

ROUTLEDGE REVIVALS

Orlando Gibbons

And the Gibbons Family of Musicians

John Harley



ORLANDO GIBBONS

and the Gibbons family of musicians



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PREFACE

Musical references and examples

Compositions published in the *Musica Britannica* series are identified by the volume and piece number, e.g. MB 20/2 means the second piece in volume 20. Similar references are made to works published in the series *Tudor Church Music* (TCM), *Early English Church Music* (EECM), and the *Byrd Edition* (BE).

Modern editions may halve the note values of the original sources. For the sake of consistency music examples and references in the text observe the original note values.

Many of the sources have no bar-lines, or bar pieces irregularly. Barring is therefore largely editorial, but for the convenience of readers referring to editions in the series *The English Madrigalists*, *Musica Britannica*, the *Byrd Edition* and *Early English Church Music*, their barring has been adopted. A few accidentals omitted by the sources, and a few 'reminders' (though not strictly necessary), have been inserted.

Spellings

Quotations from primary sources are given in the original spelling, but modern letter forms are used. Where necessary 'u' and 'v' have been exchanged, as have 'i' and 'j' (except where they occur together, e.g. in Roman numerals). Some contractions have been expanded in italics, but 'p' is often used for the crossed 'p' representing 'par', 'per' or 'pro'. A tilde is used for any superior mark indicating the omission of letters, and the ampersand replaces any sign for 'and'. The titles of compositions have usually been modernized, except when particular reference is made to an early printed edition, or when the title contains the word 'mask' (sometimes spelled 'maske' in the sources but never 'masque').

Dates and money

During Gibbons's lifetime the year began on 25 March. The date of an event falling in the period 1 January to 24 March is indicated by combining the old and modern styles, e.g. 1608/9.

Before the introduction of decimal currency in 1971, the English pound (£ or li., Latin *libra*) was made up of twenty shillings (s.), and a shilling consisted of twelve pence (d., Latin *denarius*). The mark was valued at two-thirds of a pound. The sums 6s. 8d. and 13s. 4d. were therefore equivalent to half a mark and one mark respectively.

Pitch notation

Where a note needs to be identified by the octave in which it occurs, its pitch is indicated (from the bass) thus: C' to B', C to B, c to b, c' (middle C) to b', c" to b", etc.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used:

BE	<i>The Byrd Edition</i>
BL	British Library
EECM	<i>Early English Church Music</i>
MB	<i>Musica Britannica</i>
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
PRO	Public Record Office
TCM	<i>Tudor Church Music</i>

A few other abbreviations are included in the bibliography.

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Illustrations are reproduced by kind permission of the following:

- 1, 2: The British Library; 3: The Guildhall Library, Corporation of London; 4: The Royal College of Music; 5: The Dean and Chapter of Westminster; 6, 8: The Faculty of Music, Oxford; 7: The Dean and Chapter of Canterbury.

PART I



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THE GIBBONS FAMILY

Orlando Gibbons was the most notable member of a family which produced three generations of professional musicians. Its history can be traced from the middle of the sixteenth century. The arms on Orlando Gibbons's monument in Canterbury Cathedral indicate a belief in his descent ultimately from the Guybons of Norfolk,¹ though the earliest ancestor who can be identified with any certainty is his grandfather, Richard, who lived in Oxford.²

Richard Gibbons

Richard Gibbons may have been a glover, since a number of entries in the accounts of the City of Oxford record payments 'to Gybbons' for gloves.³ Richard became a hanaster in 1549-50,⁴ and by 16 September

1 The Guybon arms were: or, a lion rampant sable, over all on a bend gules three escallops argent. The crest was: a demi-lion rampant sable, armed or, charged on the body with three escallops in pale argent. The arms and genealogy given by Rye (1891, p. 141) derive from f. 61^r (modern 57^v) of BL Harleian MS 1552, compiled c.1620 by Richard Mundy from earlier visitations. The genealogy does not include Orlando Gibbons or his immediate forbears. Robson (1830, s.v. 'Gybbons') says the arms are those of Gybbons, or Guybon, of Stratchet, Norfolk. In depicting the arms on Orlando Gibbons's monument, Dart (1726, p. 51) errs in replacing the escallops with crescents.

2 William Gibbons, Orlando's father, was a freeman of Oxford (one with permission or liberty to trade in the city). As Richard Gibbons is the only earlier person with the same surname who is known to have been free of the city, it is fairly certain that he was William's father. No entry has been found for any member of the Gibbons family in the surviving subsidy rolls for Oxford.

3 From 1556 to 1562. Gloves were provided so that the council could present them as a token of regard for the recipients (Oxford City Archives, P.5.1, examples on ff. 10^r, 12^r, 30^r, 32^r; Turner, 1880, pp. 258, 260, 284, 299). Gloves were presented to Queen Anne and Prince Henry when they visited Oxford with King James in 1605 (Cambridge University Library, MS Mm.i.47, *olim* Baker 36, p. 450). William Piers mentions the 'Oxford courtesie' of presenting a pair of gloves (p. 65 below). The glovers' trade in Oxford was on a small scale, but prospered throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (McConica, 1986, p. 72). Crossley (1979, p. 109) refers to the position of the glovemakers on the city council. Richard Ball, a chorister of Magdalen College, had a brother and a nephew who were freemen glovers (McConica, p. 82).

4 Oxfordshire Archives, A.5.3 (not now bound in either date or folio order); Turner, 1880, p. 203. Hanaster: 'The name given (in the city of Oxford) to persons paying the

1557 he was one of the city councillors.⁵ On 7 September 1562 he was excluded on account of his conduct:

Item this Day it is also ordeyned that John Gorton⁶ and Ryc. Gybbons shalbe dismyssed this house for beyng of the counselle & that they shall also be discharged of their imprisonm^t, but for the words that was spoken to aunswere thereto yf they be called.⁷

The ban was rescinded on 5 October:

Richard Gybbons upon his umble submyssyon beinge sorye for his offence heretofore comytted in this howse/ was this daye Receyved agayne to be accounccyll wth the mayer And was pñtlye Sworne to the mayers counseyll.⁸

He was sufficiently in favour on 8 October to be chosen, with Thomas Wylde, to 'take upp all the pore people and brynge thym this after none'.⁹ In March 1563/4 he was chosen, with Sylvester Kytchyn, to report to the Council about the enclosure of a piece of ground called Sidelings.¹⁰ In 1569-70 he was one of two chamberlains.¹¹ These were officers elected by the Council, whose duties included keeping the city's accounts and disbursing money after due approval.¹² Barnard Archdale and Richard Gibbons made up their accounts at Michaelmas 1570.¹³

Richard Gibbons was among the citizens who took an oath to observe the privileges of the university on 27 November 1561, and he did so again on 7 April and 26 October 1570.¹⁴ In 1576, however, he refused to take the oath on 11 and 14 December.¹⁵

entrance-fee of the guild-merchant ... and admitted as Freeman of the City' (OED).

5 Oxford City Archives, A.5.5, f. 91^r. (Turner, 1880, p. 268, is slightly in error.)

6 John Gorton became a hanaster in 1541-42. He was a chamberlain (see note 12 below) in 1559-61 (Turner, 1880, pp. 167, 280, 283).

7 Oxford City Archives, DC1/C1/A2/1, f. 18^v; Turner, 1880, p. 293.

8 DC1/C1/A2/1, f. 27^r; Turner, 1880, p. 300.

9 DC1/C1/A2/1, f. 29^r.

10 DC1/C1/A2/1, f. 36^r; Turner, 1880, p. 307.

11 Oxford City Archives, A.5.5, f. 120^v; Turner, 1880, p. 331.

12 Chamberlains alone originally handled the city's money, but they became subordinate to the keykeepers, instituted by an ordinance of 1448 (Salter, 1928, p. xviii).

13 Oxford City Archives, P.4.1, f. 20^r; Turner, 1880, p. 332.

14 Clark, 1887-88, i, pp. 299, 301.

15 Ibid., 303, 304. Others refusing included Barnard Archdale and two aldermen.

Richard Gibbons appears to have died in 1577, in the parish of All Saints.¹⁶ Letters of administration were granted to his widow, Alice, on 1 February 1577/8.¹⁷ On 10 December 1594 the council determined to give sixpence weekly towards her relief.¹⁸

William Gibbons

Richard Gibbons's son William must have been born about 1540.¹⁹ He cannot have been Richard's eldest son, or when in 1583 he gained the freedom of Oxford he would not have paid a fee.²⁰ His early life and musical training appear to have gone unrecorded. It is known that his wife was named Mary,²¹ but neither her maiden name nor the place and date of their marriage has been discovered.

By 1566 William Gibbons was a wait in Cambridge — a member of one of the bands of musicians which had developed from the mediaeval night watch.²² Over many years his name was entered frequently in the account books of the town and colleges. He is first mentioned as resident in Cambridge in 1566, in connection with payment for a tenor hautboy:

Quibus ut &c/ comparuit W gibbons ut petijt a mason xxiiij^s viij^d debitos pro instrumento musico vocato a teno^r hoeboye ut patet per billam obligatoriam dicti mason in presentia dicti mason confitentis predicta esse vera/ unde dominus decrevit ex consensu dicti gibbons xij^s iiij^d solvendos per mason in festo Sancti Iohannis bapt. proximo et xij^s iiij^d solvendos duodecimo die septembris proximo futuro post datum huius scripture et dictus mason fideiussores dedit pro dictis solutionibus xpoferum Russell burgenseum et²³ chandelor/ Michaelem Auger/ waferer/ et Ricardum gravers showemaker qui stipulatione legitima concepta promiserunt et c cum expensis²⁴

16 All Saints' church is now the library of Lincoln College.

17 Oxfordshire Archives, will register of the Archdeacon of Oxford, 185, p. 522^v.

18 Oxford City Archives, A.5.6, f. 19^r; Salter, 1928, p. 90.

19 Early baptismal records for Oxford parishes are incomplete.

20 An eldest son could claim admission to freedom of the city by his father's 'copy' (Salter, 1928, pp. vi-vii). Further evidence that William had a brother is provided by his wife's will, which mentions her niece Elizabeth Gibbons (see p. 274).

21 See, for example, her will (p. 277).

22 The history of the Cambridge waits is traced by Nelson, 1989, pp. 738-741.

23 'ut' in original.

24 Cambridge University Library, University Archives, Collect. Admin. 13, f. 87^v, entry dated 26 March 1566; Nelson, 1989, p. 249.

In summary, William Gibbons sought from Mason²⁵ 24s 8d for a tenor hautboy.²⁶ With Gibbons's agreement, the court ordered Mason to pay 12s 4d on the feast of St John the Baptist next, and 12s 4d on 12 September next. His guarantors were Christopher Russell, burgess and chandler, Michael Auger, waferer, and Richard Gravers, shoemaker.²⁷

When Gibbons arrived in Cambridge the town seems to have had five waits, led by John Hewarden (known as 'Blind John') with John Murton as his deputy.²⁸ A second group was known as the 'university waits'. The division between the town and university of jurisdiction over these groups is not absolutely clear, since besides performing a municipal function the town waits played in and about the colleges. In the Vice-Chancellor's court in 1590 Gibbons, who was then employed by the town, seems to have accepted the university's authority in his dispute with William Byrd, the university wait.²⁹

William Gibbons appears at first to have assumed the role of university wait, for which he agreed to compensate Hewarden. On 23 November 1566 he undertook to make payments to Hewarden, 'as longe as blynd John should lyve/ and he the sayed Gybbons allowed accepted/ and not forbydden to be thuniversitie wayth'.³⁰ The town council admitted him by common consent as an 'histrion' on 3 November 1567, at an annual fee of forty shillings to be paid from the town treasury:

*Memorandum quod ad hunc diem Willelmus Gibbons ex communi assensu admissus est histrion huius ville capiendo feodum xl^s per Annum per manum thezaurariorum dicte ville Annuatim solvendos.*³¹

25 The Town Treasurers' Books for 1567-58 record a payment of 26s 4d to 'masen for plaienge at y^e guilde hall' and 'at the comaundment of m^r maier & the counsell' (Downing College Library, Bowtell 2, f. 78^r; Nelson, 1989, p. 253). It is not clear whether he was the Mason who appears in the records of Trinity College: 'to m^r mason & organist for Violl strings — 5^s' (Trinity College Archives, Box 19.280a, Liber Expensarum, 1612, p. 24; Nelson, 1989, p. 497). This Mason appears to have been an employee of the College: see, for example, p. 45 of the same document.

26 The hautboy was an instrument particularly associated with waits.

27 Gravers appears elsewhere as Greaves and Gravenes.

28 Nelson, 1989, pp. 740, 1004.

29 See pp. 12-13.

30 Cambridge University Library, University Archives, Collect. Admin. 13, f. 99^r; Nelson, 1989, pp. 250-251. Gibbons promised that every year he would pay Blind John twenty shillings on each of four feast-days.

31 Cambridgeshire County Record Office, PB57, f. 262^r; Nelson, 1989, p. 253. It is uncertain if forty shillings given to the waits in 1570 for liveries was their annual wage or a separate payment (Downing College, Bowtell 2, f. 116^r; Nelson, 1989, p. 262).

A memorandum made three weeks later confirms that there were five municipal waits, and that Gibbons was their leader:

Memorandum that at ye court holden the xxvth daie of november in the tenthe yere of the reign of our soveraign ladie Quene Elizabeth Master maior did delyver to william Gibbons musition fyve sylver collers called the waites collers ponderynge xxvij ounces *dimidium* And the said william Gibbons hathe founde suerties for ye delyverye of the same collers agayne when they be required vz william Barnes & Richard Gravenes.³²

Two entries in the town records of 1567 read:

Itm paid for mendinge the collers for y^e waites — ijs
Itm paid to Gibbons for his waytes — xls³³

There are many other entries concerning payments to waits in the town and college records of Cambridge.³⁴ It is evident from these that the waits played during ceremonies and processions, and in front of the gates of colleges on winter mornings. Some of the payments made by colleges were for performances on feast days, which were doubtless celebrated with a mixture of religious observance and institutional pageantry.³⁵ At times these performances probably merged into general revelry and entertainment. The waits certainly provided music for college plays. It is not always clear whether they were the municipal band or one sponsored by the university, but on occasion a reference is specific. In 1567 Jesus College made a payment of 6s 8d 'at candelmas to y^e waytes of y^e towne'.³⁶ Testimony that Gibbons led the waits is provided by payments such as that of two shillings, made by King's College in 1569-70, 'to gibbons/ and his companye'.³⁷

It is possible that soon after William Gibbons settled in Cambridge he lost his first child. A boy named Richard Gibbons, perhaps after his grandfather, was buried at St Mary the Great on 11 July 1566. An entry in the burial register describes the father as 'goodman Gibbens', and if

32 Cambridgeshire County Record Office, PB57, f. 262^v; Nelson, 1989, p. 254.

33 Downing College, Bowtell 2, f. 78^r (sums of two shillings and forty shillings).

34 These musicians were not always from Cambridge. See, for example, under 'ffeoda et Regarda' in King's College Mundum Books, 19.2 (1588-89) 'Musicis de Nottingham'; 19.4 (1590-91) 'Tubicinibus Comitibus Darbie'.

35 For example, 'It to the Waytes at ash wedensdaye — xxd' (Christ's College, Accounts B1/3, f. 213^v; Nelson, 1989, p. 262).

36 Jesus College, Audit Book A/C 1.2, p. 224; Nelson, 1989, p. 254.

37 King's College, Mundum Book 16.1 ('ffeoda et Regarda'); Nelson 1989, p. 258.

this was indeed William it may mean that he was already the host of an inn, since the term 'goodman' was often applied to innkeepers.³⁸ He had four more sons (Edward, Ellis, Ferdinando and Orlando), and five daughters (Mary, Jane, Susan, Thomasine and Elizabeth).³⁹

It may be surmised that William Gibbons moved from the parish of St Mary the Great, where his son Edward was baptized in 1567/8, to the parish of Holy Trinity, where his son Ellis was baptized in 1573.⁴⁰ His signature in the churchwardens' book of Holy Trinity in 1574 and 1578 indicates his agreement to resolutions of the parish.⁴¹

William Gibbons's interests were not confined to leading the waits. On the last day of July 1573 he sold Dr John Hatcher of Cambridge a messuage in St Edward's parish, which had been occupied by William Bright, an Alderman. At the Court of Pleas on 11 August following, Gibbons's wife Mary released her dower in the premises to Hatcher.⁴² The messuage abutted on the south of another property held by Gibbons, which had lately belonged to Corpus Christi College.

On 29 September 1576 William Gibbons seems to have relinquished the leadership of the Cambridge waits, since John Murton received five silver collars, surety for which was given by John Scot and John Baker.⁴³ He may in fact have done so earlier: 'Morton' was paid by King's College in 1574-75,⁴⁴ and the accounts of Clare College for 1575 record a payment of 3s 4d 'to murton the musician for y^e fee of the waytes'.⁴⁵ In 1578 payment was made to 'one of Mortons men', named Richard Greaves or Gravenes.⁴⁶ Gibbons however continued some

38 He kept a dancing school in 1578, and his widow was hostess of the Bear in Cambridge when she died (see pp. 9, 14).

39 See pp. 269-270.

40 Susan Gibbons was however buried at St Mary the Great in 1576. Registers in Cambridgeshire County Record Office.

41 Cambridgeshire County Record Office, P22/5/2, ff. 4^r, 26^v (leaves not bound in date order).

42 Cambridgeshire County Record Office, PB57, ff. 305^v-307^v; Cooper, 1842-1908, iii, p. 176.

43 PB57, f. 365^r; Nelson, 1989, p. 279. Murton also appears as 'Morton' and 'Martin'.

44 King's College, Mundum Book 16.6 ('ffeoda et Regarda): 'It mourton tibicini in festo purificac̄is — ij^d'. Other payments to Morton (under the same heading) were made in 1581-82 (Mundum Book 18.1), 1585-86 (18.5), 1586-87 (18.6), and 1587-88 (19.1).

45 Clare College Accounts, Safe A: 1/2 (unfoliated); Nelson, p. 273.

46 'Itm̄ the 28th of ffebruarie, to Richard Greaves on of Mortons men, for the wayttes their stipend dewe at Candlemas' (Jesus College, Audit Book A/C 1.2, p. 642; Nelson, 1989, p. 280). 'Stipend' suggests the college employed the waits regularly.

musical activities, and on 1 June 1578 the proctors complained to the Vice-Chancellor that he did ‘upholde, maintain, & kepe — or cause to be kept a dansing schole within y^e Town of Cambridge’. Gibbons confessed to the offence, and was fined forty shillings.⁴⁷

William Gibbons returned to Oxford, where in 1583 he became a hanaster.⁴⁸ On 21 December of that year he took a lease of property owned by William Frere on the site of the Augustinian priory (now occupied by Wadham College).⁴⁹ And on Christmas Day his son Orlando was baptized at St Martin’s church, part of which survives as the tower at Carfax. Under the heading ‘Anno Dñi 1583 Baptized’, the register reads: ‘25 December — Orlando Gybbins’.⁵⁰

Gibbons still held the lease on 4 November 1586, when it was agreed that the Mayor and others should view the property, and discover the lowest price for which Frere would sell it. A document of 20 September 1587 states that the fair and tenements were occupied by Gibbons, John Rancken, John Webb and John Katheryne.⁵¹ In that year the council bought the site from Frere’s son William for £430.⁵² Ten years later it granted Henry Dodwell and Isaac Bartholomew a lease in reversion for forty years of the part of the Augustine Friars leased by Gibbons.⁵³

47 BL, Harleian MS 7030 (*olim* Baker 3), p. 413 (f. 214^r); Cooper, 1842-1908, v, p. 305.

48 Oxfordshire Archives, A.5.3; Turner, 1880, pp. 394, 434-435. The entry appears among those for the period Michaelmas 1582 to Michaelmas 1583, and reads ‘Willm̄s Gybbons musition admiss est ... solvit iij^s vj^d pro feod ...’. Among other entries relating to Gibbons is one for 4 August 1583. This refers to ‘Willm̄o Gybbans de Comitatu Oxon̄ musitian ad artem suam de Musitions craft’, and has ‘et marie [—?]—] eius’ inserted above ‘ad artem’. The word which is either deleted or illegible is probably ‘uxor’. Gibbons was not the only musician to be a hanaster and councillor. Bartholomew Lant, the organist of Christ Church, became a freeman in 1546 and sat on the Common Council from 1549 to 1585, retiring at the age of seventy-two (McConica, 1986, p. 82).

49 Oxford City Archives, D.5.2, f. 190^{r-v}, a bond of £200 dated 21 December 1583 from Gibbons to Frere, to fulfill the conditions of an indenture of the same date. The lease was for twenty-one years at a rent of £10. The site of the Augustinian friary had been bought by Edward Frere in 1553. The history of the Frere family is outlined by Crossley, 1979, p. 138.

50 Register in Oxfordshire Archives.

51 Salter, 1926, pp. 359-360.

52 Salter, 1928, pp. 32-33.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 113. Several documents relating to the site are in Oxford City Archives box D.6.1. It was bought in 1610 by Dorothy Wadham, née Petre (Crossley, 1979, p. 368; Davies and Garnett, 1994, pp. 10-14). One document is signed by Dorothy’s brother John and his son William, the patrons of William Byrd of the Chapel Royal.

William Gibbons appears to have become the head of the Oxford waits soon after his return to the city.⁵⁴ The Keykeepers' accounts show that he had custody of the waits' scutcheons between Michaelmas 1583 and Michaelmas 1584 ('One bande of Willm Gibbons and others for the Schutchins').⁵⁵ College records of the time contain several references to what may have been the band led by Gibbons, though none mentions him by name. St John's College paid musicians twice in the period from Michaelmas 1582 to Michaelmas 1583, and the accounts for 1583-84 contain the entry: 'To the musicians on Newyers day at night iiij s'.⁵⁶ New College paid ten shillings to two groups of musicians in 1583-84, and made another payment to some musicians in 1587-88.⁵⁷ The Disbursement Books of Christ Church record a payment made in 1584-85 'to y^e musitiens at my L. of Leycesters beinge here for there paynes at supper and at y^e tragedie, and wheⁿ y^e comedie was first played'.⁵⁸ Christ Church again paid a group of musicians in 1588-89.⁵⁹ Magdalen College made a payment to some musicians in connection with a festival in 1585,⁶⁰ and musicians were paid by Merton College in 1587.⁶¹

Gibbons held his position as a wait in Oxford only until 14 September 1588, when it was recorded that

hit is also agreed that George Bucknall beinge appoynted to be the waites of this Citie shall have the three scuttchins delyvered unto hym/ w^{ch} M^r Gybbons brought in/ and the said George shall make one at his owne charges and wher M^r Gybbons is to make one more to be [delivered]⁶² to the said George/ the said George shall fynde two suerties for the redeliverance of all

54 In a case heard in Cambridge in 1590 he was said to have been 'the waites or waighte player' in Oxford (Cambridge University Library, University Archives, Comm. Ct. II.4, ff. 45^v-46^v; Nelson, 1989, pp. 333-334).

55 Oxford City Archives, P.4.1, f. 47^v; Salter, 1928, p. 356. The Keykeepers' responsibilities included the city's plate.

56 Stevenson and Salter, 1939, pp. 243, 245, 253.

57 New College, Bursar's roll 7564 (1583-84), under 'Custos ad intra', payment of 10s to the 'waites et [musitiens?] twelve day'; Bursar's roll 7572 (1587-88), 'Custos ad intra', 6s to the 'musicis'.

58 Christ Church, MS xii.b.27, f. 30^r, entry dated '23^o Jan'. An entry on f. 31^r records expenses for the staging of the tragedy, including: 'To m^r Heyse [Henry Hayes] for y^e musicians at m^r subdeanes appoyntment — 3^s'.

59 Christ Church, MS xii.b.31, f. 28^r.

60 Magdalen College, Libri Computi (draft accounts), f. 20^r: payment of 6s 8d.

61 Merton College, Liber rationarius bursarum, Annunciation to St Peter in Chains 1587, under 'Liberata forinseca': 'Musicis ex consensu. xij^d'.

62 Conjectural reading. The passage is partly illegible and partly crossed out.

the same scutchyns at such tyme as they shall be demaunded by m^r mayor/ or any his successour.⁶³

Gibbons evidently went back to Cambridge to resume the leadership of the town waits there.⁶⁴ The leader of the university waits was then one William Byrd.⁶⁵ Trinity College paid 'Byrd for Unive^rsitie Waytes' and 'Byrde the univ^rsitie musicion' in 1590 and 1591.⁶⁶

Byrd had in fact been a university wait for a number of years. He was paid by Jesus College 'for y^e wages of ye waytes' in 1582-83,⁶⁷ and on 7 September 1583 Dr John Bell, the Vice-Chancellor of the university, appointed him 'Lord of the Taps' at Sturbridge Fair:

... tyme owt of mynde/ it hath been a custome/ & alwaies used wthin y^e fayt/
y^t some musicōn (whom they have usuallie called the lorde of the tappes)
should ... after sunne sett & likewaies before the sonne rysyng by sounde of
some Instrumēt gyve notize to shutt/ & open their shoppes; and y^t of late one
John pattyn w^{ch} for manye yeares had that roome is now departed this
worlde; In cōsideracōn wherof manye of the Wourshipfull cytizens of london
& other places have desyered one other to be placed in that roome/ and for
that cause hath comēded unto us Willm byrde the bearer herof being a
musicōn & now s^vant & wayght of the said univ^rsitie. We the said
vicechauncelo^r ... have gyven/ and graunted/ & by theis p^rntes doth gyve &
graunte unto the said Willm Birde the said roome & place of the lorde of
tappes, to cōtynue therin during o^r pleasuer/ upō his good usage & honest
behavio^r ...⁶⁸

63 Oxford City Archives, DC1/C1/A2/1 (*olim* A.4.1), f. 162^r; Salter, 1928, p. 42. Had the resignation not been voluntary, the fact would almost certainly have been recorded. One of the Gibbons family may have practised as a wait in Oxford in the seventeenth century, for on 29 July 1627 Thomas Crosfield of Queen's College wrote in his diary: 'musicke upon wire strings [a cittern?] Mr Gibbons' (Crosfield, 1935, p. 15, where the editor's reference to Orlando Gibbons's fantasias is nonsense).

64 Nelson (1989, p. 740) says William Gibbons returned to Cambridge in 1588 or soon after with his complete Oxford band, taking on a new man, John Andrew, at Easter 1590. This appears to go further than the few known facts warrant, but he was certainly back in Cambridge by the latter year.

65 Not to be confused with William Byrd of the Chapel Royal. The name was surprisingly common in the sixteenth century.

66 Trinity College Archives, Steward's Books, 1590, f. 66^r, and 1591, f. 81^r; Nelson, 1989, pp. 325, 331.

67 Jesus College, Audit Book, A/C 1.2, p. 886; Nelson, 1989, p. 310.

68 Cambridge University Library, University Archives, Collect. Admin. 6a, p. 247; Nelson, 1989, pp. 309-310. Sturbridge or Stourbridge Fair 'was held in a field bounded

In 1590 ill-feeling between Gibbons and Byrd led to a hearing in the Commissary Court.⁶⁹ This took place before William Revell, acting as surrogate for the Commissary, Thomas Legge. It was for Legge's play *Ricardus Tertius* that a 'Mr Bird' wrote the song *Preces Deo fundamus*, and it is more than likely that he was the Cambridge wait.⁷⁰

Evidence was given to the Court by Richard Walker, who had been a chamberlain at the sign of the Falcon in Petty Cury, close to where Byrd lived.⁷¹ He said that 'a lytle before Midsomer day last past', about supper time, he had overheard Byrd tell 'William Gibbons his men or boyes' that Gibbons 'was banished oute of Oxford for his evell behaviour' and that 'the sayd Gibbons his boys or men were whipped oute of Oxford where he dwelte'. Among those 'then & there beinge present and hearinge the premisses [were] John Andrewe and others of the sayd William Gibbons his noyse or cumpanye, and Twoe Londoners sittinge at the ffalcon gate' together with 'mr Edward ffoxton and mr Harvye the grocer'. John Andrew's evidence was to the same effect.⁷²

There was more trouble in November 1590. Byrd alleged that

in the streate in Cambridge about or nighe the churchyarde wall and the churchyard gate of St Michaelles in Cambridge [Gibbons] did malitiouslie contumeliouslee and injuriouslie smite or strike the sayd Willm̄ Birde upon the head and upon the face wth his the sayd Willm̄ Gibbons fiste And did then and there breake the staple⁷³ of one instrument of the said Willm̄ Birdes and

on the North by the Cam, and on the East by the "Stour", a tiny rivulet which runs under a bridge on the Newmarket road' (Skeat, 1901, p. 32). Taps: a signal sounded on a wind instrument or drum.

69 Cambridge University Library, University Archives, Comm. Ct. II.4, f. 42^v; Nelson, 1989, pp. 326-328. Gibbons's case seems partly to have been that Byrd claimed falsely to be the university wait: 'he hathe harde the sayde William Bird say *yat* he was and styll ys the weightes of the Universitye of Cambridge'. Nelson (1989, p. 1003) suggests that Byrd lost the mastership of the university waits to Gibbons by 1591-92.

70 A fragment of the song, with the attribution, is in BL Harleian MS 2412, f. 75^v. The play was performed in 1573, 1579 and 1582 (Ward and Waller, 1910, p. 81).

71 Depositions are in Cambridge University Library, University Archives, Comm. Ct. II.4, f. 44^v-45^v; Nelson, 1989, pp. 327-329.

72 In evidence given in December, John Martin (i.e. Murton) of Newmarket said that Byrd's words were 'some of you were whipped oute of Oxford'. John Andrew is described in the documents as hailing from Walthamstow in Essex, and as having lived in Bradenham, Buckinghamshire, with Henry Windsor, Lord Windsor of Stanwell.

73 Staple: a tapering metal tube inserted into the top of the bore of a shawm, onto which the reed is fitted.

the reede of the same instrument w^{ch} instrument was in the hand of John Chapman servaunt⁷⁴ of the sayd Willm Birde And the sayd Willm Birde by reason that the said instrument was so broken as is aforesayd and his companie colde playe no more on his waites⁷⁵ by the space of three dayes then next followinge ...⁷⁶

Gibbons said on 14 December that in the previous July, when they travelled to Oxford to play for the commencement there, Byrd had been willing to come to an agreement with him, but Byrd denied this.⁷⁷

Byrd's name appears once more as a wait of Cambridge, on 12 October 1597.⁷⁸ He may have moved to Chester, for someone of the same name witnessed an agreement between two of the waits of Chester on 25 July 1599.⁷⁹ The name Gibbons appears in records of payments for the services of the Cambridge waits up to 1601-02.⁸⁰ But as William Gibbons seems to have been in failing health for some time,⁸¹ it may be

74 A member of Byrd's band. Andrew was described as one of Gibbons's servants.

75 Waits, or wait: shawm or hautboy.

76 Cambridge University Library, University Archives, V.C. Ct. I.72(6) f. 9^r; Nelson, 1989, p. 332.

77 Cambridge University Library, University Archives, Comm. Ct. II.4, f. 66^r; Nelson, 1989, p. 335.

78 'To the waytes — vs' and 'More to Byrd — ijs' (Emmanuel College Archives, Bursar's Long Book, BUR.8.1, p. 11; Nelson, 1989, p. 370).

79 BL, Harleian MS 2054, f. 101^r; Clopper, 1979, pp. 194-195.

80 Payments apparently made to the waits before the death of William Gibbons include the following, among others. Jesus College, Audit Book A/C 1.2, p. 1106 (1592): 'It to Gibbons for his wages at Candlemas vj^s viij^d'; p. 1191 (1595): 'Imprimis to Gibbons the Musitian vj^s viij^d'. King's College, Mundum Book 19.6 (1592-93): 'Gibbons in festo Regine — ijs' (Michaelmas term), 'Gibbons in festo purificationis — ijs' (Christmas term), 'Gibbons in festo Annunciatianis' (Annunciation term). Among payments made after his death are these. Jesus College, Audit Book A/C 1.2, p. 1244 (1597): 'Imprimis to Gybbons the Musition vjs viij^d'. King's College, Mundum Books, under 'ffeoda et Regarda' except where indicated: 20.3 (1595-96) 'Item solut Gibbins in feste Regina ijs vjd'; 20.4 (1596-97) 'Gibbins p musica in festo purificationis ijs vjd'; 21.2 (1600-01, under 'Expense necessariae') 'Item solut Gibbins p Musica in festo Dñe Regine — ijs vjd'; 21.3 (1601-02) 'Gibbon p musica in festa Dñe Regine — ijs vjd' (Michaelmas term); 'Gibbons p musica in festo Purific. — ijs' (Christmas term). Caution is however necessary in assuming that all these payments were made to the waits, for in 1594-95 payment was made to 'Magistro [i.e. Edward] Gibbons musico in festo Coronario Domine Regine' (Mundum Book 20.2); see p. 18 for the application of 'Magistro' to Edward Gibbons.

81 He wrote his name in the churchwardens' book of Holy Trinity in 1578 (see

that one of his sons assumed leadership of the band. Edward and Orlando were church musicians, while Ellis may have lived in London. It is therefore Ferdinando, who is known to have become a wait in Lincoln, who is most likely to have taken over.

A subsidy list compiled in 1595 shows William Gibbons as resident in the Market ward, where his widow, Mary, was later recorded.⁸² He died shortly after declaring his will,⁸³ and was buried at Holy Trinity on 26 October 1595.⁸⁴ Mary lived on in Cambridge for nearly eight years, as landlady of the Bear.⁸⁵ Her son Orlando witnessed her will on 17 March 1602/3, and she was buried at Holy Trinity on 20 April 1603. The cause of her death is unknown, but the parish registers of Cambridge show that plague was rife in the town.

Orlando Gibbons's brothers

Nothing survives of the music played by William Gibbons and his band, though it is reasonable to suppose that each performance was tailored to a particular audience and venue. Their repertoire may have included arrangements, perhaps partly spontaneous, of dance tunes, songs and marches similar to those preserved in keyboard and other secular collections of the period. But some waits were highly skilled, and may sometimes have played pieces of considerable complexity, of the kind preserved in a manuscript entitled 'A booke of In nomines & other solfainge songes of v: vj: vij: & viij: p^s for voyces or Instrumentes', containing music by Tye, Tallis, Robert Parsons, White, Byrd and others.⁸⁶ Orlando Gibbons seems to have known music of this sort early in his career.⁸⁷

p. 8), but in signing his evidence to the Commissary Court in 1590 made only two complex marks. He may have become ill, and lost the ability to write.

82 William Gibbons is listed in PRO, E179/82/297 (30 September 1595). Widow Gibbons is listed in E179/83/306 (20 September 1598), E179/83/310 (28 September 1599), E179/83/313 (28 September 1600). Assessments in goods were £4 6s 8d (1595) and £3 8s 0d (1598 and 1599). The sum for 1600 is illegible.

83 See p. 273.

84 Cambridgeshire County Record Office, register of Holy Trinity: 'M' Gibbins was buried the xxvjth daye of October Anno dmi 1595 pd'.

85 Cambridge University Library, University Archives, V.C. Ct., I.4, f. 284^v, February 1599/1600; Nelson, 1989, p. 1004. A Robert Gibbons was an innkeeper and musician in Cambridge in 1625-27: see note 101 on p. 17.

86 BL, Additional MS 31390, perhaps copied by Clement Woodcock and completed in 1578. See Noble, 1955.

87 See p. 108.

Some Cambridge waits owned a variety of instruments.⁸⁸ Hautboys, sackbuts and cornetts were suitable for outdoor duties; viols, violins, lutes and citterns may have been used indoors. Regals and virginals were probably for the owners' domestic use. It can be guessed that in the Gibbons household the children learned to use a range of instruments.

Whatever the facts may be, the musical training received by William Gibbons's sons must have been thorough, for at least three of them pursued professional careers, and the other published two of his madrigals. Since Edward, the eldest of the brothers, achieved some distinction and played an important part in the training of Orlando, an account of his career will be given under a separate subheading (p. 17).

The second of the brothers, Ellis Gibbons, was baptized at Cambridge on 30 November 1573.⁸⁹ He was listed in the Cambridge subsidy rolls from 1598 to 1600, first as resident in the High ward, and then in the Market ward.⁹⁰ Anthony à Wood stated both that he was the 'Organist of *Bristow*' and that he was the organist of Salisbury Cathedral, but neither seems to be true.⁹¹ His lease on property in St

88 Nelson, 1989, pp. 744-745.

89 Cambridgeshire County Record Office, register of Holy Trinity.

90 PRO, E179/83/306 (20 September 1598, High ward, 'Elias Gibbons' assessed in goods at £3 8s 0d), E179/83/310 (28 September 1599, Market ward, 'Elisms. Gibbons' assessed in goods at £4 10s 8d), E179/83/302 (28 September 1600, Market ward, partly illegible, but apparently 'E ... Gibbons' assessed on the basis of property). High ward consisted mainly of the present Trinity Street.

91 The first statement occurs in Wood, 1691-92, ii, col. 833 (1813-20, *Fasti*, ii, col. 277), contradicting another that Edward Gibbons was the organist at Bristol (1691-92, i, col. 768; 1813-20, *Fasti*, i, col. 258). Wood's manuscript notes on musicians, which form Bodleian Library MS Wood D19(4), refer (f. 56^v) to 'Gibbons Ellis brother to Edw. Gibbons, and the most admired Organist of the Cath. ch. of Salisbury'. Thomas Forde, Chaplain of Christ Church, Oxford, who compiled manuscript notes on musicians after 1700 (Bodleian Library MS Mus. e.17), used Wood as a source (shown by the initials 'AW' after numerous entries) and repeated (and sometimes compounded) his errors. Burney and Hawkins, who also draw on Wood, are equally confused. The former says that Ellis Gibbons was the organist of Bristol (Burney, 1776-89, iii, p. 461; 1935, ii, p. 362); but elsewhere (iii, p. 328; 1935, ii, p. 264) he says that Edward Gibbons was organist of Bristol, and refers to Wood's designation of Ellis Gibbons as 'the admirable organist of Salisbury'. Hawkins says that Orlando Gibbons 'had two brothers, Edward and Ellis, the one organist of Bristol, the other of Salisbury' (Hawkins, 1776, iv, pp. 35-36; 1963, ii, p. 573). He adds that, besides being organist of Bristol, Edward 'was priest-vicar, sub-chanter, and master of the choristers in that cathedral'. The latter statement clearly applies to Edward Gibbons's career at Exeter. The succession of organists at Bristol and Salisbury is fully accounted for by Shaw (1991, pp. 36-37, 259-

Paul's churchyard suggests that he spent time in London, where he was to die.⁹² His occupation seems to be unrecorded, but his acquaintance with Thomas Morley may mean that he had musical connections.

Morley's collection *The Triumphes of Oriana* (1601)⁹³ contains two madrigals by Ellis Gibbons.⁹⁴ *Long live faire Oriana*, in five parts, is semi-homophonic, and has the appearance of being written at the keyboard. It is rather dull, and exhibits little in the way of melodic, harmonic or rhythmic imagination, though Gibbons executes a neat stroke by duplicating the last line of the verse at the beginning, so that it starts with a reference to its end.⁹⁵ *Round about hir charret*, for six voices, is a more interesting piece, but still suggests that Ellis Gibbons was at best an unpractised composer. It is possible that the madrigals were first performed during the Maying of 1601 at Sir William Cornwallis's house at Highgate, with the intention of diverting the Queen from her melancholy after the execution of the Earl of Essex.⁹⁶ It is evident from *Long live faire Oriana*, set by both Ellis Gibbons and Thomas Hunt, that the Queen was conducted to the scene of a pastoral show by nymphs. Gibbons's second piece, *Round about hir charret*, with others by George Kirbye and John Lisley, ushered in a group of gods and goddesses, many of whom presented the Queen with gifts.⁹⁷

On 14 May 1603, only three weeks after proving his mother's will, Ellis Gibbons made his own will. It was proved by his brother Edward on 18 May. A barely legible note on the back of a probate copy of his will indicates that he died in the parish of St Benet Paul's Wharf, just south of St Paul's Cathedral.⁹⁸ The cause of his death is unknown, but in 1603 the plague carried off nearly a quarter of London's population.

260) without reference to either Ellis or Edward Gibbons.

92 The lease is mentioned in Ellis's will (see p. 275). A plan of the churchyard area forms fig. 1 in Blayney, 1990, but the property in question has not been identified.

93 *Madrigales. The Triumphes of Oriana to 5. and 6. voices: composed by divers severall aucthors. Newly published by Thomas Morley.*

94 Wood (Bodleian Library MS Wood 19 D(4) 106, f. 57^v), believed Ellis Gibbons also to have written 'other things w^{ch} I have not yet seen', but he may have been thinking of Edward Gibbons.

95 The line is not repeated in Thomas Hunt's setting of the verse.

96 See Chambers, 1923, iv, p.113. On May Day 1604 there was a masque for the King and Queen at Cornwallis's house at Highgate (Jonson, 1925-52, vii, p. 136).

97 Strong (1959) suggests that the madrigals may have formed the background to a masque.

98 PRO, Prob. 10/216. The note would be quite illegible, had it not been deciphered by S. A. Smith (1901, p. 170). The parish registers and churchwardens' accounts of St Benet's for 1603 are not extant.

The information that the Christian name of Ellis Gibbons's wife was Joan comes from his mother's will; it is known from his own will that her maiden name was Dyer, so she was probably the sister of the James Dyer who married Ellis's sister Elizabeth in 1600.⁹⁹

The third of the Gibbons brothers, Ferdinando, must have been born in 1581 or 1582, for he was not twenty-three when his mother made her will in March 1602/3, and a brother and sister were born in 1580 and 1583.¹⁰⁰ It is possible that he was a member of his father's band, and that for some time before and after his father's death he assumed responsibility for the Cambridge waits.¹⁰¹ But all that is known is that he was employed at Lincoln by 8 June 1611, when the Common Council resolved 'That fferdinando Gibbysn & ¹⁰² Lockington musitians of this citie shall have two liveryes of this cities charge'.¹⁰³

Edward Gibbons

Edward Gibbons was baptized at Cambridge on 21 March 1567/8.¹⁰⁴ According to Anthony à Wood, he was a Bachelor of Music of Cambridge, and this is borne out by the description added to his name when he witnessed his father's will in October 1595.¹⁰⁵ As Wood puts it, he was 'incorporated in the same degree' at Oxford on 7 July 1592.¹⁰⁶ Wood's assertion that 'about this time' Edward Gibbons was the organist of Bristol Cathedral is however inaccurate.¹⁰⁷

99 Wills: see pp. 273, 275. James Dyer: Cambridgeshire County Record Office, register of Holy Trinity.

100 See p. 274. The name Ferdinando, like Orlando, reflects a fashion for Italian names. It was also conferred on the courtier and composer Sir Ferdinando Heybourne, alias Ferdinand Richardson.

101 See p. 14. The family may have remained musically active in Cambridge. In 1634-35 payment was made to 'Gibbins ffor Musicke at heath Reach' (Downing College Library, Bowtell 5, f. 188^v). Nelson (1989, p. 1004) suggests that this was Robert Gibbons, named in 1625-27 as an innkeeper and musician, who was in trouble 'ffor sellenge 4 pennyworth lesse then a quart' (Cambridge University Library, University Archives, V.C. Ct. I.11, ff. 29^v, 74^r-76^r). Edward Gibbons had a son of this name.

102 Left blank for Lockington's Christian name, but never filled in.

103 Lincolnshire Archives, Common Council minute book L1/1/1/4.

104 Cambridgeshire County Record Office, register of St Mary the Great.

105 See p. 273.

106 Oxford University Archives, NEP/Supra/Reg L, f. 140^r; Wood, 1691-92, i, col. 768 (1813-20, *Fasti*, i, col. 258); Clark, 1887-88, i, p. 350. The information is repeated by Venn (1922-27, ii, p. 208) and Foster (1891-92, i, p. 560).

107 See note 91 above.

The first that is known of the musical career of Edward Gibbons (or 'Gibbins', as he liked to write himself) is his presence as a lay clerk at King's College, Cambridge. His name occurs regularly in the College's weekly accounts, beginning about the middle of March 1591/2.¹⁰⁸ His arrival at this time is confirmed by the College's Mundum Books, where 'Dño Edwardo Gibbons' is listed under 'Conductes et Clericis'.¹⁰⁹ He must have married by 1596, for his first child was baptized at Holy Trinity in the following year.¹¹⁰ His wife, Jane, is said to have been a relative of Lord Spencer.¹¹¹ He last appears in the records of King's at Michaelmas 1598.¹¹² His second child was however baptized at Holy Trinity in April 1599. He is not in the Cambridge subsidy lists, possibly because members of King's College were exempted from payment.¹¹³

Shortly after Gibbons's arrival at King's he began to receive payments for instructing the choristers, a job previously done by Thomas Hamond. Gibbons presumably learned the necessary skills as a chorister, but where he did so is unknown. He was paid an additional 20s a quarter 'p informand chorist', and Hamond was paid as *informator* for the last time in June 1592.¹¹⁴ Gibbons was then paid as *informator* until he left King's, when Hamond resumed his former responsibility.

From time to time 'Magistro' Edward Gibbons received other payments in connection with the choir. In 1593-94 he was paid for 'a sett of song bookes ad usum Collegij', and for providing the choirboys with clothes and shoes.¹¹⁵ In 1594-95 a payment of ten shillings was made to 'Mño Gibbins for pricking 3 churche bookes of ten partes', and another ten shillings was paid to 'Gibbons p 4^{or} grace bookes'.¹¹⁶

Ellis Gibbons's will, made in May 1603, describes Edward as 'of Acton'. The county is not stated, but no record has been found of his residence at Acton in Middlesex. It is in fact possible that 'Acton' is an

108 King's College, Commons Books (weekly accounts, gathered annually, running from Michaelmas to Michaelmas), under 'Com^{tes} alij'.

109 King's College, Mundum Books (annual accounts, partly summarizing weekly accounts and partly containing new material), no. 19.5 onwards. He received 20s a quarter as a lay clerk. A number of entries about Gibbons are printed by Nelson, 1989.

110 See p. 270.

111 Walker, 1714, pt. ii, p. 32.

112 In the Commons Books and in Mundum Book 20.5.

113 PRO, E179/83/302, E179/83/327a and E179/83/328 refer to certain exemptions.

114 Mundum Book 19.5 and subsequently.

115 King's College, Mundum Book 20.1, under 'Expense necessariae' and 'Exhibitio choristarum'.

116 Mundum Book 20.2, under 'Custus Ecclesie' and 'Expense necessariae'. Concerning other payments to 'Gibbons' for music at King's, see note 80 above.

error for 'Exon', made when the original will, now lost, was copied into the probate register.¹¹⁷ Edward was at Exeter by 1607, for his son William was baptized in the cathedral on 24 October of that year.¹¹⁸ It would not be surprising to learn that he went there straight from Cambridge. John Walker, writing early in the eighteenth century, said that Edward Gibbons was tempted to the cathedral by Dr William Cotton, who was consecrated Bishop of Exeter on 12 November 1598.¹¹⁹

On 25 June 1608 the chapter 'decreed the choristers to be hereafter taughte by m^r Gibbons uppon suche condicōns as shalbe here after agreed on'.¹²⁰ It seems that, until this time, the instruction of the choristers was included in the duties of the organist, John Luge. The fifty shillings a quarter hitherto received by Luge was now divided between the two men.¹²¹ It is evident that, with the agreement of the Chapter, Gibbons at times discharged his duties by means of a deputy. The Chapter resolved on 24 September 1608 'that Peter Chambers do teache the Choristers under m^r Gibbins yf he be founde fitte', and on 21 April 1610 that 'Greenwood Randall should have the place that M^r Chambers had under M^r Gibbins for teaching of the chorusters'.¹²² Greenwood Randall was probably a relation of William Randall, who became a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal. Another Greenwood Randall, presumably a son, married Gibbons's daughter Mary at the cathedral on 4 May 1626. Their son Orlando was baptized on 14 September 1627.¹²³

117 Suggested by Richard Turbet. As copies of wills vary so much from the originals in matters of spelling, etc., it is likely that the making of a copy involved one clerk reading to another. 'Exon' and 'Acton' might easily be confused in the process.

118 Register in Exeter Cathedral Archives; Reynell-Upham and Soper, 1910, p. 4. See p. 270 for Edward Gibbons's other children.

119 Walker, 1714, pt. ii, p. 32. Walker's account begins by repeating the erroneous information that Edward Gibbons was organist of Bristol, but his account of Gibbons's later life appears to be authoritative. It is worth remarking that the name Gibbons is found fairly often in the records of Exeter and the surrounding area. In 1647 a Major Gibbons was appointed Governor of Exeter Castle (PRO, SP16/515/82; CSPD, 1891, p. 563). One Gibbons of Exeter, to whom silk belonging to Sir John Greenfield was consigned, is mentioned in Committee for Advancement of Money, 1888, p. 1160, entry for 14 June 1650. Others named Gibbons are mentioned in documents preserved at the Devon Record Office, Exeter. No attempt has been made to establish whether Edward Gibbons was attracted to Exeter because of some family connection with the city.

120 Exeter Cathedral, D&C 3553, f. 4^r; Shaw, 1991, p. 109.

121 Exeter Cathedral, D&C 3801, where a distinction was introduced between the posts of 'Organist' and 'Informator Chorustarum'.

122 Exeter Cathedral, D&C 3553, ff. 8^r, 17^r.

123 Exeter Cathedral register; Reynell-Upham and Soper, 1910, pp. 7, 23.

Further appointments were granted to Gibbons on 25 March 1609:

Item they nominated m^r Gibbins to a vicars place now void by the departure of George Tucker late vicar of this Church so as the saide m^r Gibbins by reason of his degree in musicke or dispensacon from my Lo: Archebishoppe be made capable of the same and by the Lo: Bishoppe of Exon to whome the disposing thereof is come by lapse the same shalbe approved & consented unto.

Item decre' a patente to be made to m^r Gibbins Bachelor of Musicke of xx^{li} per annum so longe to continewe as he shall teache the choristers and secondaries of this church in instrumentall Musicke.¹²⁴

Some, at least, of Edward Gibbons's few surviving compositions had probably been written by this time.¹²⁵ A short but competent keyboard piece is described by Thomas Tudway as 'A Prelude upon y^e Organ as was then usuall before y^e Anthem. By M^r. Edward Gibbons, Custos of y^e College of Prist Vicars In Exeter 1611'.¹²⁶ It is not clear whether the date is that of composition, or of Gibbons's election to the office of Custos — or whether it can reliably be attached to either event.¹²⁷ The prelude is followed by Gibbons's verse anthem headed 'How hath y^e

124 Exeter Cathedral, D&C 3553, f. 11^r-12^r. Another entry (in Latin) records that Gibbons was assigned 'a place and stall in the choir, vacant by the cession and deprivation of George Tucker'. The dispensation was necessary because Gibbons was a layman. Royal approval was given under seal on 8 June 1609; the dispensation roll for the year mentions Gibbons's virtue and the probity of his life, 'ac scientia in arte musica & cantandi peritia singularis' (PRO, C58/13).

125 Wood says that Edward Gibbons 'made several compositions in his faculty, some of which I have seen in the Musical Library reposed in the public School of that profession in *Oxon*' (Wood, 1691-92, i, col. 768; 1813-20, *Fasti*, i, col. 258).

126 BL, Harleian MS 7340, ff. 193^v-194^r (modern numbering), dated 1715.

127 Election to the office of Custos was made from among the Priest-Vicars by members of the College of Vicars Choral (disbanded in 1936), apparently annually on 20 September. (See Exeter Cathedral, D&C Vicars Choral Book I, ff. 11^v-12^r.) Mrs Angela Doughty has kindly examined the extant records, which are confusing. Those of the Vicars Choral have survived only patchily. Randomly placed entries in the unused portions of the volume of ordinances from 1586 to the early eighteenth century name Edward Gibbons as Custos in agreements dated 19 March 1613/14 and 29 September 1614 (Vicars Choral Book I, ff. 20^v, 23^v, 27^v). This is not however confirmed by entries in the Act Book (D&C 3553), where from 19 December 1611 to 11 January 1613/14 Richard Wade appears as Custos. The Custos on 30 July 1614 is given as John Mogridge, who resigned and was replaced by Robert Parsons on 23 September 1615.

City sate solitary'.¹²⁸ This is for two alto voices, chorus and instruments.¹²⁹ While the text is not wholly satisfactory in its surviving form, the setting of words adapted from the first book of Lamentations is genuinely moving. The date 1611 is again mentioned by Tudway,¹³⁰ but the adaptation was evidently made in the aftermath of an occurrence of plague, perhaps the severe outbreak of 1603. If one of the victims was Gibbons's brother Ellis the words have a highly personal application.

How hath the city sate solitary, that was full of people. Elders are ceased from the gate, the young men from their music. The joy of our heart is ceased, our dance is turned into mourning ... O holy Lord God, which has wounded us for our sins, and consumed us from our transgressions, by the late heavy plague and dreadful visitation, and now in the midst of judgement hast showed mercy, and hast redeem'd our souls ev'n from the jaws of death. O give thanks to the God of Heav'n for His mercy endureth for ever.

The remainder of Edward Gibbons's church music consists of settings of the 'Commandements and Creed' and the Credo, for alto, two tenors and two basses. In the only source these pieces follow Mundy's Short Service (Te Deum and Benedictus), seemingly as an addition.¹³¹

A different side of Gibbons's musical character is shown by *Awake and arise*, for three voices.¹³² Although the only copy lacks all but the first few words, this does not disguise the animation of the short piece. The two other surviving compositions by Gibbons are a workmanlike In Nomine for five viols,¹³³ and *What Strikes the Clocke?* for three viols.¹³⁴ In the second, the middle part consists of twelve groups of minims; each group is formed of notes of the same pitch, and the number of notes in a group increases from one to twelve as the piece progresses.

In 1614/5 Edward Gibbons was installed in the office of Succentor of Exeter Cathedral as a result of a mandate issued by Archbishop Abbot in

128 BL, Harleian MS 7340, ff. 194^r-199^v.

129 There are three instrumental parts, presumably for viols, but another instrument may have doubled the alternating solo voices. In editing the anthem, Payne (1993) found it desirable to add a fifth instrumental part to complete the texture.

130 The attribution is to 'Edward Gibbons Custos of y^e College of Preists Vicars of the Cathedrall Church of Exeter, 1611'.

131 Christ Church, Mus. 1220-1224. Gibbons's pieces occur in a part of the manuscripts which perhaps dates from the earlier seventeenth century.

132 Christ Church, Mus. 43, f. 24^r.

133 Bodleian Library, Mus. Sch. d.212-216.

134 Durham Cathedral, Dean and Chapter Library, Hunter MS 33.

January, to which the Chapter assented on 15 February.¹³⁵ He held the post until 15 December 1627, when it was recorded that 'm^r Edward Gibbins relinquished all his interest in the Subchautership of this Church, w^{ch} he hath from the Lo Archbishopp of Cant'¹³⁶

By 1617 Gibbons, now aged about fifty, had in the view of some become lax in the performance of his duties. On 6 April he was required 'to frequent the service of the Quire', though two of the canons 'thought he did alreadie sufficiently performe his dutie in the Quire'.¹³⁷ The complaint was reiterated in 1634. Questions put during the visitation of Archbishop Laud received 'The answeere of the Custos and Colledge of y^e Preist vicars Chorall of the Cathedrall Church of Exeter', which included the observation that in 1563 there were six priest-vicars, but their number had been reduced to four '& one of them a leaman [layman], namely m^r Edward Gibbins'. Two of the vicars choral, William Masters and Henry Trott, added that 'The forenamed M^r Edward Gibbins doth not sitt in his place and read & singe at devine service tyme as the rest doth (but once a quarter (or ther about) doth sitt in his place, for two or three dayes but doth not usially do it as y^e rest'.¹³⁸ Gibbons nevertheless continued to play some part in the business of the choir, and on 23 May 1640, when he was in his seventies, gave his opinion that Richard Carter was 'unfitt for his voice'.¹³⁹

Walker recounts that Gibbons 'married Two Wives which were Gentlewomen of *Considerable Families* and *Fortunes*; the First a near Relation of the Lord *Spencer's*, and the Second of the *Ancient Family* of the *Bluets* in this County: By which means he had gotten a *very considerable Temporal Estate*'.¹⁴⁰ This is confirmed by a certificate of residence submitted to Exchequer officials in London:

135 Lambeth Palace Library, Archbishop Abbot's register, i, f. 415^r; Exeter Cathedral, D&C 3554, ff. 11^v-12^r. Succentor: deputy to the precentor, who had control of the cathedral's musical arrangements.

136 Exeter Cathedral, D&C 3553, f. 134^v. The entries continue with an admonition to the vicars to sing the psalms more distinctly.

137 Exeter Cathedral, D&C 3553, f. 68^v.

138 House of Lords archives, Main papers 1634, Laud visitations; Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, 1874, p. 137. The documents are annotated marginally, presumably by Laud himself. One note asks 'Why one a lay man?', and the complaint of Masters and Trott elicits the remark: 'Let this be remedied'. Signatures on the documents include those of other musicians, e.g. John Luggé.

139 Exeter Cathedral, D&C 3557, p. 201. It should be noted that Edward Gibbons's name and signature occur more frequently in the records of Exeter Cathedral than is indicated here, and he signed a number of statutes and resolutions (D&C VC Book I).

140 Walker, 1714, pt. ii, p. 32. For Edward Gibbons's marriages, see p. 270.

These are to certefie you that Edward Gibbons of the parishe of S^t: Paules wthin the countie of the cittie of Exon Gent where he hath made his aboade and dwellinge for manie yeres last past is in the said parishe rated and taxed towardes the payment of the Third Subsidie of ffive entire Subsidies graunted to his Ma^{tie}. in the late Session of Parliam^t. holden att Westm^r att Six poundes in landes aswell for his estate in Dandiland wthin the parishe of Dunsford in the hundred of wonford in the countie of Devon as for all his estate elswhere w^{ch} att the request of the said Edward Gibbons wee his Ma^{tes}: comission^{ers}: for the said Subsidie wthin the said cittie & countie of Exon have thought good to signifie yeven under o^r handes & Seales the Three & Twentieth daye of September Anno Dñi: 1628.¹⁴¹

In 1636 Edward Gibbons was taxed for ship money above the level fixed for most of his colleagues. A document listing ‘The names of such clergie men as are rated towardes the charge of shippinge for his Ma^{tie}, wthin the said cittie of Exeter’ includes the following entry:

M^r: Edward Gibbons clarke one other of the Priest vicars of the said cathedrall church of S^t: Peter in Exeter for his Ecclesiasticall possessions } xiijs. iiij^d
And for his temporall estate — xxvj^s. viij^d¹⁴²

According to Walker, Gibbons and his family suffered severely during the Civil War. When he refused the Parliamentary Commissioners’ demand for £500 his house was plundered and he, his wife and three grandchildren were turned out. Nevertheless, a little oratory at Dunsford (one of two he built on estates he had in the county) was still standing when Walker wrote.¹⁴³

The last of Edward Gibbons’s signatures as *informator* was made in the cathedral accounts about the end of 1644/5. Prior to that time payments to him were sometimes acknowledged by the signature of William Wake, who was a lay vicar and deputy organist. Several subsequent entries were left unsigned or marked with a cross.¹⁴⁴

Edward Gibbons seems to have died in 1650. A decree by the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, granting the administration of his

141 PRO, E115/172/99. Certificates of residence were intended to prevent duplicate tax assessments of people moving from county to county.

142 PRO, SP 16/344/102.i; CSPD, 1867, p. 388.

143 Dunsford is a little to the west of Exeter.

144 Exeter Cathedral, D&C 3802. There is a gap in the accounts after 1645, lasting until 1660.

affairs to Rose Swanton, evidently a niece of one of his daughters, is dated 17 July of that year.¹⁴⁵ His place of burial is unknown.¹⁴⁶

Orlando Gibbons

Orlando Gibbons grew up in a household where music was the family business. An ability to play a number of instruments and to write music when required was most likely taken as a matter of course. It is clear that he learned to play keyboard instruments, and his fluency as a composer for strings suggests that he learned the viol as well. He learned enough of composition to be able to write music of some complexity by his early twenties.

Gibbons became a chorister at King's College in February 1595/6, under his brother Edward. Assuming that his baptism on 25 December 1583 followed quickly on his birth, he entered King's shortly after his twelfth birthday.¹⁴⁷ He matriculated as a sizar (a student paying reduced fees and having certain menial duties) in Easter term 1598.¹⁴⁸ His name ceased to be entered regularly in the weekly lists of King's at Michaelmas 1598, but a few of the earlier lists for 1598-99 name 'Gibbins' irregularly as a chorister. Perhaps Orlando sang in the choir on odd occasions, or his name was copied from out-of-date lists. How he was occupied in the four or five years after he left King's College is unknown. This vitally important period of his life is a complete blank. He may have continued his training with Edward, but there is no evidence of this; nor is there any that he is the subject of references to 'Gibbons' in the records of Cambridge colleges at this time.¹⁴⁹

However he was employed, he displayed abilities which, by May 1603, gained him a post in the Chapel Royal (his career in which is to be described in the next chapter). He was probably no more than nineteen years old. The beginning of 1603 must have been a time of great emotional strain for the young man, for besides obtaining a post that placed him on the upper rungs of the professional ladder, he lost both his mother and his brother Ellis.¹⁵⁰

145 PRO, Prob. 6/25, f. 119^r (manuscript numbering). Rose Swanton is described as 'nept ex filia'.

146 He was not buried at Exeter Cathedral, and the registers of the parish of Dunsford are incomplete for the period, as are the Bishop's transcripts.

147 King's College, Commons Books, under 'Choristr'.

148 Venn, 1913, p. 279; Venn, 1922-27, ii, p. 209.

149 See note 80 above.

150 See pp. 14 and 16.

PART II