Helen Roberts

New light on the 17th-century English cathedral wind band:
a (fragmentary) Canterbury tale

[ABSTRACT]

Despite the long-acknowledged and widespread association of wind instrumentalists with English cathedrals in the late 16th and 17th centuries, and the continued performance tradition enjoyed by sacred vocal music of the period, the performance practices of English cathedral wind bands during this time have been strangely neglected in the existing literature. Drawing on a combination of traditional musicological and archival research and bespoke practice-led research methodologies, this paper discusses some possible solutions to the question of how wind instrumentalists may have been employed in the day-to-day enactment of Prayer Book services during a turbulent period of English history. New archival evidence surrounding the life of William Mather, cornettist at Canterbury Cathedral in the years before the suspension of sung worship in 1642, sheds new light on the interplay between civic and ecclesiastical music-making in the city, contributing to our knowledge of the historical and social contexts of the people and practices involved, and offering a tantalising glimpse into life in the 17th-century gig economy.

[KEYWORDS]

Canterbury cathedral; Performance practice; Cornett; Sackbut; Wind band; 17th century; Practice-led research; Waits; Soundscape; Reformation

[CAPTIONS]

1 Signature of William Mather, CA DCC/MA.41, fol.347*v* (reproduced with the permission of Canterbury Cathedral Library and Archive)
2 William Mather's probate inventory, Kent Records Office, PRC11/9/112/1, annotated to highlight evidence of his social status (reproduced by permission)
3 'Prinsjesdag' (Prince's Day), a tavern scene by Jan Havickszoon Steen (*c*.1626–1679); Dutch, *c*.1660–1679 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; image use permitted). The

image shows a selection of the household possessions listed in Mather's probate inventory and provides a visualization of the kind of establishment he may have run

Table 1 Order of Sunday Worship, as in the *Book of Common Prayer*, 1604, showing liturgical events associated with contemporary accounts of instrumental involvement. Key: bold = standard sung items; † = items for which some evidence of polyphonic setting exists; * = evidence from Durham of instrumental participation; (*) = evidence from other provincial cathedral locations of instrumental participation

Table 2 Contemporary references to instrumental participation in the liturgy, with sources

Example 1 Nathaniel Patrick, Magnificat from *Short Service*, excerpt

[BODY]

Shortly after the restoration of Prayer Book services at Canterbury Cathedral in 1660, the Dean and Chapter received a petition. It was written on behalf of Francis Linneal and Francis Onslowe ('sackbotters') and Richard Mounteer and John Foade ('cornettors'), asking that they be included in the recent distribution of money 'amongst their fellowe Members of the Quier' and stating that they were 'still ready to p[er]forme their severall duetyes with their Fellow Members', having been prevented from doing so by 18 years of war and Interregnum.[1] They are among 33 people named in Canterbury Cathedral's archives in the turbulent years between 1598, our first surviving record, and 1670, the death of the last surviving wind musician, as players of either the cornett or sackbut who were paid for their attendance at Cathedral services. One of their pre-Civil War colleagues, William Mather (Mathers, Mothers, Madder, Mauthers), a cornettist at Canterbury from some time before 1633 until his death in 1642, is the focus of this article, as he leaves an unusually rich seam of archival documentation for a 17th-century professional musician, inviting us to consider how the fragmentary elements of his personal history may contribute to our understanding of the musical role he shared with his colleagues. By mapping the pursuits of the Canterbury Cathedral wind band onto the framework provided by Mather's paper trail, drawing on research into other locations where necessary, this article will sketch out some of the activities that contributed to Mather's provincial portfolio career, examine the cultural context in

which he and his colleagues worked, and discuss how this approach has, in combination with practice-led research, enabled me to begin identifying meanings in the archival sources on which I have drawn.[2] Mather's story not only provides a fresh perspective on English sacred vocal music from the first half of the 17th century, but also goes to the heart of a long-neglected aspect of performance practice in this repertory—namely, the well documented presence of wind players in church—ultimately shedding new light on the sound-world of the early 17th-century English cathedral.

The only impression William Mather has made on scholarship to date is as part of Roger Bowers's headcount of wind musicians employed by Canterbury Cathedral between around 1598, when they are first mentioned in payment records, and 1642, when Bowers's study draws to a close.[3] Neither William nor his colleagues are mentioned by name, but all sign for their quarterly stipend in the Cathedral Treasurer's Books now bound together as DCC/MA/41. Mather's signature is presented in illustration 1.

[INSERT ILLUS.1 NEAR HERE, COLUMN-WIDTH]

These signatures are a fascinating resource in and of themselves, and have allowed me to address Bowers's conclusions about the literacy and function of Canterbury's wind band elsewhere,[4] but considering the general scarcity of documents relating to 'non-elite' musicians in 17th-century sources, one might legitimately conclude that this is the only trace a character like Mather would have left. A chance conversation with archivists at Canterbury Cathedral, however, hinted at a possible avenue of further research relating to the activities of Canterbury's city waits, eventually revealing Mather's connection to both the civic and ecclesiastical groups of musicians, and the potential of his story to tell us more about the role they played in Caroline Canterbury. By engaging closely with the *Records of early English drama* volume for Kent,[5] and by embracing a range of digital tools now available for research into genealogy and local history, I have been able to build up a much fuller picture of Mather's biography, and of his work pattern.

Mather's baptism is not recorded, but he married for at least the second time on 19 December 1632, putting his probable date of birth around the turn of the century. He married Elizabeth Vaughan, aged 22, and his occupation on this marriage license is listed as 'musician'.[6] He lived in the Parish of St Margaret in central Canterbury. William first appears in DCC/MA/41 in Nativity term 1633–4, signing for his pay as a *tibicine*

(piper),[7] but since the accounts are missing for the previous eleven years it is impossible to say for certain when his involvement with the cathedral began. He appears in all subsequent surviving accounts until John the Baptist term 1641/2.[8] He had one child from his first marriage and a further 5 from his second, one of whom, Thomas, may have followed him into cathedral employment, petitioning for a position as a lay clerk at the Restoration.[9] William's probate inventory was compiled on 8 June 1642, suggesting that he had died by that date.[10]

As a cathedral wind player Mather was allocated a stipend of £6 per year, paid quarterly, and provided with a surplice at the cathedral's expense. Bowers notes that the band were expected to attend on feast days and vigils (amounting to at least a weekly appearance);[11] as such their pay of 25s per quarter compares favourably with that of the Durham wind band of the same period (20s per quarter), whose attendance was required every day except Wednesday and Friday.[12] Occurrences of payments to wind players in cathedral records increase nationally from around 1600, and their employment, or at least their formal employment, is likely to have been motivated by a number of musical and socio-historical factors. Their role supporting fluctuating choral forces is confirmed later in the 17th century by Roger North, who describes the use of the cornett to 'supply the want of voices' particularly acute in the north of England,[13] while the increasing social acceptability of instrumental music during the later years of Elizabeth's reign may also have eroded associations between wind players and minstrelsy, adding an element of respectability required for employment in church.

The growing influence of High Church practices in some ecclesiastical institutions during the Jacobean and Caroline eras may also have played a part in funding and maintaining wind bands, with the addition of instruments to a liturgical occasion serving to embellish the service in the same way that highly embroidered vestments and altar furnishings might. Such embellishments were central to the 'beauty of holiness' doctrine of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1633, and it would be easy describe the prevalence of winds in church around this time as a 'Laudian' innovation.[14] The picture is, I think, somewhat more nuanced that that, but as we will see the association between instrumental participation in the liturgy and High Church sentiment has considerable traction in writings from the 1620s and 1630s. Whatever the motivation behind their employment, however, acknowledging the regularity with which cathedral worship featured wind instruments during the first half of the 17th

century already challenges perceived notions of the repertory and practices with which they were associated.

Outside the ecclesiastical context, Mather is first mentioned by name in the city records in 1638, after he petitioned the citizen's court of the City of Canterbury, on behalf of himself and three fellow musicians, to be allowed to form the city's officially sanctioned band of waits. This mutinous plan to replace the band already in existence appears to have been the brainchild of one of William's cathedral colleagues, the sackbut player Francis Lynneal, and eventually resulted in the less-than-satisfactory decision on the part of the court to appoint two members from each rival group to the job. In an excellent example of what Christopher Marsh describes as 'waits in conflict',[15] Mather then proceeded to complain fairly continuously for the next four years about pay and conditions until the court eventually ran out of patience and sacked them all in 1642,[16] silencing a group that had been a consistent feature of urban Canterbury since the 14th century.

Mather's employment as a waits player carried with it certain cultural connotations that contrast with his cathedral role. Strong associations between waits bands and the trade guild movement established in the late Middle Ages persisted after the Reformation, aligning waits closely with civic, commercial and ceremonial aspects of urban life, from their role as keepers of the watch to their almost ubiquitous presence at civic functions and dinners. Whilst local Puritan influence may have disrupted their performances on Sundays in some towns in the pre-Civil War years, waits bands remained a regular feature of provincial life throughout the Commonwealth period, as shown by records from Norwich, London and Newcastle upon Tyne;[17] this in turn suggests a level of endorsement of this particular brand of civic entertainment on the part of the Puritan cause. Broad categorizations of post-Reformation guilds and their practices as 'godly'—and thus in binary theological opposition to ecclesiastical authority—may be questionable in the context of historical scholarship,[18] but when examining the political landscape of 1630s Canterbury and considering the aural significance of Mather's various musical pursuits, these observations may help us to navigate the spectrum of meanings and associations that emerge.

The motivation for Mather and Lynneal's plan can, of course, only be the subject of speculation, but perhaps the mutinous group, all regular members of the cathedral band, may have considered themselves somewhat musically superior to the existing

players, only one of whom, Edward Berry, appears in cathedral records in an official capacity—and then for just one term.[19] Either way, they were keen to claim the work for themselves, despite the likely poor remuneration on offer. Although the annual stipend of the Canterbury waits is not recorded, the pay of the band's counterparts in Norwich is documented at £3 each per year in 1593.[20] On the basis that wages took little notice of high inflation in the early years of the 17th century, and that waits were paid for additional private engagements on top of their annual stipend, Mather may have received around £4 per year for his activities as a wait.[21] Thus even with the addition of his £6 cathedral stipend, on paper Mather would only have made about as much as a manual labourer, who generally would have taken home between £7 and £10 a year in the 1630s.[22]

Mather's probate inventory, reproduced in full in illustration 2, reveals that he had a third, apparently quite profitable strand to his hitherto seemingly precarious existence. Although there are numerous pitfalls involved in interpreting such documents, it is possible to use them as an indicator of the relative comfort in which an individual and his family lived, and to shed a little light on their day-to-day lives.[23]

[INSERT ILLUS.2 NEAR HERE, PAGE-WIDTH]

The details of William's musical instruments, which appear in the first column (labelled A), could have been highly enlightening, but the entry is tantalizingly unspecific and does not list any instrument by name. At a combined value of £2 in used condition, he could have owned a couple of cornetts (new trebles cost 35s each, and tenors 50s, in 1622[24]) plus maybe a shawm and some recorders.[25] However, the list of household items he owned contains a number of wealth signifiers identified by social historians in comparative probate studies, offering some indication of Mather's social status. There are items from all three 'comfort levels' amongst 'middling' citizens as identified by Lorna Weatherill (in particular mirrors and pictures, labelled 'B' in illus.2), and the total value of the inventory (£24 19s 2d) places Mather's household in J. A. Johnston's middle band (third out of five) of households, described as having 'apparently satisfied normal aspirations' in their household possessions.[26] This final income stream must, therefore, have been reasonably successful, as it was responsible for lifting him and his family out of the lowest income and comfort brackets.

A large quantity of beer (432 servings at 2d/quart) and the listing of 'ye signe boord' (illus.2, labelled 'C'), first suggested the possibility that Mather ran an alehouse,

or possibly a tavern, probably with the help of his wife Elizabeth. He would not have been alone amongst cathedral employees, or the wider public, in 'moonlighting' in this manner.[27] It is estimated that by 1630 there were around 50,000 alehouses in England, up from around 24,000 in 1577, with a decreasing ratio of alehouse per head of population even keeping abreast of the rapid population growth that occurred during the same period.[28] The alehouse shown in illus.3 is by the Dutch painter Jan Havickszoon Steen, but it could be considered representative of the kind of establishment Mather may have run based on the items depicted that appear in his inventory: a table and joint stools, table linen, jugs, glasses, earthenware, wooden dishes and trenchers (labelled 'D' in illus.2).

[INSERT ILLUS.3 NEAR HERE, PAGE-WIDTH]

Opinion among early modern social historians is divided on the matter, but among the clientele, probably representatives of the lower- to middle-class to which Mather himself belonged, might have been individuals plotting the overthrow of church and state—a process greatly assisted by the proliferation of alehouses in the early modern period (Scott)—or habitual drinkers 'too concerned to keep themselves together body and soul to become radical activists' (Clark).[29] The Kentish poet Henry Oxinden describes 'a great upprore at the ordinary [a tavern or other hostelry serving food]' caused in Canterbury in 1641 when the Dean of Canterbury, Isaac Bargrave, attempted to raise signatories to a petition against the reform of cathedral foundations being debated in parliament.[30] Such stories of grass-roots politicking demonstrates how, in the context of Caroline Canterbury—where absentee Archbishop William Laud, the moderate Dean Bargrave, and local radical puritans such as Richard Culmer came into regular conflict—each strand of Mather's commercial life emerges as a potential site of cultural interplay between the complex social and religious currents of wider society, at a pivotal moment in the national story.

Having established the elements that constituted Mather's range of employment and money-making possibilities, we can consider how this may have looked in practice. To illustrate this, I have chosen to examine what might have been a typical Sunday in Canterbury during the 1630s, adopting a typological approach to evidence where the Canterbury picture is incomplete. I have selected Sunday 28th January 1638 for this test case. Candlemas would have been celebrated on this day, and it would also have marked the end of the waits' winter season. Perhaps 'ye County dynner', an annual gathering of

civic dignitaries and guildsmen and women at which the waits band always played, had happened the night before. 4s worth of 'strong beere', plus 23s 2d for 'sacke and Claret' may have made for sore heads among the 61 guests the next day,[31] but in any case, Mather and his waits would have started Sunday playing 'with their musick in the morninges in the stretes of this Cittie'.[32] Exactly what they would have played is unclear, but perhaps there were some transferable items from their cathedral repertory that would have been suitable; I will return to this point below.

One account of Sunday services at Canterbury from the late 16th century describes 'solemn Musick, with the Voices, and Organs, Cornets, and Sagbuts' which led an Italian gentleman visiting the city to claim 'that (unless it were in the Pope's Chappel) he never saw a more solemn sight, or heard a more heavenly sound'.[33] Unfortunately, further evidence from Canterbury is no more specific when it comes to establishing the band's schedule for the rest of the day's services, but it is possible that contemporary references to the Durham cathedral band may prove informative here, especially bearing in mind that the pay of the two groups was roughly commensurate. The breakdown of Sunday services according to the 1604 Book of Common Prayer is given in Table 1. I have highlighted the sung items from each service and marked with an asterisk those items for which contemporary evidence of instrumental participation exists. This evidence is presented in Table 2, which I have, in part, constructed from the useful paper trail of accusations and counter-accusations left by friction between High Church and Puritan factions within Durham Cathedral Chapter at this time. Given their civic duties as waits, perhaps it is unlikely that the Canterbury band would have been in attendance at Morning Prayer, but the Holy Communion service, which garnered severe criticism during this period for 'popish' tendencies, might easily have involved instruments.

Peter Smart, the Durham prebend whose writings are the source of several of these musical complaints, also describes wider liturgical practices he has witnessed: use of 'gilded Angels, painted Images, golden copes, gorgious Alters', 'other ceremoniall toyes and Popish trinkets', and the 'superstitious ceremony of bowing' or 'alter-ducking'—giving a good indication of how several practical manifestations of William Laud's 'beauty of holiness' doctrine were received by those of a Puritan persuasion in places where such policies were widely embraced. Durham was certainly one such place, and evidence from the parishes of Kent suggest that certain aspects of Laudian

policy, particularly surrounding the use of an altar in place of the communion table, found sympathetic proponents in several prebends of Canterbury Cathedral around this time.[34] Under Dean Bargrave, the extent of these practices in the cathedral itself are less clearly documented, but the expansion in polyphonic settings of liturgical items as a feature of the 'beauty of holiness' was a further practice that drew criticism at Durham and we can see evidence of this at Canterbury too. Although Canterbury's pre-Restoration part books do not survive, several composers who can be associated with the cathedral in the first half of the 17th century contributed works to John Barnard's printed collection of church music, first published in 1641.[35] George Marson, organist and master of the choristers at Canterbury for the first thirty years of the 17th century, contributed a rare four-voice polyphonic setting of the Nicene Creed, for example, an item to which Peter Smart records instrumentalists contributing at Durham.[36] Barnard also included four- and five-part Kyrie settings respectively by Marson and William West, another local. The repertory at Canterbury may, therefore, have furnished quite a full polyphonic Communion service as the occasion required.

Durham sources also suggest that the wind band provided instrumental accompaniment to the administration of the sacrament itself (see Table 2), and although nothing survives to confirm this practice at Canterbury, perhaps this is an area in which the repertory of Mather's civic and ecclesiastical ensembles may have intersected. During practice-led research at Canterbury Cathedral in January 2019, the wind band of two cornetts and two sackbuts played some 4-part vocal music with appropriate Epiphany texts, along with two pieces from the fragmentary instrumental repertory,, accompanied by the organ.[37] The vocal music in particular would certainly suit outside performance from memory, a practice familiar to the *Stadtpfeiffer* bands of German towns, providing a possible point of overlap between the repertories of the two groups.[38] Whilst the cathedral band line-up appears fixed, as waits, the group is likely to have had considerable flexibility in their choice of instrumentation, enabling them to re-purpose repertory easily depending on the performance context.

[INSERT TABLE 1 NEAR HERE AS FOLLOWS (NB KEY IS IN CAPTION ABOVE TOP)]

*Morning Prayer **	*Holy Communion **	*Evening Prayer (*)*
('Hymn, or suchlike song', or an anthem) (*)	Lord's Prayer, Collects for Purity	**(Anthem) (*)**
Sentence, Invitation, Confession, Absolution	The Ten Commandments †	Opening versicles and responses
Lord's Prayer	Collects for the King and for the day	**Psalm of the day †**
Preces	**Anthem (*)**	Old Testament Lesson
Venite	Epistle & Gospel	**Magnificat**
Psalm of the day †	Nicene Creed † *	New Testament Lesson
Old Testament Lesson	Notices	**Nunc dimittis**
Te Deum *	Offertory Sentences, Prayer for the Church Militant, Exhortation, Invitation, etc.	**Versicles and responses**
New Testament Lesson	The following observed only by those receiving Communion:	Apostles' Creed
Benedictus / Jubilate	Lift up your hearts †	Lord's Prayer
Apostles' Creed	Preface	Collects of the Day, for Peace and 'for ayde against all perils' †
Responses	Sanctus †	**(Anthem) (*)**
Lord's Prayer	Prayers	
Collects for the Day, for Peace and for Grace †	Communion of All Present *	
(Anthem) (*)	Gloria †	
	Blessing	

Records from Exeter and Norwich give an indication of the types of instruments available to a provincial waits band, including 'settes & Noyses' of viols and recorders, a selection of shawms and curtalls, cornetts of different sizes, and numerous sackbuts, providing a host of performance options and the potential to add snippets of sacred repertory to the dances and popular tunes likely to have been performed in a secular context.[39] Ensemble improvisation may also have found an outlet in the context of both ensembles, though a thorough discussion of how this may have manifested itself is beyond the scope of this article.[40]

The Sunday afternoon sermon may have been Mather's next engagement, if the role of the Exeter waits band provides clues as to the activities of the Canterbury group. The statutes of the Exeter band instructed them 'upon every soneday and upon everie principal feaste to go before the mayre next before the sergaents when he goeth to the sermons at St. Peter's [Exeter Cathedral]',[41] implying a procession of civic dignitaries escorted by 'the Musick'.

[INSERT TABLE 2 NEAR HERE AS FOLLOWS]

Liturgical Musical Event	*Contemporary description*	*Source*
Morning Prayer	'Notwithstanding this [49th] Injunction, our Durhamers have been so eager upon piping and singing, that in stead of the Morning Prayer at 6. Of the clock, which was wont to be read distinctly and plainly, for Schollers, and Artificers before they began their work, they brought in a solemne Service, with singing and Organs, Sackbuts and Cornets …'	Peter Smart, *A Catalogue of Superstitious Innovations in the change of Services and Ceremonies; Of presumptuous irregularities, and transgressions against the Articles of Religion, Act of Parliament for uniformity, Canons, Advertisements, Iujunctions, and Homilies, &c.* (London: Joseph Hunscott, 1642), p.9.
Anthem	'according to ancient custom there ought to be two cornetts and two sackbuts for the singing-service and anthems'.	'Gloucester Diocese', in *Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections*, vii (London: Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1914), pp. 44-69, at p. 64..[42]
Te Deum	'The whole choir, minor canon and clerks, [accompanied] on the organ and by other musical instruments, sang a Te Deum …'	John Cosin's account of Charles I's visit to Durham (*Cosin Correspondence*, vol I, p. 212–15).[43]
Holy Communion	John Fielde and Thomas Wilcox, two London clergymen, complain of Holy Communion services carried out 'pompeously, wt singing, piping, surplesse and cope[-wear]ing' at which the choir 'tosse the Psalmes … like tennice balles'.	*An Admonition to the Parliament* (Hemel Hempstead: J. Stroud, 1572).[44]
Nicene Creed	'[The]18. Cannon which injoyneth the people to stand up, when the Apostles Creed is said, saying with the Minister in an audible voice, which none can do when the Nicene Creed is sung by the whole Quire, with all their musical instruments.'	Smart, *Catalogue*, p.10.
Communion of All Present	'Nay the Sacrament it selfe of the holy Eucharist, is turned rather into a theatricall stage-play … with excessive noise of Musicall harmony, both instrumentall and vocall, at the same time …'	Peter Smart, *A short Treatise of Altars, Alter-furniture, Alter-cringing, and Musick of all the Quire, Singing-men and Choristers, when the holy Communion was administred in the Cathedrall Church of* Durham*, by Prebendaries and Petty-*

		Canons, in glorious Copes embroidered with Images (1629), p.8.
	'Can such paltry toyes bring to our memory Christ and his blood-shedding? Crosses, Crucifixes, Tapers, Candleticks, gilded Angels, painted Images, golden copes, gorgious Alters, sumptuous Organs, with Sackbuts & Cornets piping so loud at the Communion table, that they may be heard halfe a mile from the Church?'	Peter Smart, *A short Treatise*, p.19.
Evening Prayer	Attending Evening Prayer during a visit to Worcester Cathedral, Queen Elizabeth 'entered into the Church with grett and solempne singing and musick, with cornetts and sackbutts'.	Chamber Order Book of the City of Worcester, Worcestershire Record Office BA9360/A14/Box 1/1, fols.124v and 125.[45]
	Lincoln's city waits were paid £4 per year 'for their service and paines in the Quier of the Cathedrall Church upon everie Sunday & holyday at morning and evening service' during the early 17th century.	Lincoln Cathedral, Chapter Acts 1598–1669, fol.196v.[46]

Sermons, with metrical psalms sung to an organ accompaniment, had been a feature of Canterbury's Sunday afternoons since at least 1625, and contemporary accounts suggest they were popular and well attended.[47] However, the Chapter made an ill-fated decision in 1641 to move the Sunday afternoon sermon from the 'large, warm, well-seated' Sermon House to the 'cold and inconvenient' Cathedral choir, where members of the congregation were, as Richard Culmer writes, 'hem'd in with their Quire service, [so] that all that will partake of the Sermon, should of necessity partake of their Cathedrall-Ceremonious-Alter-Service'.[48] This 'alter-service', or Evening Prayer, may have been Mather's final engagement of the day, with further instrumental contributions to the liturgical repertory possible during the canticles and anthem. The Magnificat and Nunc dimittis of Marson's *Second Service*, and William Pysinge's anthem *I will magnify thee, O Lord*, also preserved in Barnard's collection, would have been suitable local choices for Candlemas, and I tested a series of performance-practice scenarios for these pieces during Evensong at Canterbury Cathedral in January 2019. There are also ambitious verse-anthem settings of the Collect for this day (*Almighty and Everlasting God, We Humbly Beseech Thy Majesty*) by William Smith of Durham and Thomas Tomkins, and it is possible that either of these settings could have featured in the now-lost Canterbury repertory—and have been accompanied by the cathedral band.

But what exactly were the wind band playing in the context of their employment 'in the Quier'? When approaching continental liturgical repertory as wind players, there are a number of well documented options for the distribution of instruments throughout the vocal texture, such as full *colla parte* accompaniment with an instrument on each part, or, text permitting, instruments alone taking all but one voice in a given choir. We sometimes assign an instrument to a vocal line during more soloistic passages or opt for a fully instrumental performance of a vocal piece. These approaches are evidence-based, with some described in treatises, some shown in iconography and others confirmed in musical sources. Unfortunately, evidence like this from English sources in this period simply doesn't survive, if it ever existed in the first place, which means that the drawing of performance practice parameters relies heavily on the type of context-based research under consideration here. For example, Durham, Canterbury and Gloucester Cathedrals, to name but three, all employed a fixed number of players in their bands (two cornetts and two sackbuts), but used a flexible repertory in their services. Daniel and Le Huray's catalogue *The Sources of English Church Music 1549–1660* (London, 1972) gives the number of voice-parts for 923 pieces in total, almost half of which (44 per cent) are for 5 or more voices, suggesting that straightforward part-for-part doubling may not be a viable solution. Additionally, without the now-customary minor-third-upwards transposition still prevalent in editions of repertory from this period, the contratenor altus parts sit too low for a treble cornett. Whilst it is not out of the question that larger instruments were used, the common English term for the tenor cornett ('lysarden' or 'lizard') does not appear in documentary evidence relating to cathedrals around this time. A further consideration that complicates matters is that although English composers did not embrace the polychoral approach of their continental counterparts, antiphonal writing is an important aspect of English compositional style, with alternation between the two sides of the cathedral choir regularly used as an important tool in the representation of the text. Any use of instruments, must, therefore, take this into account.

During practice-led research at Evensong in Worcester Cathedral in October 2018 I tested a medius/bassus, decani/cantoris distribution of instruments throughout the vocal texture, whereby a cornett and a sackbut double the top and bottom lines of each side of the choir respectively, and a four-part ensemble is thus capable of accompanying music with any number of middle parts while maintaining the antiphonal

nature of the writing. I am by no means the first person to moot this as a performance-practice solution as, beginning with Peter le Huray in 1967, a series of music scholars have suggested that this may have been what the wind bands did, but to the best of my knowledge, nobody has actually tried it until now.[49] Despite initial scepticism regarding the inevitable unison playing between the two sides of the choir in full sections, the effect contributed a great deal to the antiphonal nature of the music, whilst considerably strengthening the bottom end and providing stability lacking in the barely-audible organ. Inner voices were prominent in the texture, and the text was remarkably clear. Participant feedback was extremely positive, and I will discuss some of this feedback in more detail below. There is, of course, a complex mesh of other performance-practice issues surrounding English sacred music from this time, all of which impact upon questions of balance and the overall perception of the music,[50] but the experience of testing this instrumental distribution *in situ* suggests that Mather's small band of instrumentalists could have made quite an impact on an already extensively polyphonic liturgical experience.

Such a highly embellished sung service would certainly have fanned the flames of growing hostility towards the Cathedral amongst Puritan factions in Canterbury during the late 1630s and early 1640s. Richard Culmer, whose descriptions of Sunday afternoon sermons at Canterbury were quoted above, also leaves some jubilant writing on the demise of cathedral music more broadly, including these words on the aftermath of religious rioting that took place in Canterbury in 1642:

> … their Quire, which before had all the pipes, both Service and Sermon, hath never since that time had once Service, or Sermon to this day. There are no Cathedral Seraphims heard tossing their Quire Service from one side of the Quire to the other, only plain Service-book Service is held in the Sermon-house'.

His reference to 'the pipes' is rather opaque and could as easily refer to the organ as the cathedral wind band, but the association between embellished cathedral music and 'popish' sympathies is a strong current in his (admittedly highly partisan) text—one that closely mirrors sentiments from Peter Smart's Durham.

In contrast to their ecclesiastical role, however, Mather's waits band were also a visual and aural representation of all things civic, sanctioned and paid for by the city to populate the urban soundscape with a recognizable and distinctive sound. Given the

rising political tensions that define this period, one wonders about the effect of the transfer of this sound-world into the Cathedral precincts, in the case of Canterbury, down to the very musicians themselves. Were the cathedral band seen and heard by the townspeople as an ecclesiastical appropriation of the civic soundscape for 'popish' ends? Or does the rise in documentary evidence of instrumental participation in the liturgy at Canterbury and elsewhere from around 1600 indicate the contrary, whereby civic practices filter into Cathedral life, hand-in-hand with the rising influence of the 'beauty of holiness' doctrine on wider cathedral practices? Can these seemingly conflicting functions of Mather and his two bands, and the aural and visual representations of civic and ecclesiastical power they constituted, be reconciled in this context? Or could this be an example of how some of the binary oppositions constructed to parse the historical landscape of this period are disrupted when considered 'from below', drawing on the activities of the non-elite, 'middling type' of citizen, as opposed to those traditionally considered the agents of political change? Mather's portfolio career dictated that he took whatever work presented itself, and references to his exploits in the city archives suggest that he took proactive steps to create that work, or even appropriate others' work for his own ends. Perhaps, instead of representing the triumph of the High Church over Puritanism, or the infiltration of sacred space with civic noise, the busy schedule of Canterbury's wind musicians simply represents the triumph of Mather and his colleagues' attempts to improve their lot in a precarious marketplace.

Work on Mather's story has unearthed some engaging and interesting materials, but the task of locating the point at which these impressions intersect with questions of performance practice is far from complete. To what extent, for example, did Mather and his colleagues contribute high quality, professional performance to the enactment of the liturgy? The range of performance opportunities I have outlined above suggests that, despite only being required in church once or twice a week, many of those who played instruments in Canterbury Cathedral were regular performers within the wider context of the city. The relative stability of personnel during the 1630s evidenced by the cathedral archives suggests that, just as standards of town waits performance had increased elsewhere by this time, the same could easily have been true of the Canterbury group.[51] Brayshay points to a lack of references to visiting waits bands in the Canterbury records, interpreting this as an indication of the quality of resident

players,[52] and the controversy that engulfed the band in 1638 suggests that pride in the ability to do one's job to the highest standard was also a feature of this particular group of individuals—though infighting about money eventually put an end to their employment.

Contemporary value-judgements relating to instrumental performance are rare, but the enigmatic Lieutenant Hammond, writing in the 1630s of his travels around the English counties, confirms that then, as now, a listener was likely to encounter a spectrum of musical quality in an urban context. Of the town of Peterborough, he writes:

> Their Drink is unholsome … [but] very convenient and necessary to avoyd the divellish stinging of their humming Gnatts, which is all the Towne Musicke they have…[53]

But he is positively gushing about the musical provision at Exeter Cathedral, heard on the same tour:

> For 2. things in her [Exeter Cathedral] besides that great Bell, she may compare with any of her Sisters in England, one is a stately, rich, high Seat for the Bishop; and the other is a delicate, rich, and lofty Organ which has more additions than any other, as fayre Pipes of an extraordinary length, and of the bignesse of a man's Thigh, which with their Vialls, and other sweet Instruments, the tunable Voyces, and the rare Organist, together, makes a melodious, and heavenly Harmony, able to ravish the Hearers Eares.[54]

Hammond's critique of a city's musical provision may well have been closely tied up with the hospitality on offer (he also describes Exeter's 'faire Colledge, for the Vicars, with a great Hall, and within their Court, a Cup of good Ale, which I liberally tasted off, with their honest Organist, and some of the merry Vicars'[55]) but his rare non-partisan style makes a useful addition to the corpus of contemporary comment on urban music-making often defined in other sources by Puritan outrage. It remains difficult to draw concrete conclusions around performance quality, but by further engaging with wider questions of professionalism in early modern provincial music-making, further light may be shed on this matter.

It could also be helpful to reflect on how a deeper understanding of 17th-century musical lives and livelihoods interacts with findings from practice-led research in this area. As waits, the Canterbury musicians' primary role was an 'outside' one. They played in the streets every morning throughout the winter, presumably to rouse the citizens from their beds. One account has them playing 'Hoboyes and Sackbuttes' 'uppon the

Gates of Canterburie' to welcome the Spanish ambassador to the city in 1623.[56] One of these gates is still standing, (illus.4) and I suggest that a fairly full-bodied performance approach would be required of anyone wanting to be heard from the ground. In line with this observation, we also know that the waits were a boisterous group of individuals, regularly cropping up in Canterbury's civic records during this period in relation to disciplinary issues, often involving fighting between themselves—possibly under the influence of alcohol, possibly sold to them by Mather.

We might compare the impression this gives with feedback from participants in practice-led research during Evensong at Worcester Cathedral. I collected impressions of the contribution the wind band had made to the performance from the choir and congregation, and some of the stand-out descriptors of the experience were 'relaxing', 'reflective', 'solemn', 'not especially prominent', 'blended into the service' and 'unobtrusive'. As a guest in someone else's act of worship, these are exactly the kind of responses I would hope to gather, and they reflect fairly accurately the way in which period wind players today are trained to play in combination with singers. Repeated instructions to imitate the human voice from historical treatises have also become a mantra amongst modern teachers, but, as Jamie Savan asks when considering the relationship between the cornett and historical modes of vocality in this period, whose voice?[57] As already discussed, practice-led research using medius/bassus doubling of vocal lines during performances with the Worcester and Canterbury choirs confirmed the advantages of this distribution of instruments in terms of clarity of text and audibility of inner voice parts, but these performances both took place within the context of a modern cathedral choir, where contratenor altus parts are sung by male altos and the ratio of boys to men is generally higher than an historical choral line-up.[58] I carried out further practice-led experiments in vocal line-up in a workshop scenario, where high tenors took the contratenor altus parts and cornetts and sackbuts doubled medius and bassus. The use of high tenors, often singing at or near the top of their range at key musical moments in a given piece, combined with instruments imitating this vocal aesthetic and observing antiphonal performance indications in the sources, makes for a paradigm shift in overall performance style towards something with the potential to make even the simplest of everyday four-voice canticle settings really rather exciting. Example 1 shows a section of a Magnificat by Nathanial Patrick, a singing man at Worcester Cathedral in the early 17th century. The contratenor altus entries that pre-

empt each phrase are highlighted with boxes, and the reader is invited to imagine this section of music performed using the forces I have outlined above.[59]

[INSERT EXAMPLE 1 NEAR HERE]

How, then, does historical evidence that points towards a heterogeneous approach to performance intersect with the blended aesthetic favoured by modern cathedral choirs and early music ensembles? In the context of the 'immersive turn' in historical studies, into which many aspects of my research in this area may be said to fit, it is vital to make the most of every opportunity to connect with the agents of an historical scenario. On the other hand, the Anglican choral tradition, to which much of my proposed repertory for cathedral instrumentalists now belongs, is particularly encumbered with aesthetic baggage. One challenge for the future therefore will be establishing whether it is either appropriate or desirable to locate the performance practices that I feel best represent the historical record in a 21st-century liturgical context – or whether alternative performance scenarios can be developed to reflect this work.

Finally, it is important to acknowledge that we do not know anything about Mather's personal confessional identity at a time when religious and political divisions, often considered from a national perspective, filtered into the lives of ordinary citizens, as local evidence from Canterbury confirms. Mather moved easily, by virtue of his portfolio career, between shifting spheres of power—the civic, the ecclesiastical and the emergent social—participating in what appears, after nearly four centuries, to have been a complex web of influence and control. But we know nothing of his personal opinions towards any of the rituals he participated in, or of how he conducted himself in his many roles. In his satirical novel *England, England*, set against the backdrop of a failing 21st-century 'living heritage' enterprise, Julian Barnes's protagonist Dr Max warns passionately against assuming that one universal experience applies to citizens of all centuries. Of medieval man, he asks

> To what end did they trade, marry, build and create? Because they wanted to be *happy*? They would have laughed at the pettiness of such ambition. They sought *salvation*, not happiness.[60]

Did Mather lead a godly, righteous and sober life? Was his tavern a hotbed of Puritan scheming and intrigue? Did underlying 'popish' sympathies encourage his participation in the cathedral liturgy? Or are the varied contexts in which his name appears simply

indicative of the multi-faceted portfolio career of a 17th-century musician, self-employed and self-motivated to make the most of his talents and secure his next gig, regardless of who was paying?

Underpinned by the ongoing 'history from below' movement led by social historians, and by the activities of urban musicologists in the early 2000s, there is considerable scope for further work on the type of fragmentary sources relating to individuals like Mather and his colleagues discussed here, particularly in developing ways to integrate this research into practice. At the very least, Mather's story demonstrates how a lack of obvious primary source materials, such as musical texts, instruments and iconography, represents an opportunity to re-examine aspects of English sacred music, and the wider soundscape to which it belongs, from the perspective of some of the characters involved in its performance whose voices have remained silent for centuries. There are many things we will never know about William Mather, but whether we subscribe to the concept of universal experience or not, we might be forgiven for concluding that he, like generations of cornettists since, probably ended the day with a pint.

[*Helen Roberts is a Post-doctoral Research Associate at Royal Birmingham Conservatoire, Birmingham City University, currently working on the AHRC-funded project* Aural Histories: Coventry 1451–1642, *which examines the relationship between music and space in Coventry's historic buildings. Helen is a professional cornettist working with period-instrument ensembles throughout the UK and Europe, and focuses her practice-led research on the music of the 16th and 17th centuries. She is the managing editor of Septenary Editions and runs Passaggi, an improvisation and ornamentation smartphone and tablet app for historical performers.*]

[NOTES]

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[1] Canterbury Cathedral Library & Archive (CA), DCC/PET/217.

[2] I refer to three practice-led research sessions in this article. The first took place during Evensong at Worcester Cathedral in October 2018; the second took the form of a workshop at the University of Birmingham in November 2018; and the third took place during Evensong at Canterbury Cathedral in January 2019. Full reports of these sessions can be found in H. Roberts, 'Wind instruments in provincial English cathedrals *c.*1580–*c.*1680: towards a performance practice' (PhD diss., Royal Birmingham Conservatoire, 2020), pp.151–67.

[3] R. Bowers, 'Canterbury Cathedral: the liturgy of the cathedral and its music, *c.*1075–1642', in *English church polyphony: singers and sources from the 14th to the 17th century*, ed. R. Bowers (Aldershot, 1999), pp.408–50, at pp.441, 445.

[4] Roberts, 'Wind instruments in provincial English cathedrals', pp.112–23.

[5] Records of early English drama: Kent, Diocese of Canterbury (henceforth REED Kent), ed. J. M. Gibson, 3 vols. (Toronto, 2002), ii.

[6] *Canterbury marriage licences*, ed. J. Meadows Cowper, 3 vols. (Canterbury, 1894), ii, p.656.

[7] CA, DCC/MA/41, fol.347.

[8] CA, DCC/MA/41, fol.535. The cathedral accounting year ran from Michaelmas to Michaelmas in 17th-century England, and was divided into four terms: Michaelmas (29 September to 24 December), Nativity (25 December to 24 March), Annunciation (25 March to 23 June) and John the Baptist (24 June to 28 September).

[9] CA, DCC/PET 40.

[10] Kent Records Office, PRC11/9/112/1.

[11] Bowers, 'Canterbury Cathedral', p.440. The archival reference to which Bowers refers lists payments to 'quatuor Tibicenis pro melodia in choro diebus festis et eorura vigilii facienda' (CA, DCC/TA/33, fol.1v (1625)). According to the Book of Common Prayer, all Sundays of the year are observed as feasts, in addition to thirty-two named feast-days, sixteen of which have an associated vigil (observed the day before, unless the feast falls on a Monday, in which case the vigil is observed on the preceding Saturday). *The Book of Common Prayer: The texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662*, ed. B. Cummings, (Oxford, 2011), pp.234–5.

[12] Durham Cathedral Library, DCD/L/BB/24, fol.26v. Sackbuttist (*buccinator*) William Sherwin, presumably the leader of the group, received an additional 13s 4d per quarter for his services. Crosby cites a minute from the cathedral archives that details fines of 12d for absence on Sundays and 6d if absent on weekdays (B. Crosby, 'The choral foundation of Durham Cathedral, *c.*1350–*c.*1650' (PhD diss., Durham University, 1993), p.193) but does not provide a reference for this minute.

[13] Cited in J. Wilson (ed.), Roger North on music: being a selection from his essays written during the years c.1695–1728 (London, 1959), p.40.

[14] On Laudian doctrine as it pertains to music, see I. Atherton, 'Cathedrals, Laudianism and the British churches', *The Historical Journal*, liii/4 (2010), pp.895–918, at p.912; P. Collinson, 'The Protestant cathedral', in *A history of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. P. Collinson, N. Ramsay and M. Sparks (Oxford, 1995), pp.154–203, at p.190.

[15] C. Marsh, Music and society in early modern England (Cambridge, 2010), p.85.

[16] CA, CC/AC 4, fol.158; transcribed in *REED Kent*, p.301.

[17] Marsh, *Music and* society, p.117; P.A. Scholes, 'The Waits and the Puritans', *The Musical Times*, lxxv (1934), pp.607–608, at p.607.

[18] L. Branch, review of J. Ward, 'Culture, faith and philanthropy: Londoners and provincial reform in early modern England' (2013), *The English Historical Review*, cxxx (2015), pp.741–2, at p.742.

[19] CA, CC/AC 4. fol.135, transcribed in *REED Kent*, p. 295; CA, DCC/MA/41, fol.408.

[20] Norwich Records Office, Chamberlain's Accounts, 18.a (1593-4), fol.158, transcribed in *REED: Norwich*, ed. D. Galloway (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1984) p. 104.

[21] Waits' band wages vary widely from town to town and this is likely to be a best-case scenario for Mather, despite his status as chief wait in the city records (CA, cc/ac/4, fol.137, transcribed in *REED Kent*, p.296). On the basis of comparisons between individual engagements, the Norwich band seems to have been paid at a similar rate (6s between five players in Norwich in comparison to 5s between four players in Canterbury, for annual civic occasions in the 1620s) though this is by no means consistent.

[22] G. Clark, 'The condition of the working class in England, 1209–2004', *Journal of Political Economy*, cxiii/6 (2005), pp.1307–40, at p.1324. Further comparisons between musicians' earning potential and that of other trades can be found in Marsh, *Music and society*, p.122.

[23] T. Arkell, 'Interpreting probate inventories', in *When death do us part: understanding and interpreting the probate records of early modern England*, ed. T. Arkell, N. Evan and N. Goose (Oxford, 2000), pp.72–102, at p.102.

[24] A. Ashbee, *Records of English court music*, 9 vols. (Snodland, 1991), iv (1603–1625), p.113.

[25] Edmund Salter, wait of the University of Cambridge, who died in 1657 (and who also, incidentally, worked as a 'victualler') left a watch, 3 lutes and 3 cornetts at a combined value of £2 in his probate inventory (Cambridge, University Library, UA Vice-Chancellor's Court Inventories, Bundle 14, 1650–60; as quoted in I. 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* (New York, 1993), p.305).

[26] L. Weatherill, *Consumer behaviour and material culture in Britain, 1660–1760* (New York, 1988); J. A. Johnston (ed.), *Probate inventories of Lincoln citizens, 1661–1714* (Woodbridge, 1991). As discussed in Arkell, 'Interpreting probate inventories', p.89.

[27] For more on this subject see J. Saunders, 'Music and moonlighting: the cathedral choirmen of early modern England, 1558–1649', in *Music and musicians in Renaissance cities and towns*, ed. F. Kisby (Cambridge, 2001), pp.167–80; Marsh, *Music and society*, p.109.

[28] M. Hailwood, Alehouses and good fellowship in Early Modern England (Woodbridge, 2014), p.4.

[29] J. C. Scott, Domination and the arts of resistance: hidden transcripts (London, 1990); P. Clark, 'The alehouse and the alternative society', in Puritans and revolutionaries: essays in seventeenth-century history presented to Christopher Hill, ed. D. Pennington and K. Thomas (Oxford, 1978), pp.47–72; see the discussion in Hailwood, Alehouses and good fellowship, pp.19 and 64 respectively.

[30] The Oxinden Letters, 1607–1642: Being the Correspondence of Henry Oxinden of Barham and his Circle, ed. D. Gardiner (London, 1933), p.230; P. Collinson, 'The Protestant Cathedral', in A History of Canterbury Cathedral, ed. C. Wilson et al. (Oxford, 1995), pp.154-203, at p.198.

[31] CA, CC/FA 24, fol.237v: city Chamberlain's Accounts, 1634/5; transcribed in *REED Kent*, p.291.

[32] CA, CC/AC 4, fol.38: minutes of the Burghmote Court of the City of Canterbury, 1630/31; transcribed in *REED Kent*, p.285. The marginal note reads 'Order Towchinge the Musitions of this Cittie'.

[33] G. Paule, *The life of the most reverend and religious prelate John Whitgift Lord Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1612), pp.105–106. Paule is describing a visit that took place in 1589. Cited in A. Parrott, '"Grett and Solompne Singing": instruments in English church music before the Civil War', in *Composers' intentions?: lost traditions of musical performance*, ed. A. Parrott (Woodbridge, 2015), pp.368–80, at p.370.

[34] See, for example, the 'Petition to the House of Commons against Dr MERIC CASAUBON, the Vicar;– from the Parish of MINSTER' transcribed in L. B. Larkin, ed. *Proceedings, principally in the County of Kent, in connection with the Parliaments called in 1640, and especially with the Committee of Religion appointed in that year* (London, 1862), p.104.

[35] D. Bamford, 'John Barnard's *First book of selected church musick*: genesis, production and influence' (PhD diss., University of York, 2009), p.i.

[36] Smart, A catalogue of superstitous innovations, p.10.

[37] These two pieces, found in Henry Loosemore's Organ Book (New York, Public Library, MS Drexel 5469) have been reconstructed and published by the author as *English music for the cornett: two verses from MS Drexel 5469* (Frome, 2020). A full discussion of the performance context surrounding the pieces, including approaches to pitch and transposition when combining instruments and English transposing organs, can be found in Roberts, 'Reconstructing verses from MS Drexel 5469', *Research Catalogue* (2020), https://www.researchcatalogue.net/view/944310/1026868/0/0 (accessed 5 January 2021).

[38] Keith Polk highlights the importance of memorization as a skill amongst instrumental musicians of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance in V. Coelho and K. Polk, *Instrumentalists and Renaissance culture, 1420-1600* (Cambridge, 2016), describing instrumentalists' 'constant interaction between memory, adaptation, improvisation, and increasingly through the Renaissance, performance from written scores' (p.63). This aspect of performance practice as it developed into the 17th century is a key area for future research.

[39] Exeter City Council Chamber Act Book 6, Dorset Record Office, ECA/G1/B1/6, fol.21v, cited in *Records of early English drama: Devon* (henceforth *REED Devon*), ed. J. M. Wasson (Toronto, 1986), p.178; Hooker's 'Description of the Citie of Excester', Dorset Record Office, ECA/Book 52, fol.523, cited in *REED Devon*, p.172; *Records of early English drama: Norwich 1540–1642*, ed. D. Galloway (Toronto, 1984), p.xl.

[40] Ensemble improvisation in the context of English cathedral wind bands is discussed in Roberts, 'Wind instruments in provincial English cathedrals', pp.211–19.

[41] *REED Devon*, p.166.

[42] W. L. Woodfill, *Musicians in English society from Elizabeth to Charles I* (Princeton, 1969), pp.150, n.19; T. Herbert, 'The trombone in Britain before 1800' (PhD diss., Open University, 1984), p.265; I. Spink, *Restoration cathedral music, 1660–1714* (Oxford, 1995), p.259.

[43] Crosby, 'The choral foundation of Durham Cathedral', p.195.

[44] See J. Willis, Church music and protestantism in post-Reformation England: discourses, site and identities (London, 2010), p.66.

[45] See Parrott, '"Grett and Solompne Singing"', p.369.

[46] Woodfill, *Musicians in English society*, p.149. No Specific date is given by Woodfill for this reference.

[47] Richard Culmer, *Dean and Chapter news from Canterbury* (London, 1649), sig. B1v.

[48] Culmer, *Dean and Chapter news*, sig. B1v.

[49] Passing reference to this arrangement of players is made in: P. Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549–1660* (Cambridge, 1979), p.127; Crosby, 'Choral foundation', p.171; William Smith, *Preces, festal psalms, and verse anthems*, ed. J. Cannell, Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, 135 (Middleton, WI, 2003), p.xv.

[50] Questions of performing pitch, transposition and use of the organ are discussed in Roberts, 'Reconstructing verses from MS Drexel 5469'.

[51] Jane Flynn suggests that the broadening of the education of choirboys after the Reformation to include non-liturgical musical skills meant that some went on to be employed as secular musicians instead of remaining in the church. Flynn attributes the increased availability of well-rounded musicians to the increased quality and ambition of the London Waits around the turn of the 17th century, and there is every reason to suggest this may have been the situation elsewhere. See J. Flynn, 'The education of choristers in England during the sixteenth century', in *English choral practice, 1400–1650,* ed. J. Morehen (Cambridge, 1995), pp.180–99, at p.198.

[52] Brayshay, 'Waits, musicians, bearwards and players', p.436.

[53] A relation of a short survey of the western counties, made by a Lieutenant of the military company of Norwich in 1635, ed. L. G. W. Legg (London, 1936), p.90.

[54] A relation of a short survey, p.74.

[55] A relation of a short survey, p.77.

[56] Public Record Office, SP/14/146, fols.[1–1v]: letter from Sir Lewis Lewknor to Sir Edward Conway 14 June 1623; Transcribed in *REED Kent*, p.274.

[57] J. Savan, 'Revoicing a "choice eunuch": the cornett and historical models of vocality', *Early Music,* xlvi/4 (2018), pp.561–78, at p.574.

[58] These distinctions were made more acute at Canterbury, where the Cathedral Girls' Choir of twenty girls took the place of the boys during my research session. At Worcester vacancies amongst the men resulted in a distribution of ATTB/AATB, plus five trebles on each side, which actually compares quite favourably with historical numbers. For information on choral forces at key institutions in the seventeenth century see Payne, *Provision and Practice* pp. 177-221.

[59] Transcribed mainly from the partbooks at Peterhouse Library, Cambridge: Ms. 35, fol.134; Ms. 36, fol.h5; Ms. 37, fol.d4; Ms. 42, fol.m2*v*; Ms. 43, fol.n4*v*; Ms. 44, fol.l4; Ms. 45, fol.89. The missing Contratenor Cantoris part is taken from Samuel Arnold, *Cathedral Music; being a Collection of Score, of the most valuable & useful Compositions for that Service by the Several English Masters of the last Two Hundred Years. The whole Selected, &... Revis'd by Dr S. Arnold, etc.* (London, 1790), p.31.

[60] J. Barnes, *England, England* (London, 1998), p.195. This work was brought to my attention by John Butt, who draws on Barnes' scenario when discussing the interaction between history and heritage and the implications of re-enactment on perceptions of authenticity. See J. Butt, *Playing with history* (Cambridge, 2002), p.181.