage-de-la-vie-humaine--Engli?sort=Shelfmark%2CFolio_Page%2CRoll_%23%2CFrame_%23&qvq=q:candle*;sort:Shelfmark%2CFolio_Page%2CRoll_%23%2CFrame_%23;lc:ODLodl~29~29,ODLodl~7~7,ODLodl~6~6,ODLodl~14~14,ODLodl~8~8,ODLodl~23~23,ODLodl~1~1,ODLodl~24~24&mi=59&trs=77# [accessed 25 May 2017].

British Library (BL)

Additional MS 57534, *Wormald Processional c.1400*, f. 54v
<http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/illmanus/other/011add000057534u00054v00.html>
[accessed 26 November 2020].

Durham Cathedral Library (DCL)

F.IV.56, *Book of Common Prayer, 1549*.

MS A3, *Organ book, anthems and services, n.d.*

MS E4, *Eight part-books, Preces, festal psalms and services, n.d.*

O/III B/52/1, *BCP, 1587*.

Hampshire Record Office (HRO)

44M69/J37/1, *Episcopal order to Thomas Hancocke the younger, churchwarden of St Edmonds, Sarum, to replace glass in the church windows and not to eject John Bowen, the Sexton without further proof 13th April 1633.*

44M69/L7/3, *Account & terrier St Edmunds, 1545.*

44M69/L7/4, *Particulars of St Edmund's College, Salisbury, 1546.*

44M69/L7/8, *Case papers - Salisbury Archdeacons Court, John Peirson and Richard Carter v. Edward Tooker re. seats in parish church of St. Edmunds, Salisbury, n.d.*

44M69/L7/9, *Notes from St Edmund's CWAs (1490-1570) by Henry Sherfield.*

National Library of Wales (NLW)

Chirk collection, group F, MS 5526, *Organ contract.*

Salisbury Cathedral Archive (SCA)

Box 33, *Organs, Articles of agreement for mending the organ, Dean & Chapter and John Burward.*

Box 33, organs, *Contract between Harris ye Organmaker & DC Dec 29 1668.*

Box 167, *Articles against Mr J. Bartlet, teacher of the choristers, n.d.*

Box 167, *Indenture between the Dean & Chapter and John Taylor, 1569.*

Box 167: *Indenture of John Farrant, 1571.*

Box 218, *Letter number 2: Handing over of Cathedral plate to the King, 31 July 1549.*

Box 234, *Documents regarding the right of the parish of St Edmund's to present a rector and minister, 1624.*

Box 236b, *Personal answers of custos of choristers to articles by dean & chapter, n.d.*

Box 238, *Inventories for 1583, 1601 and 1624.*

CH/1/10, *Chapter acts book Hutchins, 1440-1457.*

CH/1/12, *Chapter acts book Newton, 1461-1467.*

CH/1/16, *Chapter acts book Penruddocke, 1588-1599.*

CH/1/17, *Shuter's Memorial 1622/3-1642.*

CO/CH/1/1/1-18, *Chorister's collectors, 1447-1540s.*

DA/1/5/21, *Dignitaries & Archdeacons, Various papers, Oct 1619.*

FA/1/1/1-65, *Fabric accounts, 1480-1667 (for detail, see Appendices 1 and 2).*

FA/1/3/1, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric, 1527-1543.*

FA/2/1/1-25, *Accounts of the procurator of St Thomas with the masters of the fabric, 1486-1539.*

FA/2/2/1-9, *Fragments of accounts of the procurator of St Thomas with the masters of the fabric.*

FA/2/3/1-24, *Accounts of the masters of the fabric on the receipts of St Thomas, 1478-1538.*

FA/3/1/1/22, *Mr Harding's notes on the fabric, 1891.*

FG/1/2, *Register of St Osmund, 13th century.*

FI/1/1 series, *Communar's accounts, 1343-1832.*

FI/18/2/1, *Account roll for St Osmund's shrine 1493-94.*

LC/RE/1/1, *Register book 1564-1718.*

Pr. I, Sarum 2/83, *Deed 1403.*

Press I Box 21 Document 33, *Clock indenture.*

Press IV, Box L, *Mr Holmys book, c. 1526-58.*

Register book, Salisbury Cathedral, 1564-1718.

Royal College of Music (RCM)

MS1045, *Church Music in seven partbooks collected by John Barnard.*

The National Archives (TNA)

C 2/ChasI/S99/22, *Instructor of Salisbury Cathedral Choir v Holmes, November 1629.*

C 143/423/19, *John Chaundeler the elder to found a hospital ... 17 Richard II, 1394.*

E 301/58, *The booke of survey of the colleges and chantries within Wiltes as at 1548.*

PROB 11/7/190, *Will of William Swayne of Salisbury, May 1485.*

PROB 11/11/104, *Will of William Maynerd, 10 November 1496.*

PROB 11/19/115, *Will of John Selwode, Mercer, 10 July 1518.*

PROB 11/22/247, *Will of Thomas Brodgate, Merchant of St Thomas the Holy Martir, 19 December 1526.*

PROB 11/25/437, *Will of John Stone, mercer, 20 December 1535.*

PROB 11/25/533, *Will of Mercy Byrkhede of St Edmund, 22 June 1536.*

PROB 11/25/588, *Will of Anne Stone, widow, 9 December 1536.*

PROB 11/27/176, *Will of Edward a Deane, 14 January 1538.*

PROB 11/42A/459, *Will of John Abyn, merchant of Salisbury, 7 March 1559.*

PROB 11/53/494, *Will of John Jewel, 10 November 1571.*

PROB 11/72/64, *Will of Peter Riger alias Heron, Glazier, Salisbury, 25 January 1588.*

PROB 11/108/53, *Will of John Chappington, 4 July 1606.*

PROB 11/135/430, *Will of Raphe Chappington, 5 May 1620.*

PROB 11/142/691, *Will of John Bacon, 12 December 1623.*

PROB 11/145/28, *Will of Christopher Eyre, Merchant Adventurer, City of London, 11 January 1625.*

PROB 11/152/117, *Will of Roger Gauntlett, Gentleman, 13 June 1627.*

PROB 11/153/580, *Will of Thomas Slye, Clothier, 20 May 1628.*

PROB 11/154/164, *Will of William Rawlins, Glazier of Salisbury, 19 August 1628.*

PROB 11/157/469, *Will of John Raye, Ironmonger, 30 April 1630.*

PROB 11/159/81, *Will of Benedict Swayne, Gentleman, 27 January 1631.*

PROB 11/163/322, *Will of William Windover of Salisbury, 22 March 1633.*

PROB 11/170/188, *Will of Bartholomew Tookie, Gentleman, 13 February 1636.*

PROB 11/176/41, *Will of William Madge of Salisbury, 19 January 1638.*

PROB 11/178/205, *Will of William Dawlinge, Tailor, 27 October 1638.*

PROB 11/178/666, *Will of William Ireland of Westminster, Middlesex, 11 December 1638.*

PROB 11/181/119, *Will of John Peirson, Upholsterer, 10 September 1639.*

PROB 11/184/462, *Will of Maurice Aylarugge, Woollen draper, 30 November 1640.*

PROB 11/186/52, *Will of Richard Checkford, Gentleman, 12 May 1641.*

PROB 11/186/360, *Will of William Raye, Gentleman, 23 June 1641.*

PROB 11/187/112, *Will of Peter Thatcher, 5 August 1640.*

PROB 11/193/544, *Will of John Thorpe, Gentleman, 25 August 1645.*

PROB 11/195/188, *Will of William Hayter, Fishmonger, 10 February 1646.*

PROB 11/201/160, *Will of Edward Madge, Musician of Salisbury, 7 July 1646.*

PROB 11/210/271, *Will of Richard Carter, Gentleman, 24 November 1649.*

PROB 11/234/450, *Will of Thomas Keinton, Clothier, 26 July 1654.*

PROB 11/308/282, *Will of Richard Phelps, Woollen draper, 4 June 1662.*

PROB 11/310/151, *Will of William Stone, Gentleman, 2 February 1663.*

PROB 11/310/208, *Will of John Greene, Goldsmith, 27 January 1663.*

PROB 11/322/375, *Will of John Ivie the elder, Gentleman, 24 November 1666.*

PROB 11/328/139, *Will of Thomas Oviatt, Merchant, 17 October 1668.*

PROB 11/330/92, *Will of Giles Tomkins, 24 May 1669.*

PROB 11/331/427, *Will of Thomas Hancocke, Yeoman, 23 November 1669.*

SP 16/211, *Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic Charles I. Letters and Papers, February 1632.*

The Walters Art Museum

W.102, *Book of Hours, f. 81r, c. 1300*

<https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W102/description.html>
[accessed 24 September 2020].

Wiltshire and Swindon Archives (WSA)

479, *William Noye to Henry Sherfield of Salisbury, 1611.*

865/314, *Inventory of Chantry goods sold to Thomas Chafyn of Mere in Wiltshire, 1548.*

1446 series, *Trinity Hospital, Salisbury.*

1780/8, *Contemporary record of proceedings in Star Chamber against Henry Sherfield for damaging 'an ancient and faire windowe conteyninge a discription of the Creation' in Salisbury St Edmund's church which he claimed was idolatrous, 1632.*

1899/65, *St Martin churchwardens and overseers account book, 1567-1653.*

1899/177, *St Martins minute book and churchwardens accounts, 1637-1832.*

1900/69-80, *St Thomas churchwardens account rolls, 1545-1601* (for detail, see Appendices 1 and 3).

1900/81, *St Thomas churchwardens account roll including pew rents, 1600-89.*

1900/96, *St Thomas chrysom book, 1569-92.*

1900/174, *St Thomas vestry minute book, 1594-1673.*

1901/65, *St Edmund churchwardens accounts and vestry minutes, 1473-1630.*

1901/66-83, *St Edmund churchwardens account rolls, 1461-1662* (for detail, see Appendices 1 and 3).

1901/106-108, *Accounts of the stewards of the fraternity of Jesus Mass, 1476-1548* (for detail, see Appendices 1 and 3).

1901/213, *St Edmund vestry minute book, 1603-1704.*

CC/Bishoprick/460/1, *Indenture of Thomas Knight, 30 April 1538.*

D1/2/21, *Register Robert Townson, 1620-1621.*

D1/36/2/3, *Laud metropolitanical visitation, 1634.*

G23/1/1, *Corporation ledger A, 1387-1456.*

G23/1/2, *Corporation ledger B, 1452-1564.*

G23/1/3, *Corporation ledger C, 1571-1640.*

G23/1/4, *Corporation ledger D, 1640-1723.*

G23/1/44/1-12, *Compotus rolls, 1444-1560.*

G23/1/82, *Rolls of extracts from Bishop's Court Books, 1585-1751.*

G23/1/250, *Tailors guild act and memoranda book, 1444-1838.*

G23/1/251-255, *Tailors guild assembly minute books, 1444-1880.*

G23/1/257PC, *Tailors' guild: bede roll of the guild, c.1444.*

G23/294/1, *Swayne scrapbook, 1882-1885.*

P1/P/196, *Will of William Phettiplace, 1649.*

P4/1637/10, *Will and inventory of Robert Norwell, Gentleman, 1637.*

P4/1801/4, *Letter of administration regarding the will of Christopher Eyre, 30 November 1801.*

P5/1628/54, *The inventory of John Holmes, 31 January 1628.*

P5/1625/74, *Will and Inventory of William Rawlins, 1628.*

PR/Mere, St. Michael the Archangel/2944/44, *Account book.*

PR/Winterbourne Earls St Michael, *Marriage and Baptism Registers.*

Salisbury St Edmund, Burial register.

Printed primary sources

Allport, Josiah, ed., *An Exposition of the Epistle of St Paul to the Colossians by the Right Rev. John Davenant, Lord Bishop of Salisbury.* Vol. I (London: Hamilton, Adams & Co, 1831).

Andrewes, Lancelot, ed., *A Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine and other minor works of Lancelot Andrewes sometime Bishop of Winchester* (Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1846).

Ashbee, Andrew, *Records of English Court Music Volume III (1625-1649)* (Snodland: Andrew Ashbee, 1988).

Ashbee, Andrew, *Records of English Court Music Volume VI (1558-1603)* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992).

Atkinson, J. C., *Cartularium Abbathiae de Reivalle: Ordinis Cisterciensis* (Durham: Andrews & Co., 1889).

Bevin, Elway, *A Briefe and Short Instruction of the art of Musicke, to teach how to make Discant* (London: 1631).

Binney, J. Erskine, ed., *The Accounts of the Wardens of Parish of Morebath, 1520-1573, Devon Notes & Queries* (Exeter: James G. Commin, 1903-04).

- Bradshaw, Henry and Christopher Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral vol. I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1892).
- Bradshaw, Henry and Christopher Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral vol. II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897).
- Bray, Gerald, ed., *Documents of the English Reformation* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2004).
- Braybrooke, Lord, ed., *Diary of Samuel Pepys, vol. II* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1929).
- Brinsley, John, *The Preachers Charge and Peoples Duty about Preaching and Hearing of the Word* (London: R. Bird, 1631).
- Burgess, Clive, ed., *The Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints' Church, Bristol Part 2: The Churchwardens' Accounts*. Vol. 53 (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 2000).
- Burgess, Clive, ed., *The Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints' Church, Bristol Part 3: Wills, The Halleway Chantry Records and Deeds*. Vol. 56 (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 2004).
- Burgess, Clive, ed., *The Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints', Bristol*. Vol. XLVI (Stroud: Alan Sutton for Bristol Record Society, 1995).
- Caley, John, ed., *Valor Ecclesiasticus Temp. Henry VIII Auctoritate Regia Institutus, volume II* (London: Record Commission, 1814).
- Collins, A. Jefferies, *Manuale ad usum percelebris ecclesie Sarisburiensis* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1960).
- Corrie, George Elwes, *Sermons by Hugh Latimer, sometime Bishop of Worcester, Martyr 1555* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1844).
- Craven, Alex, ed., *The Churchwardens' Accounts of St Mary's, Devizes 1633-1689*. Vol. 69 (Chippenham: Wiltshire Record Society, 2016).
- Cummings, Brian, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
- Dalton, John Neale, *The Collegiate Church of Ottery St Mary being the Ordinacio et Statuta* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1917).
- Deputy Keeper of the Records, *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry IV 1399-1401*, Vol. I (London: HMSO, 1903).
- Deputy Keeper of the Records, *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry VI*, Vol. V (London: HMSO, 1909).
- Doree, Stephen S., ed., *Early Churchwardens' Accounts of Bishops Stortford 1431-1558* (Hertfordshire Record Society, 1994).

Emlyn, Sollom, ed., *A Complete Collection of State-Trials and Proceedings for High-Treason and other Misdemeanours from the Reign of King Richard II to the Reign of King George II, Volume I*. 3rd edn (London: 1742).

Fincham, Kenneth, ed., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church, Volume I* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1994).

Fincham, Kenneth, ed., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church, Volume II* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998).

Fowler, Rev. Canon, *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* (Durham: Andrews & Co., 1903).

Frere, W. H., *Use of Sarum*, Vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902).

Frere, Walter Howard, ed., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation: Historical Introduction and Index* Vol. 1 (London: Longmans Green & Co, 1910).

Frere, Walter and W. P. M. Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1536-1558*. Vol. 2 (London: Longmans Green & Co, 1910).

Frere, Walter and W. P. M. Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1559-1575*. Vol. 3 (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1910).

James, Thomas Beaumont, *The Port Book of Southampton 1509-10* (Southampton: Southampton University Press, 1990).

Jones, W.H. Rich, ed., *Vetus Registrum Sarisberienae alias Dictum Registrum S. Osmund Episcopi, volume 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Kemp, Brian R., *English Episcopal Acta 19: Salisbury 1217-1228* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Kemp, Brian R., *English Episcopal Acta 36: Salisbury 1229-1262* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Kemp, Brian R., *English Episcopal Acta 37: Salisbury 1263-1297* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Kennedy, W. P. M., ed., *Elizabethan Episcopal Administration: An Essay in Sociology and Politics*. Vol. I (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd., 1924).

Kennedy, W. P. M., ed., *Elizabethan Episcopal Administration: Visitation Articles and Injunctions 1575-1582*. III vols. Vol. II (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd., 1924).

Kennedy, W. P. M., ed., *Elizabethan Episcopal Administration: Visitation Articles and Injunctions 1583-1603*. III vols. Vol. III (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd., 1924).

- Kirby, J. L., 'Clerical Poll Taxes in the Diocese of Salisbury 1377-81', in *Collectanea*, ed. by N. J. Williams (Devizes: Wiltshire Record Society, 1956).
- Lack, Alastair, ed., *Processions and other Late Medieval Ceremonies of Salisbury Cathedral* (self-published: Lulu, 2014).
- Legg, J. Wickham, *The Clerk's Book of 1549* (London: 1903).
- Legg, L. M. W., ed., *A Relation of a Short Survey of the Western Counties Made by a Lieutenant of the Military Company in Norwich in 1635* (London: Camden Society, 1936).
- Litzenberger, C. J., ed., *Tewkesbury Churchwardens' Accounts, 1563-1624* (The Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 1994).
- Lloyd, David, Margaret Clark and Chris Potter, eds., *St Laurence's Church, Ludlow: The Parish Church and People, 1199-2009* (Woonton Almeley: Logaston Press, 2010).
- Long, Charles Edward, ed., *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army during the Great Civil War kept by Richard Symonds* (Camden Society, 1859).
- Lords, House of, 'House of Lords Journal Volume 4: 21 May 1641', in *British History Online* (1641) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol4/p255> [accessed 22 June 2021].
- Mackerell, Benjamin, *Account of the Company of St George in Norwich: from Mackerell's History of Norwich MS. 1737*, Vol. III *Norfolk Archaeology: Miscellaneous Tracts relating to the Antiquities of the County of Norfolk* (Norwich: Norfolk & Norwich Archaeological Society, 1852), pp. 315-374.
- Middleton-Stewart, Judith, ed., *Records of the Churchwardens of Mildenhall* (Woodbridge: Suffolk Records Society in conjunction with The Boydell Press, 2011).
- Palmer, Anthony, *Tudor Churchwardens' Accounts* (Hertford: Hertfordshire Record Society, 1985).
- Powicke, F. M. and C. R. Cheney, *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church. II. 1205-1313* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964).
- Raine, James, ed., *The Fabric Rolls of York Minster* (Durham: Surtees Society, 1859).
- Rathbone, Maurice G., *List of Wiltshire Borough Records earlier in date than 1836*, Vol. 5 (Devizes: Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society 1951).
- Robinson, Hastings, ed., *The Zurich Letters, second edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1846).
- Smart, Peter, *To the Honourable, the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the Commons House of Parliament, the humble petition of Peter Smart, a poore prisoner in the Kings Bench* ed. by Bodleian Library (London: 1640), p. 59.

Sodi, Manlio and Achille Maria Triacca, *Pontificale Romanum (1595-1596)* (Vatican: Vatican, 1997).

Studer, Paul, *The Port Books of Southampton or (Anglo-French) accounts of Robert Florys, Water-Bailiff and Receiver of Petty-Customs, A.D. 1427-39* (Southampton: Cox & Sharland for Southampton Records Society, 1913).

Swayne, H. J. F., 'Gleanings from the archives of Salisbury no. 12', *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, Saturday January 26 1884, 3.

Swayne, H. J. F., 'Gleanings from the archives of Salisbury no. 13', *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, Saturday February 9 1884, 3.

Swayne, H. J. F., 'Gleanings from the Archives of Salisbury no. 14', *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, Saturday February 16 1884, 3.

Swayne, H. J. F., 'Gleanings from the Archives of Salisbury no. 16', *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, Saturday March 8 1884, 3.

Swayne, H. J. F., 'Gleanings from the archives of Salisbury no. 18', *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, Saturday April 5 1884, 3.

Swayne, H. J. F., 'Gleanings from the Archives of Salisbury no. 20', *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, Saturday May 10 1884, 3.

Swayne, H. J. F., 'Gleanings from the Archives of Salisbury no. 25', *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, Saturday September 27 1884, 3.

Swayne, Henry James Fowle, *Churchwardens' Accounts of St Edmund & St Thomas, Sarum 1443-1702, with other documents* (Salisbury: Bennett Brothers, 1896).

Timmins, T. C. B., ed., *The Register of John Chandler Dean of Salisbury 1404-17*. Vol. 39 (Devizes: Wiltshire Record Society, 1984).

Wadsworth, Sally, *The Fabric Accounts of Salisbury Cathedral 1558-1604* (Chippenham: Wiltshire Records Society, forthcoming).

Williams, Barrie, ed., *The Subscription Book of Bishops Tounson and Davenant 1620-40*. Vol. XXXII (Devizes: Wiltshire Record Society, 1977).

Willmott, Robert Aris, ed., *The works of George Herbert, in prose and verse* (New York: D. Appleton & Co, 1856).

Wordsworth, Christopher, ed., *St Nicholas' Hospital Salisbury* (Salisbury: Brown & Co., 1902).

Wordsworth, Christopher and Douglas Maclean, eds., *Statutes and Customs of the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Salisbury* (London: William Clowes and Sons Ltd., 1915).

Secondary Sources

- Ahnert, Petra, 'The Right Size Wick', *Bee Culture* (20 November 2015), 1-7.
- Allen, Elizabeth, 'Smart, Peter', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25745> [accessed 11 September 2019].
- Alsop, J. D., 'Religious Preambles in Early Modern English Wills as Formulae', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 40.1 (1989), 19-27.
- Aston, Margaret, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).
- Aston, Margaret, *Faith and Fire: Popular and Unpopular Religion 1350-1600* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1993).
- Atchley, E. G. Cuthbert F., *A History of the Use of Incense in Divine Worship*, Vol. XIII *Alcuin Club* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1909).
- Atchley, E. G. Cuthbert F., 'Jesus Mass and Anthems', *Transactions of the St Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, V (1905), 163-169.
- Atherton, Ian, 'Cathedrals, Laudianism, and the British Churches', *The Historical Journal*, 53.4 (2010), 895-918.
- Aylmer, Gerald and John Tiller, *Hereford Cathedral: A History* (London & Rio Grande: The Hambledon Press, 2000).
- Baker, T. H., *Notes on St Martin's Church and Parish* (Salisbury: Brown & Co., 1906).
- Barber, Tabitha and Stacy Boldrick, *Art under Attack: Histories of British Iconoclasm* (London: Tate Publishing, 2013).
- Barlow, Helen, 'Bevin, Elway', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2329> [accessed 13 November 2019].
- Barrow, J. S., J. D. Herson, A. H. Lawes, P. J. Riden and M. V. J. Seaborne, 'Economic infrastructure and institutions: Craft guilds, in the City of Chester: Culture, Buildings, Institutions', in *A History of the County of Chester: Volume 5 Part 2* (2005) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/ches/vol5/pt2/pp114-124> [accessed 8 June 2020].
- Bathe, Graham and John Harper, 'Fragments of Sarum Liturgy in the Seymour Family Archives', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 108 (2015), 108-154.
- Baxter, Philip, *Sarum Use: The Ancient Customs of Salisbury* (Reading: Spire Books Ltd, 2008).
- Bell, Nicholas, *Music in Medieval Manuscripts* (London: British Library, 2001).
- Benson, Robert and Henry Hatcher, 'Old and New Sarum, or Salisbury', in *The History of Modern Wiltshire, volume 6*, ed. by Sir Richard Colt Hoare (London: 1843).

- Beresford, Maurice, 'The Six New Towns of the Bishops of Winchester, 1200-55', *Medieval Archaeology*, 3 (1959), 187-215.
- Betty, Joseph, *Wiltshire farming in the seventeenth century* (Trowbridge: Wiltshire Record Society, 2005).
- Bicknell, Stephen, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Binski, Paul, 'The Origin of the term Chair Organ ', *Journal of the Institute of British Organ Studies*, 30 (2017), 180-181.
- Bliss, W. H. and J. A. Twemlow, 'Lateran Regesta 100: 1401-1402', in *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: 1398-1404: Volume 5* (1904) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-papal-registers/brit-ie/vol5/pp471-490> [accessed 16 October 2018].
- Bliss, W. H. and J. A. Twemlow, 'Regesta 261: 1363-1365', in *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: 1362-1404: Volume 4* (1902) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-papal-registers/brit-ie/vol4/pp87-91> [accessed 15 October 2018].
- Blum, Pamela Z., 'Thirteenth-Century Glass of the Salisbury Chapter House', *Gesta*, 37.2 (1998), 142-149.
- Bodington, E. J., 'The Church Survey in Wiltshire 1649-50', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, XL (1918), 253-272.
- Bodington, E. J., 'The Church Survey in Wiltshire 1649-50', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, XLI (1920), 1-39, 105-128.
- Boer, Wietse de and Christine Gottler, 'Introduction: The Sacred and the Senses in an Age of Reform', in *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern England*, ed. by Wietse de Boer and Christine Gottler (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 1-13.
- Bond, Shelagh and Norman Evans, 'The Process of Granting Charters to English Boroughs, 1547-1649', *The English Historical Review*, 91 (1976), 102-120.
- Bossy, John, 'The Mass as a Social Institution 1200-1700', *Past & Present*, 100 (1983), 29-61.
- Bowers, Roger, 'The Chapel Royal, the first Edwardian Prayer Book and Elizabeth's settlement of religion 1559', *The Historical Journal*, 43.2 (2000), 317-344.
- Bowers, Roger, 'The Reform of the Choir of Salisbury Cathedral', in *Late Medieval Liturgies Enacted*, ed. by Sally Harper, Paul Barnwell and Magnus Williamson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2016), pp. 157-176.
- Brigden, Susan, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

Brightman, F. E., *The English Rite being a synopsis of the sources and revisions of the Book of Common Prayer*. 2 vols, Vol. 1 (London: Rivingtons, 1915).

Broad, John, 'Our Pestilential Past', *Rural History Today*, 40 (2021).

Brown, Andrew D., *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England: The Diocese of Salisbury 1250-1550* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

Brown, David, ed., *Durham Cathedral: History, Fabric and Culture* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2015).

Brown, Sarah, 'Reading Coloured Light: Stained Glass in England and Wales, c. 1350-c. 1550', in *Places of Worship in Britain and Ireland 1350-1550*, ed. by Paul S. Barnwell (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2019).

Brown, Sarah, *Stained Glass: An Illustrated History* (London: Bracken Books, 1994).

Brown, Sarah, *Sumptuous and Richly Adorn'd: The Decoration of Salisbury Cathedral* (London: HMSO, 1999).

Bruce, John, 'Charles I - volume 239: May 18-31, 1633, in Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1633-4', in *British History Online* (1863) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/domestic/chas1/1633-4/pp61-80> [accessed 25 March 2020].

Bruce, John, 'Charles I - volume 258: January 1-16, 1634, in Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1633-4', in *British History Online* (1863) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/domestic/chas1/1633-4/pp390-418> [accessed 25 March 2020].

Bruce, John, 'Charles I – volume 211: February 1632 in Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I 1631-33', in (1862) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/domestic/chas1/1631-3/pp264-279> [accessed 14 December 2015].

Bruce, John, 'Charles I – volume 232: February 1633 in Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I 1631-33', in (1862) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/domestic/chas1/1631-3/pp525-553> [accessed 14 December 2015].

Bruce, John, 'Charles I – volume 233: March 1-15, 1633 in Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I 1631-33', in *British History Online* (1862) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/domestic/chas1/1631-3/pp553-572> [accessed 14 December 2015].

Bruce, John, 'Charles I – volume 236: April 1-15, 1633 in Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I 1633-4', in *British History Online* (1862) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/domestic/chas1/1633-4/pp1-21> [accessed 14 December 2015].

Burgess, Clive, 'The Broader Church? A Rejoinder to 'Looking Beyond'', *The English Historical Review*, 119 (2004), 100-116.

Burgess, Clive, 'Pre-Reformation Churchwardens' Accounts and Parish Government: Lessons from London and Bristol', *The English Historical Review*, 117 (2002), 306-332.

- Burgess, Clive, *The Right Ordering of Souls: The Parish of All Saints' Bristol on the Eve of the Reformation* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018).
- Burgess, Clive and Eamon Duffy, *The Parish in Late Medieval England*, Vol. XIV *The Harlaxton Medieval Studies* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2006).
- Buzwell, Greg, *Saints in Medieval Manuscripts* (London: The British Library, 2005).
- Byrd, William, 'Magnificat & Nunc Dimittis for Verses - The Second Service', ed. by Andrew Johnstone (Norwich: The Royal School of Church Music, 2007).
- Caldwell, John, *Early Tudor Organ Music I: Music for the Mass* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1966).
- Caldwell, John, *The Mulliner Book* (London: Stainer & Bell, 2011).
- Carleton, Kenneth, 'Bradbridge, William', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2018) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3165> [accessed 25 August 2020].
- Carter, Patrick, 'Economic Problems of Provincial Urban Clergy during the Reformation', in *The Reformation in English Towns 1500-1640*, ed. by Patrick Collinson and John Craig (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1998), pp. 147-158.
- Casiday, Augustine, 'St Aldhelm's bees (De uirginitate prosa cc. IV–VI): some observations on a literary tradition', *Anglo Saxon England* (2005), 1-27.
- Cattermole, Paul, 'The Bells', in *Norwich Cathedral: church, city and diocese 1096-1996*, ed. by Ian Atherton, Eric Fernie, Christopher Harper-Bill and Hassell Smith (London: Hambledon Continuum, 1996), pp. 494-504.
- Caviness, Madeleine, 'Bible stories in Windows: were they Bibles for the Poor?', in *The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its influence on literature and art*, ed. by B. S. Levy (New York: Binghamton, 1992), pp. 103-147.
- Chandler, John, *Endless Street: a history of Salisbury and its people* (East Knoyle: Hobnob Press, 1983).
- Chernaik, Warren, 'Chillingworth, William', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2010) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5308> [accessed 23 March 2020].
- Clare, Steve, *Stained Glass: Art, Craft and Conservation* (London: Robert Hale, 2013).
- Clutterbuck, Rev. R. H., 'The Fraternities of Sarum', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 29 (1896-97), 137-146.
- Clutton, Cecil and Austin Niland, *The British Organ* (London: Batsford, 1963).
- Coggsall, William and Roger Morse, *Beeswax: Production, Harvesting, Processing and Products* (New York: Wicwas Press, 1984).

- Collins, E. J. T., 'At the cutting edge: edge tool production in southern and south-west England, 1740 to 1960', *Agricultural History Review*, 64 (2016), 196-225.
- Collinson, Patrick, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988).
- Collinson, Patrick, 'Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism as Forms of Popular Religious Culture', in *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700*, ed. by Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 32-57.
- Collinson, Patrick, 'Merry England on the Ropes: The Contested Culture of the Early Modern English Town', in *Christianity and Community in the West*, ed. by Simon Ditchfield (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).
- Collinson, Patrick and John Craig, eds., *The Reformation in English towns, 1500-1640* (Basingstoke Macmillan, 1998).
- Copinger, H. S. A., 'Communion Tokens used in England, Wales and the Channel Islands', *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society, Seventh Series*, 4 (1964), 319-338.
- Cowen, Painton, *English Stained Glass* (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 2008).
- Cox, J. Charles, *Churchwardens' Accounts from the fourteenth century to the close of the seventeenth century* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1913).
- Cox, John Charles, *How to Write the History of a Parish* (London: George Allen, 1879).
- Craig, John, 'Jewel, John, (1522–1571)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14810> [accessed 29 May 2017].
- Cranfield, Nicholas, 'Mason, Edmund', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/65636> [accessed 10 August 2016].
- Cressy, David, *Birth, Marriage & Death: Ritual, Religion, and the life-cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).
- Cressy, David, *Bonfires & Bells* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd, 2004).
- Cressy, David and Anne Ferrell, *Religion and Society in Early Modern England: A Source book*, 2nd edn (New York & London: Routledge, 1996).
- Crittall, Elizabeth, 'The borough of Wilton: Introduction', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire* (1962) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp1-7> [accessed 22 November 2018].
- Crittall, Elizabeth, 'A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6', in *British History Online* (1962) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6> [accessed 18 May 2020].

- Crittall, Elizabeth, 'Salisbury Churches: St Martin's', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6* (1962) *British History Online* [https://www.british-history-ac-uk.ezproxyd.bham.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp144-155#h3-0002](https://www.british-history.ac.uk.ezproxyd.bham.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp144-155#h3-0002) [accessed 19 September 2018].
- Crittall, Elizabeth, 'Salisbury: Churches', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire* (1962) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp144-155> [accessed 25 September 2018].
- Crittall, Elizabeth, 'Salisbury: City government before 1612', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6* (1962) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp94-100> [accessed 9 November 2015].
- Crittall, Elizabeth, 'Salisbury: City government, 1612-1835', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6* (1962) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp105-113> [accessed 9 November 2015].
- Crittall, Elizabeth, 'Salisbury: Economic history since 1612', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6* (1962) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp129-132> [accessed 30 December 2019].
- Crittall, Elizabeth, 'Salisbury: Economic history to 1612', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6* (1962) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp124-129> [accessed 6 May 2020].
- Crittall, Elizabeth, 'Salisbury: Markets and Fairs', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6* (1962) <https://www.british-history-ac-uk.ezproxyd.bham.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp138-141> [accessed 4 June 2021].
- Crittall, Elizabeth, 'Salisbury: Merchant and craft guilds to 1612', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6* (1962) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp132-136> [accessed 15 January 2019].
- Crittall, Elizabeth, 'Salisbury: St Martin's parish', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6* (1962) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp79-81> [accessed 26 October 2018].
- Crittall, Elizabeth, 'Salisbury: The liberty of the close', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6* (1962) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp72-79> [accessed 10 February 2019].
- Crook, John, *Winchester Cathedral: 1093-1993* (Bognor Regis: Phillimore & Co. Ltd., 1993).
- Cross, Claire, *Church and People: England 1450-1660*, 2nd edn *Blackwell Classic Histories of England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999).
- Cross, Claire, 'From Medieval Catholic Piety to Civil War Protestantism: the Impact of the Reformation in Two Salisbury Parishes', *Sarum Chronicle: Recent Historical Research on Salisbury and District*, 13 (2013), 99-115.
- Cross, Claire, 'Reformation in Salisbury', *Sarum Chronicle*, 13 (2013), 99-115.

Crossley, David, 'The Performance of the Glass Industry in Sixteenth-century England', *The Economic History Review*, 25.3 (1972), 421-433.

Cust, Richard, 'Brinsley, John', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2009) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3441> [accessed 14 March 2020].

Daniel, Ralph and Peter LeHuray, eds., *The Sources of English Church Music, 1549-1660* (London: Stainer & Bell for the British Academy, 1972).

Davies, Jeremy, 'The Celebrant Reflects: Theological and Spiritual Priorities Expressed through Sarum Use', in *Late Medieval Liturgies Enacted: The Experience of Worship in Cathedral and Parish Church*, ed. by Sally Harper, Paul Barnwell and Magnus Williamson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2016), pp. 219-224.

Dean, John and Nick Hill, 'Burn Marks on Buildings: Accidental or Deliberate?', *Vernacular Architecture*, 45 (2014), 1-15.

Dearmer, Percy, *Fifty Pictures of Gothic Altars* (London: Longmans Green & Co, 1910).

Defoe, Daniel, *Robinson Crusoe* (London: Joseph Mawman, 1815).

Dendy, D. R., *The Use of Lights in Christian Worship* (London: S.P.C.K., 1959).

Dickens, A. G., *The English Reformation*, 2nd edn (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989).

Dickens, A. G., *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York, 1509-1558* (London & New York: Oxford University Press, 1959).

Dickens, Charles, *Bleak House*, ed. by Nicola Bradbury (New York: Penguin, 2003).

Dodsworth, William, *An Historical Account of the Episcopal See and Cathedral Church of Salisbury* (Salisbury: William Dodsworth, 1814).

Doran, Susan and Christopher Durston, *Princes, Pastors and People: The Church and Religion in England 1500-1700*, 2nd edn (London & New York: Routledge, 2003).

Doran, Susan and Christopher Durston, eds., *Princes, Pastors and People: The Church and Religion in England, 1529-1689* (London: Routledge, 1991).

Douglas, Audrey, 'Midsummer in Salisbury: The Tailors' Guild and Confraternity 1444-1642', *Renaissance and Reformation*, XXV (1989), 35-51.

Douglas, Audrey, 'Owre thanssing daye: Parish Dance and Procession in Salisbury', *Folk Music Journal*, 6 (1994), 600-616.

Duffy, Eamon, 'Pilgrimage and Cathedrals in the Later Middle Ages', in *Pilgrimage and England's Cathedrals: Past, Present and Future*, ed. by Dee Dyas and John Jenkins (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), pp. 49-74.

- Duffy, Eamon, *Reformation Divided: Catholics, Protestants and the Conversion of England* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).
- Duffy, Eamon, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1992).
- Duffy, Eamon, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (London: Yale University Press, 2003).
- Dugdale, William, *The History of St Paul's Cathedral in London* (London: 1716).
- Duley, Anthony J., *The Medieval Clock at Salisbury Cathedral* (Much Wenlock: R. J. L. Smith & Associates, 1997).
- Dummelow, John, *The Wax Chandlers of London* (London: Phillimore Co. Ltd, 1973).
- Durston, Christopher, 'Puritan Rule and the Failure of Cultural Revolution, 1645-1660', in *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700*, ed. by Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1996), pp. 210-233.
- Durston, Christopher and Jacqueline Eales, 'Introduction: The Puritan Ethos, 1560-1700', in *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700*, ed. by Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1996), pp. 1-31.
- Dynallt-Owen, G., 'Cecil Papers: 1624, in Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House, 22, 1612-1668', in *British History Online* (1971) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-cecil-papers/vol22/pp188-204> [accessed 19 January 2020].
- Dymond, David, ed., *The Business of the Suffolk Parish 1558-1625* (Suffolk: The Suffolk Institute of Archaeology & History, 2018).
- Edwards, Kathleen, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1949).
- Edwards, Kathleen, *Salisbury Cathedral* (Trowbridge: Reprinted from The Victoria History of Wiltshire volume III, by Wiltshire County Council Library & Museum Service, 1986).
- Eisenbichler, Konrad, ed., *A Companion to Medieval and Early Modern Confraternities, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 83* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).
- Eliot, George, *Felix Holt* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey Ltd, 2000).
- Elton, G. R., *Reform and Reformation: England 1509-1558* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977).
- Everett, C. R., 'An Episcopal Visitation of the Cathedral Church of Sarum in 1607', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 50 (1942-44), 177-181.
- Eward, Suzanne, 'St Osmund: The Building of the Shrine', *Salisbury, Dean and Chapter* (1992), 5-7.

Fassler, Margot, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

Fielding, J., 'Dee, Francis', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7417> [accessed 21 March 2020].

Fincham, Kenneth, 'The Protestant Church and its Churches', in *Places of Worship in Britain and Ireland, 1550-1689*, ed. by Paul Barnwell and Trevor Cooper (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2019), pp. 1-21.

Fincham, Kenneth and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c.1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Firth, C H and R S Rait, 'May 1644: An Ordinance for the further demolishing of Monuments of Idolatry and Superstition', in Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660', in *British History Online* (1911) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/acts-ordinances-interregnum/pp425-426> [accessed 13 January 2021].

Firth, C. H. and R. S. Rait, 'January 1645: An Ordinance for taking away the Book of Common Prayer, and for establishing and putting in execution of the Directory for the publique worship of God, in Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660', in *British History Online* (1911) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/acts-ordinances-interregnum/pp582-607> [accessed 10 January 2020].

Firth, C. H. and R. S. Rait, 'Table of acts: 1649, in Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660', in *British History Online* (1911) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/acts-ordinances-interregnum/lxvi-lxxvi> [accessed 23 March 2020].

Fletcher, J. M. J., 'The Old Belfry in the Close of the Canons of Salisbury', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 47 (1935-37), 608-616.

Flynn, Jane, 'The Education of Choristers in England during the Sixteenth Century', in *English Choral Practice 1400-1650*, ed. by John Morehen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 180-199.

Flynn, Jane, 'Tudor organ versets: echoes of an improvised tradition', *Journal of the Royal College of Organists* 12 (2009), 6-26.

Foley, Edward, *From Age to Age: How Christians have Celebrated the Eucharist* (Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2008).

Foster, Andrew, *The Church of England 1570-1640* (London: Longman, 1994).

Foster, Andrew, 'The Clerical Estate Revitalised', in *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642*, ed. by Kenneth Fincham (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993), pp. 139-160.

Freeman, Andrew, 'The Organs of Bristol Cathedral', *The Organ*, 2 (1922-23), 64-73.

Freeman, Andrew, 'Two Organs in Gloucestershire', *The Organ World* (1933), 1043-1044.

French, Katherine, Gary G. Gibbs and Beat Kumin, *The Parish in English Life 1400-1600* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).

French, Katherine L., *The People of the Parish* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

Galton, Dorothy, 'Beeswax as an Import in Mediaeval England', *Bee World*, 52.2 (1971), 68-74.

Gibson, A. J. S., 'The size and weight of cattle and sheep in Early Modern Scotland', *Agricultural History Review*, 36.2 (1988), 162-171.

Gibson, G. McMurray, 'Blessing from sun and moon: churching as women's theater', in *Bodies and disciplines: intersections of literature and history in fifteenth-century England*, ed. by Barbara Hanwalt and David Wallace (Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), pp. 139-154.

Gras, Norman Scott Brien, ed., *The Early English Customs System* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918).

Green, Ian, 'Duppa, Brian', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8303> [accessed 23 March 2020].

Greenway, Diana E., *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300, Volume IV* (London: University of London, 1991).

GSB Prospection, *Salisbury Arts Centre: Geophysical Survey Report 2002/02* (Bradford: GSB Prospection, 2002).

Gunter, James, 'Report on a Geophysical Survey carried out at Salisbury Arts Centre', (Swindon: 2014).

Haigh, Christopher, 'A. G. Dickens and the English Reformation', *Historical Research*, 77 (2004), 24-38.

Haigh, Christopher, *The plain man's pathways to heaven: kinds of Christianity in post-reformation England, 1570-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Haigh, Christopher, 'The Recent Historiography of the English Reformation', in *The English Reformation Revised*, ed. by Christopher Haigh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 19-33.

Haigh, Christopher, ed., *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

Hall, Catherine, *Macaulay and Son: Architects of Imperial Britain* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2012).

Halliday, Sonia and Laura Lushington, *Stained Glass* (London: Mitchell Beazley, 1976).

- Hamel, Christopher de, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London & New York: Phaidon, 1986).
- Hammack, William and Donald DeCoste, *Michael Faraday's Chemical History of a Candle* (Articulate Noise Books, 2016).
- Hare, John, 'Miscellaneous Commodities', in *English Inland Trade 1430-1540*, ed. by Michael Hicks (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015).
- Hare, John, 'Southampton's Trading Partners: Salisbury', in *English Inland Trade 1430-1540*, ed. by Michael Hicks (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015).
- Harley, John, 'Cooke, Henry', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6167> [accessed 20 November 2019].
- Harper, John, 'Continuity, Discontinuity, Fragments and Connections: The Organ in Church, c.1500-1640', in *Essays on the History of English Music in Honour of John Caldwell*, ed. by Emma Hornby and David Maw (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), pp. 215-231.
- Harper, John, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).
- Harper, John, 'An organ for St Teilo: a Welsh instrument in the pre-Reformation tradition', *British Institute of Organ Studies*, 35 (2011), 134-153.
- Harper, John, *Organ music and liturgy 1500-1800* (unpublished work).
- Harper, John, 'The Organ of Magdalen College, Oxford', *The Musical Times*, 127 (1986).
- Harper, John and Sally Harper, 'Jesus Mass in Lent, according to the Medieval Use of Salisbury', in *For use in Sarum St Martin, Friday 17 March 2017*, ed. by Henry Parkes (2017).
- Harrison, Frank L., *Music in Medieval Britain*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963).
- Harwood, Winifred A., 'Commodities: Luxury Goods, Spices and Wax', in *English Inland Trade 1430-1540: Southampton and its regions*, ed. by Michael Hicks (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015).
- Haskins, Charles, *The Ancient Trade Guilds and Companies of Salisbury* (Salisbury: Bennett Brothers, 1912).
- Haskins, Charles, 'The Church of St Thomas of Canterbury', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 36 (1909), 1-12.
- Haskins, Charles, *Salisbury Charters and History of St Edmund's College* (Salisbury: The Mayor and Corporation of Salisbury, 1927).

- Haskins, Charles, *The Salisbury Corporation Pictures and Plate* (Salisbury: Bennett Brothers, 1910).
- Hatcher, Henry, *A Descriptive and Historical Account of Old and New Sarum, or Salisbury* (Salisbury: 1834).
- Heal, Felicity, *Of Prelates and Princes: A Study of the Economic and Social Position of the Tudor Episcopate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).
- Hegarty, A. J., 'Baylie, Richard', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/65650> [accessed 28 June 2019].
- Hicks, M.A., 'The Piety of Margaret, Lady Hungerford (d. 1478)', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 38 (1987), 19-38.
- Historical Manuscripts Commission, 'Communar's Accounts: 1547-8, in Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells: volume 2', in *British History Online* (1914) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/wells-mss/vol2/pp268-278> [accessed 19 May 2016].
- Hitchman, Valerie and Andrew Foster, *Views from the Parish: Churchwardens' Accounts c.1500-1800* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015).
- Hollaender, Albert, 'The Doom Painting of St Thomas of Canterbury, Salisbury', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 50 (1944), 351-370.
- Hopper, Andrew, 'The Civil Wars', in *Norwich since 1550*, ed. by Carole Rawcliffe and Richard Wilson (London, Oxford: Bloomsbury Publishing plc, 2005), pp. 89-116.
- Hoskins, W. G., *Devon and its People* (Exeter: A. Wheaton, 1959).
- Hoskins, W. G., 'English Provincial Towns in the Early Sixteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6 (1956), 1-19.
- Hoskins, W. G., 'Harvest Fluctuations and English Economic History, 1480-1619', *Agricultural History Review*, 12.1 (1964), 28-46.
- Hoskins, W. G., 'Harvest Fluctuations and English Economic History, 1620-1759', *Agricultural History Review*, 16.1 (1968), 15-31.
- Hoskins, W.G., *Local History in England*, Third edn (London and New York: Longman, 1984).
- Houlbrooke, Ralph, 'Horne, Robert', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13792> [accessed 18 March 2020].
- Houlbrooke, Ralph, 'Parkhurst, John', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21362> [accessed 18 March 2020].
- Huitson, Toby, *Stairway to Heaven: The Functions of Medieval Upper Spaces* (Oxford & Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2014).

Hunt, Arnold, 'The Lord's Supper in Early Modern England', *Past & Present*, 161 (1998), 39-83.

Hutton, Ronald, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

Ingram, Martin, *Church Courts, Sex, and Marriage in England 1570-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

Ingram, Tom, *Bells in England* (London: Frederick Muller, 1954).

Irving, John, 'Tomkins, Thomas (1572–1656)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27515> [accessed 9 March 2017].

Jackson, John Edward, ed., *Wiltshire: The Topographical Collections of John Aubrey* (Devizes: Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 1862).

Jansen, Virginia, 'Cistercian Threads in the Fabric of Canterbury and Salisbury Cathedrals', in *Perspectives for an Architecture of Solitude: Essays on Cistercians, Art, and Architecture in Honour of Peter Fergusson (Medieval Church Studies 11)*, ed. by Terry N. Kinder (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 341-349.

Johnston, Alexandra F., 'The Feast of Corpus Christi in the West Country', *Early Theatre*, 6.1 (2003), 15-34.

Jowitt, R. L. P., *Salisbury* (London & New York: Batsford, 1951).

Keene, Derek, Arthur Burns and Andrew Saint, *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604-2004* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2004).

Kent, Timothy Arthur, 'Salisbury silver and its makers 1550 to 1700', *Silver Society Journal*, 1993 (1993).

Ketteringham, John R., *Lincoln Cathedral: A History of the Bells, Bellringers and Bellringing, with an Account of the Lincoln Bellfounders* (Lincoln: J. R. Ketteringham, 1987).

Kilde, Jeanne Halgren, *Sacred Space: An introduction to Christian architecture and worship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

Kingsford, H. S., *Illustrations of Occasional Offices of the Church in the Middle Ages from Contemporary Sources* (London: Mowbray & Co Ltd, 1921).

Kirkman, Andrew, *Music and Musicians at the Collegiate Church of St Omer: Crucible of Song 1350-1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

Knighton, C. S., 'John Bowle', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3065> [accessed 10 August 2016].

Krieder, Alan, *English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 1979).

Kumin, Beat, 'Late Medieval Churchwardens' Accounts and Parish Government: Looking Beyond London and Bristol', *The English Historical Review*, 119 (2004), 87-99.

Lack, Alastair, *Ross' Canons of Salisbury* (Salisbury: Lulu.com, 2013).

Lake, Peter, 'The Laudian Style: Order, Uniformity and the Pursuit of the Beauty of Holiness in the 1630s', in *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642*, ed. by Kenneth Fincham (Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1993), pp. 161-186.

Larminie, Vivienne, 'Davenant, John', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7196> [accessed 23 March 2020].

Le Couteur, J. D., *English Medieval Painted Glass* (New York and Toronto: SPCK, 1926).

LeHuray, Peter, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1967).

LeHuray, Peter, John Irving and Kerry McCarthy, 'Tomkins family', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2014) <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.28090> [accessed 30 June 2019].

Lepine, David, *Brotherhood of Canons Serving God Studies in the History of Medieval Religion* 8 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1995).

Lepine, David, 'High Solemn Ceremonies: The Funerary Practice of the Late Medieval English Higher Clergy', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 61.1 (2010), 18-39.

Lock, Julian, 'Cotton, Henry', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/61738> [accessed 20 June 2019].

Louisa, Angelo J., 'Capon [Salcot], John', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2009) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4592> [accessed 30 September 2019].

Lukis, Rev. W. C., 'History of Salisbury Bell-Foundry', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (1859), 141-150.

Lutton, Rob, 'Love this Name that is IHC: Vernacular Prayers, Hymns and Lyrics to the Holy Name of Jesus in Pre-Reformation England', in *Vernacularity in England and Wales c. 1300-1550*, ed. by Elisabeth Salter and Helen Wicker (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 119-145.

MacCaffrey, Wallace T., *Exeter, 1540-1640: the Growth of an English Town* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1958).

MacCulloch, Diarmaid, *All things made new: Writings on the Reformation* (London: Allen Lane, 2016).

MacCulloch, Diarmaid, 'The Church of England, 1533-1603', in *Anglicanism and the Western Christian Tradition: Continuity, Change and the Search for Communion*, ed. by Stephen Platten (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2003).

- MacCulloch, Diarmaid, *The Later Reformation in England, 1547-1603*, 2nd edn (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).
- MacCulloch, Diarmaid, 'The Myth of the English Reformation', *History Today*, 41.7 (1991), 28-35.
- MacCulloch, Diarmaid, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided 1490-1700* (London: Penguin, 2003).
- Magnússon, Sigurður Gylfi, István M. Szigjártó, Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon and István M. Szigjártó, *What is Microhistory? Theory and Practice* (London & New York Routledge, 2013).
- Marcombe, David, 'Cathedrals and Protestantism: The search for a new identity, 1540-1660', in *Close encounters: English cathedrals and society since 1540*, ed. by David Marcombe and C. S. Knighton (Nottingham: University of Nottingham, 1991), pp. 43-61.
- Marks, Richard, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2004).
- Marks, Richard, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages* (Toronto & Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1993).
- Marks, Richard, 'The Thirteenth Century Glazing of Salisbury Cathedral', in *Medieval Art and Architecture of Salisbury Cathedral*, ed. by Laurence Keen and Thomas Cocke (British Archaeological Association, 1996), pp. 106-120.
- Marsh, Christopher, 'At it ding dong: Recreation and Religion in the English Belfry, 1580-1640', in *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Natalie Mears and Alec Ryrie (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 151-171.
- Marsh, Christopher, 'Attitudes to Will-Making in Early Modern England', in *When Death do us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England*, ed. by Tom Arkell, Nesta Evans and Nigel Goose (University of Hertfordshire: Leopard's Head Press Ltd, 2000), pp. 158-175.
- Marsh, Christopher, 'Departing Well and Christianly: Will-Making and Popular Religion in Early Modern England', in *Religion and the English People 1500-1640*, ed. by Eric-Josef Carlson (Truman State University: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1998), pp. 201-244.
- Marsh, Christopher, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- Marshall, Peter, *Beliefs and the dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- Marshall, Peter, *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
- Marshall, Peter, *Reformation England 1480-1642*, 2nd edn (London: Bloomsbury, 2012).

- Mateer, David and Elizabeth New, 'In Nomine Jesu: Robert Fayrfax and the Guild of the Holy Name in St Paul's Cathedral', *Music & Letters*, 81 (2000), 507-519.
- Matthews, Betty, 'The Dallams and the Harrises', *British Institute of Organ Studies*, 8 (1984), 58-68.
- Matthews, Betty, *The Organs and Organists of Salisbury Cathedral*, 3rd edn (Salisbury: Salisbury Cathedral, 1983).
- McDermott, Jennifer Rae, 'The Melodie of Heaven: Sermonizing the Open Ear in Early Modern England', in *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 177-197.
- Merritt, J. F., 'Puritans, Laudians, and the Phenomenon of Church-Building in Jacobean London', *The Historical Journal*, 41.4 (1988), 935-960.
- Merritt, J. F., *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster: Abbey, Court and Community 1525-1640* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).
- Micklethwaite, J. T., *The Ornaments of the Rubric*, Vol. I *Alcuin Club Tracts* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1897).
- Middleton, John Henry, 'On Consecration Crosses, with some English examples', *Archaeologia*, 48.2 (1885), 456-464.
- Milner, Matthew, *The Senses and the English Reformation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).
- Milton, Anthony, 'Willet, Andrew', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29445> [accessed 20 January 2021].
- Monier-Williams, Randall H., *The Tallow Chandlers of London*, Vol. 1 (London: Kaye & Ward Ltd, 1970).
- Morris, R. K., 'The Architectural History of the Medieval Cathedral Church', in *Hereford Cathedral: A History*, ed. by Gerald Aylmer and John Tiller (London and Rio Grande: The Hambledon Press, 2000), pp. 203-285.
- Naish, Emily and John Elliott, eds., *Salisbury Cathedral: 800 Years of People and Place*, *Sarum Studies* 7 (Salisbury: Sarum Chronicle, 2020).
- Nevill, Edmund R., 'The Chrysom Book of St Thomas, New Sarum', in *Wiltshire Notes and Queries volume 6*, ed. by Unknown (Devizes: George Simpson, 1911), pp. 19-25, 57-60, 107-110, 208-211, 266-268, 302-305, 344-348, 391-395, 455-459, 492-498, 547-550.
- Nevill, Edmund R., 'The Chrysom Book of St. Thomas, New Sarum', in *Wiltshire Notes and Queries volume 5*, ed. by Unknown (Devizes: George Simpson, 1908-1910), pp. 462-514, 561-566.

- New, Elizabeth, 'Fraternities: A Case Study of the Jesus Guild', in *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604-2004*, ed. by Derek Keene, Arthur Burns and Andrew Saint (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 162-163.
- Nickson, Tom, 'Light, Canterbury and the Cult of St Thomas', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 173 (2020).
- Niebrzydowski, Sue, 'Asperges me, Domine, hyssopo: male voices, female interpretation and the medieval English purification of women after childbirth ceremony', *Early Music*, 39 (2011), 327-333.
- Nightingale, J. E., *The Church Plate of the County of Wilts* (Salisbury: Bennett Brothers, 1891).
- Oates, Rosamund, *Moderate Radical: Tobie Matthew and the English Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).
- Oledzka, Eva, *Medieval & Renaissance Interiors* (London: The British Library, 2016).
- Oman, C., 'Medieval Brass Lecterns in England', *Archaeological Journal*, 87 (1930), 117-149.
- Orme, Nicholas, *The Churches of Medieval Exeter* (Exeter: Impress Books, 2014).
- Orme, Nicholas, *The History of England's Cathedrals* (Exeter: Impress Books, 2017).
- Orme, Nicholas, *Medieval Children* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001).
- Orr, D. A., 'Herne, John (c.1593–1649)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13085> [accessed 10 February 2016].
- Palliser, D. M., 'Introduction: the Parish in Perspective', in *Parish, Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion 1350-1750*, ed. by S. J. Wright (London: Hutchinson, 1988).
- Payne, Ian, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals, c.1547- c.1646: A Comparative Study of the Archival Evidence* (Connecticut: Garland Publishing Inc, 1993).
- Payne, Ian, 'The Will and Probate Inventory of John Holmes (d. 1629): Instrumental Music at Salisbury and Winchester Cathedrals Revisited', *Antiquaries Journal*, 83 (2003), 369-396.
- Penfold, P. A., 'Acts of the Privy Council of England, Volume 46', in (1630-31) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/acts-privy-council/vol46> [accessed 12 December 2015].
- Pfaff, R. W., *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970).
- Pfaff, Richard W., *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Phillips, Henry, 'The Last Years of the Court of Star Chamber 1630-1641', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 21 (1939), 103-131.

Price, Francis, *A description of that admirable structure the cathedral church of Salisbury with the chapels, monuments, grave stones and their inscriptions to which is prefixed an account of Old Sarum* (London: R. Baldwin, 1754).

Price, Percival, *Bells and Man* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).

Pugh, R. B. and Elizabeth Crittall, 'Colleges: College of de Vaux, Salisbury', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 3* (1956) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol3/pp369-385> [accessed 13 November 2018].

Pugh, R. B. and Elizabeth Crittall, 'Hospitals: Holy Trinity, Salisbury', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 3* (1956) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol3/pp357-361> [accessed 29 January 2019].

Pugh, R. B. and Elizabeth Crittall, 'Houses of Augustinian canons: Priory of Ivychurch', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 3* (1956) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol3/pp289-295> [accessed 22 November 2018].

Pugh, R. B. and Elizabeth Crittall, 'Houses of Dominican friars: Salisbury', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 3* (1956) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol3/pp331-333> [accessed 20 September 2018].

Pugh, R. B. and Elizabeth Crittall, 'Houses of Franciscan friars: Salisbury', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 3* (1956) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol3/pp329-330> [accessed 19 September 2018].

Raby, F. J. E., 'The Tomb of St Osmund of Salisbury', *The Archaeological Journal*, 104 (1947), 146-147.

Ramsay, G. D., *The Wiltshire Woollen Industry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 2nd edn (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1965).

RCHME, *Ancient and Historical Monuments in the City of Salisbury Volume I* (London: HMSO, 1980).

RCHME, *Salisbury Cathedral: Perspectives on the Architectural History* (London: HMSO, 1993).

RCHME, *Salisbury: Houses of the Close* (London: HMSO, 1993).

Reay, Barry, *Microhistories: Demography, Society and Culture in Rural England, 1800-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Reeve, Matthew M., *Thirteenth-Century Wall Paintings of Salisbury Cathedral: Art, Liturgy, and Reform* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008).

- Reynolds, Matthew, *Godly Reformers and their Opponents in Early Modern England: Religion in Norwich, c.1560–1643* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2005).
- Robertson, Dora, 'Notes on some Buildings in the City and Close of Salisbury Connected with the Education and Maintenance of the Cathedral Choristers', *The Wiltshire Magazine*, 48 (1937), 1-30.
- Robertson, Dora, *Sarum Close* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1938).
- Robertson, James, *How shall we Conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England?*, Second edn (London: William Pickering, 1844).
- Rogers, K. H., 'Salisbury', in *Historic Towns: Maps and plans of towns and cities in the British Isles, with Historical Commentaries, from earliest times to 1800* ed. by M. D. Lobel (Witney: Lovell Johns, 1969).
- Rosewell, Roger, *Medieval Wall Paintings* (London: Shire Publications Ltd, 2014).
- Rosser, Gervase, 'Communities of parish and guild in the late Middle Ages', in *Parish, Church and People: Local studies in lay religion 1350-1750*, ed. by Susan J. Wright (London: Hutchinson, 1988), pp. 29-55.
- Rosser, Gervase, 'Going to the Fraternity Feast: Commensality and Social Relations in Late Medieval England', *Journal of British Studies*, 33.4 (1994), 430-446.
- Rowse, A. L., *Tudor Cornwall: Portrait of a Society* (London: 1941).
- Rubin, Miri, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- Rushworth, John, 'Appendix: Charles I's Declaration on the dissolution of Parliament, 1628, in Historical Collections of Private Passages of State: Volume 1, 1618-29', in *British History Online* (1721) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rushworth-papers/vol1/pp1-11> [accessed 24 February 2020].
- Ryrie, Alec, *The Age of Reformation: The Tudor and Stuart Realms 1485-1603*, 2nd edn (London & New York: Routledge, 2017).
- Ryrie, Alec, *Being Protestant in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- Salzman, L. F., *Building in England down to 1540* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1952).
- Salzman, L. F., 'The City of Chichester: Trades, industries, markets and fairs', in *A History of the County of Sussex: Volume 3* (1935) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/sussex/vol3/pp97-98> [accessed 8 June 2020].
- Sapoznik, Alexandra, 'Bees in the medieval economy: religious observance and the production, trade and consumption of wax in England, c. 1300-1555', *The Economic History Review* (2018), 1-23.

- Scarisbrick, J. J., *Henry VIII* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1997).
- Scarisbrick, J. J., *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984).
- Seavers, Stephanie and Catia Viegas Wesolowska, 'Light and Virtue: The Gloucester Candlestick', in *On Light*, ed. by K. P. Clarke and S. Baccianti (Oxford: Medium Aevum, 2014), pp. 177-190.
- Serjeantson, R. M and H. Isham Longden, 'The Parish Churches and Religious Houses of Northamptonshire: their Dedications, Altars, Images and Lights', *Archaeological Journal*, LXX (1913), 217-452.
- Shaw, Watkins, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c. 1538* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).
- Sherwood, Jennifer and Nikolaus Pevsner, eds., *The Buildings of England: Oxfordshire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974).
- Shortt, Hugh, *City of Salisbury*, 2nd edn (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1970).
- Simmons, Thomas F., *The Lay Folks Mass Book and Offices in English according to the Use of York* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968).
- Simpson, George, 'Archbishop Laud's visitation of Salisbury in 1634', *Wiltshire Notes and Queries*, 1 (1896), 10-23, 70-79, 110-122.
- Skeeters, Martha C., *Community and clergy: Bristol and the Reformation, c.1530-c.1570* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1993).
- Slack, Paul, *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985).
- Slack, Paul, 'Poverty and politics in Salisbury 1597-1666', in *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700*, ed. by Peter Clark and Paul Slack (London: Routledge, 1972), pp. 164-203.
- Slack, Paul, *Poverty in Early-Stuart Salisbury*, Vol. XXXI (Devizes: Wiltshire Record Society, 1975).
- Slack, Paul, 'Religious protest and urban authority: the case of Henry Sherfield, iconoclast 1633', in *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest*, ed. by Derek Baker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 295-302.
- Slack, Paul, 'Sherfield, Henry', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25361> [accessed 19 January 2020].
- Slack, Paul, 'Thatcher [Thacher], Peter', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2009) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/56076> [accessed 1 January 2020].

- Slack, Paul and Peter Clark, *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700* (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1972).
- Smith, A., 'Parish Church Musicians in England in the Reign of Elizabeth I (1558-1603)', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 4 (1964), 42-92.
- Smith, Bruce, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1999).
- Spencer, John, *Sarum St Martin: A History* (2013).
- Spinks, Bryan D., *Early and Medieval Rituals and Theologies of Baptism: From the New Testament to the Council of Trent* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006).
- Spraggon, Julie, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003).
- Spring, Roy, *Stained Glass: Salisbury Cathedral* (Much Wenlock: R. J. L. Smith and Associates, 1997).
- Spufford, Margaret, *Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 2nd edn (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2000).
- Spufford, Margaret, 'Religious Preambles and the Scribes of Villagers' Wills in Cambridgeshire 1570-1700', in *When Death do us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England*, ed. by Tom Arkell, Nesta Evans and Nigel Goose (University of Hertfordshire: Leopard's Head Press Ltd, 2000), pp. 144-157.
- Spurr, John, 'Henchman, Humphrey', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12898> [accessed 21 March 2020].
- Stephens, W. B., 'The City of Coventry: Crafts and industries, Craft organisation to the 16th century', in *A History of the County of Warwick: Volume 8* (1969) *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/warks/vol8/pp157-162> [accessed 8 June 2020].
- Stevens, Denis, *Early Tudor Organ Music II: Music for the Mass* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1969).
- Stevenson, W. H., 'The Long Hundred and its use in England', *The Archaeological Review*, 4.5 (1889), 313-327.
- Street, Fanny, 'The Relations of the Bishops and Citizens of Salisbury (New Sarum) between 1225 and 1612', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 39 (1916), 185-256.
- Strype, John, *Annals of the Reformation, I part i* (Oxford: 1824).
- Summerson, Henry, *George [St George]* (2010) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/60304> [accessed 23 May 2019].

- Swanson, Robert, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Tatton-Brown, Tim, 'The Afterlife of St Osmund: From Bishop to Saint, and from Old to New Sarum', *History: The Journal of the Historical Association*, 105 (2020), 626-635.
- Tatton-Brown, Tim, 'The Salisbury Cathedral Consecration Crosses', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, XVI (1998), 113-116.
- Tatton-Brown, Tim, *Salisbury Cathedral: The Making of a Medieval Masterpiece* (Salisbury: Scala, 2009).
- Tatton-Brown, Tim, 'Where was the Vicars' Close at Salisbury?', in *Vicars Choral at English Cathedrals*, ed. by Richard Hall and David Stocker (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005), pp. 106-111.
- Tatton-Brown, Tim, David Lepine and Nigel Saul, 'Incomparabilissime Fabrice: The Architectural History of Salisbury Cathedral c. 1297 to 1548', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 166 (2013), 51-98.
- The Central Council of Church Bell Ringers, *Maintenance Handbook, Practical Bell Maintenance: A Pocket-Book for Steeple-Keepers* (The Central Council of Church Bell Ringers, 1979).
- The History of Parliament, *Sherfield (Shervill), Henry (1572-1634), of Lincoln's Inn, London and Salisbury, Wilts.* (2019) <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/sherfield-henry-1572-1634> [accessed 20 January 2020].
- Thirsk, Joan, *Alternative Agriculture: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).
- Thistlethwaite, Nicholas, 'The organ of King's College, Cambridge: 1605-1802', *Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies*, 32 (2008), 4-42.
- Tillott, P. M., 'The seventeenth century: Social and religious life', in *A History of the County of York: the City of York* (1961) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/city-of-york/pp198-206> [accessed 10 March 2020].
- Tittler, Robert, *The Face of the City: Civic Portraiture and Civic Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).
- Tyacke, Nicholas, *Anti-Calvinists: the rise of English Arminianism, c. 1590-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990).
- Tyacke, Nicholas, ed., *England's Long Reformation 1500-1800* (London: Routledge, 1998).
- Underdown, David, *Fire from Heaven: Life in an English Town in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Fontana Press, 1993).

- Van-Dixhoorn, Chad, 'Members of the Westminster assembly and Scottish commissioners', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2007) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/96925> [accessed 7 January 2020].
- Vincent, C., *Fiat Lux. Lumière et luminaires dans la vie religieuse du XIIe au XVIe siècle* (Paris: 2004).
- Wallace, Dewey D., 'Conant, John', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6051> [accessed 1 January 2020].
- Walsham, Alexandra, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).
- Walsham, Alexandra, *Providence in early modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
- Walsham, Alexandra, *The reformation of the landscape: religion, identity, and memory in early modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
- Walters, H. B., *The Church Bells of Wiltshire* (Bath: Kingsmead Reprints, 1969).
- Wathey, Andrew, 'Lost Books of Polyphony in England: a List to 1500', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 21 (1988), 1-19.
- Webber, Teresa, 'Osmund [St Osmund]', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2011) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20902> [accessed 24 January 2019].
- Webber, Theresa, 'The Provision of Books in Anglo-Norman England', in *Medieval Cantors and their Craft: Music, Liturgy and the Shaping of History, 800-1500*, ed. by Katie Ann-Marie Bugyis, A. B. Kraebel and Margot E. Fassler (York: The Boydell Press, 2017).
- Webber, Theresa and A. G. Watson, *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons* (London: The British Library, 1998).
- Wenig, Scott, 'John Jewel and the Reformation of the Diocese of Salisbury, 1560-1571', *Anglican and Episcopal History*, 73 (2004), 141-168.
- West, John E., 'Old English Organ Music', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 12 (1911), 213-221.
- Wheeler, W. A., *A Brief Record of the most Salient events in the History of Salisbury* (Salisbury: Brown & Co, 1889).
- Whiting, Robert, *The Reformation of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- Williamson, Magnus, 'Liturgical Music in the Late Medieval Parish: Organs and Voices, Ways and Means', in *The Parish in Late Medieval England: Proceedings of the 2002 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Clive Burgess and Eamon Duffy (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2006), pp. 177-226.

Willis, Jonathan, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England: Discourses, Sites and Identities* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

Willis, Jonathan, *The Reformation of the Decalogue: Religious Identity and the Ten Commandments in England, c. 1485-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Winston, C., *Memoirs Illustrative of the Art of Glass-Painting* (London: John Murray, 1865).

Woodger, Andrew, 'St Cuthbert's, Wells, reconsidered', *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History*, 133 (1990), 195-196.

Wooding, Lucy, 'Remembrance in the Eucharist', in *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post Reformation*, ed. by Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

Woolgar, C. M., *The Great Household in Late Medieval London* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999).

Woolgar, C. M., *The Senses in Late Medieval England* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2006).

Wordsworth, Christopher, *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901).

Wrightson, Keith, *Ralph Taylor's Summer: A Scriviner, his City and the Plague* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2011).

Yates, J. D. & B. D., *Beekeeping Study Notes for the BBKA Examinations: Modules 1-4* (Bridgwater: Bee Books New and Old, 1996).

Yoneyama, Masaru, 'The decline of guilds and their monopoly in English provincial towns, with particular reference to Exeter', *Urban History*, 46.3 (2019), 443-463.

Unpublished theses

Aveling, Judith Anne, 'In nomine Iesu omne genu flectatur, The Late Medieval Mass and Office of the Holy Name of Jesus: Sources, Development and Practice' (unpublished Doctoral thesis, Bangor University, 2015).

Bamford, Daniel John, 'John Barnard's First Book of Selected Church Musick: Genesis, Production and Influence' (unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of York, 2009).

Bowers, Roger, 'Choral institutions within the English Church: their constitution and development, c.1340-1500' (unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of East Anglia, 1975).

Burson, Anna, 'Continuity and change at Hereford and Worcester cathedrals, and the effects on musical and liturgical provision and practice, c. 1480-1650' (unpublished Doctoral thesis, Oxford, 2008).

Crosby, Brian, 'The choral foundation of Durham Cathedral, c.1350 - c.1650' (unpublished Doctoral thesis, Durham University, 1993).

Hill, Robert Adam, 'The Reformation of the Bells in Early Modern England' (unpublished Doctoral thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2012).

New, Elizabeth Anne, 'The Cult of the Holy Name of Jesus in Late Medieval England, with special reference to the Fraternity in St Paul's Cathedral, London, c. 1450-1558' (unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of London, 1999).

Price, F. D., 'The administration of the diocese of Gloucester, 1547–79' (unpublished Bachelors thesis, Oxford University, 1940).

Reynolds, William, 'A study of music and liturgy, choirs and organs, in monastic and secular foundations in Wales and the Borderlands, 1485-1685' (unpublished Doctoral thesis, Bangor University, 2002).

Wadsworth, Sally, 'Music and Worship in the Collegiate Church: the case of St Edmund's, Salisbury' (unpublished Masters thesis, University of Winchester, 2015).

Watkinson, Martin, 'The Microhistory of a Lincolnshire Parish: Humberston, 1750-1850' (unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Leicester, 2017).

Websites

Association of Ringing Teachers, *History of Bell Ringing* (n.d.)
<http://www.bellringing.org/history/> [accessed 18 January 2019].

Bangor University, *The Experience of Worship in Late Medieval Cathedral and Parish Church* (2013) <http://www.experienceofworship.org.uk/> [accessed 10 April 2019].

Bangor University, *The Experience of Worship Project: Glossary* (2013)
<http://www.experienceofworship.org.uk/glossary/> [accessed 20 July 2017].

BCW Project, *The Westminster Assembly* (2009) <http://bcw-project.org/church-and-state/first-civil-war/westminster-assembly> [accessed 7 January 2020].

Bishop of London, *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical: 1604 Canons* (1604)
<https://www.anglican.net/doctrines/1604-canon-law/> [accessed 6 January 2020].

Borthwick Institute for Archives, *Faculties and other records concerning the fabric of church buildings* (2006)
<http://www.york.ac.uk/media/borthwick/documents/Faculties%20and%20other%20church%20Ofabric.pdf> [accessed 10 December 2015].

Brown, Sarah, *Reformation, Iconoclasm and Restoration Stained Glass in England c. 1540-1830* (n.d.) <http://www.buildingconservation.com/articles/english-stainedglass/english-stainedglass.htm> [accessed 27 September 2015].

Chapter of York, *The Life and Miracles of a Northern Saint* (2020)
<https://yorkminster.org/discover/conservation/the-st-cuthbert-window/> [accessed 3 November 2020].

- Davison, Anita, *17th Century Funeral Practices* (2009) <http://hoydensandfirebrands.blogspot.com/2009/07/17th-century-funeral-practices.html> [accessed 13 January 2021].
- Dawson, George, *A National Bell Register* (2013) <http://georgedawson.homestead.com/nbr.html> [accessed 14 March 2019].
- Duckworth, Richard and Fabian Stedman, *Tintinnaloga* (1668) <http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/gutbook/lookup?num=18567> [accessed 28 February 2019].
- Gilbert, T. W., *A Short History of the Prayer Book: 6 - The Revision of 1604* (2003) https://churchsociety.org/issues_new/doctrine/bcp/gilberthistory/iss_doctrine_bcp_gilberthistory_6-1604.asp [accessed 19 January 2020].
- Goetze & Gwynn, *Wetheringsett Organ New Organ in Tudor Style* (n.d.) <https://www.goetzegwynn.co.uk/organ/the-new-wetheringsett-organ/> [accessed 26 June 2019].
- Goetze & Gwynn, *Wingfield Organ New Organ in Tudor Style* (n.d.) <https://www.goetzegwynn.co.uk/organ/the-wingfield-organ/> [accessed 26 June 2019].
- Harding, Vanessa, *Burial of the Plague Dead in Early Modern London* (1993) <https://archives.history.ac.uk/cmh/epiharding.html> [accessed 1 December 2019].
- Harper, Sally, *The St Teilo Organ* (2016) http://s361690747.websitehome.co.uk/EoW2/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/da_01_org.pdf [accessed 26 June 2019].
- Heslop, Sandy, *The Medieval Churches of Norwich: City, Community & Architecture* (n.d.) <https://norwichmedievalchurches.org/> [accessed 26 October 2018].
- Hiley, David, 'Hexachord', in *Oxford Companion to Music*, ed. by Alison Latham (2011) <https://www.oxfordreference-com.ezproxye.bham.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780199579037.001.0001/acref-9780199579037-e-3243?rskey=cxHm2X&result=1> [accessed 12 October 2020].
- Historic Towns Trust, *The situation of Salisbury* (2011) http://www.historictownsatlas.org.uk/sites/historictownsatlas/files/atlas/town/maps/salisbury_map_1_the_situation.pdf [accessed 6 April 2018].
- Hollar, Wenceslaus, (n.d.) <https://salisburymuseum.org.uk/collections/art-collection/west-view-salisbury-cathedral> [accessed 10 February 2019].
- Institute of Physics, *The inverse square law with light* (2014) <http://practicalphysics.org/inverse-square-law-light.html> [accessed 30 April 2018].
- Kelly, Sam, 'Medieval Glass of Salisbury Cathedral', in *Vidimus*, 23 (2008) <http://vidimus.org/issues/issue-23/feature/> [accessed 23 October 2017].

- King's College London, *Clergy of the Church of England Database* (2013) <https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/> [accessed 23 January 2020].
- Knight, Kevin, *New Advent: Sacrifice of the Mass* (2020) <https://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10006a.htm> [accessed 2 February 2021].
- London, King's College, *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi - Help* (2010) <https://www.cvma.ac.uk/help/index.html> [accessed 6 April 2021].
- Loosemore, W. R., *Loosemore of Devon: an outline family history* (2006) <http://www.loosemore.co.uk/Chapter6/CHAPTER6text.htm> [accessed 30 June 2019].
- Maude, Rodney, *The Parish Church of St Thomas & St Edmund, Salisbury: A Brief History of St Thomas's Church* (n.d.) <http://www.stthomassalisbury.co.uk/documents/history-heritage/8-guide-book-for-st-thomas-s-church-building/file> [accessed 30 July 2017].
- MeasuringWorth.com, *Relative Value in UK £ at 2019 prices* (n.d.) <https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/relativevalue.php> [accessed 3 March 2020].
- National Library of Paris, *Ordinarius et processionale ad usum episcopi Suessionensis, MS Latin 8898 1501*) <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8432463d/f1.image> [accessed 11 January 2019].
- Rituale Romanum, *Blessings Directory: 26. Blessing of a church organ* (n.d.) <http://ritualeromanum.info/blessings-and-other-sacramentals-introduction-and-general-rules/blessings-of-things-designated-for-sacred-purposes/26-blessing-of-a-church-organ/> [accessed 26 October 2020].
- Royal College of Organists, *Tudor Organs* (2019) https://www.rco.org.uk/library_tudor_organs.php [accessed 30 June 2019].
- Salisbury Cathedral, *Father Willis Organ* (2020) <https://www.salisburycathedral.org.uk/worship-music-father-willis-organ/father-willis-organ-history> [accessed 15 October 2020].
- Sarum Customary Online, *The New Customary from Salisbury Cathedral MS 175 Latin text with English translation (NCS)* (2012) http://www.sarumcustomary.org.uk/exploring/PDF_files/4.1%20NCS/NCS-LE.pdf [accessed 10 January 2019].
- Sarum Customary Online, *The New Customary of Salisbury Cathedral, from W. H. Frere, ed., The Use of Sarum, I (Cambridge, 1898) (NCF)* (2012) http://www.sarumcustomary.org.uk/exploring/PDF_files/6%20NCF/NCF-LE.pdf [accessed 6 March 2017].
- Sarum Customary Online, *The Old Customary from the Old Register WSA: D1/1/1 Latin text with English translation (OCO)* (2012) http://www.sarumcustomary.org.uk/exploring/PDF_files/1%20OCO/OCO-LE.pdf [accessed 14 March 2019].

Stedman, Fabian, *Campanologia Improved: or the Art of Change Ringing made easy* (1677) <https://www.whittingsociety.org.uk/old-ringing-books/campanologia-file-06.pdf> [accessed 28 February 2019].

The National Archives, *Committee for Plundered Ministers: Orders and Papers* (n.d.) <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C13564> [accessed 10 January 2020].

The National Archives, *Sherfield Family* (n.d.) <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/rd/de3fa3d6-bd07-407e-b5fa-35c7b207477c> [accessed 3 February 2016].

The National Gallery, *Glossary* (2020) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/glossary/attribute> [accessed 20 August 2020].

Tomlinson, J. T., *Altar Lights: Their History and Meaning* (n.d.) http://archive.churchsociety.org/publications/tracts/CAT091_AltarLights.pdf [accessed 17 May 2017].

University of Portsmouth and others, *The Diary of Celia Fiennes* (2017) <http://visionofbritain.org.uk/travellers/Fiennes/3> [accessed 2 July 2019].

Venn, John and J. A. Venn, *A Biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge from the earliest times to 1900, part 1, vol 3* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922) <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=yIwSb9UO--cC&pg=PA122&lpg=PA122&dq=marmaduke+lynne+chancellor+salisbury&source=bl&ots=vuKX6VGN8c&sig=hNBuOQ5uTtb25I1uupshFpN0VEQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwi2l5nk2e3KAhUFSCYKHSDdDmIQ6AEIODAF#v=onepage&q=marmaduke%20lynne%20chancellor%20salisbury&f=false> [accessed 10 February 2016].

Victoria and Albert Museum, *Making a stained-glass panel* (n.d.) <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/m/making-a-stained-glass-panel/> [accessed 11 August 2017].

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Surviving financial accounts

Type of account Key: Shaded box indicates document present for given year	1500-1501	1501-1502	1502-1503	1503-1504	1504-1505	1505-1506	1506-1507	1507-1508	1508-1509	1509-1510	1510-1511	1511-1512	1512-1513	1513-1514	1514-1515	1515-1516	1516-1517	1517-1518	1518-1519	1519-1520	1520-1521	1521-1522	1522-1523	1523-1524	1524-1525	1525-1526	1526-1527	1527-1528	1528-1529	1529-1530
Cathedral																														
Fabric accounts (SCA: FA/1/1)																														
Accounts of the masters of the fabric (SCA: FA/1/3/1)																														
Communar's accounts (SCA: FI/1/1)																														
Accounts of the procurator of St Thomas with the masters of the fabric (SCA: FA/2/1)																														
Accounts of the masters of the fabric on the receipts of St Thomas (SCA: FA/2/3)																														
Chorister's collector (SCA: CO/CH/1/1)																														
St Thomas's Church																														
Churchwarden's accounts (WSA: 1900 & Swayne, <i>Accounts</i>)																														
St Edmund's Church																														
Churchwarden's accounts (WSA: 1901 & Swayne, <i>Accounts</i>)																														
Accounts for the Fraternity of Jesus (WSA: 1901/108 & Swayne, <i>Accounts</i>)																														
St Martin's Church																														
Churchwardens and overseers account book. (WSA: 1899/65)																														
Salisbury Corporation																														
Computus rolls (WSA: G23/1/44)																														

Appendix 2: Churchwardens' accounts for the parish churches of Salisbury

The Churchwardens Accounts of St Edmund's, Salisbury¹

Year	Latin (L) or English (E)	WSA reference	Page number in Swayne
1461-62	L	1901/66/3	7
1462-63	L	Wanting	9
1468-69	L	Wanting	10
1469-70	L	1901/66/5	12
1473-74	E	1901/65	14
1474-75	L	1901/66/6	16
1474-75	E	1901/65	18
1475-76	E	1901/65	20
1477-78	L	1901/66/7	21
c.1477-78	E	incomplete	23
1478-79	E	v. incomplete	23
1479-80	E	v. incomplete	23
1480-82	L	Wanting	23
1480-81	E	1901/65	25
1481-82	L	1901/67/2	26
1482-83	L	1901/67/3	28
1483-84	L	1901/67/4	30
1483-84	E	1901/67/5	32
1492-93	L	HRO: 44M69/L7/9, <i>Sherfield notes</i>	34
1490-91	E	1901/67/6	36
1491-92	E	1901/67/7	38
1494-95	L	1901/65	41
1495-96	L/E	1901/68/3	44
1495-96	L/E	1901/68/2	46
1497-98	L	1901/68/4	47
1499-1500	E	1901/65	50
1500-01	L	1901/68/5	52
1502-03	L	v. incomplete	55
1510-11	L	1901/68/6	55
1517-18	E	1901/68/7	58
1531-32	E	1901/65	60
?1541-42 or 1542-43	E	1901/69/4	62
1518-19	E	1901/68/8	63
1521-22	E	1901/69/2	65
1523-24	E	1901/69/3	66
1527-28	E	1901/69/5	68
1532-33	E	1901/69/6	69
1534-35	E	1901/69/9	71
?1559-73	E	Wanting	73
1561-62	E	1901/71/1	73-74 see also pp.105-106
1566-67	E	Wanting	74
?1568-69	E	Wanting	76
1571-72	E	1901/72/2	78
c.1537-38	E	1901/69/7	79
1572-73	E	1901/72/3	81 & start of account p.120

¹ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*.

Year	Latin (L) or English (E)	WSA reference	Page number in Swayne
1538-39	E	1901/69/11	83
1540-41	E	1901/69/12	84
1541-42	E	1901/69/13	86
1543-44	E	1901/69/15	87
1549-50	E	1901/70/2	89
1550-51	E	1901/70/3	90
1551	E	1901/70/5	93
1551-52	E	1901/70/4	95
1552-53	E	1901/70/6	96
1553-54	E	1901/70/7	98
1556-57	E	1901/70/8	100
1557-58	E	1901/70/9	102
1560-61	E	1901/71/3	104
1561-62	E	1901/71/4	105 see also pp.73-74
1562-63	E	1901/71/5	106
1563-64	E	1901/71/6	108
1567-68	E	1901/71/9	110
1564-65	E	1901/71/7	113
1569-70	E	1901/71/10	116
1570-71	E	1901/72/1	117
1572-73	E	1901/72/3	118
1573-74	E	1901/72/4	120 opening for account on p.81
1565-66	E	1901/71/8	121
?1576-77	E	1901/72/6	123
c.1578-79	E	1901/72/8	124
c.1550-73	E	Wanting	124
Elizabeth I	E	Wanting	125
Elizabeth I	E	Wanting	126
1580-81	E	1901/73/1	126 Top of account is p.129
1575-76	E	1901/72/5	127
1577-78	E	1901/72/7	NOT IN SWAYNE
?1582-83	E	Wanting	128
1579-80 (part)	E	1901/72/9	129
1580-81	E	1901/73/1	129 is top of account, bottom is p.126
n.d.	E	Wanting	130
1581-82	E	1901/73/2	131
1585-86	E	1901/73/4	132
1586-87 (part)	E	1901/75/1	133
1587-88	E	1901/75/2	135
1588-89	E	1901/75/3 incomplete	NOT IN SWAYNE
1580-90	E	1901/75/4 incomplete	NOT IN SWAYNE
1589-90	E	1901/76/1	136
1590-91	E	1901/76/2	138
1591-92	E	1901/76/3	139
1592-93	E	1901/76/4	140
1594-95	E	1901/76/5	142
1595-96	E	1901/76/6	144
1597-98	E	1901/77/1	145
1598-99	E	1901/77/2	146
1599-1600	E	1901/77/3	147
1600-01	E	1901/77/4	NOT IN SWAYNE

Year	Latin (L) or English (E)	WSA reference	Page number in Swayne
1601-02	E	1901/77/5	148
1602-03	E	1901/77/6	150
1603-04	E	1901/78/1	151
1605-06	E	1901/78/2	154
1606-07	E	1901/78/3	155
1607-08	E	1901/78/4	156
1608-09	E	1901/78/5	158
1609-10	E	1901/78/6	159
1610-11	E	1901/78/7	160
1611-12	E	1901/78/8	161
1612-13	E	1901/78/9	162
1614-15	E	1901/78/10	164
1615-16	E	1901/79/1	165
1616-17	E	1901/79/2	NOT IN SWAYNE
1617-18	E	1901/79/3	167
1619-20	E	1901/79/4	169
1620-21	E	1901/79/5	NOT IN SWAYNE
1621-22	E	1901/79/6	171
1622-23	E	1901/79/7	174
?1623-24	E	1901/79/8	176
1624-25	E	1901/79/9	179
1625-26	E	1901/80/1	182
1627-28	E	1901/80/2	184
1628-29	E	1901/80/3	187
1629-30	E	1901/80/4	188
1630-31	E	1901/80/5	191
1631-32	E	1901/80/6	195
1632-33	E	1901/80/7	197
1633-34	E	1901/80/8	198
1634-35	E	1901/80/9	201
1635-36	E	1901/80/10	203
1636-37	E	1901/80/11	205
1637-38	E	1901/80/12	207
1638-39	E	1901/80/13	209
1640-41	E	1901/81/1	211
1641-42	E	1901/81/2	212
1646-47	E	1901/81/3	215
1647-48	E	1901/81/4	217
1648-49	E	1901/81/5	218
1649-50	E	1901/82/1	220
1651-52	E	1901/82/2	223
1652-53	E	1901/82/3	226
1653-54	E	1901/82/4	229
1655-56	E	1901/82/5	231
1656-57	E	1901/82/6	232
1661-62	E	1901/83/1	236

Additional Accounts of the Churchwardens of St Edmund's

Year	Latin (L) or English (E)	WSA reference	Page number in Swayne
1443-46 (actually to 1445)	L	1901/66	357
1456-57	L		358
1457-58	L		359
Corrections to accounts from WSA: 1901/65			
1473-74	E		360
1474-75	E		360
1475-76	E		360
1476-77	E		362
1477-78	E		364
1478-79	E		365
1479-80	E		366 (see also p.23)
1480-81	E		367
1481-82	E		367
1482-83	E		368
1483-84	E		368
1484-85	E		368
1489-90	E		370

Accounts of the Stewards of the Fraternity of Jesus Mass, St Edmund's

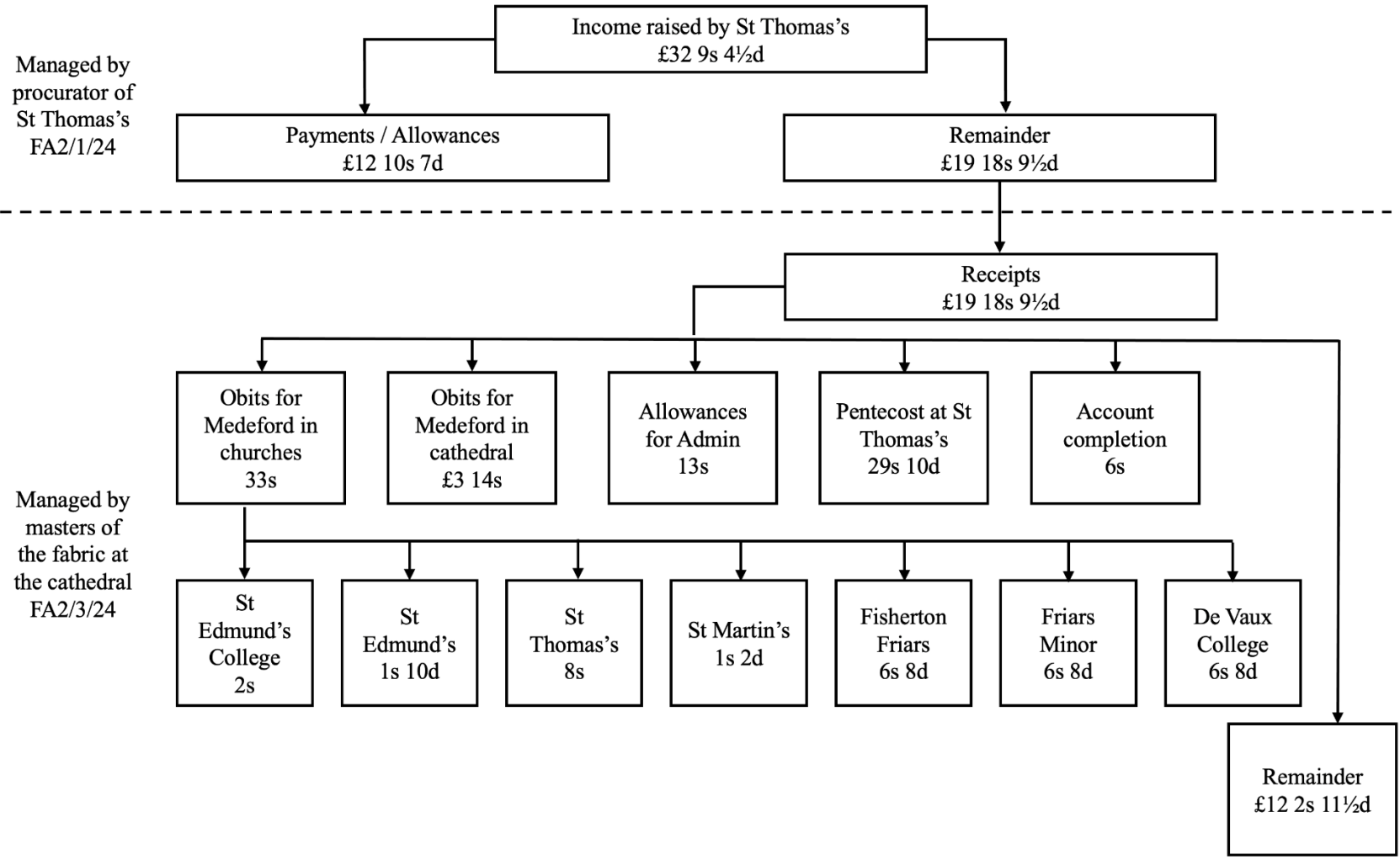
Year	Latin (L) or English (E)	WSA reference	Page number in Swayne
1476-77	L	1901/106	248
1495-96	L	1901/106	249
1497-98	L	1901/106	250
1499-1500	L	1901/106	251
1500-1501	L	1901/107	253
? c.1513-31	L	1901/106	NOT IN SWAYNE
1503-1504	L	1901/107	255
1504-1505	L	1901/107	257
1505-1506	L	1901/107	259
1507-1508	L	1901/107	261
1512-13	L	1901/107	262
1513-14	L	1901/107	NOT IN SWAYNE
1532-33	E	1901/108	264
1535-36	E	1901/108	265
1538-39	E	1901/108	265
1536-37	E	1901/108	266 & two other part accounts noted as ?1538 in archive belong to this year, not transcribed by Swayne
1539-40	E	1901/108	267
1541-42	E	1901/108	269
? c.1520-32	E		270
1545-46	E	1901/108	270
1546-47	E	1901/108	271
1547-48	E	1901/108	NOT IN SWAYNE
? c.1530-1537	E	1901/108	NOT IN SWAYNE
Will of William Bensington 1433	E	1901/74	379

Accounts of the Churchwardens of St Thomas, Salisbury (all in English)

Year	WSA reference	Page number in Swayne
1545-46	1900/69	273
1546-47	1900/69	273
1547-48	1900/70	274
1548-49	1900/71	276
1549-50	1900/72	276
1550-51	1900/73	278
1551-52	1900/74	278
1557-58	1900/75	279
1559-60	1900/76	279
1560-61	1900/76	280
1561-62	1900/76	281
1567-68	1900/76	282
1568-69	1900/76	283
1569-70	1900/76	284
1570-71	1900/76	284
1571-72	1900/76	285
1572-73	1900/76	286
1573-74	1900/76	287
1574-75	1900/76	288
1575-76	1900/76	289
1577-78	1900/76	290
1578-79	1900/76	290
1579-80	1900/76	291
1580-81	1900/76	291
1582-83	1900/76	292
1583-84	1900/76	293
1584-85	1900/76	294
1585-86	1900/76	295
1586-87	1900/76	296
1587-88	1900/76	296
1588-89	1900/76	297
1591-92	1900/76	298
1592-93	1900/76	298
1593-94	1900/76	299
1594-95	1900/76	300
1595-96	1900/78	301
1596-97	1900/76	301
1597-98	1900/76	302
1599-1600	1900/76	302
1600-1601	1900/80	303
1601-1602	Wanting	304
1602-03	1900/80	NOT IN SWAYNE
1604-05	1900/81	NOT IN SWAYNE
1605-06	1900/81	NOT IN SWAYNE
1606-07	1900/81	NOT IN SWAYNE
1607-08	Wanting	304
1608-09	Wanting	305
1609-10	Wanting	306
1610-11	1900/81	306
1611-12	1900/81	307
1612-13	1900/81	NOT IN SWAYNE
1613-14	Wanting	307

Year	WSA reference	Page number in Swayne
1614-15	Wanting	308
1619-20	1900/81	308
1620-21	1900/81	NOT IN SWAYNE
1621-22	1900/81	NOT IN SWAYNE
1622-23	1900/81	NOT IN SWAYNE
1623-24	1900/81	NOT IN SWAYNE
1624-25	1900/81	NOT IN SWAYNE
1625-26	Unable to access	310
1626-27	Unable to access	311
1628-29	Unable to access	312
1629-30	Unable to access	314
1630-31	Unable to access	315
1631-32	Unable to access	315
1632-33	Unable to access	316
1633-34	Unable to access	317
1637-38	Unable to access	318
1638-39	Unable to access	319
1639-40	Unable to access	320
1640-41	Unable to access	321
1641-42	Unable to access	321
1643-44	Unable to access	322
1644-45	1900/81	323
1646-47	Unable to access	324
1647-48	Unable to access	325
1648-49	Unable to access	326
1649-50	1900/81	326
1650-51	1900/81	327
1651-52	1900/81	328
1652-53	Unable to access	328
1653-54	Unable to access	329
1654-55	Unable to access	330
1655-56	Unable to access	331
1656-57	Unable to access	332
1658-59	Unable to access	332
1659-60	Unable to access	333
1660-61	Unable to access	333
1661-62	Unable to access	334
1662-63	Unable to access	335

Appendix 3: Flow of finance between St Thomas's Church and Cathedral, 1537-38



Managed by
procurator of
St Thomas's
FA2/1/24

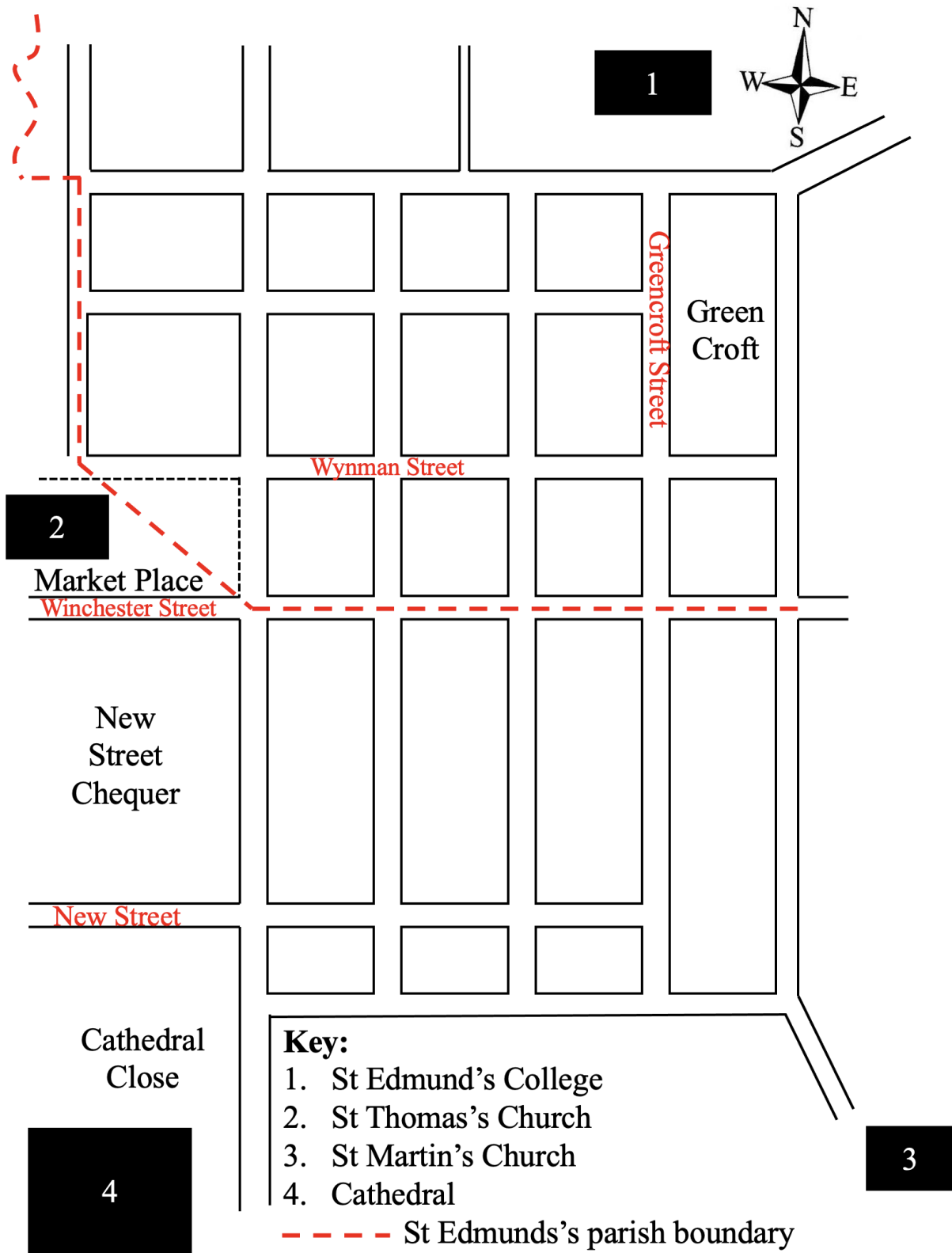
Managed by
masters of
the fabric at
the cathedral
FA2/3/24

Appendix 4: Cathedral Fabric Accounts

Year	Call number	Comments
Oct 1527-Oct 1543	FA/1/3/1	This is a book of accounts arranged by Term. The years 1536-37 and 1541-42 are missing and that for 1540-41 is lacking expenditure for Term IV. Latin
1464-65	FA/1/1/1	Latin. Poor condition
1473-74	FA/1/1/2	Latin. Poor condition
1477-78	FA/1/1/3	Latin. Poor condition
Wanting	FA/1/1/4	Latin. Poor condition
1492-93	FA/1/1/5	Latin. Poor condition
1509-10	FA/1/1/6	Latin. Poor condition
1513-14	FA/1/1/7	Latin. Poor condition
1514-15	FA/1/1/8	Latin. Incomplete
1515-16	FA/1/1/9	Latin. Incomplete
1517-18	FA/1/1/10	Latin. Poor condition
c.1518	FA/1/1/11	Latin. Poor condition
1530-31	FA/1/1/12	Latin – the only account duplicated in FA/1/3/1 above
1536-37	FA/1/1/13	Latin
1539-40	FA/1/1/14	Latin
1558-59	FA/1/1/15	Written in English from here on.
1561-62	FA/1/1/16	
1563-64	FA/1/1/17	Includes added pages 'Fabric Accounts: 3 loose pages from Fabric Accounts'
1566-67	FA/1/1/18	Part of that listed under FA/1/1/17 belongs here
1567-68	FA/1/1/19	
1569-70	FA/1/1/20	
1570-71	FA/1/1/21	
1571-72	FA/1/1/22	
1572-73	FA/1/1/23	
1578-79	FA/1/1/24	
1579-80	FA/1/1/25	
1581-82	FA/1/1/26	
1582-83	FA/1/1/27	Includes additional page on the repair of the Chapter House windows
1584-85	FA/1/1/28	
1585-86	FA/1/1/29	
1586-87	FA/1/1/30	
1587-88	FA/1/1/31	
1588-89	FA/1/1/32	
1589-90	FA/1/1/33	
1590-91	FA/1/1/34	
1591-92	FA/1/1/35	
1592-93	FA/1/1/36	
1593-94	FA/1/1/37	
1594-95	FA/1/1/38	
1595-96	FA/1/1/39	
1596-97	FA/1/1/40	
1597-98	FA/1/1/41	
1600-01	FA/1/1/42	
1601-02	FA/1/1/43	Five months only
1602-03	FA/1/1/44	
1603-04	FA/1/1/45	Plague year – little activity
1604-05	FA/1/1/46	Plague year
1605-06	FA/1/1/47	
1610-11	FA/1/1/48	

Year	Call number	Comments
1611-12	FA/1/1/49	
1612-13	FA/1/1/50	Includes loose sheet
1613-14	FA/1/1/51	
1614-15	FA/1/1/52	
1615-16	FA/1/1/53	
1617-18	FA/1/1/54	
1618-19	FA/1/1/55	
1620-21	FA/1/1/56	
1621-22	FA/1/1/57	
1629-30	FA/1/1/58	Additional sheet at the end
1630-31	FA/1/1/59	
1632-33	FA/1/1/60	
1633-34	FA/1/1/61	
1635-36	FA/1/1/62	
1637-38	FA/1/1/63	Includes loose page and items from 1622, 1623 and 1629
1642-43	FA/1/1/64	
1664-67	FA/1/1/65	Format and contents different to the others with information regarding money taken out of the chest

Appendix 5: Schematic plan of Salisbury



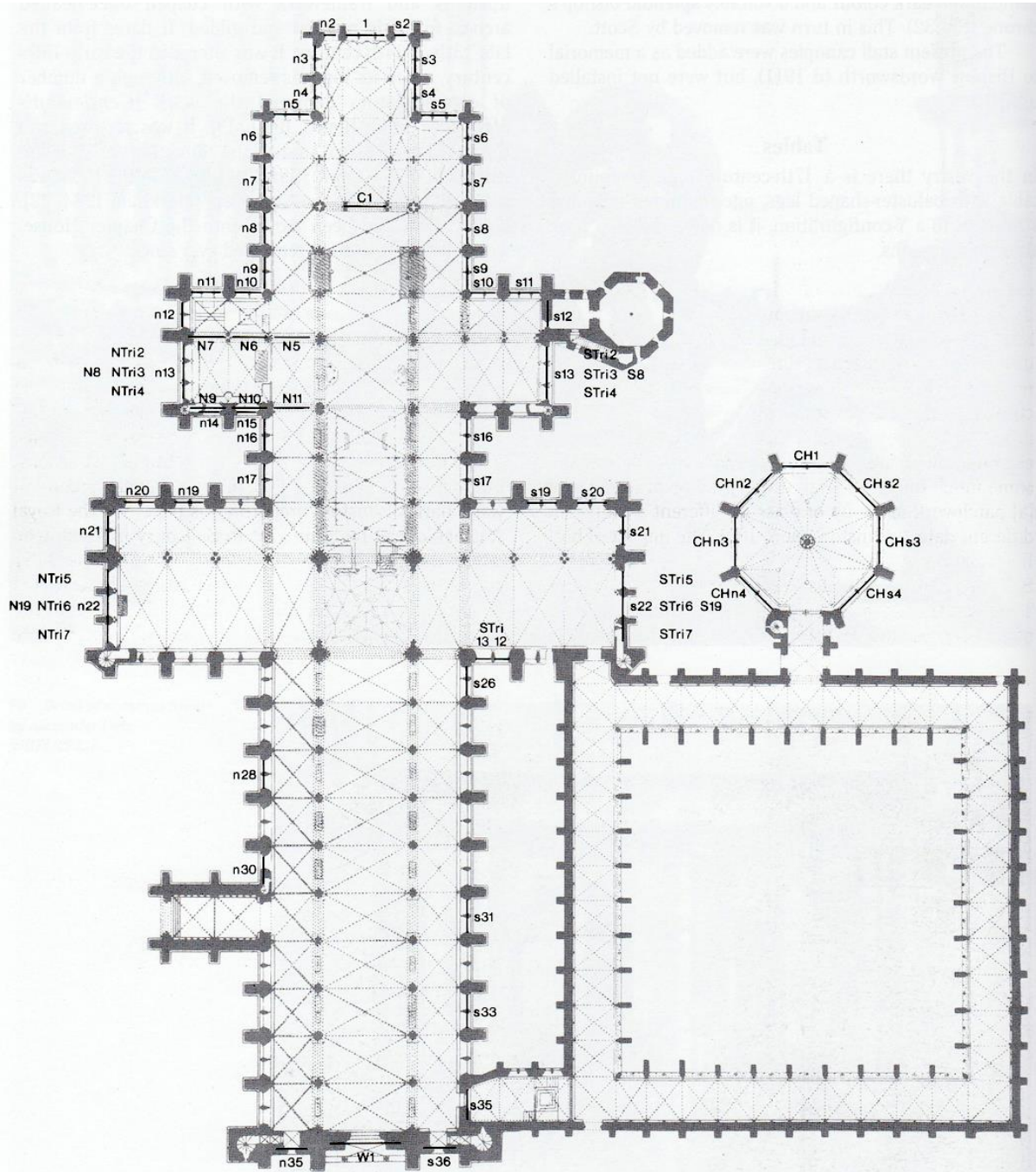
Appendix 6: Income from the Fraternity of Jesus at St Edmund's Church

Year	Rent of land & tenements			Quarterly subscriptions			Sales from store house/ other			Gifts & legacies			Agistment			Total		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
1476-1477	3	16	8	3	8	0				2	7	4		1	0	9	13	0
1495-1496	5	13	4	5	6	4										10	19	8
1497-1498				4	10	2				9	2					4	19	4
1499-1500	6	13	4	4	12	10				4						11	10	2
1500-1501	6	13	4	5	0	6½		2	4	2						11	18	2½
1503-1504	6	14	4	4	1	11		4	0		12					11	1	3
1504-1505	7	3	4	4	5	9½		4	1	10	4					12	3	6½
1505-1506	7	6	8	3	16	2½		4	8	4	4					11	11	10½
1507-1508	7	6	8	4	15	6										12	2	2
1512-1513	4			4	14	1½				4	10					8	18	11½
1513-1514	3	18														3	18	3
1532-1533	6	15		4	2	11		8	6	12	11½					11	19	4½
1535-1536	5	7	4	3	9	9½										8	17	1½
1536-1537	6	10	10		56	3				7	4					9	14	5
1538-1539	10	8	8		41	11½				8	5					12	19	½
1539-1540	8	2			38	8				28	12					38	12	8
1541-1542	8	2			42	8				3	4					10	8	0
1545-1546	8	2			50	8					4					10	13	10
1546-1547	8	2			34	3				4	0					10	0	3
1547-1548	8	2			36	3										9	18	3
15th cent								9	9	3						9	9	3
c.1530-1540	13		10½													13	0	10½

Appendix 7: Expenditure from the Fraternity of Jesus at St Edmund's Church

Year ending	Rent paid to bishop/ king			Repairs to tenements			Morrow Mass priest			Other wages (clerk/ extra priests)			Singers in Lent			Singing <i>placebo</i> and <i>dirige</i>			Lights			Bread & wine			Vestments incl. washing			Other			Total			
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d				
1477		1	9½				3	6	8		22				18		8	1					7	4		15	8	3	10	10	9	13	10½	
1496		2	5½				5	6	8		2																	15	0	6	6	1½		
1498		9	1½	2	3	9½	5	6	8		3	4	1	8					10						4	6	1	16	2	10	15	3		
1500		3	11½	1	14	4	5	6	8		3	4	1	8					12	1			3	15		1	0		1	8	8	8	11½	
1501		3	11½	1	0	6	5	6	8		3	4	1	8					7	8								15	0	7	18	9½		
1504					15	8	5	6	8		4			2	6				9	4				16		1	11		2	4	7	3	9	
1505		18	9		19	7	5	6	8		4			2	6				1	13	1½						4		2	9	9	14	5½	
1506		14	7	2	16	8	5	6	8		4			2					9	4½								2	0	10	1	½		
1508		10	7½	2	4	7	5	6			4			2	9				12	2½						2	1		2	0	9	9	0	
1513		10	7½		18	10½	5	13	4		5	4		3	4				11	3			3	8		7	10				8	14	3	
1514		3	11½	1	1	11½	6	0	0		6	8		2	9½				15	7									3	8	15	4½		
1533		7	4	2	13	11					5	17	8		5	8		2	6	1	3	0		3	9				1	4	10	15	2	
1536		7	0		18	2	6				13			5	8				2	9									8	9	7	0		
1537		7	4	7	2	4	6				13			3	9				3	5							4				15	11	1	
1539		7	4		13	2	6				7			3	4				3	4									8	8	18	5½		
1540		7	4	26	17	7	6				13			4	6				2	8									9	34	18	6½		
1542		13	4		45	9½	6				7			5	8				2	4										10	10	1		
1546		7	4	1	16	2	6				13			9					2	3								2	0	11	12	7	8	
1547		7	4		49	1½	6				14			5	8				2	11							1	0		1	8	10	16	2
1548		7	4	3	4	11½	6				13								3	1							1	0		1		10	18	2½
15 th cent		7	10	17	4	10½	6	10							10													2	2	2	27	12	5½	
1530s		4	6	5	9	8	6				7			5															1	4	13	6	7	

Appendix 8: Plan of Salisbury Cathedral showing location of windows



NOTE: Windows numbered using *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevii* (CVMA) numbering.¹

Taken from: This material is Crown copyright and contains public sector information licensed under the Open Government Licence v3.0, <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/doc/open-government-licence/version3/>.

¹ Brown, *Sumptuous and Richly Adorn'd*, p. 78.

Appendix 9: Names of glaziers of the churches of Salisbury

Dates	Name	Church	Reference	Notes
1443-1445	John Benet	St Edmund's	Swayne p.358. WSA: 1901/66/1.	
1468-1469	John Benet	St Edmund's	Swayne p.11.	
1478-1482	Robert Parche	St Edmund's	Swayne p.368. WSA: 1901/65 p.53.	Robert was also churchwarden during 1481-82.
1479-1481	John Roleys (or Rellys)	Cathedral	SCA: FA/3/1/1/22.	
1484-1485	J. Bremley & J. Chapman	St Edmund's	Swayne p.371. WSA: 1901/65, p.63.	
1492-1493	Walter Petyte	St Edmund's	Swayne p.36.	
1495-1496	William George & William Belryngg	St Edmund's	Swayne p.45. WSA: 1901/68/3.	William George made two new windows one to the BVM, the other to St Osmund
1497-1498	William Multone & John Rolffe	St Edmund's	Swayne p.49. WSA: 1901/68/4.	
1499-1500	Philip Joseph	St Edmund's	Swayne p.51. WSA: 1901/65, p.75.	
1500-1501	Walter Petite	St Edmund's	Swayne p.54. WSA: 1901/68/5.	
1528-1529	Luce the glazier	Cathedral	SCA: FA/1/3/1, p.15	
1530-1531	Harry Parche	St Edmund's	Swayne p.80. WSA: 1901/69/7.	
1539-1540	Harry Perche	St Edmund's	Swayne p.268. WSA: 1901/108.	Jesus Mass a/cs
1549-1550	Hacker	St Thomas's	Swayne p.277. WSA: 1900/72.	
1558-1559	Thomas Harrand	Cathedral	SCA: FA/1/1/15.	
1561-1562	Peter the glazier	Cathedral	SCA: FA/1/1/16.	
1563-1564	Peter Rowce	Cathedral	SCA: FA/1/1/17.	
1563-1564	Thomas Cooke	St Edmund's	Swayne p.110. WSA: 1901/71/6.	
1566-1567	Peter Rowce & Peter Herme	Cathedral	SCA: FA/1/1/18.	
1567-1568	Peter Rowse & Peter Herne	Cathedral	SCA: FA/1/1/19.	
1564-1565	Thomas Hacker	St Edmund's	Swayne p.115	
1569-1570	Peter Rowce & Peter Rufus	Cathedral	SCA: FA/1/1/20.	
1570-1571	Grigory Coke	St Edmund's	Swayne p.118. WSA: 1901/72/1.	
1571-1572	Hacker of Fisherton	St Thomas's	Swayne p.286. WSA: 1900/76.	
1575-1576	Gregory Hacker	St Thomas's	Swayne p.289. WSA: 1900/76.	
1577-1578	Gregorye Cooke	St Thomas's	Swayne p.290. WSA: 1900/76.	
1582-1583	Peter the glazier	Cathedral	SCA: FA/1/1/27.	Probably Peter Riger (alias Heron) who died in December 1588 ¹

¹ TNA: PROB 11/72/64, *Will of Peter Riger alias Heron, Glazier, Salisbury, 25 January 1588.*

Dates	Name	Church	Reference	Notes
1584-1585	Peter the glazier	Cathedral	SCA: FA/1/1/28.	
1588-1589	Abell Rouse & Drue	Cathedral	SCA: FA/1/1/32.	Both known as 'Mr Cosell's men'
1589-1590	Colselles men	Cathedral	SCA: FA/1/1/33.	
1590-1591	Abell Rouse	Cathedral	SCA: FA/1/1/34.	
1591-1592	J. Fettiplace (or Phettiplace) ²	St Thomas's	Swayne p.298. WSA: 1900/76.	
1591-1592	Abel & Drue, Mr Cosell's men	Cathedral	SCA: FA/1/1/35.	
1592-1593	Abell, Mr Cosell's man	Cathedral	SCA: FA/1/1/36.	
1594-1595	Fettiplace	St Thomas's	Swayne p.300. WSA: 1900/76.	
1594-1595	Abell Rouse	Cathedral	SCA: FA/1/1/38.	Was paid annually
1595-1596	Roger Ames	St Edmund's	Swayne p.193 WSA: 1901/65, p.218.	Entered into an agreement to mend the windows at St Edmund's
1600-1601-1635-36	Abell Rouse	Cathedral	SCA: FA/1/1/42. SCA: FA/1/1/63.	
c.1606-1607	Rawlence (or Rawlens)	St Edmund's	Swayne p.157. WSA: 1901/78.	Probably William Rawlins, died August 1628 ³
1627-1628	W. Swift	St Edmund's	Swayne p.185.	
1651-1652	W. Heely	St Edmund's	Swayne p.225.	

² WSA: P1/P/196, *Will of William Phettiplace, 1649.*

³ TNA: PROB 11/154/164, *Will of William Rawlins, Glazier of Salisbury, 19 August 1628.* WSA: P5/1625/74, *Will and Inventory of William Rawlins, 1628.*

Appendix 10: The making of a stained-glass window

The raw material required to make glass was silica in the form of sand, quartz, or flint which was placed in a clay crucible along with a flux such as potash, and a stabilizer, for example, limestone. The mixture was then placed in a furnace and heated to around 1,480° C, using wood as a fuel. From the eleventh century onwards, the resultant molten glass was then manipulated in one of three ways to produce either broad glass, cylinder glass, or crown glass. In the case of the first two, molten glass was blown through a blowpipe to form a cylinder; the end of this was pierced by an assistant glassmaker. For broad glass, the hot semi-molten cylinder was then cut and flattened to form a sheet which was placed on a stone bed. The glass was manipulated using tools made of iron or wood which produced small pieces with indentations and other imperfections visible on the surface of the glass and these were an important part of it.¹ Cylinder glass required the molten glass to be blown into a cylinder as for broad glass, but it was then left to cool somewhat and opened out into a sheet which was flattened using a block of damp hardwood on a bed of hard material. In both processes, the resultant sheet was then annealed in a furnace.² The third method was the production of crown glass which enabled the formation of a piece of glass that was smooth on both sides. Glass was gathered onto a blowing iron and then formed into a large flat bubble which was removed from the blowpipe and transferred to an assistant holding a solid iron rod. The glass was reheated and opened out to form a section like a bowl of a large wine glass which was slowly rotated. Finally, it was spun vigorously to form a ‘table’ of glass with a central bullion or

¹ Steve Clare, *Stained Glass: Art, Craft and Conservation* (London: Robert Hale, 2013), p. 47.

² Clare, *Stained Glass*, p. 48. Annealing is the process of cooling glass slowly in a kiln in order to remove the tensions within the material to enable it to be cut without shattering.

‘bull’s-eye’.³ Only the edges of this glass were used for church windows with the central cheaper part appearing in houses.

White glass made with pure substances was transparent: however, coloured glass required additional materials to be added such as metal oxides which either dissolved in the molten glass or were dispersed or suspended: for example, particles of gold were used to produce ruby glass.⁴ Alternatively, a silver compound could be painted on the back of the glass which when heated in the kiln penetrated the surface and produced a transparent yellow to orange colouration, which was a feature of glass from the fourteenth-century onwards.⁵ An oven was noted in the Salisbury Cathedral account for 1563-64 which may have had an iron grille: ‘for iij barres of Iron for the glasiers oven weinge xvij li at ijd the li – ijs ijd’.⁶

To make the window, the design known as a cartoon (or vidimus) was painted onto white, long tables: boundaries between adjacent pieces of glass were then marked on to it – this was where the leading would be applied later in the process. The cartoon was painted and details such as folds of clothes or facial details added. Glass was then selected according to colour and texture for each area and cut to size using the cartoon as a template. Each piece of glass had the outline of that section of the design traced on it with chalk ground in water. The glass was cut using a hot iron rod which when applied to the outline of the design caused the glass to crack enabling it to be snapped off. Reference to these rods appear in the Salisbury Cathedral accounts for 1588-89 as ‘It for making ij Irons to breake glase ijd’ along with an ‘Iron ruler for the glasyer ijd’.⁷ This produced a ragged edge which was tidied up using a grozing iron such as that made for the glazier in 1572 at a cost of 4d; in June 1592 Hancoke

³ Clare, *Stained Glass*, p. 50.

⁴ Sonia Halliday and Laura Lushington, *Stained Glass* (London: Mitchell Beazley, 1976), p. 8.

⁵ Salzman, *Building in England*, p. 180.

⁶ SCA: FA/1/1/17, *Fabric account, 1563-64*.

⁷ SCA: FA/1/1/32, *Fabric account, 1588-89*.

the smith was remunerated for ‘making vj grosing Irones and dresinge ix olde ones of the glasyers’.⁸

The design was completed by adding further coloured detail using powdered metallic oxides mixed with water and gum-arabic (to help it adhere to the glass): later, jet was used as an alternative colouration.⁹ Urine or vinegar were also added to render the gum-arabic insoluble once dry. Several coats of these mixtures could be applied to produce differing depths of colour. A variety of effects could be created on the glass using different brushes and other tools, including stippling and fine detail produced by removing paint with a needle.¹⁰ The process of annealing or fusing the paint onto the glass then took place in a furnace. The cathedral accounts for January 1568 show that the furnace was heated with wood ‘Itm to a laborer for clevinge a plo[n]ke for fyre to the glasiers worke’.¹¹ A further example is shown in May 1591 when ‘iij tryes carigh out of the litten to make fyre for the glasyor’.¹² Tallow candles also were provided in order for the glazier to be able to see his work in the darkest months.¹³

Once the glass was ready it was re-assembled on the cartoon and held in place with T-headed nails, which were purchased by Salisbury Cathedral in 1587, ‘halfe a hundred of nealles for the glasyer’.¹⁴ Lead strips or comes, which were hollow on both sides, were fitted in place around the glass (see Figure 1 and Figure 2). The came was made from lead which is noted in the cathedral accounts ‘for iij C and a hallfe of leade for the glasyor at viijs a C’.¹⁵ The molten

⁸ SCA: FA/1/1/23, *Fabric account, 1572-73*. SCA: FA/1/1/34, *Fabric account, 1590-91*.

⁹ Jet was an easily fusible lead glass found as black beads.

¹⁰ Salzman, *Building in England*, p. 179.

¹¹ SCA: FA/1/1/19, *Fabric account, 1567-68*.

¹² SCA: FA/1/1/34, *Fabric account, 1590-91*.

¹³ SCA: FA/1/1/33, *Fabric account, 1589-90*.

¹⁴ SCA: FA/1/1/30, *Fabric account, 1586-87*.

¹⁵ SCA: FA/1/1/35, *Fabric account, 1591-92*.

lead was transferred into a mould using a ‘castinge ladell’.¹⁶ The equipment for this was called a ‘vyne’ and was expensive, at 33s 4d.¹⁷ Once the lead was cold it could be cut using glazier’s shears, or a knife.¹⁸ For accuracy, a vice may have held the lead in place: this piece of equipment appears in the cathedral accounts for 1592-93.¹⁹ Lead comes were used to join all the pieces of glass within the window: finally, a double lead band was fixed around the outside of the finished window (see Figure 1 and Figure 2).



Figure 1: Lead came ready to use

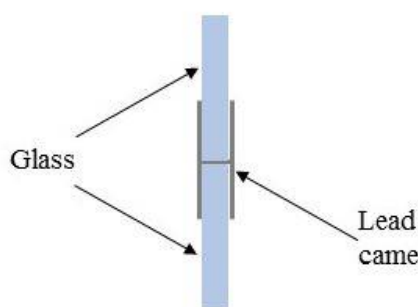


Figure 2: Diagram of glass located into lead came

The lead was soldered at every joint on both sides of the glass with either pewter, or a mixture of lead and tin, with a flux of rosin.²⁰ The accounts also show the use of soldering irons ‘ij Sodringe Irones and ij ferelles for them for the glasyer’.²¹ Once the panel was completed a cement was rubbed into the lead comes on both sides of the window in order to fill the gaps between the glass and the lead.²² The cement in the late sixteenth century was probably a mix

¹⁶ SCA: FA/1/1/35, *Fabric account, 1591-92*.

¹⁷ SCA: FA/1/1/18, *Fabric account, 1566-67*. Around £500 today. MeasuringWorth.com, *Relative Value in UK £ at 2019 prices*.

¹⁸ SCA: FA/1/1/32, *Fabric account, 1588-89*. SCA: FA/1/1/36, *Fabric account, 1592-93*.

¹⁹ SCA: FA/1/1/32, *Fabric account, 1588-89*.

²⁰ J. D. Le Couteur, *English Medieval Painted Glass* (New York and Toronto: SPCK, 1926), p. 15. Forty-one pounds of tin were purchased for the glazier at a cost of 13s 4d. SCA: FA/1/1/36, *Fabric account, 1592-93*. SCA: FA/1/1/16, *Fabric account, 1561-62*. Rosin or resin was a solid substance obtained from trees such as pine. Its main purpose was to prevent oxidation of the base metal – in this case the lead.

²¹ SCA: FA/1/1/36, *Fabric account, 1592-93*.

²² This may have been applied with a trowel as the accounts for 1591-92 show ‘a truell for the glasyer’. SCA: FA/1/1/35, *Fabric account, 1591-92*.

of lime and linseed oil as the cathedral accounts show ‘a seake of lyme for the glasyor’ and ‘a qr of linsyd oylle to sment the great wyndow at the north dore xvijj’.²³ The excess cement was cleaned off and then left to harden for a few days leaving the glass watertight and less likely to rattle in the wind.²⁴

All the windows at the cathedral still have wooden frames of oak set into the stone for which the carpenter was responsible (see Figure 3 and Figure 4).²⁵ When the wooden frame was prepared, the smith made the iron bars to fit the window, which was a highly skilled job (see Figure 5 and Figure 6). Rusting was a problem particularly at the ends of the bars as is illustrated in the cathedral account for 1563-64: ‘Also paid to hancock the smythe for mendinge the ends of xvijj great barres for wyndowes iijj’.²⁶ Whole bars were also replaced regularly, for instance ‘It dellevored to mr Coselles man the xxvj daye for iij bares for a wyndow weinge iijj li and a halfe at ijd ob the li 11d’.²⁷ The glazing bars had ‘iees’, ‘eayes’, ‘clampes’, or ‘lugs’, which were iron squares soldered onto it (see Figure 7 and Figure 8).²⁸ It seems that the glazier was able to leave his equipment near the window where he was working as in 1585-86 Hancoke the smith was paid ‘for a keay for a chapell dore for to leay the glasyers thinges in’.²⁹ Finally, it was necessary to sweep the area clean following work with ‘besomes for the glasyeres’.³⁰

²³ SCA: FA/1/1/33, *Fabric account, 1589-90*.

²⁴ Victoria and Albert Museum, *Making a stained-glass panel* (n.d.)

<http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/m/making-a-stained-glass-panel/> [accessed 11 August 2017].

²⁵ Sam Kelly, *Glazier at Salisbury Cathedral, personal communication by email*, November 2017. SCA: FA/1/1/30, 1586-87.

²⁶ SCA: FA/1/1/17, *Fabric account, 1563-64*.

²⁷ SCA: FA/1/1/35, *Fabric account, 1591-92*.

²⁸ ‘One dosen of clampes’ cost 8d. SCA: FA/1/1/35, *Fabric account, 1591-92*. Keys’ or ‘wedges for clampes’ cost 1d each. ‘Ston clintes for the glasyer’ were also used. SCA: FA/1/1/30, *Fabric account, 1586-87*.

²⁹ SCA: FA/1/1/29, *Fabric account, 1585-86*.

³⁰ SCA: FA/1/1/33, *Fabric account, 1589-90*.



Figure 3: Medieval timber window frame at Salisbury Cathedral. This has a cover strip over $\frac{3}{4}$ of the frame that is 19th century and forms a rebate. Photo: Sam Kelly



Figure 4: Detail of medieval window frame at Salisbury Cathedral. Photo: Sam Kelly



Figure 5: Metal work set up ready to receive the glass at the Chapter House, Salisbury Cathedral.
Photo: Sam Kelly



Figure 6: Close-ups of metal work at Salisbury Cathedral

Note (a) the way the bars are joined together with the two fingers of one bar wrapped around the other bar; (b) the mortises in the bars to hold the eyes. Photo: Sam Kelly



Figure 7: Leaded glass, glazing bar, eye, and wedge

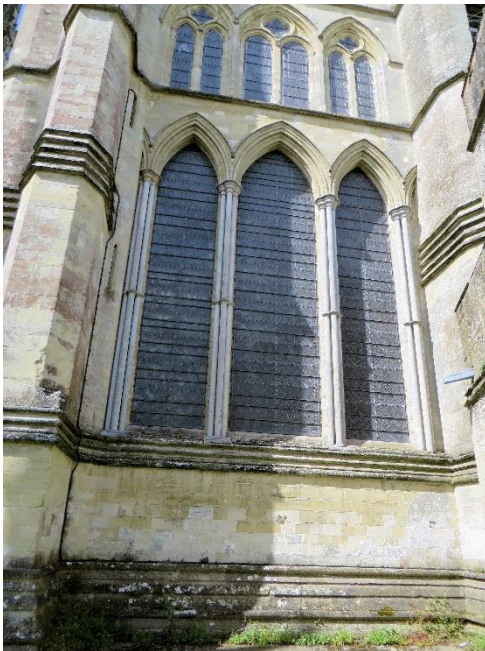


Figure 8: Salisbury Cathedral. South-east vestry window, glazed as in the sixteenth century with external metal work

Appendix 11: Experiments with tallow and beeswax

Introduction

A series of six investigations were carried out in order to answer the following research questions regarding the use of beeswax and tallow in the cathedral and churches of Salisbury:

- How was tallow rendered?
- How were tallow and beeswax candles made?
- Why were tallow candles rather than beeswax candles used by the choir of Salisbury Cathedral and other churches in Salisbury?
- Why were beeswax candles used on the altar and around the churches and cathedral particularly on feast days?
- What was the difference in light intensities between beeswax and tallow candles?
- How did light intensity vary with the diameter of a candle?
- Was it necessary to have more than one candle to see to read?
- How did the light intensity vary with distance away from manuscripts?
- What mass of beeswax in particular, was required in order to keep a candle alight continuously for the whole year?

Investigation 1: Rendering tallow from cattle and sheep suet

Background

Tallow is ‘the solid oil or fat of ruminant animals; commercially it is obtained almost entirely from oxen and sheep’.³¹ The fat from around the kidneys is known as suet, but fat from any part of the animal may be used to produce tallow. In 1531, the mayor of Salisbury, William Lobbe, kept a record of the quantity of tallow and the number of candles produced in the city

³¹ Monier-Williams, *Tallow Chandlers*, p. 35.

during the year: this amounted to 5,164 dozen candles, which at 13 lbs to the dozen equated to 67,132 lbs of tallow.³² In that the predominant farming system in the Salisbury area was that of sheep-corn husbandry, it is likely that the majority of the tallow was sourced from sheep rather than cattle.³³ Whilst the average fat content of sheep carcasses was 16%, only the internal fat (that being kidney knob and channel fat) was suitable for the production of tallow, which amounts to 4% of the carcass. Assuming a carcass weight of around 60lb, this would have produced around 2½ lb of tallow.³⁴ Therefore, approximately 26,850 sheep would have been slaughtered (and eaten!) to produce the tallow by-product used by the city and surrounding areas that year.

Method

Although for some of the following investigations commercially produced beef-dripping was used to mould tallow candles, it was also necessary to produce a candle from raw ingredients in order to understand the process fully.³⁵ For this investigation, 136g of beef suet was obtained from a butcher and cut into small pieces (see Figure 1). It was placed in a wax melter with 40 mls of tap water (see Figure 2).³⁶ Similarly, fat from sheep was also prepared in a separate container. The contents of the melter were stirred occasionally: both types of tallow boiled at 98.4°C and reached a top temperature of 98.9°C over three hours. Once melted (see Figure 3), the mixture was strained through a commercial paint strainer in order to separate

³² WSA: G23/1/2, *Salisbury City Corporation ledger B*, November 20 1531.

³³ Joseph Bettey, *Wiltshire farming in the seventeenth century* (Trowbridge: Wiltshire Record Society, 2005), p. 158.

³⁴ A. J. S. Gibson, 'The size and weight of cattle and sheep in Early Modern Scotland', *Agricultural History Review*, 36.2 (1988), 162-171.

³⁵ Monier-Williams, *Tallow Chandlers*, pp. 35-36.

³⁶ The melter was used for both beeswax and tallow throughout these investigations as a safer and more controlled alternative to a double boiler heated over a naked flame. The model used was a Babylliss Pro Satin Smooth.

the usable liquid from the waste (see Figure 4). The tallow produced was then used to make candles: see investigation 2.



Figure 1: Preparation of suet



Figure 2: Melting the suet and measuring the temperature



Figure 3: Melted mixture



Figure 4: Filtering the mixture to produce tallow

Results

After three hours the majority of the suet was rendered into a liquid. From the original cattle fat of 136 g, 13 g of waste meat and gristle remained. A similar quantity of waste was produced in the case of the sheep fat rendering.

Conclusion

Tallow can be produced from both cattle and sheep fat on a small scale.

Investigation 2: The production of tallow and beeswax candles

Background

This author has been producing beeswax candles for show purposes for a number of years and thus, all the equipment required was available.

Candles are a symbiosis of wax (or tallow), wick and air. The aim is to produce a candle:

- that burns with a bright flame without smoking
- produces a pool of wax which extends to the edge of the candle, but leaves a crust around the circumference to prevent leakage down the side of the candle
- and finally, can burn all the way to the base without becoming misshapen.

The wick once alight, starts to burn downwards and melts the wax. The wick draws the wax upwards towards the flame by capillary action (see Figure 5). It is thus important to use the correct size of wick according to the diameter of the candle. This information is well-documented for modern wicks; however, we do not have firm evidence of the size or type of wick used during the sixteenth century, nor do we know whether it differed between that used for tallow and for beeswax.³⁷

³⁷ Coggsall and Morse, *Beeswax*, pp. 128-131. Ahnert, 'The Right Size Wick', 1-7.

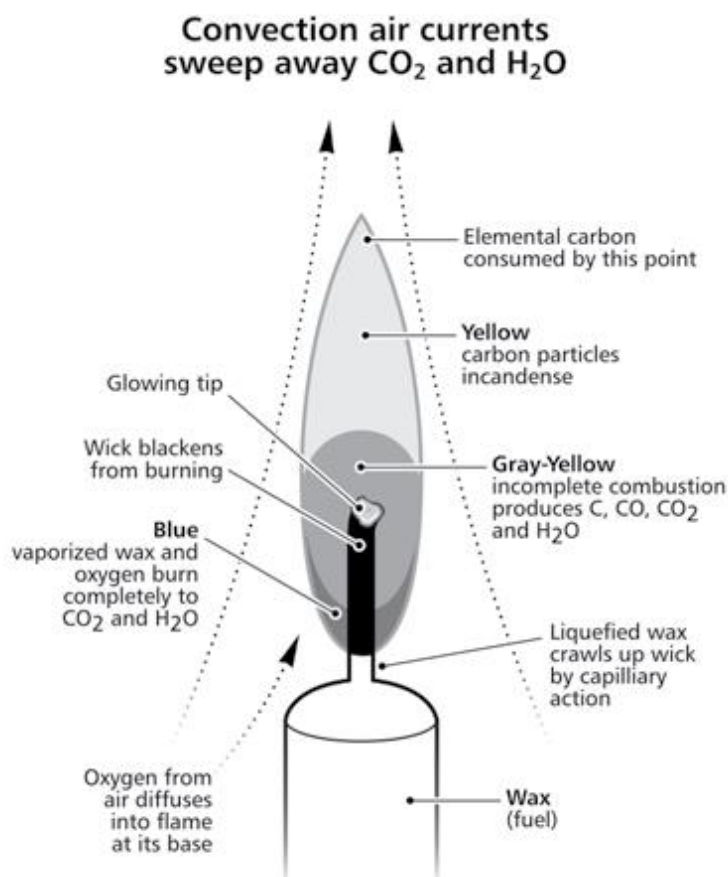


Figure 5: Diagram showing theory of a burning candle³⁸

Method

Beeswax, tallow from cattle in the form of beef dripping, and sheep tallow were melted in separate containers in a wax melter (see Investigation 1). The melting point of the tallow was measured using a digital thermometer. The wicks were prepared by dipping in the same molten wax or tallow as that of the finished candle, in order to stiffen them and enable them to burn properly. Each wick was then threaded into a mould.

Although candles were usually produced industrially by dipping, silicone moulds were chosen as this method is quicker and the candles are easier to remove from the moulds. Two different diameters were used: $\frac{3}{4}$ inch and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter. The same commercially available braided cotton wick of the appropriate size was used for both the tallow and the beeswax

³⁸ William Hammack and Donald DeCoste, *Michael Faraday's Chemical History of a Candle* (Articulate Noise Books, 2016), p. 10.

candles: number 2 for ¾” and number 5 for 1¾”. Elastic bands were applied in order to hold the mould together and the wick was stretched and supported by used matches.

Once the solid wax/tallow had melted, it was poured into a jug and from there into the mould.

It was then left to cool for several hours before removal from the mould (see Figure 6).

Finally, the wick was trimmed.



Figure 6: Candles setting in moulds

Results

From measurement the melting point of cattle tallow is 33°C, and that of sheep tallow 42°C, whereas the melting point of beeswax is between 62°C and 66°C.³⁹ This information is particularly important for beeswax in that overheating can cause unsightly discolouration.

On removal from the moulds the beeswax came out easily in one piece, but the cattle tallow from beef dripping was too soft and needed refrigeration - unlike that which had been produced from rendered fat (see Investigation 1). Notwithstanding this treatment, it was

³⁹ This is comparable with the results of Dean and Hill: John Dean and Nick Hill, 'Burn Marks on Buildings: Accidental or Deliberate?', *Vernacular Architecture*, 45 (2014), 2. Cogshall and Morse, *Beeswax*, p. 17.

difficult to handle which is unsurprising given that the surface temperature of the hand is around 34°C.⁴⁰



Figure 7: Candles made from rendered tallow (cattle on the left, sheep on the right)

Conclusion

The candle produced from the cattle tallow was white and firm (see Figure 7): it burned with a clear, bright light without smoke. That from the sheep tallow was slightly creamier in colour than the cattle tallow and although it did not produce any greasy smoke or odour, it did spit – possibly due to excess water in the fat. The light was also noticeably dimmer to the eye, in the case of the sheep tallow candle: however, see Investigation 3. Thus, whilst it is possible to produce candles from both tallow and beeswax, the low melting point of cattle tallow in particular makes the resulting candles difficult to work with in warm environments.

⁴⁰ Dean and Hill, 'Burn Marks on Buildings', 3.

Investigation 3: To measure the light emitted from candles

Background

It is expected that a thicker wick will burn wax at a greater rate and therefore produce a brighter light: this investigation will confirm this, or otherwise.

Method

Candles made from each of cattle tallow and beeswax, all of $\frac{3}{4}$ " diameter, were arranged in three different configurations: a single candle, a pair side-by-side, and three in a triangle (with two placed in front and one behind, see Figure 8 and Figure 9). In addition a single candle of sheep tallow of $\frac{3}{4}$ " diameter was made. The candles were allowed to burn until a puddle of wax or tallow had formed at the base of the wick. The light meter sensor (see Figure 8) was then placed on top of a box at the level of the lit candles. The control box was placed inside the cardboard box enabling a torch to be used to read the display, without interfering with the measured light level.⁴¹ The light meter was set to CDS mode and the appropriate end of the sensor used: the sensitivity was switched to 200 μA .⁴² The experiment was carried out in the dark and the background 'light' was measured. Readings were also taken using larger ($1\frac{3}{4}$ " diameter candles of tallow from each of sheep and cattle, and beeswax. Measurements were noted three times (see Tables 1, 2 and 3 below).

⁴¹ It was not possible to read the light meter in the dark, as there was no way of lighting the display.

⁴² CDS – using the Cadmium Sulphide Sensor.



Figure 8: Light meter control unit and sensor



Figure 9: Layout of investigation using three candles

Results

N.B. Background light was measured as 0 arbitrary units.

Table 1: Brightness of beeswax candles

No. of candles	Diameter (inches)	Reading 1 (arbitrary units)	Reading 2 (arbitrary units)	Reading 3 (arbitrary units)	Average (arbitrary units)
1	$\frac{3}{4}$	6.3	6.2	6.4	6.3
2	$\frac{3}{4}$	11.3	11.4	11.4	11.4
3	$\frac{3}{4}$	14.1	13.8	14.0	14.0
1	$1\frac{3}{4}$	10.1	9.9	10.2	10.1

Table 2: Brightness of candles made from cattle tallow

No. of candles	Diameter (inches)	Reading 1 (arbitrary units)	Reading 2 (arbitrary units)	Reading 3 (arbitrary units)	Average (arbitrary units)
1	$\frac{3}{4}$	6.4	6.2	6.4	6.3
2	$\frac{3}{4}$	12.4	11.9	11.8	12.0
3	$\frac{3}{4}$	15.2	14.8	14.5	14.8
1	$1\frac{3}{4}$	7.9	7.7	7.7	7.8

Table 3: Brightness of candles made from sheep tallow

No. of candles	Diameter (inches)	Reading 1 (arbitrary units)	Reading 2 (arbitrary units)	Reading 3 (arbitrary units)	Average (arbitrary units)
1	$\frac{3}{4}$	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.9
1	$1\frac{3}{4}$	6.2	6.1	6.0	6.1

The light meter measures the light intensity in arbitrary units. To convert these into lumens, the light meter was held 1m away from an electric light bulb of a known light output (in this case, 470 lumens (lm)). The meter measured 260 arbitrary units and therefore:

$$1 \text{ lm} = \frac{260}{470} = 0.55 \text{ arbitrary units, or 1 arbitrary unit is equivalent to 1.8 lumens.}$$

Table 4: Overview of light intensity for single ¾ inch candles

	¾ inch diameter candle		
	Beeswax	Cattle tallow	Sheep tallow
Light intensity (arbitrary units)	6.3	6.3	3.9
Light intensity (lm)	11.45	11.45	7.09

Conclusion

As expected, light intensity increases with an increase in wick size and candle diameter.

However, two candles of the same diameter do not produce twice the light and this effect is more pronounced with three candles which do not produce three times the light. This is due to the fact that the light meter cannot pick up all the light produced over an area: neither can the human eye. The results in Table 4 confirm the visual observations made in Investigation 2 that candles made from cattle tallow burn brighter than those from sheep tallow.

Investigation 4: To measure the burn rate of candles

Background

It is expected that the harder beeswax would burn more slowly than the softer tallow. It is also anticipated that the larger diameter candle with the thicker wick will absorb wax more quickly and therefore burn faster.

Method

A simple investigation to determine the burn rate of beeswax and tallow candles was carried out in order to determine the rate of usage of these materials. Using candles made from

beeswax, cattle tallow and sheep tallow, these were weighed on digital kitchen scales (accurate only to the nearest gram) and then lit in a draught-free environment. The candles were weighed every ten minutes for 100 minutes. Note was made of the way each candle burned, including the need to trim the wick. Finally, the height of each flame was measured from the top of the candle to the top of the visible flame.



Figure 10: Cattle tallow candle after 80 minutes burning



Figure 11: Beeswax candle after 100 minutes burning

Results

Table 5: Mass over time for 3/4 inch diameter beeswax and tallow candles

Time (minutes)	Mass (grams) of 3/4" candle and candle holder			Mass (grams) of 1 3/4" candle and candle holder		
	Beeswax	Cattle tallow	Sheep tallow	Beeswax	Cattle tallow	Sheep tallow
Start	260	279	226	291	313	
10	259	278	225	290	312	
20	259	277	224	289	310 *	
30	257	276 *	223	287	309	
40	256	276	221*	286	308 *	
50	256	274	221	283	307	
60	255	274 *	220	282	-	
70	254	273	219	280	-	
80	252	273	219	279	-	
90	251	271 *	218	278	-	
100	250	270	216	277	-	

*Wick was trimmed at this point. N.B. After 60 minutes, the large tallow candle melted beyond use.

Table 6: Overview of candle parameters obtained

	$\frac{3}{4}$ inch diameter candle			$1\frac{3}{4}$ inch diameter candle		
	Beeswax	Cattle tallow	Sheep tallow	Beeswax	Cattle tallow	Sheep tallow
Wax consumption (g/h)	6.00	5.40	6.00	8.40	Insufficient data to determine parameters	
Light intensity (lm)	11.45	11.45	7.09	18.18		
Light intensity/ wax consumption (lm h/g)	1.91	2.12	1.18	2.16		

The burn rates were similar, but the tallow candle needed the wick trimming roughly every 20 to 30 minutes, in order to keep it alight. Some guttering and run-off occurred with the cattle tallow candle, less so for the tallow from sheep and none at all with beeswax. The average flame heights were: cattle tallow 3 cm, sheep tallow 2.5cm and beeswax 3.7 cm: the beeswax candle therefore produced a 23% taller flame than that of the tallow candle.



Figure 12: Comparison of flame heights of beeswax and tallow candles

Conclusion

The average burn rate for the $\frac{3}{4}$ " beeswax candle was 6.0 g (0.212 oz) per hour. Thus, continuous illumination for 24 hours would require approximately 144 g (or 5.08 oz), and for one year, 52.6 kg (116 lbs of beeswax). A tallow candle from sheep burned at the same rate as beeswax; that from cattle used less fuel at 5.4 g (0.190 oz) per hour and thus required approximately 130 g (4.6 oz) to burn for 24 hours.

Investigation 5: To determine the light intensity required for reading

Background

The number of lumens required to read a book at a comfortable distance is determined by the visual acuity of the reader. This in turn may be affected by age, eye disease, and genetics. The results of this investigation may be compared with the results of the other investigations carried out, in order to determine the number and type of candles that may be needed to read a book.

Method

A sample of the Bedwyn antiphonal was used: folios from this manuscript containing parts of the Use of Salisbury were found wrapping Seymour Estate papers at the Wiltshire and Swindon Archive.⁴³ A page from a photograph of this antiphonal was enlarged to approximately the original size of 320mm x 236mm (1.05ft x 0.77ft or 0.81 square feet). The print just left of the centre of the page, was used for this investigation – this measured 4mm high. A hole was cut to match the size of the sensor of the light meter in the centre next to the area of chosen writing, see Figure 13. The room was darkened and a standard lamp with a flexible neck was used which was shone directly at the page over the shoulder of the person sitting reading the manuscript. Firstly, the lamp was slowly moved up and backwards until the person reading was only just able to see the print clearly, at which point the light meter measurement was noted. Secondly, the lamp was turned further back to reduce the amount of light, until the print was not readable; again and the measurement was noted. This was repeated five times for each participant.

⁴³ Graham Bathe and John Harper, 'Fragments of Sarum Liturgy in the Seymour Family Archives', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 108 (2015), 108-154. Bi-folios measured between 40-48cm wide x 28-37cm high, a rough median width measurement was used and the height was taken in proportion.

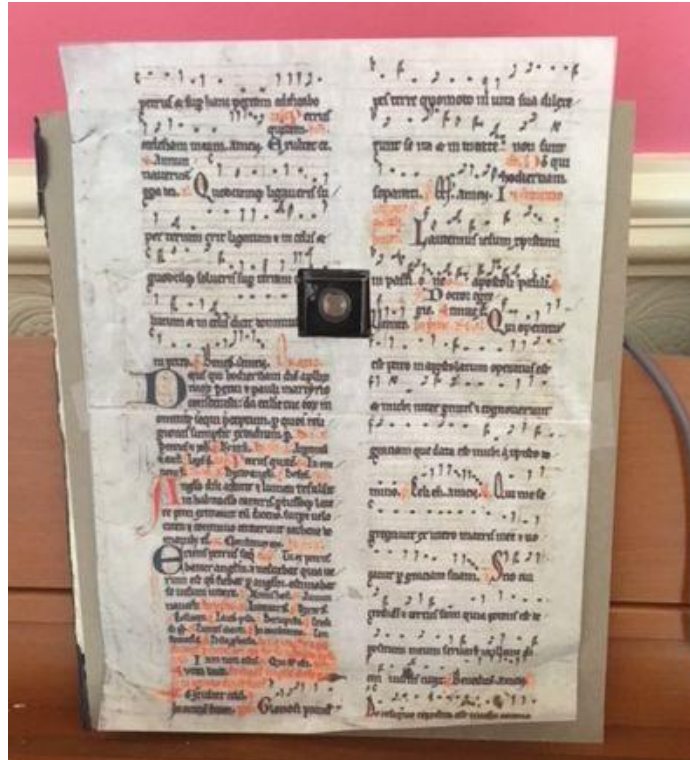


Figure 13: Position of light meter in page of antiphonal

Results

Table 7: Light meter measurements (in lumens) in order to read 4mm print

Participant	Test 1	Test 2	Test 3	Test 4	Test 5
A					
Just able to read	15.3	11.3	8.6	8.6	7.6
Unable to read	7.7	6.8	6.5	6.7	6.5
B					
Just able to read	11.3	8.5	7.4	6.1	7.2
Unable to read	6.8	5.6	5.0	4.3	4.9

N.B. background light was measured as 0. It should be noted that only two individuals participated in this investigation: it would benefit from many more.

Conclusion

The results show that on the whole it becomes easier to read in the dark over time, as the eyes become accustomed to the reduction in available light. From investigation 3, a single beeswax or tallow candle produces 11.3 lumens of light, which is sufficient to enable the manuscript to be read.

Investigation 6: To determine the light available when reading a manuscript by candlelight - both sitting and standing

Background

On the basis of Isaac Newton's inverse-square law, the light emitted at a distance from a source is inversely proportional to the square of the distance.⁴⁴ That is, as the distance is doubled, the light falling on an object decreases by a factor of four.

Method



Figure 14: Measuring chart on wall

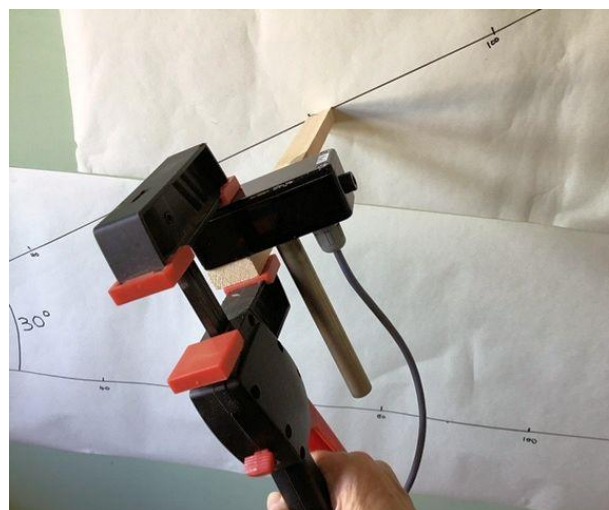


Figure 15: Light meter sensor placed on interval marker at fixed distance away from wall

A chart was attached to the wall: the horizontal line (0 degrees) and that at 30 degrees from the horizontal were marked off in 20 cm intervals (see Figure 14). The horizontal line represents a person sitting to read the antiphonal and the 30 degree line that of the position of the eye of someone standing. A stick was attached to the sensor of the light meter so that it was in line with the centre of the two candles, at a fixed distance away from the wall, which

⁴⁴ Institute of Physics, *The inverse square law with light* (2014) <http://practicalphysics.org/inverse-square-law-light.html> [accessed 30 April 2018].

were placed either side of the antiphonal page (see Figure 15). An arrow was drawn on the stick in order to aid accurate placement on the chart.

Once the room was in darkness, a background reading of the 'light' was taken. Two beeswax candles were then lit and the light emitted measured three times at each of the 20 cm intervals (see Table 8 and Table 10). The investigation was then repeated using two cattle tallow candles (see Table 9 and Table 11). An average of the three readings was calculated.

Using the results from the readings at the 20cm interval and the equation:

$$\text{light reading from meter} = \frac{\text{light of source}}{\text{distance}^2}$$

the expected light levels were calculated, for comparison with those observed. The observed and expected results obtained are presented in tabular and graphical form below.

Results

NOTE:

1. Background light was registered as 0 arbitrary units.
2. As can be seen in all of the tables below, there was more variation in the light meter measurements at 20 cm, due to the proximity of the operator.

Table 8: Variation of light and distance in a horizontal direction using beeswax candles

1st reading	2nd reading	3rd reading	Distance from source (cm)	Expected	Observed		
					Average observed	Min	Max
15.3	16.5	18.6	20	16.8	16.8	15.3	18.6
6.9	7.4	7.9	40	4.2	7.4	6.9	7.9
4.5	4.8	4.6	60	1.9	4.6	4.5	4.8
3.1	3.5	3.3	80	1.1	3.3	3.1	3.5
2.4	2.6	2.6	100	0.7	2.5	2.4	2.6
2.0	2.1	2.1	120	0.5	2.1	2.0	2.1
1.7	1.7	1.8	140	0.3	1.7	1.7	1.8
1.5	1.5	1.5	160	0.3	1.5	1.5	1.5

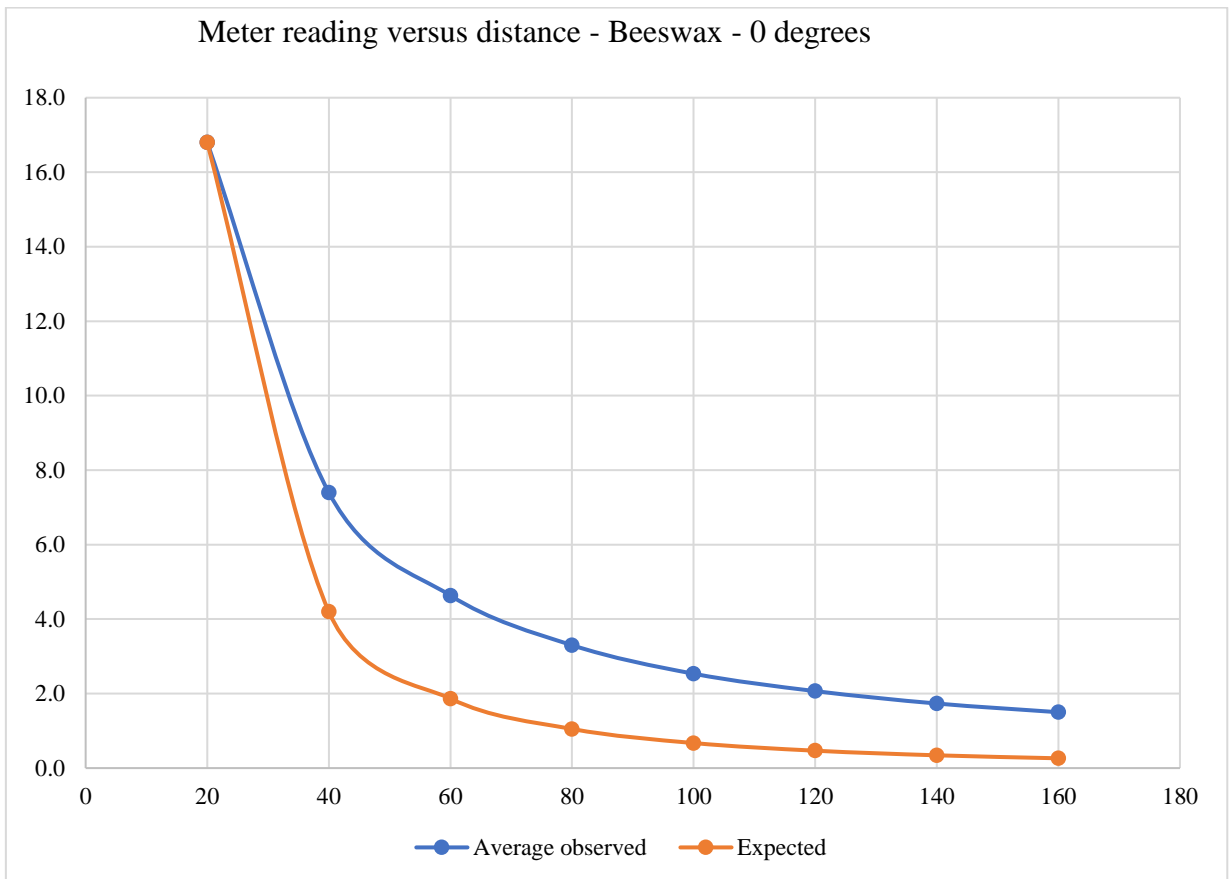


Table 9: Variation of light and distance in a horizontal direction using cattle tallow candles

1st reading	2nd reading	3rd reading	Distance from source (cm)	Expected	Observed		
					Average observed	Min	Max
15.2	15.5	16.3	20	15.7	15.7	15.2	16.3
6.8	6.9	7.1	40	3.9	6.9	6.8	7.1
4.0	4.1	4.2	60	1.7	4.1	4.0	4.2
2.8	2.9	2.9	80	1.0	2.9	2.8	2.9
2.1	2.3	2.2	100	0.6	2.2	2.1	2.3
1.7	1.8	1.7	120	0.4	1.7	1.7	1.8
1.4	1.5	1.4	140	0.3	1.4	1.4	1.5
1.2	1.3	1.2	160	0.2	1.2	1.2	1.3

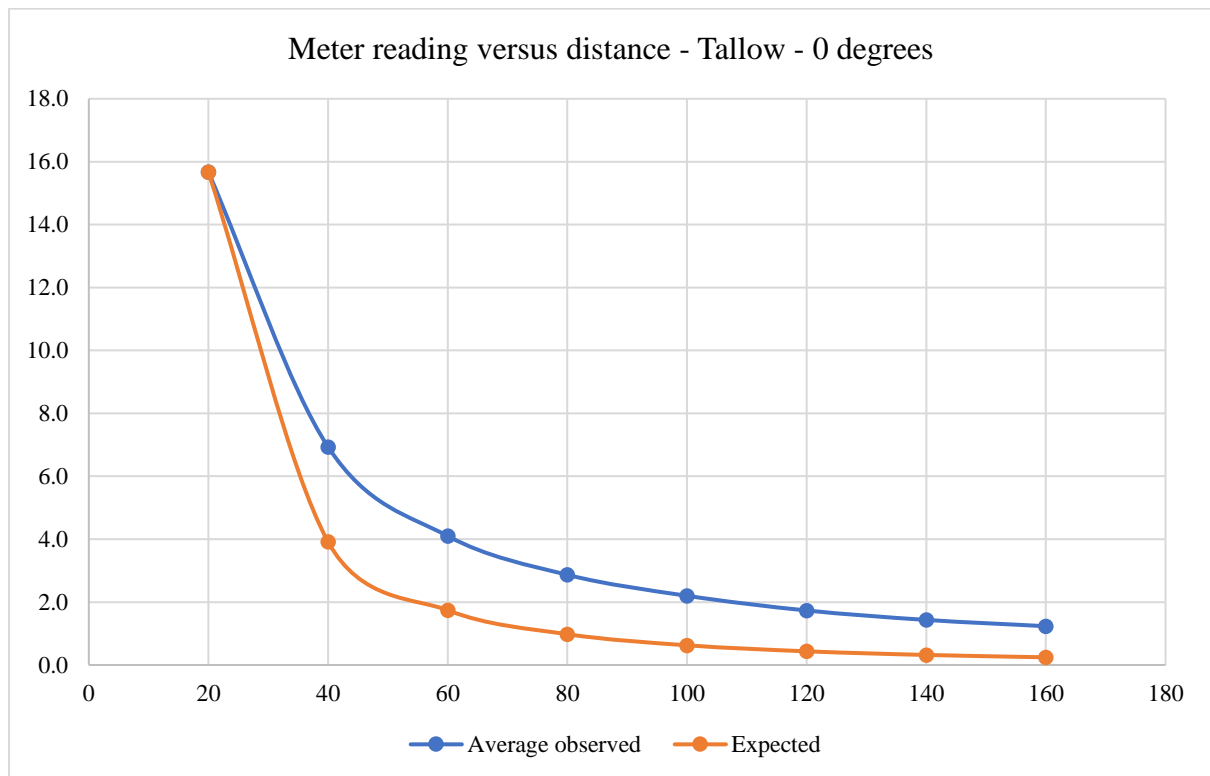


Table 10: Variation of light and distance at 30° from the horizontal using beeswax candles

1st reading	2nd reading	3rd reading	Distance from source (cm)	Expected	Observed		
					Average observed	Min	Max
21.7	17.8	20.7	20	20.1	20.1	17.8	21.7
9.1	8.8	9.3	40	5.0	9.1	8.8	9.3
5.4	5.4	5.7	60	2.2	5.5	5.4	5.7
3.7	3.7	4.0	80	1.3	3.8	3.7	4.0
2.9	2.8	3.0	100	0.8	2.9	2.8	3.0
2.3	2.3	2.5	120	0.6	2.4	2.3	2.5
1.9	1.9	2.0	140	0.4	1.9	1.9	2.0
1.5	1.6	1.6	160	0.3	1.6	1.5	1.6
1.3	1.4	1.4	180	0.2	1.4	1.3	1.4

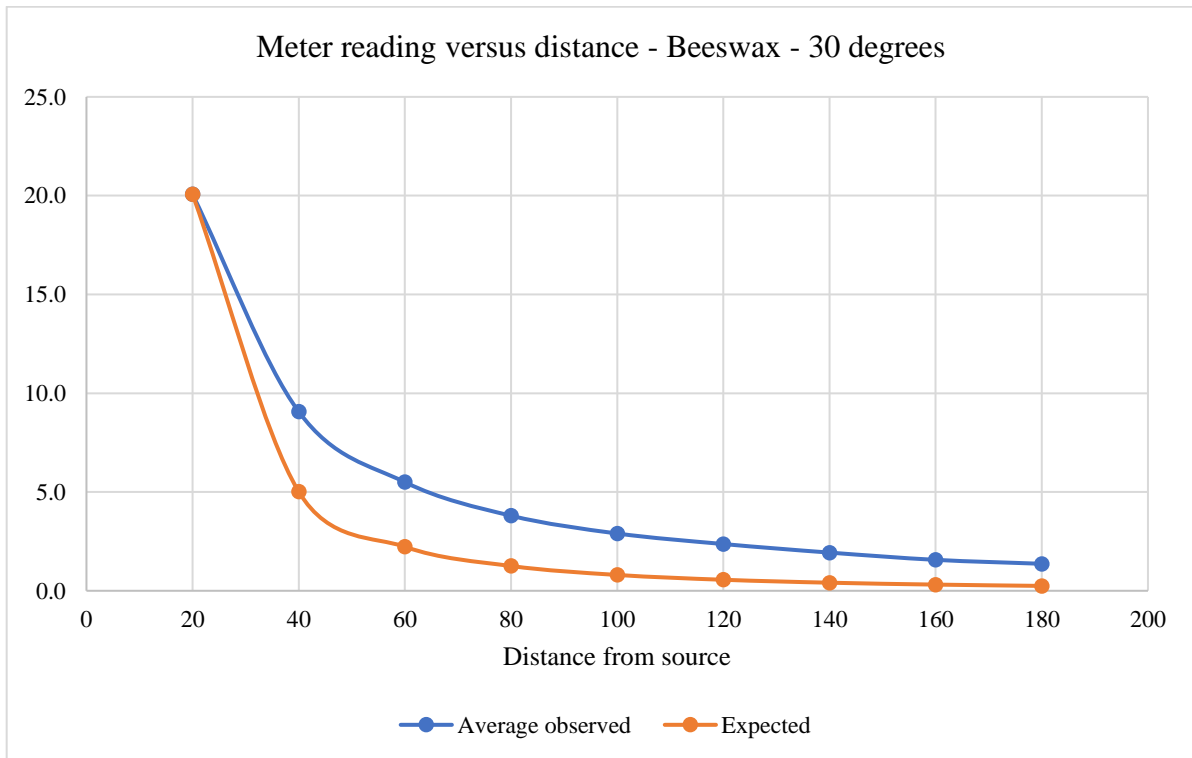
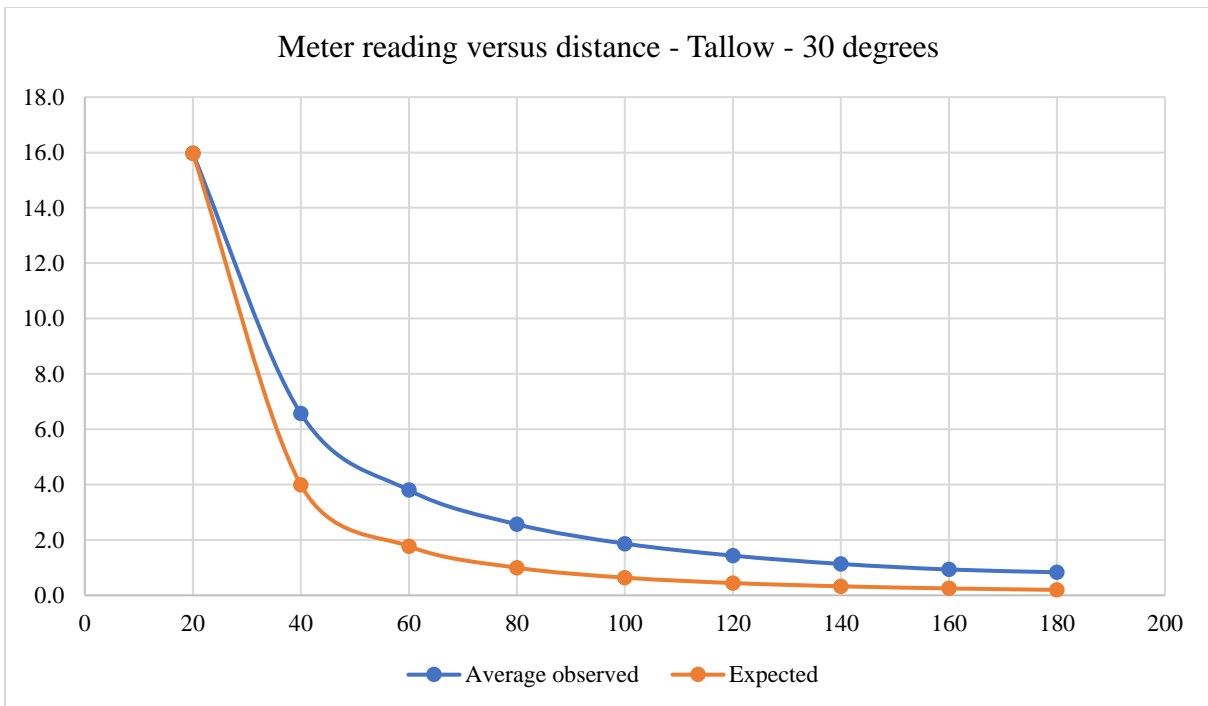


Table 11: Variation of light and distance at 30° from the horizontal using cattle tallow candles

1st reading	2nd reading	3rd reading	Distance from source (cm)	Expected	Observed		
					Average observed	Min	Max
17.2	15.1	15.6	20	16.0	16.0	15.1	17.2
6.6	6.8	6.3	40	4.0	6.6	6.3	6.8
3.8	3.9	3.7	60	1.8	3.8	3.7	3.9
2.7	2.6	2.4	80	1.0	2.6	2.4	2.7
2.0	1.9	1.7	100	0.6	1.9	1.7	2.0
1.5	1.4	1.4	120	0.4	1.4	1.4	1.5
1.2	1.1	1.1	140	0.3	1.1	1.1	1.2
1.0	0.9	0.9	160	0.2	0.9	0.9	1.0
0.9	0.8	0.8	180	0.2	0.8	0.8	0.9



Conclusion

Under the experimental conditions available in the home, Newton's Inverse Square Law was not borne out, although a decrease in light intensity with increasing distance was observed.

Responses to research questions

Research question	Response
How was tallow rendered?	Boiling and filtering – see Investigation 1
How were tallow and beeswax candles made?	See Investigation 2
Why were tallow candles rather than beeswax candles used by the choir of Salisbury Cathedral?	Choirs would be able to use the cheaper tallow as members were on hand to trim the wick and any guttering could be dealt with easily – see Investigation 4
Why were beeswax candles used on the altar and around the churches and cathedral?	Beeswax candles were used where continuous light was required without the need to trim the wick and where spillage was an issue – see Investigation 4
What was the difference in light intensities between beeswax and tallow candles?	Beeswax and cattle tallow produced similar light levels, whilst sheep tallow was dimmer – see Investigation 3.
How did light intensity vary with the diameter of a candle?	Increase in diameter produces increased light intensity due to thicker wick – see Investigation 3
Was it necessary to have more than one candle to see to read?	No, although eye strain would be reduced with additional light available – see Investigation 5
How did the light intensity vary with distance away from manuscripts?	Yes, variation in intensity was observed – see Investigation 6
What mass of beeswax, in particular, was required in order to keep a candle alight continuously for the whole year?	52.6 kg (116 lbs) of beeswax was required – see Investigation 4

Further observations

The advantages and disadvantages of beeswax and tallow candles are summarised in Table 12.

Table 12: Advantages and disadvantages of tallow and beeswax candles

Tallow from cattle	Tallow from sheep	Beeswax
Very white wax	Slightly cream coloured wax	More yellow than sheep tallow
Clear, bright light	Slightly yellow light	Clear, bright light
20% smaller flame than beeswax	Similar size flame to that of cattle tallow, but noticeably dimmer in comparison to both cattle tallow and beeswax	20% taller flame than tallow
No smoke	No smoke	No smoke
Slight smell of beef when burning	No particular odour	Smell of honey when burning

Tallow from cattle	Tallow from sheep	Beeswax
Slightly softer than beeswax, could be difficult to handle in a hot room	More solid than that of cattle tallow	Easy to handle at all room temperatures
Wick needs to be trimmed roughly every 30 minutes	Wick need trimming less often than that of cattle tallow	Wick does not need to be trimmed
Liquid tallow runs a little down the side of candle	Little run-off, but some spitting	Wax does not run down the side of candle
Cheap to produce and purchase as uses a by-product of butchery trade	Cheap to produce and purchase as uses a by-product of butchery trade	Expensive to produce and purchase as bees consume honey in order to excrete wax

The perceived knowledge amongst historians is that tallow candles were significantly inferior to those of beeswax, in that they were smoky and provided less light.⁴⁵ Some tallow candles did produce smoke when the liquid fat was not properly strained, leaving impurities.

However, generally the results of the above experiments provide evidence that tallow was not inferior to beeswax. Candles made from the tallow of sheep also burned differently to that of cattle and had a higher melting point (42°C) and were therefore easier to handle.

Possible further research

- Research wick materials – perhaps from candles recovered from The Mary Rose
- Try using a slightly smaller or larger diameter wick in the tallow candles in order to prevent guttering
- Use square candles as used at Canterbury Cathedral for instance⁴⁶
- Use more participants in Investigation 5
- Improve accuracy by using laboratory-standard equipment, rather than that readily available in the home.

Acknowledgement: The assistance of the School of Physics and Astronomy at the University of Birmingham is acknowledged, in particular, for the loan of a light meter.

⁴⁵ For instance, Coggshall and Morse, *Beeswax*, p. 146.

⁴⁶ Tom Nickson, 'Light, Canterbury and the Cult of St Thomas', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 173 (2020).

Appendix 12: Costs pertaining to the Chappington organ constructed at St Edmund's

Name	Item ¹	Materials			Labour			Other costs		
		£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Hary Bekingame	3 score foot of elmyrn bord to make the byllos		3	0						
	100 of naylles			6						
	Sack of colles									4
Robert Penynton	100 of tyn, 100 of led	4	0	0						
	8lb of tyn		5	0						
	4lb of tyn glass		6	0						
	Hondred vj peny nayle			6						
	Hondred of naylles			2						
	Iij hundred small nayles			8						
	xiiij pounce of glue for the organs		4	4						
	'Orgaen maker'						4			
	Packthrede			1						
Ij yerdes of Jene fustyan' and ij yerdes of pampyllon to cast ye pypes upon								2	6	
Pownd of brasell			3							
Iij sack of coll									12	
Hondred nayles			5							
Iiij ownsys of byse		2	4							
Collars to paynt with all									6	
Paynters oyle			4							
A pan to make fyre in									1	
Hundred small nayles			3							
Paynters platte									6	
Iij sakes of colles									12	
Nayles			7							
Iiij skore foot of borde		4	6							
Xxx fackettes									15	
Iiij quyter of browne paper			4							
Iiij sakes of colles									16	

¹ Swayne, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 113.

Name	Item ¹	Materials			Labour			Other costs		
		£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
	Hondred viiiij peny nayles			8						
	Dry wood									20
	Small corde			5						
	ij dosyn of shepes skyns and iiij calves skyns		12	0						
	Yron worke for ye organs		6	11						
	Pownd of wyer			14						
	Halfe a hundred of dry borde		3	4						
	Two hundred of nayles			12						
	A locke and a kay and ii jymos		2	4						
	A powd of wyer			11						
	xli pownde of led to make ye payses of ye organs way halffe a hondred		5	0						
	xxii nayles			2						
	xx hundred of golde		12	0						
	Synyper lake		4	0						
	A pownde coper plate			12						
	viiij dry quarters xxx and v yerdes		5	0						
	Hundred xv fote of sylynge borde		5	7						
John Capplyn'	vij wenscottes		34	0						
Ye porters	For l[ea]dinge of them						3			
	Ye Caryenge home ye wenscottes to water ovell					3	0			
	At ye gate for costome									6
	ii planks of xvj fote longe			12						
	A whyte wyne caske to mke ye pypes								2	6
	xxiiij fote of syllinge borde			16						
Richarde Batten and John Hangod	For one day's worke for making of ye fote pace before ye organs						20			
	iiij score fote of borde to make ye fote pace		4	6						
	Hondred and a halffe of nayles			9						
	iiij wenskot bordes		2	2						
'Orgen' Maker	For making of ye organs				12	0	0			
Organ Makers	By the appointment of the Masters for their Rewarde					20	0			
TOTALS		10	14	6	13	5	3		13	2
GRAND TOTAL								24	12	11

Appendix 13: Names of musicians at St Thomas's, 1547-1645

Year	Clerk	Organ	Choir	Unknown	Comments
1547-48					Hamme was organ repairer
1548-49	Thomas Johnson				Mr Hamme was organ repairer
1549-50	Thomas Johnson	Mr Ham	Mr Games		Mr Ham may have been organ repairer or organist
1550-51					
1551-52	George Poynynges	Mr Ham	Mr Games		
1552-53					Mr Ham repaired the organ at St Edmund's
1553-54					
1554-55					
1555-56					
1556-57					
1557-58					
1558-59					
1559-60	Baker			Atkyn & Clevelod	
1560-61	Thomson	Duckett	Singing man from Winchester	Rumsey & Clevelod	
1561-62	Thomson	Duckett	Poor singing man for three weeks 5s & singing men for singing Passion	Brodehorn & Clevelod	
1562-63					
1563-64					
1564-65					
1565-66					
1566-67	Taylor				
1567-68	Saunders	Duckett		J. Galeye & Shaiter	
1568-69	William Saunders	Robert Duckett	Paid to a singing man that was here for a stay 2s	John Galleye & Harrison	
1569-70	Saunders	Duckett	Nowell ¹	Gallye & J. Harrison	

¹ A. Smith considers that Mr Nowell was 'probably organist and master of the choristers in 1569-70 where he was paid £12 for the year'. However, I disagree with him, in that Nowell is sometimes referred to as 'Sir', a title given to an ordained minister, and he also had a house paid for by the churchwardens. He took over from Jackson sometime between 1562 and 1567. Smith, 'Parish Church Musicians in England', 67.

Year	Clerk	Organ	Choir	Unknown	Comments
1570-71	Saunders	Duckett		Galey & Ryves	
1571-72	Saunders	Duckett		Galey & Ryves	
1572-73	Saunders	Duckett		Galey & Ryves (1/2 year)	
1573-74	Saunders	Duckett		Galey & J. Harrison	
1574-75	Saunders	Duckett (1/2 year)		Galey & Harte	
1575-76	Saunders		24th April to a singing man 2s 6d	E. Harte & J. Harrison	
1576-77					
1577-78		R. Gyllye		Jennings	
1578-79		Gyllye & Mathewe		Jennings & Weekes	
1579-80		Edward Mathewe			
1580-81		Edward Mathewe			
1581-82					
1582-83		Tayler then Deane	John Distine		
1583-84		Deane	John Distine		
1584-85		Deane			
1585-86		Deane	Two boys – curate's son & Parsivalle's son		
1586-87		Deane	Curate's son		
1587-88		Deane			
1588-89		Deane			
1589-90					
1590-91					
1591-92		Deane			
1592-93		Deane			
1593-94		Deane			
1594-95		Deane			
1595-96		Deane			
1596-97					
1597-98		Deane			
1598-99					

Year	Clerk	Organ	Choir	Unknown	Comments
1599-1600		Deane			
1600-01		Deane			
1601-02		Deane			
1638-39	John King	John King			
1639-40	John King	John King			
1640-41	John King	John King			
1641-42	John King	John King			
1643-44	John King	John King			
1644-45	John King	John King			

Appendix 14: Names of musicians at St Edmund's 1549-1600

Year	Clerk	Other	Organ	Singing man	Choir	Unknown	Sexton/ organ blower
1549-50		Roger					
1550-51		Roger					Cox
1551-52		Roger		Merydyth	Goldstone	Newman	Cox, John Atkin
1552-53	William	Roger					John Atkins
1553-54	William	Roger					John Atkins
1554-55							
1555-56							
1556-57	Clerk		Thomas Tucker			Duckett	John Atkins
1557-58		Roger Poole		Edmond singing man (erased)		Duckett	John Atkins
1558-59							
1559-60		Roger Wellow					
1560-61	Andro	Roger Wellow		John Saunders	William Durley	Jackson	John Atkins
1561-62	Jackson	Roger Wellow				Rafe	
1562-63		Roger Wellow		John Saunders			John Atkins
1563-64	Jackson	Roger Wellow		Johnson	John Sawnders	Clark	John Atkins
1564-65	Jackson	Roger Wellow		Johnson	John Sawnders	Clark	Jackson
1565-66	Jackson	Roger Wellow		Singing man from Winchester	John Saunders		Jackson
1566-67	Jackson	Roger Wellow		John Sawnders		Codymore	Rafe
1567-68		Roger Wellow				Harrison	Rafe
1568-69	Blewett	Roger Wellow	Thomas Blewett		John Sanders	Codymore	Rafe
1569-70	Blewett	Roger Wellow				Codymore	Rafe
1570-71	Blewett	Roger Wellow				John Harryson	Rafe
1571-72	Blewett	Roger Wellow	Thomas Blewatt			John Harryson	Raff
1572-73	Blewett	Roger Wellow				Codymore	Rafe
1573-74	Awsten	Rodford	Grigg	Man from Steeple Ashton	John Deane	Codymore	Rafe
1574-75							
1575-76	Nodell		Grigg		Dean		Rafe
1576-77	Nodell	Elway Bevin	Grigg		Dean	Tryser	Rafe

Year	Clerk	Other	Organ	Singing man	Choir	Unknown	Sexton/ organ blower
1577-78							
1578-79		Elway Bevin					Rafe
1579-80	Balhatchet		Chesen				Lambe/Polden
1580-81	Balhatchet	Taylor	Chesen	William Ambrose			Polden
1581-82	Balhatchet	Taylor		William Ambrose		Clarke	Polden
1582-83							
1583-84							
1584-85							
1585-86	Balhatchet						Cornwall
1586-87	Balhatchet	Sendall					Balhatchet
1587-88	Balhatchet	Sendall					Balhatchet
1588-89							
1589-90	Sendall				Hart	Freeman	Lucas
1590-91	Lysant						Lucas
1591-92	Lysaunte						Lucas
1592-93	Lysaunte						Lucas
1593-94							
1594-95	Lysaunte						Lucas
1595-96	Lysaunte						Lucas
1596-97							
1597-98	Lysante						Lucas
1598-99	Lysante						Lucas
1599-1600	Lysante						Lucas

Appendix 15: Musicians of Salisbury Cathedral 1410-1661

Date		Organist	Music pricker	Custos of choristers	Master of Choristers	Choristers	Lay vicars/ vicars choral
1410	1411					Richard Spark	
1419				Peter Fadyr			
1428				Robert Dryffeld			
1435				William Malton (succentor)			
1440				John Farle			
1453	1454	Thomas <i>organista</i>					
1455	1456						
1461	1462			John Cook	John Thatcher (Catherow/ Cacherew) 1461-65		
1463	1464	John Kegewyn 1463-1475			John Kegewyn 1463-1475		
1464	1465			Robert Lavyngton			
1467	1468			Richard Southsex	John Cote (vicar choral) Acting Instructor, then John Cacherew 28 June 1467 to September 1478.		
1494	1495			Sway			William Tussy vicar choral, William Gregory ordained deacon choral stall
1495	1496			Pevesey	Alexander Bell 29 Sept 1495 to 29 Sept 1496.		
1496	1497						Thomas Durham
1497	1498						Robert Hundmanby John Fyttok
1499	1500						William Rewys
1500	1501						Robert Hungerford

Date		Organist	Music pricker	Custos of choristers	Master of Choristers	Choristers	Lay vicars/ vicars choral
1503	1504			Edmund Crome			
1509				Richard Whyttok			
1511				John Burdot			
1517	1518	John Weber					
1519	1520			John Fryer (1519-30)		Lewis Mote	
1500	1501				John Weaver 29 Sept 1500 to 29 Sept 1526		
1525	1526					Robert Ward	
1526	1527					Barbor Nicholas Hobbys (boy bishop)	
1529	1530	Thomas Knyght (1529-c. 43)		Sir Laurence Mann			
1531	1532	1531-38					
1535	1536						Chantry priests: John Uppyngton William Poyett Richard Dunstall Thomas Hanley Thomas Boxe Laurence Man Thomas Macks John Denys Richard Davyes John Trew Richard Coriar (alias Gowlde) Thomas Dawkyn William Foxall
1538					Thomas Knight (1538-c. 43)		
1539	1540						Sir Beckwyth
1540	1541			Sir Lawrence Man(n) and then	Thomas Knyght	Gerel(l) Ralph Doll	

Date		Organist	Music pricker	Custos of choristers	Master of Choristers	Choristers	Lay vicars/ vicars choral
				Matthew Wutton (Wilton)			
1541	1542					John Davy Austyn	
1548	1549			Richard Poore (Power)			Chantry priests: John Burcham [...] Turnbull John Denys William Foxall Lewis Boxt John Apyrse Thomas Macke John Uppyngton Rychard Dunstall Hughe Gyles
1550	1551				Thomas Harvest 1 Oct 1550 to 30 June 1556	Thomas Cooke John ?Fayeth Thomas Francis Thomas Moore William Sadler William Short Roger Stokhouse	
1558	1559	Sir Beckwyth					
1561	1562	Robert Chamberlayne 1561-64					
1563	1564					Robert Langford (altarist)	
1564	1565					Richard Chetnell & Bellyngham (altarists) John Wright	
1566	1567	Thomas Smythe c. 1566-87					Nodle the bass
1567	1568						Willis

Date		Organist	Music pricker	Custos of choristers	Master of Choristers	Choristers	Lay vicars/ vicars choral
1568	1569					Robert Bellingger altarist	John Langford (may have come from St Mary Redcliffe Edward Matthew
1569	1570			John Taylor	John Taylor (1569- 71)	Roger Bufford Edward Langford	Mr Taylor Mr Langborowe Cramborne Edward Matthew
1570	1571						Thomas Nodle
1571	1572			John Farrant (1571-92)	John Farrant 1571-92 (the elder)		
1575	1576						Cranborne
1578	1579					William Estcourt a 'scholar of School' therefore may have been a grammar school pupil rather than chorister.	Cramborne
1580	1581					John Farrant the younger b. 28 Sept 1575	
1581	1582				George Barcroft		Young Langford Mr Benet
1584	1585		Mr Cranborne				Mr Ticrighe F/1/1/28 Mr Cranbourne
1585	1586		Mr Cranborne		Mr Fyghe for his charges about the skollers	Edward Corner John Farrant the younger b. 28 Sept. 1575 Roger Harvy John Hurst Henry Newman William Smythe William Warde	Mr Cranborne John Farrant John Langford

Date		Organist	Music pricker	Custos of choristers	Master of Choristers	Choristers	Lay vicars/ vicars choral
1587	1588	John Farrant the elder 1587-91					Young Smith Mr Smakergell
1589	1590						Mr Fyser Mr Curtyes Mr Nowell 'nue base' Fellpot Mr Benet
1590	1591						Numan Portis Mr Farrant Ganiet
1591	1592	Farrant, Fuller and Lambert Lade (for one quarter only)					
1592	1593	Richard Fuller 1592-c. 1598		Richard Fuller (1592-98)	Richard Fuller	William Deane	Kesby Richard Fullor
1593	1594						Mr Taggey Mr Laryes
1594	1595						Thomas Bankes Brissy
1595	1596		Mr Ganiet or Gamet 1595-1621				Mr S. kenes Gibson Thomas Wikes Wyllyam Smith
1596	1597						Walter Taylor William Barnarde Roberte Badley Young Newman
1598				John Bartlet	John Bartlet		
1600	1601	John Farrant the younger c. 1600-1618					

Date		Organist	Music pricker	<i>Custos</i> of choristers	Master of Choristers	Choristers	Lay vicars/ vicars choral
1604	1605					Henry Lawes. chorister from c.1604-c.1609	Mr Samorgorgell Mathewe White Thomas Lawes Thobe Jones Edmond Browne Mr Clune
1605	1606						Mr Ganiem William Smithe Mr Simkens Mr Smakergill Mr Fullor
1607	1608						William Smegergill William Simkins John Farrant Roger Smithe Richard Ganyett Nicholas Clun
1608	1609						Smegorgill Smith Simkins Ganiem Farrant Clunn Fuller Smith Dawson Lawse White Jones Browne Bremshawe
1609	1610						Smith Joanes Dawson

Date		Organist	Music pricker	<i>Custos</i> of choristers	Master of Choristers	Choristers	Lay vicars/ vicars choral
							Browne Lawes Mors Bremshawe
1610	1611					William Lawes, chorister (c. 1610- 1615)	Smith Dawson Browne Lawes Tooker Jones Morse Bremshaw
1612	1613				Nicholas Clun	Edward Lowe chorister 1612- 1617	Mr London Mr Clun
1613	1614	John Farrant				William Clun William Staples Roger Harper Roger Upton Christopher Tanner	Vicars choral: William Smegergill Roger Smith - <i>subcomunurus</i> , William Simpkins Roger Ganyot Nicholas Clun Lay vicars: William Smith Richard Dawson Thomas Lawes Edmund Tucker Richard Mors John Parsons
1615	1616						Mr Bourne William Smith Mr Clun
1617	1618						Mr Bartlet Edward Tucker Mr Lawes

Date		Organist	Music pricker	<i>Custos</i> of choristers	Master of Choristers	Choristers	Lay vicars/ vicars choral
1618	1619	Edmund (Edward) Tooker (Tucker) 1618-1631					
1621	1622				John Holmes (1621-29)	Thomas Holmes son of John Holmes	
1626	1627		Edward Tucker				Smith Lawes Browne Holmes Tucker Low Bremshaw
1627	1628						Smith Lawes Browne Tooker/Tucker Holmes Low Bremshaw
1628	1629						Smegergill Smith Clun London Clark Rayment Lawes Smith Browne Tucker Holmes Low Bremshaw
1629	1630	Mr Daulton an organist for short time	Edward Tooker		Giles Tomkins		Mr Nu Mr Tomkins

Date		Organist	Music pricker	<i>Custos</i> of choristers	Master of Choristers	Choristers	Lay vicars/ vicars choral
		during this year, perhaps whilst Edmund Tucker was unwell					
1630	1631		Edward Tooker				Mr Lawes Mr Sutton Mr Neete Young Meggs
1632	1633		Edward Tooker				Mr Lawes Mr Sutton Mr Neete Young Meggs
1633	1634		Edward Tooker				Smith Browne Tucker Tomkins Fenn Neate Bremshaw Carter
1634	1635						
1635	1636	?Giles Tomkins				Stephen Fox	
1636	1637		Mr Lowe			Sylvester Pope	
1637	1638		Mr Lawe				Smithe -altarist London Clark Rayment Lowe Laws Tucker Tomkins Fenn Neate Carter

Date		Organist	Music pricker	<i>Custos</i> of choristers	Master of Choristers	Choristers	Lay vicars/ vicars choral
							Upton, Bremshaw Cotton
1638	1639						Smithe Tucker Tomkins Fenn Neate Carter Cotton Bremshaw
1640	1641						Jan-March 1640: Smithe Tucker Tomkins Fenn Neate Carter Cotton Bremshaw July-Sept 1640: London Clark Rayment Lowe Laws Upton Bremshawe Smithe
1642	1643						John Smith
1660	1661	Giles Tomkins, from King's College, Cambridge re-appointed					

Appendix 16: Burward organ agreement, 1635

SCA: Box 33, Articles of agreement for mending the organ, Dean and Chapter and John Burward.

Title page:

o

May 14 11 Caroli

Articles of Agreement betwixt the Dean & Chapter and John Burward about
Repairing the Organ

and Bond of the said B[urward] to performance

1635

Articles of agreement Indented had and made the fourteenth day of May in the eleventh year of the reign of our sovereign Lord Charles by the grace of god of England Scotland France and Ireland king defender of the faith Betwixt the right worthy the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral church of Sarum in the county of Wiltshire of the one part, and John Burward of the City of London gent of the other part in manner and form following.

In primis it is agreed betwixt the said parties and the said John Burward doeth for himself his heirs Executors and Administrators covenant promise and grant with and to the said Dean and Chapter and their Successors by these presents That he the said John Burward his Executors Administrators or Assignes shall for and in consideration of the sum of money here undermentioned, before the first day of June in the year 1636, at his or their own proper costs and charges repair or cause to be repaired the great Organ of the cathedral church of Sarum abovementioned now standing and being in the same church, and make and add or cause to be made and added thereunto, three and twenty new Diapasons [and?] repair also or cause to be repaired the other Pipes in the front of the said organ that are or shall be needful to be repaired and likewise all the inner pipes of the same Organ that are or shall be faulty (taking also for the doing thereof so much of the old metal remaining as shall be necessarily required to be used and employed in or about the same) and moreover at his or their own costs and charges before the said first of June make or cause to be made in and to the said great Organ one stopt Diapason of good Wainscot to be placed where the Rigall [regal] now standeth and in like manner before the day aforesaid repair or cause to be repaired the bellows and sounding board of the said Organ & also make or cause to be made a new sound board for the same Organ, with all needful Conveyances Conduits and other things necessarie & requisite, so that the said organ shall before the said first of June be substantially repaired & perfectly fitted and made and be a perfect good Organ, and those great Pipes of the Diapason stop, to be of the form and model with those of the great Organ of St Pauls church London.

2 Item it is further agreed betwixt the said parties and the said John Burward doeth for himself his heirs Executors & Administrators covenant grant promise [end of page] and agree to and with the said Dean and Chapter & their Successors That he the said John Burward his Executors Administrators or Assignes for and in consideration aforesaid, shall before the feast of the birth of our Lord god or the feast of the Purification of the blessed Virgin Mary now next coming at the farthest, at his or their own costs & charges make add and set up or cause to be made added & set up to the said great Organ in the said cathedral church of Sarum a good and sufficient Chair organ according to the model and fashion of the chair Organ in St Pauls church London, with five stops, one stopt Diapason of wood, one flute of wood, one Principal of metal wrought & embossed for the forefront, one small principal of

metal and one fifteen of metal together with the Case Carving and all Joiners work gilding and painting the Pipes of the chair organ & all other things requisite & necessary thereunto (Carpenters work and carriage of both organs only excepted & at the costs and charges of the said Dean and Chapter to be done and provided).

3 **Item** in Consideration of the premisses the said Dean & Chapter do for them and their Successors covenant promise and grant with & to the said John Burward That they the said Dean & Chapter their Successors or assigns shall and will pay to the said John Burward or to his assigns the sum of two hundred & twenty pounds of lawful English money in manner and form following viz – four score pounds the eighteenth day of June next at the new dwelling house of William Ireland gent in Westminster and the residue upon the said first day of June 1636 or as soon before, as, the said great Organ and chair Organ shall be by the said John Burward substantially repaired & made a good and perfect double Organ in such manner as is above expressed & his the said John Burwards covenants above written duly performed.

4 **Item** it is further agreed betwixt the said parties That the said John Burward or his assigns shall deliver or cause to be delivered to the said Dean and Chapter or to their lawful assigns all the metal that shall be left of the pipes of the old mettal of the said great Organ.

5 **Item** it is Indended upon both parties, & agreed, that the said John Burward as he undertook so he should perform this work himself & not to assign it to another if please god to spare his life & health.

In witness whereof to one part of these presents remaining with the said Dean & Chapter the said John Burward hath set his hand & seal & to the other part remaining with the said John Burward the said Dean & Chapter have set their common seal given the day & year first above written.

Signed sealed and delivered in the presence of

W[illia]m Ireland [signature]

John Bulkley [signature]

N.B. The document bears a seal-tag and John Burward's seal, with Burward's signature.

Appendix 17: Entries for Burward organ, Salisbury Cathedral 1636

Archive reference: SCA: FA1/1/62

Clerk of the Fabric: Thornburgh

Month	Description	Cost		
		£	s	d
Total cost		74	6	10
January	Item 2 square peeces to make wyre for the chaire organ		2	2
	Item to Orpin for 3 dayes work & about the scaffold wth other worke wth the Organist		4	2
	Item to Neete the like to help		3	6
	Item nayles			6
	Item 3 long iron bolts, 3 keyes & 3 bolsters to fasten the wyre		2	11
	Item for Carridge of the Organ by direction of the Mrs of the workes	6	10	
	Item to Orpin and Neete one day wth the organist		2	2
February	Item cooles the 4th			21
	Item 2 longe barrs for the Organ loft		4	2
	Item cooles the 6th			21
	Item square timber		2	
	Item to Neete for worke wth the Organist		3	6
	Item nayles			4
	Item cooles the 13th		3	6
	Item two greate iron barrs for the organ		6	10
	Item of inch elme borde in measure 28 foote		4	
	Item Orpin one daye wth the Organist			14
	Item Neete wth the Organist			18
	Item nayles			4
	Item an iron bar more			22
	Item nayles			5
	Item strikinge the scaffold & clearinge the Quier			14
	Item lone of scaffold bawd			6
Item cooles the 20th			22	
April	Item to Orpin and Neete 2 dayes about the staires at the Organ loft		4	8
	Item 100 wt broade			10
	Item to Orpin and Neete one daye & more about the staires		3	6
	Item in nayles			5
	Item one bsh lyme		3	4
	Item to the mason & his an six dayes		12	
	Item 6 bsh lyme		2	6
	Item payd for carridge of the organ stuffe	3	11	6
	Item to Orpin and Neete for 2 dayes about the scaffold & the Organ loft		5	6
	Item duple x single 20d nayles			8
	Item cooles 30th		2	8
	Item to Orpin & Neete about the organ		2	2
	Item to Mr Burward towards the greate organ	11		

Month	Description	Cost		
		£	s	d
May	Item to Orpin & Neete 3 dayes about the upper scaffold & worke to the loft		7	7
	Item in nayles			11
	Item Cooles the 5th		2	8
	Item 4 quarter peeces for winescott		2	8
	Item to Orpin six dayes where the newe bellowes must stand		7	
	Item to Neete wth him sixe dayes		5	6
	Item in nayles			10
	Item a plancke		2	
	Item cooles the 10th		2	8
	Item to Orpin sixe dayes more about the organ loft		7	
	Item to Neet wth him 6 dayes		3	
	Item in nayles			8
	Item cooles the 14th			16
	Item 10 foote of borde			15
	Item 10 foote of timber			15
	Item square quarter timber		2	8
	Item cooles the 17th			16
	Item a payre gimowes			8
	Item to Orpin for 3 dayes in the Organ		4	1
	Item nayles			3
	Item 13 foote timber		2	8
	Item cooles the 24th			16
	Item cooles the 28th		2	8
	Item to Orpin 3 dayes in the Organ		3	6
Item 30 foote of inch borde		3		
Item to Mr Burwood in pte	10			
Item cooles the loft			16	
June	Item to the Sawers for slillinge a peece		4	
	Item cooles the 4th			16
	Item to Orpin five dayes in the Organ		7	
	Item in nayles			10
	Item duple quarter		2	5
	Item cooles the 9th			16
	Item 13 foote of timber		2	1
	Item to Orpin 4 dayes		5	3
	Item to the sayers 2 dayes		4	
	Item 3 peeces of 6 foote a peece			14
	Item one rayle 7 foote longe			10
	Item 19 foote of borde			21
	Item cooles the 17th			16
	Item cooles the 18th			18
	Item to Orpin for sixe dayes about the rayles in the Organ loft		7	
	Item to Neete 4 dayes to helpe		4	6
	Item nayles			7
	Item 2 lockes & bolts for the rayles			22

Month	Description	Cost		
		£	s	d
	Item cooles the 21th			16
	Item to Orpin for 4 dayes in the organ		4	8
	Item 12 foote timber			15
	Item to Neete 2 dayes to helpe		2	6
	Item nayles			6
	Item to the plumer for sixe dayes		5	
	Item John Kettle 4 dayes		4	
	Item to a laborer to helpe 4 dayes		3	10
	Item to the carpenter one daye with the plumer			14
	Item lath nayles & other nayles			9
	Item cooles the 25th			18
	Item 3 bar 3 staples for the Organ		2	8
	Item lath nayles & plasteringe under the organ			6
	Item cooles the 30th			16
	Item to Orpin one daye			21
July	Item to the plumber 3 dayes worke		3	
	Item to his son John 2 dayes		2	6
	Item to the carpenter one daye with the plumer			7
	Item to a laborer 3 dayes to helpe		2	6
	Item 100 gl greate plumminge nayles		3	4
	Item cooles the 6th			23
	Item to the Mason and his man 2 dayes		4	
	Item to Orpin one daye			21
	Item to Neete to helpe about the organ			12
	Item a [hinge] for a doore			4
	Item nayles			3
	Item 4 quarters		2	8
	Item alteringe 2 lockes & kees			18
	Item newe winescott to fill the Arch about the Greate organ	3	10	
	Item a winescot doore with gimowes, bolt, locke & keye		7	4
	Item to Orpin for 4 dayes in the organ loft & strickinge the scaffold		5	3
	Item to Neete one daye			18
	Item to the plumber one daye			12
	Item to his laborer the like			10
	Item in wast & lone of the scaffold timber & bords		5	6
	Item to the plumer 3 dayes		3	6
	Item to his laborer 2 dayes		2	1
	Item to Mr Babb cullaringe & guildinge the Organ		44	
	Item to his Man		5	
	Item to Mr Burwood in full payment	5		
	Item to his sonne & his men		40	
	Item the carridge of 1500 weight for Mr Burwood & three passingers	4	15	
	Item carryinge the saned & other plancke to the Church			6
	Item lead bought in snoes 13 cwt 1 gl 23 at 13 li 6s [...] d per ...	8	19	10
	Item carryinge the load			12
	Item to Orpin 3 dayes about the formes		3	6

Month	Description	Cost		
		£	s	d
	Item one other peece Timber for planckes		14	
	Item sawinge the peece		5	9
	Item to Orpin five dayes in the Organ		5	10
	Item to Rogers a Carpenter 2 dayes		2	8
	Item in nayles			10

Appendix 18: Changes to the interior of the churches of Salisbury 1628-53

Date	St Edmund's	St Thomas's	St Martin's	Cathedral
1628-29	Muscadine only for communion wine	Communion table & minister's seat moved	Paving the church Bows & arrows frame	
1629-30		Taking the top of the pulpit to the cathedral	New cushions; hourglass repaired; rosemary and bay at Christmas & Allhallows	Rails at west end; tall hassocks & mats for quire; carved work on communion table legs; windows - east end & Lady chapel
1630-31	Pulpit cushion	Painting & gilding the minister's pew & pulpit; frankincense purchased		Work on forms & seats; new cushions
1631-32	Book of Canons; painting of font & new font cover	Queen's arms cleared; frame around communion table & three forms		
1632-33			New organ	
1633-34	Chancel rail & two short forms for communion; all windows repaired; wainscot for communion table to 'save the cloth'.			Work on the 'morning prayer seat', forms and benches
1634-35	Ten Commandments, Lord's Prayer and Creed; king and queen's arms; paving of church & chancel			
1635-36	Pulpit cushion; gallery erected; portable seating			New chair organ & extension of existing organ
1636-37	Pottle pots for measuring wine ¹		Communion rails; stairs to pulpit	
1637-38				New hangings in quire; mats for the quire; basket for bread; eight books of royal paper for the choir; embroidered azure copes; large silver & gilt basin
1638-39		Moving minister's seat & communion table for Easter; communion tablecloth	Clerk's desk & reading desk added to pulpit	
1639-40		New surplice; 'sweetes to burn ... at Christmas'	Pew for clerk with decks	

¹ Pot holding two quarts i.e. four pints.

Date	St Edmund's	St Thomas's	St Martin's	Cathedral
1640-41	Iron frame for mayor's maces	Lecture gown repaired	Surplice with lace to neck	
1641-42		Chancel rail removed		
1642-43				Organ removed and stored; rails set up at the altar; coloured rails at the west end of the church
1644-45		Organ removed / disconnected		
1646	Metal from organ sold	Pulpit moved near minister's seat; metal from organ sold		
1646-47	Fonts replaced by smaller versions; portable seats in place of old font; velvet pulpit cloth & cushion; arms of king & prince	A board for parliament's declaration; old pulpit sold; painting, oiling and gilding the pulpit. Organ pipes and case moved		
1647-48	Curtains over west window	New pulpit; font taken down; painting font & its pillar		
1648-49	Re-whiting of church			
1650		Order to wash out coat-of-arms of king		
1651-52		Sale of cope case; part of south aisle bricked-up		
1652-53	26 June Fall of church tower		Organ removed	

Appendix 19: Books from will of Peter Thatcher

TNA: PROB 11/187/112, *Will of Peter Thatcher, 5 August 1640.*

'Given to my sonn Thomas Thatcher theis books following ...'

N.B. A short title given in Latin does not necessarily guarantee that the book is in Latin rather than English.

Wording of will	Translation	Notes
Calvini in Isaiam &c	Calvin on Isaiah etc.	
Calvini in acta apost. et epist.	Calvin on Acts of the Apostles and Epistles	
Biblia latina Iunii et Tre[mellii].	Franciscus Junius and Immanuel Tremellius' Latin translation of the Bible 1575-9	These may be separate books or perhaps all bound together
Flacii Illyrici glossa in N.T.	Matthias Flacius gloss on NT	Matthias Flacius – Lutheran from Croatia
Dyonisii Areopagitae opera	Works of Dionysius the Areopagite	
Petri Martiris comment' in libros Regum	Peter Martyr commentary on the books of Kings	Peter Martyr Vermigli (there were several other Peter Martyrs), Italian protestant
Musculi Com. in Joannem	[Wolfgang] Musculus commentary on John's gospel	There were two scholars called Musculus; this one may be Wolfgang (Calvinist theologian).
Musculi in Psalmos	Musculus on Psalms	
Musculi in Isaiam	Musculus on Isaiah	
Amandi Polani Syntagma	Amandus Polanus, <i>Syntagma theologiae christianae</i> (translated in English as <i>A System of Christian Theology</i>)	Calvinist scholar
Calvini tractatus theologici o[mn]es	Calvin: all theological tracts in one volume	
Calvini Harmonia [ex Evangelistis]	Calvin <i>Harmonie vpon the Three Euangelists</i>	
Beza in novum testamentum	Theodore Beza on New Testament	Disciple of Calvin
Calvini in 5 libros Mosis	Calvin on 5 books of Moses	
Calvini in Job	Calvin on Job	
Calvini in Psalmos	Calvin on Psalms	
Calvini in 12 Prophetas minores	Calvin on 12 minor prophets	
Aretii in novum testam[entum]	Benedictus Aretius on new testament	Swiss Protestant theologian
Chamieri Panstratia Catholica tomi 4 ^{or}	Daniel Chamier's compendium of controversies against the Catholics	<i>Panstratia Catholica seu Corpus Controversiarum adversus Pontificios</i> – Chamier – French Huguenot, pupil of Beza

Wording of will	Translation	Notes
S[c]hindleri Lexicon Pentaglotton	Valentin Schindler's lexicon	Lutheran scholar of Hebrew. Published 1612; covers 5 languages (Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, Talmudic Rabbinic and Arabic)
S[c]hindleri Gram[m]atica	Schindler's grammar	Probably the <i>Institutiones Hebraicae</i>
Petri Martiris Loci Comu ^{tt} [Communes]	Peter Martyr Vermigli, Commonplaces	Popular Huguenot compilation from Martyr's commentaries.
Lavateri in Lib. Chronicor.	Ludwig Lavater on the books of Chronicles	Swiss Calvinist
Cartwrights Confutacon of the Rhemists Test[ament].	Thomas Cartwright's refutation of the Catholic New Testament translation made in Rheims	English Puritan
Davenantii Prelectiones	Davenant's lectures	John Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury - Calvinist
Davenantii in Collossens[es]	Davenant on Colossians	
Davenantii Determina[ciones]	Davenant's Determinations	
Byfeild on Colossions	Nicholas Byfield on Colossians	Calvinist /puritan
Hierons works 2 volumes	Hieron[ymus]'s works, 2 volumes	Probably St Jerome
Piscator in nov. test.	Johannes Piscator (Fischer) on New Testament	
Rainoldi censura lib. Apoc: tomi 2 ^o	John Rainolds' collection of lectures against the inclusion of the Apocrypha in the Bible	Rainolds was a mainstream puritan who initiated and played a major part in the King James translation of the Bible
Parei in Genesim	David Pareus on Genesis	German theologian, believed in reconciling Lutherans and Calvinists
Parei in Hoseam	Pareus on Hosea	
Amesii in Psalmos	Amesius (William Ames) on the Psalms	English Calvinist
Am[esii] de conscientia:	Ames on the Conscience	
[Amesii] rescriptio ad Grevencopium	Ames' rebuttal of Nicholas Grevinckhoven	
Peltii Harmonia Remonst[rantium] et socin[inianorum]	Harmony of Remonstrants and Socinians	Possibly part of a pamphlet war between anti-Calvinist Arminian factions. Johannes Peltius, Dutch Remonstrant
Drs [Doctoris] Twisse Vindiciae Gratiae	William Twisse's attack on the Arminians	Prominent Protestant, well-liked and bookish; a leading clergyman during the commonwealth
Sleidani Comment[arii].	Johann Sleidan, Commentaries on religion and state under Charles V	History; written by a protestant with a care to impartiality

Wording of will	Translation	Notes
Reformed Catholique		Possibly <i>Maister Perkins, Reformed Catholique</i> by William Bishop which was a recusant Catholic text printed at Douai in 1625. The better-known Protestant pamphlet <i>Reformed Catholique</i> by Roger L'Estrange wasn't printed till 1679.
Calvini in Ezechielem Ayra's lectures	Calvin's commentary on Ezekiel. Henry Airay, lectures on Philippians	Possibly bound together. Puritan divine from Westmorland, known as 'cultured'; the fiery anti-Catholicism of his <i>Lectures</i> brought him into conflict with Laud
History of the church in 2 volumes by Patrick Sympson	History of the church in 2 volumes by Patrick Sympson	
Marlorati Enchiridion	Augustin Marlorat du Pasquier;	
Bucani Institutiones	Gulielmus Bucanus	Swiss-French Calvinist. 1602, one of the first systematic works of theology of the Calvinist Reformed Church
Tailor on Titus	Thomas Taylor, Commentary on Titus	Puritan/ Calvinist
Taylor on the Parable of the Sower	Thomas Taylor on the Parable of the Sower, 1621	
Beza in Job	Theodore Beza on Job	
Oecolampadius in Isaiam	Johannes Oecolampadius on Isaiah	German Calvinist
Bdall on Jeremy	Bedall on Jeremiah	
Sclater on the Romans	Sclater on the Epistle to the Romans	William Sclater a 'fiery' Puritan
Sclater on the Thessalonians	Sclater on the Thessalonians	
Grammer Schools	Grammer Schools	
Beza confessio fidei Homi[?] disputationes	Theodore Beza; English translation was <i>A briefe and piththie summe of the Christian faith made in forme of a confession, vvith a confutation of all such superstitious errours, as are contrary therevnto.</i>	
Parei in j ^{am} ad Corinthios	David Pareus on 1 Conrinthians	
Parei ad Hebraos	Pareus on the epistle to the Hebrews	
Parei analysis in Epist. ad Philem.	Pareus's analysis on the epistle to Philemon	
Drusii in Hoseam	Drusius (Johannes van den Driesche) on Hosea	Dutch Protestant professor of Hebrew and Oriental languages

Wording of will	Translation	Notes
Whitakeri con[tra] Campianum Rainold sex theses	William Whitaker <i>An ansvere to the Ten reasons of Edmund Campian the Iesuit</i> John Rainolds – six theses	Six theses on Holy scripture and the church. Oxford 1580. Possibly bound in one volume. Prominent Calvinist Anglican; leading churchman under Elizabeth I.
Dearings Works	Dearings Works	
Pilkington on Agge and Obadia	Pilkington on Haggai and Obadiah	
P Merlini in lib. Ester	Merlin, Pierre – <i>A Most Plain and profitable Exposition of the book of Esther delivered in 26 Sermons</i>	French Huguenot, pupil of Beza
Vossi theses Theologicae	Gerardus Vossius (Gerrit Janszoon Vos) theological theses	Dutch classical scholar and Protestant theologian
Parei in Romanos	Pareus on Romans	
Dounams Lectures on Hosea	John Downname's Lectures on Hosea	Anti-Laudian, prominent in the Commonwealth
Dounams summe of Divinity	Downname <i>The Summe of Sacred Divinitie Briefly and Methodically Propounded</i>	
Malcomi in Acta Apost	John Malcolm, commentary on Acts of Apostles	Scottish Calvinist, friend of the fiery Andrew Melville
Dike on Repentance	Daniel Dike on Repentance	Puritan
Rogers on Luke 15th	Rogers on Luke 15th	
Cartwright in Proverbia	Thomas Cartwright on Proverbs	
Cartwright in Ecclesiaste[s]	Cartwright on Ecclesiastes	
Cartwright harmonia Evang	Cartwright Harmony of the Gospels	
Carth. Commentaria practica 2 volum	Cartwright Practical Commentary on the Gospels	
Carth. historia Christi	Cartwright's history of Christ	
Byfeild on Peter I Capt.	Nicholas Byfield on Peter I chapter	
Byfeild on 2 capt. 2 Peter	Byfield on 2 nd chapter of 2 Peter	
Heinsii [Sacrae] exercit[ationes] in [recte ad] N[ovum] Test[amentum].	Daniel Heinsius's Sacred Exercises on the New Testament	Leading Dutch classical scholar
Ludovicus de Dieu in 4 ^{or} Evang.	Louis de Dieu on the four gospels	French Protestant minister and eminent orientalist scholar
Wilson's Christian Dictionary	Thomas Wilson, <i>Christian Dictionary</i>	On the Puritan/non-conformist wing of Anglicanism
Bradshaw on 2 Thessa.	Bradshaw on 2 Thessalonians	
Menasseh Ben Izrael de Creatione &c	Menasseh Ben Israel on the Creation etc	Portuguese rabbi

Wording of will	Translation	Notes
Silvani [<i>recte</i> Salviani] de gubernat[i]o[n]e Dei	Salvian on God's Government	Fifth century Roman Christian writer
Amesii Analysis in Petrum	William Ames <i>An analytically exposition of both the epistles of the Apostle Peter</i>	
Rami Dialectica	Petrus Ramus, Dialectics	P. Rami <i>Dialecticae libri duo scholiis</i> . Influential French Protestant humanist and educationalist
Bucanami Psalms	Bucanam's metrical Latin translations of the Psalms	George Buchanan, James I's tutor
Biblia Hebrae 2 volum.	Hebrew Bible 2 volum[es]	
Cottons compleate concordance	Clement Cotton, a complete concordance to the Bible of the last translation, 1631	
Merlini in Job	Merlin on Job	
Alstedii de mille annis	Johann Heinrich Alsted on the Millennium	German-born Transylvanian Saxon Calvinist minister and academic and millenarian
Amesii [Christianae] Catech[eseos] Sciagraphia	Sciagraphy of the Christian Catechesis	Ames as above.
Epitomes historiae Ecclesiasticae Centuriae 3 volum	Lucas Osiander, epitomes of ecclesiastical history	German Evangelical-Lutheran pastor from an influential church family (related to Cranmer)
Parei in Matheu	David Pareus on Matthew	
Riveti in Exodum	André Rivet on Exodus	French Huguenot
Riveti in Genesim	Rivet on Genesis	
Otes on Jude	Otes on the epistle of Jude	
Sigony de occidentali imperio	Carolus Sigonius on the (decline and fall of the) Western (Roman) Empire 1579	Italian humanist classical historian
Pembles Salomons recantation	William Pemble, <i>Salomons Recantation and Repentance: or, the Booke of Ecclesiastes briefly and fully explained</i>	In English; 'moderate puritan'
Boltons Comfortable walking	Robert Bolton <i>General Directions for a Comfortable Walking With God</i>	Academic and Anglican priest
Fulleri Misscellanea	Nicholas Fuller, Theological miscellany	Linguist and scholar
Elton on Romans	Elton on Romans	
Elton on Romans the 7th	Elton on Romans the 7th	
Zepperi Legum Mosaicarum. Explana[ti]o	Wilhelm Zepper, explanation of the mosaic laws	German reformed theologian
Saincts safetie in Evill tymes	Richard Sibbes, <i>The Saint's Safety in Evil Times</i>	'main-line' puritan within Anglicanism
Tyme well spent Culverwell	<i>Time well spent in sacred meditations</i> Ezekiel Culverwell or Calverwell	Nonconformist

Wording of will	Translation	Notes
Willett on Jude	Willett on Jude	
Bradford, two sermons	Bradford two sermons	
Brightman on the Revelacons	Brightman on the Revelations	
Brightman on Canticles	Brightman on Canticles	
	TOTAL	107 volumes

Appendix 20: Sentences for Henry Sherfield proposed by members of Privy Council

Member of Privy Council	Fine	Remove from job as Recorder	Remove from job as JP	Bind over to good behaviour	Acknowledge offence in St Edmund's	Acknowledge offence in Cathedral to bishop	Prison	Repair the window
Lord Cottington	£1000	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes		
Lord Heath	500 marks	No	No	No	No	Yes		
Lord Richardson	£500	No	No	No	No	Yes		
Secretary Windibanke	£1000	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Secretary Cooke	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	
Sir Thomas Jarmin	500 marks	No	No	No	No	Yes		
Sir Henry Vane	£1000	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	
Sir Thomas Edmonds	500 marks	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	
Bishop of London (Laud)	£1000	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes		
Lord Wentworth	£1000	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes		
Lord Newburgh	No sentence given as he missed the start of the hearing							
Sir Robert Naunton	No sentence given as he missed the start of the hearing							
Phillip, Earl of Pembroke	No sentence given							
Viscount Wimbleton	500 marks	No	No	No	No	Yes		
Earl of Holland	No sentence given as he missed the start of the hearing							
Earl of Devonshire	£1000	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes		
Earl of Dorset	No	No		No	No	Yes		
Lord Chamberlain	No sentence given							
Lord Marshall	£1000	No		Yes	Yes	Yes		
Lord Privie Seal	No	No	No	No	No	Yes		
Archbishop of York (Neile)	£1000	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes		
Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England	No fine	No	No	No	No	Yes		Yes