

THE CHORAL FOUNDATION OF THE
CHAPEL ROYAL, DUBLIN CASTLE,
1814–1922

(Volume I)

David Michael O'Shea

Submitted to the Department of Music,
Trinity College, University of Dublin,
in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

Supervisor: Dr Andrew Johnstone

April 2019

Declaration

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SUMMARY

This study is an institutional history of the choral foundation of the Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle. Since it is the first major study of a previously obscure subject, it draws on a large amount of previously unexplored primary material. The most significant of these sources are the state papers in the National Archives of Ireland, and the surviving Chapel Royal music collection extant in the Representative Church Body Library, Dublin. The contemporary Irish and British press has also been used extensively in this research, and provided a significant amount of information on the administration of the Chapel, its role in the church and state, its clergy, musicians, liturgy, and the repertoire of the choir.

This study discusses the Chapel's choral foundation from four distinct points of view: its establishment and polity (including its role within the Irish viceregal court and its clerical personnel), its relationship to the building in which its services took place, its musical personnel, and the use of music in its liturgies. This approach has built up a wide-ranging and detailed institutional history from both historical and musicological aspects.

In the course of this study, detailed lists of Chapel personnel have been compiled, including clergy, organists, and members of the choir (both boys and men), drawn mostly from the primary sources mentioned above, but also from other sources such as graffiti extant in the Chapel building. The Chapel music collection has here been investigated at length and catalogued for the first time. Further information on the repertoire of the choir has been gleaned through the compilation of music lists published in contemporary newspapers. This study also includes a discussion of the organs built for the Chapel.

The most significant finding of this study is that the Chapel Royal was an independent choral foundation in its own right, with its own distinct personnel and musical and liturgical traditions. This disproves beyond doubt the hitherto widespread notion that the Chapel was an informal subset of the musicians employed by the Dublin cathedrals.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the following people who have assisted me in particular ways during the research and writing of this dissertation:

Dr Michael Lee and Canon Roy Byrne, for encouraging my initial interest in the history of the Chapel Royal, and Dr Kerry Houston for his early advice and continual support.

Una Ní Channáin and Mary Heffernan, through whose efforts the Castle Consort came together in 2015 and brought some of the music of the Chapel Royal back to life.

Helen McGinley, Simon Lang and the staff of the TCD Early Printed Books department; Ellen O’Flaherty and Aisling Lockhart of the TCD Manuscripts department; Roy Stanley, TCD music librarian; Dr Susan Hood, Librarian and Archivist of the Representative Church Body Library, her predecessor Dr Raymond Refaüssé, and library staff Robert Gallagher, Jennifer Murphy and Bryan Whelan; and Ken Robinson, Brian Donnelly and the staff of the National Archives of Ireland.

Dr Martin Adams, the Rev’d Paul Arbuthnot, Derek Byrne, Dr David Caron, Joan Cowle, Trevor Crowe, Kara Davis Chu, John Dexter, the Rev’d Nicola Halford, Dr Judith Hill, Dr Stuart Kinsella, Dr Kenneth Milne, Dr William Morton, Robyn Salt and Christopher Wentworth-Stanley, all of whom kindly shared their knowledge and resources with me.

Cillian Long, for pointing me in the direction of many of the lost Chapel Royal music volumes in the Precentor’s Room of Trinity College chapel.

Dr Myles Campbell and William Derham, for facilitating many visits to the Chapel Royal, and for their interest in and support of my research.

Chris Kinder and Fr Paschal Scallon of Castleknock College, for facilitating my visit to inspect the chapel organ there.

Canon Patrick Comerford, for his stimulating lectures on Liturgy and Anglicanism; Dr Simon Trezise, head of the Department of Music, TCD, and Gráinne Redican, department administrator, for their assistance on many occasions.

My colleagues at Sandford and St Philip's parishes, Canon Sonia Gyles and the Rev'd Anne-Marie O'Farrell, for support and understanding. Fellow PhD candidates Sarah Ledwidge, Eleanor Jones-McAuley and Cillian Long, for stimulating conversation and good humour. Roy Byrne, Eoghan Desmond, Maria Greenan, Jonny Johnston, Siobhán Kilkelly, Michael Lee, Liam Maloney, Derek Moylan, Carole O'Connor, Liz Pink (ob. 2016), John Robinson, Aiden Scanlon, Peter Sweeney (ob. 2018) and Rachel Talbot, for friendship, advice and moral support.

Dr Andrew Johnstone, for being not merely a supervisor but a mentor, and a continual source of inspiration.

My parents Jacquie and Niall, for their continual love, support, and encouragement.

And lastly to my partner Henry, to whom with love I dedicate this thesis.

ABBREVIATIONS

Libraries and archives

BL: British Library

NAI: National Archives of Ireland

NAUK: National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew

NLI: National Library of Ireland

PRONI: Public Records Office of Northern Ireland

RCB: Representative Church Body Library

TCD: Trinity College Dublin

UCDA: University College Dublin Archives

Newspapers

DDE: Dublin Daily Express

DEM: Dublin Evening Mail

DEP: Dublin Evening Post

DEPC: Dublin Evening Packet and Correspondent

DMR: Dublin Morning Register

FJ: Freeman's Journal

IT: Irish Times (including *Weekly Irish Times*, the Saturday edition)

SN: Saunders's News-Letter

WDWM: Warder and Dublin Weekly Mail

A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

The institution with which this thesis is principally concerned was at the time of its opening in 1814 usually referred to as the ‘Castle Chapel’. This term was gradually superseded by ‘Chapel Royal’, which was widespread by the 1840s (see 1.1.5 below), although ‘Castle Chapel’ was still used occasionally. In this thesis, ‘Castle Chapel’ (so capitalized) usually refers to the Chapel between 1814 and 1821, before ‘Chapel Royal’ became popular, whereas ‘Castle chapel’ (with a small ‘c’) refers to either of the chapels of Dublin Castle that existed prior to the opening of Francis Johnston’s Chapel in 1814. Contemporary sources contain occasional instances of other terms, such as ‘King’s Chapel’, ‘viceregal chapel’ and ‘His Excellency’s chapel’, as well as misnomers such as ‘Royal Chapel’.

Following the consecration of the Chapel as a Roman Catholic place of worship in 1943, it was renamed the Church of the Most Holy Trinity (see 1.4.2 below), and this name remained in use until the discontinuation of services there in the 1980s. It is once again widely called ‘Chapel Royal’, and this is the name used by the Office of Public Works, which maintains the building. In this thesis, the body of clergy and musicians based at the royal court in London widely called ‘Chapel Royal’ is distinguished from the focus of this study as ‘English Chapel Royal’, and the place in which they sang is called the Chapel Royal, St James’s Palace.

The titles of clergy of the Dublin Chapel Royal is a complex issue, and is discussed at length in section 1.3. For the purposes of this study, the term ‘Dean of the Chapel Royal’ refers to the most senior clergyman of the Dublin Chapel Royal (who usually but not always also held the positions of Chaplain to the Household and First Chaplain to the Lord Lieutenant), and the term ‘Sub-Dean’ usually refers to the second most senior clergyman in the Dublin Chapel Royal; their London counterparts are referred to as Dean (or Sub-Dean) of the English Chapel Royal. For clarity, the Deans of the Dublin Chapel

Royal in this thesis have frequently been referred to by the style ‘Dean’: Dean Vignoles, Dean Tighe, etc.¹

The head of the Irish executive during the period in question was usually called ‘Lord Lieutenant’ and styled ‘His Excellency’. The term ‘viceroys’ in this period was usually used colloquially, and so has been avoided here except where it appears in sources, although the term ‘vicerealty’ (or ‘Lord Lieutenancy’) and the adjective ‘viceregal’ have been used to reference to the office held by this official. The Lord Lieutenant’s official residence was in Dublin Castle, the headquarters of the Irish executive, although in practice he usually lived in the Viceregal Lodge, his country residence in the Phoenix Park, and stayed in the Castle only during the ‘Castle season’ around St Patrick’s Day.

The Lord Lieutenant’s role was largely ceremonial, and real executive power lay with the Chief Secretary, the minister of the British cabinet with responsibility for Ireland, who was assisted by the Under-Secretary, the effective head of the Irish civil service. Following the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922, the head of the Irish government was called the President of the Executive Council, and the king’s representative was called Governor-General. The office of Governor-General was abolished in 1936, and the new Constitution of Ireland enacted in 1937 provided for an elected President. Since 29th December 1937 the head of the Irish government has been called Taoiseach.

The adjective ‘Anglican’, though today used as a catch-all term for those churches and worshippers that use forms of liturgy derived from the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, is problematic in a nineteenth-century context because of its high church or ritualistic overtones.² A more neutral contemporary term for the polity of the established churches of England and Ireland is ‘Episcopal’, as distinct from the

¹ To avoid confusion between Dean William Magee (later Archbishop of Dublin) and his grandson Dean William Connor Magee (later Bishop of Peterborough), the latter will be styled ‘W. C. Magee’.

² For example, the full title of John Jebb’s 1843 publication is *The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland, Being an Enquiry Into the Liturgical System of the Cathedral and Collegiate Foundations of the Anglican Communion*.

Presbyterian polity of the Church of Scotland. The term ‘Anglican’ has been used, however, in reference to aspects of the choral traditions of the churches of England and Ireland, since the concept of the ‘Anglican choral tradition’ is well established.

The Act of Union, as we shall see (1.2.1), united the churches of England and Ireland into one ‘Protestant Episcopal Church’, and the early nineteenth-century proprietary chapels that adhered to the established religion were frequently called ‘Episcopal’ to distinguish them from Methodist chapels (see 2.2.1 below). The term ‘established church’ refers to the Episcopal churches of England and Ireland as established by law, which were united as one church between the Union in 1801 and the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1871. During this period, the terms ‘Church of England’ and ‘Church of Ireland’ refer to the United Church of England and Ireland in a particular local context.

INTRODUCTION

Historical overview

The chapel of Dublin Castle, the so-called Chapel Royal, was built between 1807 and 1814 to serve as the household chapel of the Lord Lieutenant, the chief governor of Ireland and representative of the British monarch. The new Chapel, which replaced an earlier one on the same site, was constituted differently from its predecessor: it was a choral foundation, and included a Dean and Sub-Dean, a college of honorary chaplains to the Lord Lieutenant, an organist and choirmaster, singing men, and boy choristers. This foundation regularly performed the choral service until it was disbanded following the abolition of the Lord Lieutenancy and the closure of the Chapel at the end of 1922.

As we shall see, the choral foundation of the Chapel was consciously modelled on the Chapel Royal of St James's Palace in London. The Dublin Chapel was unique in Ireland as the only ecclesiastical entity under the direct control of the Lord Lieutenant, and so it enjoyed a status analogous to English royal peculiars (e.g. Westminster Abbey and St George's Chapel, Windsor) in which the monarch is the ordinary. Although the Chapel was not the only ecclesiastical establishment paid for by government funds, it was the only one in which the government had direct influence on the liturgy. Music and liturgy at the Chapel were shaped by the tastes of successive Lords Lieutenant and the clergymen and musicians they appointed, and so the Chapel's musical and liturgical history is one of direct interface between church and state.

For 108 years, the Chapel Royal played a central role in the viceregal court (the Lord Lieutenant's household at Dublin Castle), and in the interaction between the Lord Lieutenancy and the public. Although the building has survived, the choral foundation is long forgotten, and like many aspects of the Lord Lieutenancy and the viceregal court its history has so far been left unexplored. This is largely the result of the exclusion of the

pre-independence government from the narrative of Irish history formed after independence, which viewed the proxy British administration in Dublin Castle as the ultimate symbol of corruption and oppression. Arthur Griffith, the founder of Sinn Féin, famously wrote:

The maintenance of a mock British King and a mock British Court in Ireland means...corruption. The British Lord Lieutenant is maintained in Ireland as a fount for all that is slimy in our national life.¹

Dublin Castle, originally a medieval fortress, had been the seat of the Irish government and the residence of the English monarch's viceroy since the thirteenth century. This viceroy, who from the eighteenth century was invariably styled Lord Lieutenant, was the figurehead of the viceregal court. After the Act of Union abolished the Irish Parliament in 1801, the Lord Lieutenant presided over an unelected and unaccountable cabinet of officials appointed by the British government of the day. This effective disenfranchisement of the Irish electorate (which was thenceforth represented by a small and largely powerless minority of members of the British parliament) caused the movement for Home Rule to gather pace towards the end of the nineteenth century. Even the outspoken Liberal Unionist Joseph Chamberlain considered the Dublin Castle government to be 'an absurd and irritating anachronism'.²

The Lord Lieutenant frequently held fashionable gatherings in the Castle's State Apartments, called levees or 'drawing rooms' in imitation of the royal court in London. The pageantry of such occasions was central to the cultivation of the image of the Castle as a palace, and not merely an administrative headquarters. The opening of the Chapel Royal in 1814 added a new spiritual element to the spectacle of the viceregal court, and members of the public turned out in great numbers to witness the Lord Lieutenant, his family and

¹ Patrick Maume, 'Lady Microbe and the Kailyard Viceroy: The Aberdeen Viceroyalty, Welfare, Monarchy, and the Politics of Philanthropy', *The Irish Lord Lieutenantcy, c. 1541–1922*, eds Peter Gray and Olwyn Purdue (Dublin: UCD Press, 2012), 199–214 (207).

² T. D. Sullivan, *Recollections of Troubled Times in Irish Politics* (Dublin: Sealy, Bryers and Walker, 1905), 366.

household attending worship at the Chapel. At the beginning of the service the court tramped into the gallery of the Chapel via a private passage from the State Apartments, and during the service the Lord Lieutenant sat in a throne covered in a canopy as he listened to sermons preached by his chaplains and music sung by his choir, just as the monarch did in London.

Services at the Chapel Royal of St James's Palace took place according to the forms of the established church, which was the denomination of the majority in England. In Dublin, however, the established church was the denomination of a minority. By reinforcing the symbiotic relationship between the state and the Protestant religion, the Dublin Chapel became an important aspect of the image-making of the viceregal court. The appeal of this combination of pomp and Protestantism was, however, limited. It seems that the general public was ignorant of and uninterested in the goings-on in the Chapel, which was frequented by the sort of people who sought the *éclat* of mixing with members of fashionable society. The moderate nationalists who became the first rulers of independent Ireland had little sympathy with the imperial trappings of the former viceregal court, and so, as we shall see (1.4.2), were unenthusiastic about the preservation of the Chapel.

There are several reasons why the history of the Chapel Royal has been neglected to date. It was one small aspect of the Lord Lieutenancy, an institution that has been marginalized by nationalist narratives of Irish history. Its neglect in ecclesiastical and musical history appears to be the result of the difficulty of placing it into pre-existing definitions: it was not aligned to the diocesan and parochial structures of the Church of Ireland, and was not under the oversight of any bishop of that church, but was an ecclesiastical appendage of the viceregal court under the patronage of the Lord Lieutenant as the representative of the crown. This complex and unique identity has caused the Chapel to be largely excluded from histories of the Church of Ireland.

Along with the two cathedrals and the chapel of Trinity College, the Chapel Royal was one of several churches in Dublin in which the choral service (as distinct from parochial service) was performed regularly. The history of Ireland's Anglican choral foundations has so far been focussed on the cathedral tradition, and this narrative has either ignored non-cathedral choral foundations or portrayed them as inconsequential and even haphazard sideshows served by subsets of cathedral musicians. This cathedral-centric view reflects wider historical and musicological trends, which have recently begun to change:

Recent research has increasingly questioned the scholarly model that focuses exclusively on great 'centers' while ignoring the 'periphery'. The disciplines of history and musicology are no longer content to address the great and canonical works and institutions while ignoring their lesser counterparts.³

In contrast to the English Chapel Royal, whose mutualistic relationship with the English cathedral tradition is long established,⁴ the relationship between the Dublin Chapel Royal and Irish cathedral music is tenuous. The ancient English Chapel Royal was antecedent to the choral service itself, which did not take shape until the introduction of the vernacular liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer in the sixteenth century, and, as we shall see (1.1.1), developed with the Chapel Royal as exemplar. In contrast, the Dublin Chapel Royal was founded in the early nineteenth century, by which time the cathedral tradition in Dublin had been flourishing for the century and a half since the Restoration.

Multiple choral foundations in one city was unusual outside London, which had three (St Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, and the Chapel Royal), and Oxford and Cambridge (which had several each),⁵ and so Dublin, with four choral foundations in close

³ Helen Marsh Jeffries, "But a Musician": The Importance of the Underdog in Musico-Historical Research', *Music and History: Bridging the Disciplines*, eds Jeffrey H. Jackson and Stanley C. Pelkey (University Press of Mississippi: Jackson, 2005), 23–43 (24).

⁴ See for example Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c. 1538* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

⁵ Dale Adelman, *The Contribution of Cambridge Ecclesiologists to the Revival of Anglican Choral Worship 1839–62*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997).

proximity (the two cathedrals, Trinity College chapel, and the Chapel Royal) was exceptional. This was all the more remarkable since the established church in Ireland had relatively few choral foundations elsewhere.⁶ Although the Chapel Royal's choral foundation was modest in size and performed the choral service usually only once a week, it was nonetheless a formal independent entity with a discrete repertoire and liturgical tradition of its own.

The Chapel appears to have been the first new choral foundation in Britain or Ireland established since the Reformation.⁷ This is particularly remarkable since it occurred during a period in which Anglican church music is considered by scholars to have been at a low ebb: according to Alan Mould, the century or so after the accession of George I in 1714 was 'the nadir of the fortunes of the cathedral choral tradition'.⁸ It was not until the so-called Anglican Choral Revival, which began in the late 1830s as an outgrowth of the Ecclesiological movement, that choral worship was once again prioritized in such institutions.⁹ Concerning the Chapel Royal, one writer observed in 1852:

Its date and its locality both considered, there is perhaps hardly any more curious foreshadowing of the ecclesiological movement to be found in the kingdom than the Viceregal chapel at Dublin Castle.¹⁰

Though it was called Chapel Royal in imitation of its model in St James's Palace, the Dublin Chapel's real relationship to the royal (as opposed to viceregal) court was ambiguous. Such ambiguity is characteristic of many aspects of the relationship between Britain and Ireland after the Union. Although Ireland was legally part of the United

⁶ John Jebb, *The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland* (London: J. W. Parker, 1843).

⁷ This does not include choral foundations such as that of Armagh Cathedral which were refounded or reconstituted. The next new choral foundation established was St Michael's College, Tenbury in 1856, although unlike the Dublin Chapel Royal this was paid for by private funds.

⁸ Alan Mould, *The English Chorister* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), 145. Mould's claim that 'no new choral foundation with choristers was established between 1700 and 1850' is disproved by the example of the Dublin Chapel Royal.

⁹ Bernarr Rainbow, *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church, 1839–1872* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 11–12.

¹⁰ *The Ecclesiologist*, 13, no. 92 (October 1852), p. 305.

Kingdom, it was administered like a colonial outpost, and this fundamental sense of inequality was at the root of the nationalist desire for self-government that grew more and more imperative through the nineteenth century and the early twentieth.

Irish nationalists have long had a problematic relationship with ‘the British’, to use the simplistic catch-all term that popularly identifies the perpetrators of the ‘700 years of oppression’ of the long-standing cultural trope. This conflict is the foundation of the nationalist notion of the mutually exclusive nature of Irishness and Britishness, and the demonization of the ‘West Briton’, a term popularized by Daniel O’Connell and later nationalist leaders to describe those Irish who expressed political allegiance or cultural affinity with Britain. The courtly trappings of the Castle administration and the Chapel Royal provided the supreme example of ‘west-Britishness’, and following independence any eulogizing of the old order was considered by nationalists to be disloyal to Irish-Ireland.

A gradual thaw in these attitudes has taken place recently, however, and has been evident in the spirit of self-reflexion that has characterized commemorations of the centenaries of events associated with the path to Irish independence. As a result, a more objective narrative of the complex history of identities that were both Irish and British has begun to emerge. This coupled with the upcoming sesquicentenary of the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland means that the time is now right for an objective assessment of the history of the Chapel Royal and its relationship to both church and state.

Methodology and literature review

The purpose of this study is to present an institutional history of the Chapel Royal’s choral foundation and to place this history in the wider context of the viceregal court, the pre-independence Irish government, and the liturgy and music of the Church of Ireland. Since this is the first study of this foundation, the net has been cast as widely as possible to find

primary material. The starting point was a study of musicological research on the Dublin cathedral choirs, and the dearth of information to be found therein concerning the Chapel Royal provided the impetus for further investigation. If this study has an agenda, then it is a revisionist one, which seeks to dispel the notion that the Chapel Royal was an inconsequential sideshow to the Dublin cathedrals.

In any study of this kind, the placing of the institution in question in an established historical narrative is essential to a nuanced understanding. Before embarking on a detailed examination of the history of its musical foundation, it will be necessary to place the Chapel in several discrete historical contexts, which converge uniquely in this study. These include the history of English royal chapels, the history of the Irish church and state, the self-image of the Irish Lord Lieutenantcy, and styles of ecclesiastical architecture, churchmanship, music and liturgy. All of these aspects impacted on the founding and development of the Chapel Royal's choral foundation, and the evolution of its music and liturgy.

Secondary literature on the choral foundation of the Chapel is negligible, although there is, as we shall see, some recent scholarship on the history of the Lord Lieutenantcy, and the Chapel building. These studies have proved invaluable in establishing the physical, political and social boundaries in which the foundation operated. There is also a large amount of useful secondary literature concerning Anglican music and history, in particular the choral service, the cathedral traditions, performance practice, patterns of liturgy, and the roles of clergy.

An essential starting point for research into Anglican church music in the nineteenth century is John Jebb's *The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland*, an extraordinarily detailed account of liturgical and musical practices in British and Irish choral foundations, not excluding the Dublin Chapel Royal. The history of the English

Chapel Royal is well documented: David Baldwin's *The Chapel Royal: Ancient & Modern*,¹¹ and the modern edition of the cheque-book of the English Chapel Royal are both useful for comparison with the administration of the Dublin Chapel.¹² Other useful volumes concerning nineteenth-century Anglican church music are studies of the Anglican Choral Revival by Bernarr Rainbow and Dale Adelman,¹³ and William Gatens's book on Victorian cathedral music.¹⁴

After the publication of John Skelton Bumpus's article on 'Irish Church Composers and the Irish Cathedrals' in 1900,¹⁵ little significant research on this topic appeared until the 1980s. W. H. Grindle's *Irish Cathedral Music* is the broadest study of Anglican church music in Ireland to date, and surveys cathedral music on the entire island during a period of almost a thousand years.¹⁶ Although its focus is on the larger and better documented foundations (such as the Dublin cathedrals), it nonetheless provides a coherent and wide-ranging overview of the topic. Grindle's research began as a PhD thesis,¹⁷ and drew on many previously unexplored primary sources, as well as a small number of prior institutional studies, including Michael Hoeg's booklet on the music of Derry Cathedral,¹⁸ and MA theses by Barbara McHugh (on St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin) and Joseph McKee (on St Patrick's Cathedral, Armagh).¹⁹

More recent studies of Irish cathedral music include Kerry Houston's PhD thesis on the eighteenth-century music books of St Patrick's, Dublin,²⁰ (research which informed his

¹¹ Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal: Ancient & Modern* (London: Duckworth, 1990).

¹² Andrew Ashbee and John Harley eds, *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

¹³ Rainbow, *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church*; Adelman, *The Contribution of Cambridge Ecclesiologists*.

¹⁴ *Victorian Cathedral Music in Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

¹⁵ *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, no. 26 (1899–1900), 79–113 (Part 1), 115–59 (Part 2).

¹⁶ Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University Belfast, 1989.

¹⁷ 'Irish Cathedral Music' (Trinity College Dublin, 1985).

¹⁸ *The Music of St Columb's Cathedral Londonderry* (Londonderry: Nu Print, 1979). I am grateful to Dr William Morton, Dean of St Patrick's Cathedral, for loaning me his copy of this study.

¹⁹ McHugh, 'Music in St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, 1865–1915' (University College Dublin, 1980); McKee, 'The Choral Foundation of Armagh Cathedral, 1600–1870' (Queen's University Belfast, 1982).

²⁰ 'The Eighteenth-Century Music Manuscripts at Saint Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin: Sources, Lineage, and Relationship to Other Collections' (Trinity College Dublin: PhD diss., 2002).

three chapters on music in *St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin: A History*),²¹ and an MLitt thesis on nineteenth-century cathedral musicians by Paul Arbuthnot.²² Despite being one of the most significant choral foundations in Ireland, a comprehensive musical history of St Patrick's has yet to be written. Christ Church Cathedral, however, has been the subject of such a study by Barra Boydell, published in 2004.²³ The music of Church of Ireland parishes has received comparatively little scholarly attention, apart from some work on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century parish music by Boydell and Denise Neary.²⁴

The studies of Irish cathedral music have little to say about the Chapel Royal. The only brief discussion of the Chapel in Grindle's *Irish Cathedral Music* is with regard to the question of its usurping of the alleged status of Christ Church Cathedral as a 'chapel royal' (see 1.1.3 below).²⁵ The erroneous notion that the Chapel Royal choir was a subset of the choir of Christ Church Cathedral seems first to have been mooted by Boydell:

In 1814, following the opening of the new Chapel Royal in Dublin Castle at which some of the choir now also sang on Sunday mornings, the Sunday evening service at Christ Church was discontinued.²⁶

As we shall see (3.1.2), because the services in the two churches took place concurrently, members of the choir of Christ Church Cathedral never sang in the Chapel Royal on Sunday mornings, and the discontinuation of the Sunday evening service at Christ Church in the same year as the opening of the Chapel Royal was merely coincidental. Nonetheless,

²¹ Ed. John Crawford and Raymond Gillespie (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009).

²² 'A Survey of the Vicars Choral of St Patrick's and Christ Church Cathedrals During the Nineteenth Century' (Trinity College Dublin, 2007).

²³ *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press).

²⁴ Boydell, 'St Michan's Church, Dublin: The Installation of the Organ in 1725 and the Duties of the Organist', *Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies*, 19 (1995), 74–96; Neary, 'Music in Late Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Dublin Churches' (National University of Ireland, Maynooth: MA diss., 1995); Neary, 'Music in Late Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Dublin Churches', *Irish Musical Studies 4: The Maynooth International Musicological Conference 1995, Selected Proceedings Part One*, eds P. F. Devine and Harry White (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996), 103–10.

²⁵ Grindle, *Irish Cathedral Music*, 56.

²⁶ Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral*, 106.

the implausible notion of shared singers between Christ Church and the Chapel Royal has been repeated in subsequent scholarship:

The possibility of generous remuneration for cathedral singers was further enhanced by the opening of the Chapel Royal in Dublin Castle in 1814... Up to [the early 1840s] it had been possible to hold positions in both cathedral choirs as well as Trinity College and Dublin Castle.²⁷

The placing of the Chapel Royal on the sidelines of the cathedral tradition in modern musicological research has a precedent in older scholarship. John Skelton Bumpus echoed Edward Seymour's disparaging comment about the 'semi-choral service' of the Chapel Royal, although this must be understood in the context of Seymour's original remark, which was intended to glorify Christ Church Cathedral, the 'ancient Chapel Royal' in which 'full choral service [was] properly rendered', and denigrate the Chapel Royal in the Castle, which had, Seymour alleged, usurped privileges formerly enjoyed by the cathedral.²⁸

The Chapel Royal's abrupt and uncereemonious closure at Christmas 1922 in the midst of the Irish Civil War heralded the beginning of a less glamorous existence as a store-room and law court, until its consecration as a Roman Catholic church in 1943. This event was, as we shall see (1.4.2), part of a process of claiming for the independent Irish state sites associated with the pre-independence government. The Chapel's royal associations were suppressed by its new dedication as the Church of the Holy Trinity, and until its closure in the early 1980s owing to structural problems it served as a military church. It has since been restored and now serves as a tourist attraction and occasional concert venue.

²⁷ Kerry Houston, 'Music before the Guinness Restoration, 1750–1860', *St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin: A History*, 286–307 (294, 305).

²⁸ Bumpus, 'Irish Church Composers and the Irish Cathedrals' (Part 2), 125. Though Bumpus copied Seymour's words almost verbatim, he tempered the scathing tone of the original comment by removing the belittling qualifier 'a sort of' before 'semi-choral service'. Edward Seymour, *Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin* (Dublin: Hodges, Foster and Co., 1869), 64.

The reinstatement of the name Chapel Royal following the reopening of the restored building in 1991 has led to a gradual reidentification of the Chapel with its viceregal history.²⁹ The 2014 bicentenary of its completion prompted the Office of Public Works to commission a serious study of the history of the building, and this culminated in the publication of a ground-breaking collection of essays, *The Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle: An Architectural History*.³⁰ The editors took a broad view of the remit of an architectural history and drew together a wide variety of authors to assess the cultural as well as architectural legacies of the Chapel. Nonetheless, the primary focus of this volume is the building and its patrimony, and so it engages only anecdotally with the choral foundation.³¹

The publication of the collection *The Irish Lord Lieutenant, c. 1541–1922* in 2012 was a landmark in the reassessment of the role of the Lord Lieutenant and the Dublin Castle government in Irish history prior to 1922.³² An earlier volume, Joseph Robins's *Champagne and Silver Buckles: The Viceregal Court and Dublin Castle 1700–1922*, provides an informative and entertaining anecdotal overview of the viceregal court and various Lords Lieutenant in the two centuries prior to independence.³³ The editors of *The Chapel Royal: An Architectural History* have recently produced *Making Majesty: The Throne Room at Dublin Castle*,³⁴ which deals with the architectural and cultural history of another part of Dublin Castle, with particular reference to the question of viceregal image-making. An article I published in 2017 also deals with the issue of viceregal image-making with reference to music and liturgy at the Chapel Royal.³⁵

The memoirs of political, ecclesiastical and musical personages of the period in question are useful contextualizing sources. The recollections of Percy Hetherington

²⁹ *IT*, 17th August 1991, p. 3 (Weekend supplement).

³⁰ Ed. Myles Campbell and William Derham (Trim: Office of Public Works, 2015).

³¹ This includes my own chapter in the book on music and liturgy, which was informed by the early stages of research for the present dissertation.

³² Ed. Peter Gray and Olwyn Purdue (Dublin: UCD Press).

³³ Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2001.

³⁴ Ed. Myles Campbell and William Derham (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2017).

³⁵ 'Liturgy and Music at the Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle: An Exercise in Viceregal Image-Making', *Trinity Postgraduate Review*, 16 (2017), 161–81.

Fitzgerald, published anonymously in 1902, provide an engaging first-hand account of the ‘theatrical make-believe of a Court’ in Dublin Castle and the figures associated with it.³⁶ *Pages from an Unwritten Diary* by Sir Charles Villiers Stanford includes an account of the composer’s childhood and early musical education in Dublin in the 1850s and 1860s, and some information about Irish church music and musicians.³⁷ *Letters and Leaders of My Day* by T. M. Healy, member of parliament and first Governor-General of the Irish Free State, provides an interesting though not unbiased account of the political situation in Ireland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.³⁸ *Unforgotten* (1951) by T. W. E. Drury (sometime Precentor of St Patrick’s Cathedral) contains many insights into churchmanship and liturgical music during the author’s youth in the late nineteenth century.³⁹ The published correspondence of former Dean of the Chapel Royal W. C. Magee is also a very useful resource for the politics and administration of the Chapel in the 1860s.⁴⁰

The most significant secondary source concerning the Chapel’s history is a paper entitled ‘The Chapel of Dublin Castle’, published by the last Sub-Dean, H. J. Lawlor, in June 1923.⁴¹ This paper deals with the history of the various chapels in Dublin Castle beginning with the very earliest records in the thirteenth century. Lawlor included a list of the clergy of the various chapels at Dublin Castle, including an almost complete list of Deans and Sub-Deans since 1814.⁴² Lawlor published a subsequent shorter paper in 1928, although this was concerned only with the Castle chapel before 1700 and the question of the origin of the Chapel Royal silver Communion plate, as well as corrections relating to the previous paper.⁴³

³⁶ ‘A Native’, *Recollections of Dublin Castle & of Dublin Society* (London: Chatto & Windus), 6.

³⁷ London: Edward Arnold, 1914.

³⁸ London: Thornton Butterworth, 1928.

³⁹ Dublin: Association for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

⁴⁰ John Cotter Macdonnell, *The Life and Correspondence of William Connor Magee, Archbishop of York, Bishop of Peterborough* (London: Ibister and Co., 1896).

⁴¹ ‘The Chapel of Dublin Castle, with Note on the Plate of the Chapel Royal’, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 13, no. 1, 34–73.

⁴² An amended list of clergy of the Chapel can be found in Appendix B.

⁴³ Lawlor, ‘The Chapel of Dublin Castle’, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 18, no. 1, 44–53.

Lawlor, who was Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Dublin, managed to write a compelling history of the Chapel in spite of having access only to a small amount of primary material, owing to the ‘calamitous destruction of all the Irish Records’ in June 1922.⁴⁴ His paper provides little insight into the choral foundation of 1814–1922, however, perhaps owing to the antiquarian interests of the audience to which it was first read (the Royal Society of Antiquaries in Ireland), or perhaps because Lawlor felt himself too closely involved to be able to write about the foundation objectively. A surviving earlier draft of Lawlor’s research (reproduced in Appendix A) contains an account of the personnel of the foundation in his time, which is not included in the published paper.

The present study is based on a wide variety of primary material, including eyewitness accounts, newspaper sources, state papers, music books, and other documents, most of which have so far been unexplored. Although records concerning several aspects of the Chapel survive amongst former state papers, these are spread around numerous different departments and collections, and so are difficult to locate. The reason for this is that no one government department was ultimately responsible for the Chapel, which was in effect a government department in and of itself, with the Dean as its principal officer. It seems that the Dean acted alone without recourse to anybody except his immediate superior (the Lord Lieutenant), and that no formal records or minutes were kept, as would have been usual procedure in government departments and ecclesiastical establishments.

Diocesan records and those of parish churches and chapels of the Church of Ireland were periodically transferred to the library of the Representative Church Body for safekeeping. This was not the case with the Chapel, however, since it was not part of the diocesan and parochial structures of the Church of Ireland. A copy of a Preachers’ Book used in the Chapel between 1864 and 1916 was presented to the RCB Library by H. J.

⁴⁴ Lawlor, ‘The Chapel of Dublin Castle’ (1923), 34.

Lawlor subsequent to the closure of the Chapel.⁴⁵ It is possible that other such records existed but were lost after the Chapel's closure.

No internal records survive of administrative matters such as the employment and payment of most of the musicians, although some matters (such as appointments to official government salaries) were dealt with by the office of the Chief Secretary. The papers of this department are extant in the National Archives of Ireland, and exist in two series: the Registered Papers, which cover the years 1818 to 1924,⁴⁶ and the Official Papers, which cover 1790 to 1880.⁴⁷ Both collections comprise correspondence received by the Chief Secretary of Ireland, the difference between them being that the Registered Papers are recorded chronologically in large register books for each year, whilst the Official Papers are less thoroughly indexed, with a short two-volume calendar and card index.

The Registered Papers from between 1818 and 1852 are currently being recatalogued and digitized by the National Archives of Ireland as part of the Francis J. Crowley Bequest, and so far the papers from 1818 to 1830 are searchable online.⁴⁸ For documents later than 1830, it was necessary to consult the register books. These registers each contain alphabetical indexes of subjects and names, which vary in accuracy and completeness according to the diligence of the compiler, and so in spite of a meticulous search for relevant entries in all of these books, it is possible that some papers have been missed. Sometimes several files concerning similar matters have been combined, and such cross-references are not always noted in the registers. A significant number of documents from the Chief Secretary's Office concerning the Chapel Royal were deposited in the Irish

⁴⁵ RCB P.0129.08.1: Chapel Royal Preachers' Book, 1864–1916.

⁴⁶ NAI CSO/RP.

⁴⁷ NAI OP.

⁴⁸ www.csorp.nationalarchives.ie. Those documents which have been recatalogued are identified in this thesis by the new reference numbers as per the online catalogue.

Office in London at some point prior to Irish independence. These are available in the National Archives of the UK.⁴⁹

The Chapel building was under the auspices of the Board of Works, the body responsible for the maintenance of state property, which continues to exist today as the Office of Public Works. However, beyond maintenance matters and records of alterations made to the fabric, the Board of Works papers have very little to say about the Chapel. Some documents concerning the organs and even the music library of the Chapel have come to light in this archive, but its chaotic nature (including many thousands of loose uncatalogued papers) means that it is a largely impenetrable resource.

Many gaps in these fragmentary primary documents have been filled with reference to the contemporary press, which frequently reported news of the viceregal court and services at the Chapel. This has been a most fruitful resource, especially for assembling the names of members of the choir and details of the music performed, information which is almost entirely absent from the government records. As we shall see (4.1.2), factual reports of services appeared in the press in early decades, and from the 1850s onwards detailed music lists began to appear. It seems that the early reports were viceregal court press releases: in reference to an announcement concerning impending repairs to the Chapel, one Dublin newspaper noted that

we are compelled, as in the case of all other information from the Court...to publish it by way of news, without any remuneration.⁵⁰

Although the contemporary press is an extremely valuable resource, it must be treated carefully. In a thesis on the use of Dublin newspapers for musicological research, Catherine Ferris warned that ‘newspapers are not just calendars, but are complex, biased

⁴⁹ NAUK CO/904/180/1.

⁵⁰ *DEPC*, 5th February 1831, p. 3.

sources which must be used with caution'.⁵¹ Some of the outspoken press criticism of the culture of cronyism associated with the Chapel would by today's standards be considered libellous (see 1.3.2 and 1.3.3 below). If we bear in mind that the Chapel was in effect a government department, however, such criticism of spending of public money has parallels in how the modern press holds the public sector to account (albeit without the vicious personal attacks employed by many Victorian journalists).

In the course of this study, the surviving Chapel Royal music collection has for the first time been thoroughly studied and catalogued (Appendix C). The 'loft books', which comprise the most significant part of this collection, have been unused since c. 1870, and so provide a unique and valuable record of repertoire and performance practice in the first half of the nineteenth century. Since this research has treated the repertoire and performance practice as only one aspect of a wider study of the choral foundation, there remains much scope for further research into the repertoire of the Chapel Royal choir, and in particular music written specially for it.

The copious marginalia contained in the loft books has proved invaluable for establishing names of members of the choir in the absence of official records. Combined with the newspaper resources, and the large amount of surviving graffiti in the Chapel, it has been possible to assemble a detailed list of names of boys and men of the choir throughout the period in which the Chapel functioned (Appendix D).

This study is an attempt to draw together surviving evidence and so trace the evolution of the Chapel Royal's choral foundation from its establishment in 1814 to its disbandment in 1922. This is not a Sunday-by-Sunday account of music at the Chapel, but rather a survey of the evolution of the choir, the music and the liturgy as driven by personalities (politicians, clergy and musicians) and by political, liturgical and musical changes that occurred contemporaneously in the wider world. Thus, this investigation of

⁵¹ Catherine Ferris, 'The Use of Newspapers as a Source for Musicological Research: A Case Study of Dublin Musical Life 1840–44' (National University of Ireland, Maynooth: PhD diss., 2011), 1.

the music and musicians of the Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle can be seen as a case study of a small Irish choral foundation in the wider historical context of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Anglican church music.

CHAPTER ONE

PRECEDENTS, POLITICS, AND POLITY

1.1 Precedents and models

1.1.1 The structures and music of the English Chapel Royal

Though the history of Anglican choral composition and practice is often described as the ‘English cathedral tradition’, the cradle of the choral service of the reformed English church was not the cathedrals but the household chapel of Henry VIII and his three children. The English Chapel Royal originated in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when monarchs began to appoint singing clerks to travel as part of their entourage to perform private liturgies. This ‘Chapel’ was a peripatetic corporation of clergy and musicians rather than a church building, although the chapels of royal palaces—the physical spaces in which the liturgies were performed by the Chapel Royal—were frequently called ‘chapels royal’.¹ As we shall see, this distinction between the corporation and the place became blurred in later centuries.

The earliest example of a formal Chapel Royal of singing men superintended by an officer called Dean can be traced to the reign of Edward II, around the year 1312. Following the Black Death, the abbey churches which had hitherto been centres of composition of polyphonic music were severely weakened, and so the Chapel Royal under Henry IV and his successors became the leading force in the development of new styles of liturgical music.² The English Reformation of the mid-sixteenth century placed the Chapel Royal at the centre of liturgical and musical innovation: following the Act of Supremacy of 1534, which declared Henry VIII to be ‘Supreme Head of the Church of England’,

¹ Roger Bowers, ‘Chapel Royal’, *The Oxford Companion to Music* (www.oxfordmusiconline.com, accessed 23rd January 2018).

² David Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal: Ancient and Modern* (London: Duckworth, 1990), 272.

Henry's Chapel Royal became a paragon of liturgical practice and 'the exemplar of divine service to the whole kingdom'.³

In spite of growing agitation for reform and vernacularization of the liturgy, Henry VIII maintained the Latin liturgies of the ancient English church in his Chapel Royal, with the sole and noteworthy exception of the English Litany introduced in 1544. After Henry's death, the influence of liturgical reform that had been stifled during his reign took hold quickly, and a service of compline was sung entirely in English by the Chapel Royal shortly after the coronation of Edward VI in February 1547. The pivotal role played by the Chapel Royal in the development and spread of the reformed liturgy can be seen in a letter written by the Duke of Somerset to the vice-chancellor of Cambridge University in 1548, ordering that all college chapels must observe the forms of service as performed by the Chapel Royal, 'and none other'.⁴

It seems that the rapid liturgical reforms of the 1540s led to a period of unprecedented challenges for the singers of the Chapel Royal. Some scholars have suggested that the frequent absence of boys' voices from music composed for the Chapel Royal in this period was the result of the inability of the boys (who had been trained in the Latin liturgy) to cope with an array of unfamiliar liturgical texts and new musical styles.⁵ The 1549 Book of Common Prayer was short-lived, and was replaced with a significant revision of the vernacular liturgical texts just three years later. The 1552 Book of Common Prayer should have heralded the end of this transitional period, although the accession of Mary Tudor in 1553 caused the reformed liturgy to be swept away and the Latin liturgy restored.

Stability eventually arrived with the Elizabethan Settlement and the long reign of Elizabeth I. Elizabeth had a keen interest in music and ensured that the Chapel Royal

³ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 148.

⁴ Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 146–48.

⁵ David Wulstan, *Tudor Music* (London: J. M. Dent, 1971), 286.

flourished. During her reign, the Chapel Royal was extremely well funded in the pursuit of liturgical and musical excellence, and included some of the finest men and boy singers in England. The composers associated with Elizabeth's Chapel Royal, including Tallis, Sheppard, William Mundy and Byrd, would come to define this period of musical history, an age of high-quality composition which produced the first enduring staples of the Anglican choral repertoire.⁶

The Chapel Royal was once again at the forefront of musical development following the Restoration of 1660, as it became an exemplar to the newly re-established Church of England. Charles II developed a taste for French secular music during his exile in France, and on his return to England he sought to imitate the court of Louis XIV in both secular and sacred music. Inspired by Louis's *Vingt-quatre violons du roi*, Charles established a group of twenty-four royal musicians, which first played in public at his coronation in 1661. This group performed mostly in secular contexts, such as at state occasions and for the king's private entertainment, although some members also played for Chapel Royal services on Sundays and principal feast days.⁷ The use of violins rather than viols gave this music a decidedly modern, French, and indeed secular character, and during Charles's reign Pelham Humfrey, John Blow, Henry Purcell and other composers writing for the Chapel Royal produced a whole new repertoire of anthems and services with instrumental accompaniment.⁸

During Charles's reign, the Chapel Royal maintained three organists, a choir of thirty-two gentlemen (including both clerical and lay singers) and twelve boys, who were drawn from the finest cathedral singers in the land by a power of impressment vested in the Chapel.⁹ Music for services was chosen by the Dean and Sub-Dean, and much of the day-to-day direction of the choir was undertaken by the Master of the Children, who

⁶ Christopher Dearnley, *English Church Music: 1650–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 21.

⁷ Dearnley, *English Church Music*, 44.

⁸ Donald Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 22–3.

⁹ Roger Bowers, *English Church Polyphony* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 189.

received an allowance for providing the boys with food, clothing and lodgings.¹⁰ Though there were two sung services every day, the entire complement of singers attended only on Sundays and principal feast days. On ferial weekdays a reduced number of the choir attended, with duties divided according to a monthly rota. The three organists shared the duty of accompanying services between them, with the most senior one playing on Sundays and feast days. These relatively light duties were generously rewarded: in 1662 the salary of a gentleman of the choir was increased from £40 to £70 annually.¹¹

The accession of Charles's Roman Catholic brother to the throne in 1685 ended this brief period of flourishing. James II established his own staff of musicians and clergy for the Latin liturgy and allowed the Chapel Royal to decline, although the interest shown by James's Protestant sister Anne (later Queen Anne) in the Chapel Royal saved it from complete neglect. The Glorious Revolution, which deposed James in favour of his Protestant daughter Mary and her husband William, Prince of Orange, was consolidated by the legislature to ensure that no Roman Catholic could sit on the throne. The Chapel Royal did not, however, flourish during the reign of William and Mary: William's Calvinist sensibilities were inimical of the secular style of the music of the Restoration Chapel, and shortly after his accession he prohibited the use of any instruments except the organ. The consequent decline in the demands placed on Chapel Royal composers caused Chapel organist Henry Purcell to turn his attention to the composition of music for the theatre.¹²

Although the Chapel Royal had been based mostly at Whitehall Palace during William's reign (owing to his residence there), from the reign of Queen Anne onwards it was permanently based at St James's Palace (see Plate 3).¹³ From then on the Chapel effectively ceased to be peripatetic, and only travelled elsewhere for special occasions such

¹⁰ Anna Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch: Charles II and the Ceremonies of Power* (London: A. & C. Black, 2008), 148–49.

¹¹ Dearnley, *English Church Music*, 28.

¹² Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal*, 24–5.

¹³ Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal*, 34.

as coronations.¹⁴ The establishment of the Chapel Royal as an essentially static part of the household at St James's Palace ended the old distinction between corporation and place. This change was mirrored across Europe in the same period, as the court chapel ceased to be 'itinerant' and instead became a 'regulated institution...associated with a specific physical setting, controlled by increasingly efficacious bureaucratic regulation and integrated in the sacred ritual of the modern state'.¹⁵

1.1.2 Chapels of Dublin Castle, 1225–1807

The first record of a chapel in Dublin Castle dates from 1225, when Henry III appointed William de Radeclive to be '*cappellanus in capella nostra in castro nostro Dublinie*' (chaplain in our chapel in our castle of Dublin). In 1240, Henry sent an order to Luke, Archbishop of Dublin, that the feast of St Edward the Confessor should be celebrated in the King's Chapel at Dublin Castle, a reinforcement of his earlier description of the chapel as 'our' chapel. There are further references to this King's Chapel in records from the later thirteenth century, including a mention of the purchase of two chalices 'for the King's use' in 1279, and a further mention of the King's Chapel in the Pipe Rolls of Edward I in 1292. In 1354, the king granted an annual payment to the Augustinian friars of Dublin in order to provide one friar daily (and two on Sunday) to celebrate masses in the chapel of Dublin Castle for the wellbeing of the king, his family and ancestors.¹⁶

During the fifteenth century, the chapel of Dublin Castle was used as a meeting place for the Privy Council, a parallel with the use of St Stephen's Chapel in the Palace of Westminster as the meeting place of the House of Commons. Little information concerning the chapel in the following two centuries survives, although some improvements were made to the building following the Restoration in 1660. On 7th April

¹⁴ Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 291.

¹⁵ Juan José Carreras, 'The Court Chapel: A Musical Profile and the Historiographical Context of an Institution', *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs: Music and Ceremony in the Early Modern European Court*, ed. Tess Knighton (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), 8–20 (10).

¹⁶ Lawlor, 'The Chapel of Dublin Castle' (1923), 34–9.

1684, fire destroyed much of the medieval Castle, including the chapel. Around 1700 a new chapel was built in the Lower Castle Yard. This was a small building only fifty-four feet in length, later described as a ‘mean structure, built of brick’ (see Plate 1).¹⁷

Very little evidence survives concerning the eighteenth-century chapel of Dublin Castle, although some small details provide an insight into the status enjoyed by this chapel and the services that took place there. It seems this chapel was considered, like its medieval predecessor, to be the ‘King’s Chapel’, and not merely the private chapel of the Lord Lieutenant: in 1769, the chapel sexton, Thomas Ridley, claimed in a letter to the press that ‘there is not a King’s Chapel in his Majesty’s Dominions so free to Access, as the Castle Chapel’.¹⁸ In Ridley’s letter he described a number of pews in the chapel which were reserved for officers of the viceregal household. This is a precedent for the dual role of private household chapel and place of public worship played by the nineteenth-century chapel (see 1.2.2 below).

A press report in January 1764 stated that from then on services of morning and evening prayer (presumably not choral) would take place in the Castle chapel at eleven and three o’clock respectively every day of the week,¹⁹ although it is not certain who may have attended at these services. A similarly busy schedule of daily services existed in the Chapel Royal of St James’s Palace, although the Sub-Dean wrote that ‘except on Sunday & Public Fast or Thanksgivings, Wednesdays & Fridays in Lent, there is seldom any Choir Service or Congregation’.²⁰ It appears that the Lord Lieutenant attended the chapel regularly in the latter part of the eighteenth century: in 1791 a report claimed that ‘their Excellencies the Lord and Lady Lieutenant, punctually attend Divine Service every Sunday in the Castle

¹⁷ Lawlor, ‘The Chapel of Dublin Castle’ (1923), 41, 48, 54–6.

¹⁸ *FJ*, 28th November 1769, p. 3.

¹⁹ Lawlor, ‘The Chapel of Dublin Castle’ (1923), 56.

²⁰ NAI OP/405/5: William Holmes, Sub-Dean of the English Chapel Royal, to Samuel Slade, November 1814.

Chapel’,²¹ even though they had, as we shall see, formerly been accustomed to worshipping at Christ Church Cathedral.

Although there was apparently no choral service in the eighteenth-century Castle chapel (see 2.2.1 below), some evidence suggests that there may have been an organ, and even perhaps some singing, albeit in the parochial style (see 2.1.2 below). In the early eighteenth century this chapel was staffed by a chaplain and a clerk,²² and it is almost certain that the clerk’s duties were similar to those of parish clerks, whose duties included ‘Responses to the Minister, Reading of Lessons, Singing of Psalms, &c.’.²³ A similar office of ‘chanter’ was established in the chapel of Trinity College in 1743, as we shall see (3.1.2). A 1780 copy of the Book of Common Prayer embossed with ‘Castle Chapel’ on the front has ‘Organist’s Pew’ written lightly on the inside cover:²⁴ the date of this label is not known, but if it were prior to 1814 this would imply there had been an organ of some sort in the old chapel. Another Prayer Book from 1788 contains chants for the canticles pasted in, which may have been sung by the clerk or played by the organist.²⁵

No evidence survives of any state ceremonial at the Castle chapel during the eighteenth century, and its small size would have precluded large gatherings. A newspaper correspondent was outraged to learn of the rumour that the Castle chapel had been constructed originally as a ‘Riding-house, and from such was converted into a room for divine worship, without ever having been consecrated as churches usually are or ought to be’.²⁶ The description of the chapel as a ‘room’ hardly connotes a particularly splendid space; another eyewitness claimed the chapel was ‘little consistent with its attachment to a

²¹ *FJ*, 28th May 1791, p. 4.

²² Lawlor, ‘The Chapel of Dublin Castle’ (1923), 55.

²³ ‘Parish Clerk’, Giles Jacob, *A New Law-Dictionary* (London, 1739).

²⁴ This book is in the private collection of Canon Roy Byrne, Precentor of Christ Church Cathedral.

²⁵ This book is held in the National Library of Ireland and is discussed in Joseph McDonnell, ‘The Bindings of the Service Books for the Dublin Castle Chapel’, *The Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle: An Architectural History*, eds Myles Campbell and William Derham (Trim: Office of Public Works, 2015), 82–93 (88).

²⁶ *FJ*, 9th May 1775, p. 1.

Royal Palace’.²⁷ By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the chapel was in a poor state of repair, and services were discontinued in September 1801.²⁸ On the orders of the War Office, the chapel was later converted into a barrack,²⁹ before it was eventually demolished some time around the beginning of 1807. On 2nd April 1807 the foundation stone of a new chapel on the site of the former structure was laid by the Duke of Bedford.³⁰

1.1.3 Christ Church Cathedral as ‘chapel royal’

Though at various times between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries the chapel of Dublin Castle was referred to as the ‘King’s Chapel’, from the late seventeenth century the style and privileges of a chapel royal were claimed by Christ Church Cathedral. By that time the civic functions of the cathedral were well established, as it had long been pre-eminent in the city of Dublin as a centre of civic and religious life, fulfilling a function analogous to that of St Paul’s Cathedral in London. The central role played by Christ Church in city life was less the result of historic privileges and more the result of its occupying the most commanding position in the city.³¹

Although Christ Church was not a chapel of a royal palace (inasmuch as Dublin Castle could claim such a distinction), its proximity to the Castle and its relative spaciousness made it the obvious venue for religious services involving state ceremonial. As well as this, in the post-Restoration period the relative splendour of Christ Church made it an attractive place for the viceregal court to attend church ‘in state’ on ordinary Sundays. Around 1668 Charles II presented the cathedral with money for the provision of seating for the Lord Lieutenant, his wife and members of the Privy Council, and in a letter

²⁷ Lawlor, ‘The Chapel of Dublin Castle’ (1923), 54.

²⁸ *FJ*, 15th September 1801, p. 4.

²⁹ BL Add. MS 35745, p. 49: Robert Woodgate (Board of Works architect) to D. Campbell, 24th December 1803.

³⁰ *DEP*, 2nd April 1807, p. 6.

³¹ Raymond Gillespie, ‘The Coming of Reform, 1500–58’, *Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin: A History*, ed. Kenneth Milne (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), 151–73 (159, 165, 209).

of June 1672 to the Earl of Essex (then Lord Lieutenant), the king described Christ Church as ‘our said cathedral church and royal chapel’.³²

By the early eighteenth century the cathedral was identified as the place ‘where the State goes to church’.³³ On special occasions, the attendance of the officers of the state at Christ Church took place amidst considerable ceremonial:

On all solemn occasions, and days of public thanksgiving, sermons were usually preached in Christ Church before the Houses of Parliament, the Judges, the Lord Mayor and Corporation, and other dignitaries... [T]he streets from the Castle gate to the church door, as also the great aisle of the church to the foot of the stairs, by which they ascended to their seats, were lined with soldiers; they were preceded by the pursuivants of the council chamber, two mace-bearers, and on state days by the king and pursuivant-at-arms, their chaplains and gentlemen of the household, with pages and footmen bare-headed. On alighting from the coach, the sword of state was delivered to one of the Peers to bear before them...³⁴

The solemnization of political and ecclesiastical appointments in a public place of worship amidst state ceremonial was an important aspect of the public image of the post-Restoration Dublin Castle government, which was concerned that the court of the king’s deputy in Ireland would accurately reflect the majesty of the king himself.³⁵ The use of Christ Church for the swearing in of the Lord Lieutenant (technically the viceroy or king’s deputy in Ireland) mirrored the use of Westminster Abbey for the coronation of monarchs. As a royal peculiar, Westminster Abbey was (and remains) under the direct jurisdiction of the monarch, rather than the local bishop. As a result of the royal favour enjoyed by Christ Church following the Restoration, the dean and chapter repeatedly

³² Kenneth Milne, ‘Restoration and Reorganisation, 1660–1830’, *Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin: A History*, 255–97 (259).

³³ Richard Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland from the Revolution to the Union of the Churches of England and Ireland* (London: John W. Parker, 1840), 170.

³⁴ John Thomas Gilbert, *A History of the City of Dublin* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1861), 124–25.

³⁵ Toby Barnard, ‘The Viceregal Court in Later Seventeenth-Century Ireland’, *The Stuart Courts*, ed. Eveline Cruickshanks (Stroud: The History Press, 2012), 256–65 (258).

flouted the authority of the Archbishop of Dublin in an effort to prove their claim that the cathedral was a royal peculiar.³⁶

During the eighteenth century these royal claims seem to have been forgotten. After 1814, the viceregal court rarely attended worship anywhere except the new Castle Chapel, although, as we shall see (1.1.4), the Lord Mayor and other city officials continued to attend Christ Church ‘in state’ on occasion. Though the Chapel in the Castle played a public role as a venue for the interaction between the people of Dublin and the viceregal court (as discussed in 1.2.2 below), it was, like the chapel of St James’s Palace, essentially a private space. The long association between Christ Church and the city of Dublin was maintained by the continued attendance of city officials at services, although the cathedral could no longer claim to be the spiritual home of the viceregal court.

The notion that Christ Church was a royal chapel resurfaced in the nineteenth century, perhaps as a reaction to the growing popularity of ‘Chapel Royal’ as an epithet for the Castle Chapel (see 1.1.5 below). In 1823 Charles Lindsay, Dean of Christ Church and Bishop of Kildare, described Christ Church as ‘this Cathedral Church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity wherein is His Majesty’s Chapel Royal’, and referred to himself as ‘ordinary...of the King’s Choir’.³⁷ It is uncertain what Lindsay meant by ‘King’s Choir’, although it seems he was drawing a parallel between the chapter and choir of Christ Church Cathedral and the English Chapel Royal, and therefore also between his role as ‘ordinary’ and the role of the Dean of the English Chapel Royal.

Despite these efforts to equate Christ Church Cathedral with the English Chapel Royal, Westminster Abbey was perhaps a closer English parallel to the cathedral. Whereas the Chapel Royal of St James’s Palace was the private chapel of the royal household, Westminster Abbey (which was also a royal peculiar) was the venue for the public worship of the royal household on state occasions such as coronations. Even after the term ‘Chapel

³⁶ Milne, ‘Restoration and Reorganisation’, 282–84.

³⁷ NAI CSO/RP/1823/1453: Charles Lindsay to the Chief Secretary’s Office, 26th September 1823.

Royal' had become widely associated with the chapel of Dublin Castle, claims of this title for Christ Church persisted. The full title of the collection of *Cathedral Anthems* published in 1852 by John Finlayson, later Succentor of Christ Church,³⁸ was *A Collection of Anthems as Sung in the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, Commonly called Christ Church (Her Majesty's Chapel Royal), in the Collegiate and Cathedral Church of St Patrick, in the Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle, and in the Chapel of Trinity College, Dublin*. The description of Christ Church as 'Her Majesty's Chapel Royal' and the chapel of Dublin Castle merely as 'the Chapel Royal' suggests that the former was the superior chapel royal, a bias which betrays Finlayson's own loyalties.

At the enthronement of Archbishop Trench in the cathedral in 1864, the formal deed of installation described the Precentor Richard Barton as 'Pro-Dean and Precentor of the Chapel Royal, the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity'.³⁹ In his 1869 history of the cathedral, Edward Seymour unfavourably contrasted the Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle with Christ Church, which he called the 'ancient Chapel Royal', implying that the former had usurped the latter's ancient privileges.⁴⁰ As late as 1903, William C. Green, Dean of Christ Church, wrote to Edward VII and Queen Alexandra welcoming them to Ireland on behalf of the Dean and Chapter of 'the ancient Chapel Royal of Ireland'.⁴¹

This idea of usurpation resurfaced in 1914 during a dispute between the deans of Christ Church and the Chapel Royal for custody of the Communion plate allegedly presented by William III as a thank-offering for victory at the Battle of the Boyne.⁴² The controversy hinged on the generally accepted notion that the plate had been presented by the king to Christ Church as the chapel royal in Ireland, and then given on loan to Dublin Castle in 1814, though no evidence exists concerning the origin of the plate or how it came to be used in the Castle Chapel. H. J. Lawlor posited that the plate, which dated from

³⁸ Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral*, 155.

³⁹ *IT*, 5th January 1864, p. 3.

⁴⁰ Edward Seymour, *Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin* (Hodges, Foster and Co.: Dublin, 1869), 64.

⁴¹ *DDE*, 23rd July 1903, p. 5.

⁴² For a summary and analysis of this dispute see Roy Byrne, 'The Chapel Royal, Christ Church Cathedral and the Silver-Gilt Altar Plate', *The Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle: An Architectural History*, 107–21.

1698, had been presented to the then new Castle chapel and had never belonged to Christ Church. He further claimed that there was no reason to suggest that William III had any knowledge of the claim of Christ Church Cathedral to be the chapel royal in Ireland.⁴³

1.1.4 Other Dublin 'royal chapels'

The Lord Lieutenant's strong public presence reflected his role both as the king's deputy in Ireland and as figurehead of the Irish government. The symbiotic relationship between church and state meant that the Lord Lieutenant's role extended also to that of a spiritual figurehead. A desire to emphasize this role was the principal motivation in the construction of the new Chapel in Dublin Castle, as we shall see (1.2.2). As well as attending services at the old chapel of Dublin Castle and Christ Church Cathedral, prior to the opening of the new Chapel Royal in 1814 the Lord Lieutenant occasionally attended services at St Werburgh's Church, the parish church of Dublin Castle. A nineteenth-century commentator noted the close association between St Werburgh's and the viceregal court:

Before the Castle Chapel was rebuilt, St Werburgh's Church was one of the most fashionable in Dublin; it was regularly attended by the Lord Lieutenant and his suite, and was always densely thronged. The state seat is still [1861] to be seen, in front of the organ.⁴⁴

Aside from the attendance of the Lord Lieutenant at services there, in the eighteenth century St Werburgh's was also an occasional venue for state business connected with the church:

Their Excellencies the Lords Justices attended divine service at Werburgh's church, where they received the sacrament, in order to qualify for their high office. They were escorted to and from the church by a troop of horse.⁴⁵

⁴³ Lawlor, 'The Chapel of Dublin Castle' (1923), 66–7.

⁴⁴ Gilbert, *A History of the City of Dublin*, 36.

⁴⁵ DEP, 13th November 1787, p. 2.

The reason this event took place in St Werburgh's and not in the chapel of Dublin Castle may be that the qualification of the Lords Justice by reception of Holy Communion according to the rites of the established church (as required by the Corporation Act of 1661) was by necessity a public act, and therefore as a parish church St Werburgh's was a more suitable venue for the fulfilment of such a public duty. The Lord Mayor and city officials occasionally attended St Werburgh's also, on one occasion doing so because Christ Church was closed for renovation.⁴⁶

The state seat in St Werburgh's was not unique, as such a seat was also maintained in the chapel of the Royal Hibernian Military School in the Phoenix Park, which was close to the Viceregal Lodge.⁴⁷ An early-nineteenth-century commentator claimed that the Lord Lieutenant did not use the state seat in St Werburgh's after the opening of the new Castle Chapel in 1814, except when he attended the annual charity sermon there.⁴⁸ Although St Werburgh's had no particular special status, it enjoyed a quasi-official role because of its proximity to the Castle, the law courts and Christ Church. The occasional baptisms and marriages which took place in the Chapel Royal are recorded in the St Werburgh's parish registers.⁴⁹

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a number of chapels were maintained at the expense of the Irish government. Some of these, such as the chapels of the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham and the Lying-In Hospital (Rotunda), were part of larger institutions financed by the government. At least one chapel was given the epithet 'royal' in this period, the so-called 'Royal Chapel of St Matthew', now Irishtown parish church. This chapel was allegedly founded during the reign of Queen Anne as a 'Royal donative

⁴⁶ SN, 26th December 1829, p. 2.

⁴⁷ '1771—Royal Hibernian Military School Chapel, Phoenix Park, Dublin' (www.archiseek.com/2010/1771-royal-hibernian-military-school-chapel-phoenix-park-dublin, accessed 27th February 2018).

⁴⁸ George Newenham Wright, *An Historical Guide to Ancient and Modern Dublin* (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1821), 147.

⁴⁹ 'St Werburgh's in Context', unpublished presentation made to the Irish Landmark Trust on 23rd November 2010 by Dr Susan Hood (www.ireland.anglican.org/cmsfiles/pdf/news/Press/2010/stwd/stwinontext.pdf, accessed 10th August 2018).

chapelry’,⁵⁰ and was used as a garrison chapel and later as a seafarers’ church.⁵¹ Its upkeep was paid for by the Board of Works (the ledger-books of which refer to it as ‘his Majesty’s Chapel at Ringsend’ and ‘the King’s Chapel at Ringsend’),⁵² and until disestablishment its chaplain was appointed by the Lord Lieutenant.⁵³ Its regal connexions were in name only, however, since it was not a venue for state ceremonial, and was ‘subject to episcopal jurisdiction’, and therefore was not in any sense a royal peculiar.⁵⁴

Such examples demonstrate the somewhat loose use of the term ‘royal’ in connexion with a number of ecclesiastical institutions in Ireland, some of which had been granted royal charters, founded by monarchs, funded by the government, or patronized by the viceregal court. The Chapel Royal of Dublin Castle was unique, however, in that it was founded for the use of the viceregal court, paid for by the Irish government, and functioned like a royal peculiar, as it was not subject to episcopal oversight and instead under the direct control of the Lord Lieutenant. As we shall see, however, it was not founded as ‘Chapel Royal’ but instead acquired this epithet gradually during the 1820s and 1830s.

1.1.5 The Chapel of Dublin Castle as ‘Chapel Royal’

As we have seen (1.1.2), the old chapels of Dublin Castle had occasionally been called ‘King’s Chapel’, although by the eighteenth century the term ‘Castle chapel’ was widespread. Immediately after the opening of the new Chapel in 1814 the epithet ‘Castle Chapel’ continued in use, although at least one source from this period referred to it as ‘King’s Chapel’.⁵⁵ The first use of the term ‘Chapel Royal’ I have found in reference to the

⁵⁰ *JN*, 22nd January 1867, p. 2.

⁵¹ Samuel A. Ossory Fitzpatrick, *Dublin: A Historical and Topographical Account of the City* (London: Methuen and Co., 1907), 207.

⁵² NAI OPW1/1/2/2, p. 403 (25th March 1815) and 414 (24th May 1815).

⁵³ *DEM*, 27th November 1869, p. 2.

⁵⁴ *JN*, 22nd January 1867, p. 2.

⁵⁵ RCB P.0129.28.1: *Morning Services & Holy Communion Services Composed by Sir J. A. Stevenson* (MS volume).

chapel of Dublin Castle appeared in the press on 11th September 1821: ‘On Saturday last, the Lord Bishop of Cloyne held an ordination in the Chapel Royal, Castle.’⁵⁶

The sudden appearance of this term just a week after the visit of George IV to the Chapel in September 1821 seems not to have been a coincidence.⁵⁷ An unsigned account in the *Dublin University Magazine* in 1846 claimed that the king had been so impressed with the preaching of William Magee, Bishop of Raphoe, that he decided to create Magee Dean of the Chapel, which was thenceforth to be called Chapel Royal;⁵⁸ another press report from the same year claimed that the Castle Chapel had been founded as a ‘Royal Chapelry’ by George IV when he visited Dublin.⁵⁹ A. H. Kenney’s memoir of William Magee concurred with this account: ‘When George IV visited Dublin, in 1821...his Majesty appointed [Magee] Dean of the Viceregal Chapel at the Castle.’⁶⁰ Magee’s appointment as ‘Royal Dean’ was mentioned in a press report in early 1822 (see 1.3.1 below).⁶¹

The appearance of the term ‘Chapel Royal’ in the press report mentioned above suggests that the alleged elevation of the Castle Chapel to a ‘Royal Chapelry’ occurred during George’s visit to Ireland, even though the appointment of Magee as ‘Royal Dean’ was not announced until almost five months later. As we shall see (1.3.2), Dean Charles Vignoles seems to have helped to popularize the term ‘Chapel Royal’ by styling himself ‘Dean of the Chapel Royal’, and by the late 1830s this title was almost ubiquitous. (The Chapel was always called ‘Chapel Royal’ in the *Dublin Directory* from 1839 onwards.⁶²

Clearly some debate has taken place as to the meaning of the term ‘chapel royal’ in an Irish context, and despite the claims of Christ Church Cathedral, the Chapel of Dublin Castle seems to have been the closest Irish parallel to the English Chapel Royal. Although

⁵⁶ *SN*, 11th September 1821, p. 2.

⁵⁷ *FJ*, 4th September 1821, p. 3.

⁵⁸ ‘Gallery of Illustrious Irishmen No. XV: William Magee, Archbishop of Dublin’, *Dublin University Magazine*, 28 (1846), 750–67 (755).

⁵⁹ *DEM*, 27th July 1846, p. 2.

⁶⁰ Arthur Henry Kenney, *The Works of the Most Reverend William Magee D.D., Lord Archbishop of Dublin*, vol. i (London: T. Cadell, 1842), xlviii.

⁶¹ *SN*, 29th January 1822, p. 1.

⁶² Lawlor, ‘The Chapel of Dublin Castle’ (1923), 58.

not called ‘Chapel Royal’ at its foundation, the 1814 Castle Chapel was consciously modelled on the chapel of St James’s Palace, as we shall see (3.1.1). That chapel was the physical home of the once peripatetic corporation of clergy and musicians, and was an integral part of the complex of rooms which made up the public and private environment of the royal court. The Chapel of Dublin Castle mirrored this role by its physical connexion to the State Apartments via a passageway through the Record Tower.

The chapel of St James’s Palace was a royal peculiar under the control of the monarch; the Dublin Chapel Royal played an analogous role in the Irish viceregal court, since it was not subject to episcopal oversight but rather was controlled directly by the Lord Lieutenant and staffed by his chaplains. That this situation was accepted and understood at the time is evident from its citation in an 1847 Irish legal case concerning episcopal jurisdiction.⁶³ Though the chapel of St James’s Palace was the private chapel of the royal court within the royal palace, members of the public were admitted to services there. This interaction between the court and the public was an important part of the maintenance of the public image of the royal household. As we shall see (1.2.2), a parallel arrangement existed in the Chapel Royal of Dublin Castle, which played an equally important role in the image-making of the viceregal court in post-Union Ireland.

1.2 Political aspects of the Chapel Royal

1.2.1 The political background to the building of the Chapel Royal

Dublin at the dawn of the nineteenth century was an important and prosperous city: it was the seat of the Irish Parliament and home to the Lord Lieutenant’s palace at Dublin Castle, and its Georgian opulence was typified by the Customs House and other landmarks designed by the celebrated architect James Gandon (1743–1823). When the twin Acts of

⁶³ *FJ*, 27th October 1847, p. 4. See also John Hasler Samuels, *A Report of the Arguments of Counsel with the Judgment of the Court in the Case of the Office of His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin against the Rev. Tresham Dames Gregg, A.M., in Michaelmas Term 1847* (Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1848), 42.

Union of the British and Irish parliaments came into effect on 1st January 1801, Dublin ceased to be the second city of the British Empire. Without its own parliament, Dublin was little more than a regional city. Though little changed visibly, an enormous political displacement had been effected. As we shall see, this shift in the balance of power was a catalyst for the building of the Chapel Royal between 1807 and 1814.

The instigators of the Union considered the uniting of the established churches of England and Ireland to be central to the viability of the political union. This is borne out by the hubristic language of the fifth article of the Acts:

That the Churches of England and Ireland, as now by Law established, be united into one Protestant Episcopal Church, to be called, The United Church of England and Ireland; and that the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government of the said United Church shall be, and shall remain in full force for ever, as the same are now by Law established for the Church of England; and that the Continuance and Preservation of the said United Church, as the established Church of England and Ireland, shall be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental Part of the Union.⁶⁴

From the seventeenth century onwards, a series of Penal Laws had been passed that limited the civil liberties of Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters. Sections 16 and 17 of the Act to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery (passed by the Irish Parliament in 1703) made civil and military office the preserve of members of the established church, and so throughout the eighteenth century the Protestant Ascendancy maintained a firm grip on political power in Ireland. The Irish Parliament had long been subservient to the British Parliament because of Poyning's Law and similar measures, but the repeal of those laws in 1782 and the ensuing legislative independence had given the Irish Parliament a new self-assurance. However, the increased civil rights granted to Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters with the Relief Act of 1793 (passed reluctantly by the Irish Parliament under pressure from the English Prime Minister William Pitt) and the rebellion

⁶⁴ 'An Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland', British Parliament, 2nd July 1800.

of 1798 disturbed the complacency of the Ascendancy.⁶⁵ Following the abolition of the Irish Parliament, Ireland's political rulers (including those bishops who were peers) attended the Houses of Parliament in Westminster, and the visible power of the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland disappeared.

With the abolition of the local legislature the office of Lord Lieutenant, hitherto little more than a ceremonial figurehead, was propelled to political pre-eminence as the embodiment of government. Thus pressurized to maintain executive power in a frequently turbulent political environment, Lords Lieutenant after the Union became increasingly concerned with the public image of their office.⁶⁶ Lord Pelham, Chief Secretary of Ireland from 1793 to 1798 and British Home Secretary from 1801 to 1803, believed that the Union had made the Lord Lieutenancy redundant. Owing in part to political absentmindedness, the office was retained, in spite of the abolition of the executive of which the Lord Lieutenant had hitherto been ceremonial head. Finding that he suddenly wielded the most senior political authority in Ireland, the Lord Lieutenant began to assume the role of 'proxy king'.⁶⁷

The first Lord Lieutenant appointed after the Union, Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke, was evidently keen to prove the worth of his office in the context of Ireland's changed political status. It seems he took on board the suggestion of the Bishop of Meath, Thomas O'Beirne, that the Lord Lieutenant should play a role in publicly supporting the Church of Ireland by employing viceregal chaplains and leading the way in the raising of liturgical standards. Hardwicke's astute reimagining of the Lord Lieutenant's role as both a temporal and spiritual authority figure in the wake of the Union was politically expedient: it provided a justification for the retention of this arguably redundant office, a new and more

⁶⁵ Gillian O'Brien, 'Revolution, Rebellion and the Viceroyalty 1789–1799', *The Irish Lord Lieutenantcy*, 114–31 (118).

⁶⁶ See Appendix B for a list of Lords Lieutenant in this period.

⁶⁷ K. Theodore Hoppen, 'A Question None Could Answer: "What Was the Viceroyalty For?" 1800–1921', *The Irish Lord Lieutenantcy*, 132–57 (132).

prominent role for the established church in the business of the state, and, perhaps most importantly, it served to underline the unity of church and state that the instigators of the Union had sought to emphasize. Hardwicke realized early in his viceroyalty that a new chapel in the viceregal palace in Dublin Castle could be an important tool in the development of this new identity, and he initiated a plan to build a new chapel in 1801, although the project was not actually realized until five years later during the Lord Lieutenancy of Hardwicke's successor, John Russell, Duke of Bedford.⁶⁸

As we have seen (1.1.3), the post-Restoration Irish government cultivated a public image that emphasized the relationship between the established church and state ceremonial. The building of the new Chapel in the wake of the Union was part of a similar effort to connect the viceroyalty with the established church in the popular imagination. The Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1793 gave Roman Catholics in Ireland a certain degree of civil liberties previously denied to them under the Penal Laws, although they were still excluded from all state and civic offices. As a physical bastion of Protestantism at the heart of the seat of the Irish government, the Chapel reasserted the Protestant nature of the Irish government in the wake of the Union.

1.2.2 The building of the Chapel: an exercise in viceregal image-making

Dublin Castle was first constructed as a fortress in the early thirteenth century, and the considerable rebuilding and remodelling undertaken after the fire of 1684 (see 1.1.2 above) had left little of the medieval structure intact. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the Castle was a peculiar mix of splendour and squalor. The palatial State Apartments had been the setting of many great balls and banquets in the eighteenth century, but, as we have seen (1.1.2), the Castle chapel, erected around 1700, was in a poor state of repair. A 1790 press report indicated that it was to be replaced:

⁶⁸ Judith Hill, 'The Building of the Chapel Royal, 1807–14' *The Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle: An Architectural History*, 39–53 (39–41).

The new Chapel, intended to be built in the Castle garden for the accommodation of the Vice-regal Court, is certainly much wanted—as the present Chapel seems to be in a very tottering state, and is in every respect unbecoming the dignity of the representative of Majesty.⁶⁹

This alleged plan came to nothing in the short term, and may have been merely hearsay. By 1801 the old Castle Chapel was in an advanced state of disrepair, and this gave Hardwicke the opportunity to lay plans for the building of a much grander new chapel.

The old chapel was closed in September 1801,⁷⁰ and James Gandon was commissioned to provide a design for a new chapel. He furnished the Board of Works with seven different designs, but subsequently declined to be involved in the project any further for fear of offending the Board of Works architect, Robert Woodgate, by any ‘intrusion into his department’, although he offered the drawings to Woodgate so that he might make them ‘more perfect’.⁷¹ Gandon’s plans evidently went no further, and a few years elapsed before the task of designing a new chapel fell to Woodgate’s successor, Armagh-born Francis Johnston, who was appointed Board of Works Architect in 1805.⁷²

It was in February 1807, in the final days of the viceroyalty of the Duke of Bedford, that the foundation stone was laid for the new chapel. No expense was spared in its construction and decoration, and the project vastly exceeded the original budget of £9000 to a sum of over £42,000,⁷³ almost as much as the sum of nearly £50,000 spent on building the General Post Office, also designed by Johnston and erected in the same period.⁷⁴ The first service in the Chapel was held on Christmas Day 1814, but the building was not fully completed until over a year later.⁷⁵ This protracted period of construction evidently caused

⁶⁹ *DEP*, 19th August 1790, p. 3.

⁷⁰ *FJ*, 15th September 1801, p. 4.

⁷¹ BL Add. MS 35733, p. 314: James Gandon to ‘Rev’d Sir’ (Charles Lindsay?), returning a brief he had received the previous year, 30th March 1802. (The drawings referred to are lost.)

⁷² Hill, ‘The building of the Chapel Royal’, 43.

⁷³ Hill, ‘The building of the Chapel Royal’, 51.

⁷⁴ John James McGregor, *Picture of Dublin* (Dublin: C. P. Archer, 1821), 79–80.

⁷⁵ Hill, ‘The building of the Chapel Royal’, 39 (n. 8).

consternation to the Irish government: the Secretary of the Board of Works wrote to Johnston in June 1814 requesting

to be informed the precise period when the Castle Chapel will be finished in order that arrangements may be made for the Celebration of Divine Service therein as soon as practicable.⁷⁶

Though the Chapel—essentially a quire and small chancel with no nave (Plate 10)—is quite small, its extravagant interior decoration, including wooden *trompe-l'oeil* fan-vaulting, demonstrates that its progenitors intended it to be something extraordinary. Its Gothic design was highly unusual in late Georgian Dublin, and several contemporary accounts make special mention of this aspect of the building.⁷⁷ One report from 1810 went as far as to claim that the completed Chapel would ‘unquestionably present one of the finest examples of the Gothic style of Architecture extant in Europe’.⁷⁸ The Gothic style of the building may have been a deliberate attempt to lend it an antique flavour and so connect it with the long history of the Castle and the viceregal court.

The new Chapel was a potent physical symbol of the Lord Lieutenant’s authority and his new self-assumed identity as figurehead of the established church. A striking feature of the interior decoration was the names, dates and coats of arms of all previous Lords Lieutenant which decorated the chancel and galleries, with space left for the addition of further coats of arms. This memorialization of the past and preparation for the future placed the new Chapel firmly in a continual narrative of the history of the viceregal court, and emphasized the close relationship between church and state.

Aside from financial estimates for the works involved, very little information concerning the planning and construction of the Chapel survives, although it is evident that Samuel Slade, the First Chaplain to Viscount Whitworth (appointed Lord Lieutenant

⁷⁶ NAI OPW1/1/2/2, p. 358: R. Robinson to Francis Johnston, 7th June 1814.

⁷⁷ *FJ*, 26th December 1814, p. 3.

⁷⁸ *FJ*, 30th June 1810, p. 2.

in 1813) took a close interest in the Chapel. Prior to the opening of the Chapel, Slade corresponded with the Dean and Sub-Dean of the English Chapel Royal concerning the establishment at St James's Palace in order that the new Chapel in Dublin Castle might be set up along similar lines (see 3.1.1 below).⁷⁹ As we have seen (1.1.4), the Chapel functioned like a royal peculiar, and therefore occupied a unique position as an ecclesiastical institution independent of the hierarchy of the Church of Ireland, as well as a public venue for state ceremonial and a symbol of the power of the viceregal court. It therefore occupied a compellingly similar position in the Irish viceregal court as the chapel of St James's Palace did in the royal court in London.

A seat for the Lord Lieutenant was constructed in the gallery of the Dublin Chapel, connected by a private passage to the viceregal apartments, similar to the royal closet in the chapel of St James's Palace. The Chapel was thus part of the complex of public spaces of the viceregal palace in which the Lord Lieutenant held court, which also included the State Apartments and St Patrick's Hall. Although this was the home of the Lord Lieutenant and his family, it was also the venue for many of their interactions with the public, and this coexistence of public and private was most strikingly seen in the Presence Chamber or Throne Room, where the Lord Lieutenant formally received visitors whilst seated on a throne and accompanied by officers of his household. This interface between public and private was central to the image-making of the viceregal court, and was, as we shall see, also played out in the Chapel Royal.

Although it was ostensibly the private household chapel of the viceregal court, the Chapel Royal played an important public role in establishing the Lord Lieutenant's image as proxy king of Ireland and figurehead of the established church in the wake of the Union. Services at the Castle chapel had been open to the public since at least the middle

⁷⁹ NAI OP/405/5, 'Propos'd Establishment of the Castle Chapel', November 1814.

of the eighteenth century,⁸⁰ although at some point following the opening of the new Chapel in 1814, a requirement was introduced that members of the public ask permission of the Dean of the Chapel for admission to services. This arrangement aped the custom of the Chapel Royal, St James's Palace.⁸¹

The Dublin Chapel's ostentatious decoration, Gothic design and self-conscious evocation of the history of the Lord Lieutenancy were principally for the benefit of the public. Services at the Chapel became a regular part of the interaction between the viceregal court and such locals as were admitted with the Dean's permission, complementing the long-established court entertainments which included levees, balls and banquets.⁸² It seems that many members of the public who attended services at the Chapel went less for spiritual edification than for the spectacle of the ceremony and the éclat of mixing with members of fashionable society, as described in 1844 by a press correspondent writing under the pseudonym 'Coemhgen':

When I entered the church, service had not as yet commenced, and 'friendly greetings,' and 'ogling glances,' and 'long drawn sighs,' circulated as freely as they would in the boxes of a theatre during the performance of an overture to some fashionable opera. I thought the irreverence might cease when worship began; but, no. There was a little calm, to be sure—the buzz of voices was not so high, for the peals of the organ deadened their sound; but still the occasional titter went forth, and the ready jest and the complaisant smile were as free as before. The occupiers of pews lounged and stretched, and sometimes half suppressed a yawn... When the sermon commenced, the greater part of this goodly congregation took their departure...⁸³

This apposite comparison of the Chapel with a theatre was evident in the building's original layout, which was divided into two levels, with box pews and open benches on the ground, and pewed galleries on the north and south sides surrounding the imposing central pulpit. The Lord Lieutenant's pew in the south gallery was covered with a canopy, making

⁸⁰ *FJ*, 28th November 1769, p. 3.

⁸¹ *DEPC*, 3rd January 1843, p. 3.

⁸² Joseph Robins, *Champagne and Silver Buckles: The Viceregal Court at Dublin Castle 1700–1922* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2001), 7.

⁸³ *DEP*, 2nd January 1844, p. 3.

it not unlike an opera-box, whilst the rest of the galleries were divided up into closed pews for members of the viceregal household, with seating and standing room for members of the public downstairs. This layout can be seen in George Petrie's watercolour of the interior of the Chapel from c. 1821 (Plate 4).⁸⁴

In a striking yet probably coincidental echo of the comments about the old Castle chapel published in 1790 (quoted above on p. 36), within a decade of the new Chapel's completion an Irish clergyman wrote that the household of the Lord Lieutenant was 'in every respect becoming a representative of Majesty'.⁸⁵ The Chapel quickly became a fashionable place to attend church: an 1833 press report stated that it was 'excessively crowded, and many persons were unable to get admittance'.⁸⁶ By 1845 around 500 people reportedly attended the weekly Sunday morning service, a number which much have caused extreme overcrowding in such a small space.⁸⁷ Although Hardwicke's viceroyalty ended even before the foundation stone of the Chapel was laid, the plan he conceived to improve the public image of the viceregal court through the construction of a new Chapel was ultimately successful. The maintenance of the Chapel and its liturgies thus became a priority for subsequent Lords Lieutenant in their quest to uphold the public image of the viceroyalty.

1.2.3 The Chapel Royal and the relationship between church and state

Owing to its unique position as the household chapel of the viceregal court, the Chapel Royal played a central role in the relationship between church and state in Ireland. From an early period worship in the Chapel was imbued with elements of state ceremonial: on Easter Day 1822, the viceregal party went 'in state' from the Presence Chamber into the

⁸⁴ This painting is presumably contemporary with Petrie's illustrations for Wright's *An Historical Guide to Ancient and Modern Dublin* (1821), and appears to be the earliest surviving visual depiction of the Chapel's interior.

⁸⁵ George Newenham Wright, *An Historical Guide to the City of Dublin* (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1825), 10.

⁸⁶ *DEP*, 24th September 1833, p. 2.

⁸⁷ *The Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland*, vol. ii (Dublin: A. Fullarton & Co., 1846), 105.

Chapel (via the passageway through the Record Tower), and then accompanied the Lord Lieutenant to the altar to receive the sacrament of Holy Communion.⁸⁸ Even in the absence of such ceremonial, the presence of the Lord Lieutenant and his suite on ordinary Sundays made the Chapel the regular venue for the coming together of church and state in Dublin.

The main feasts of the liturgical calendar were observed in the Castle as ‘collar days’: on these occasions, those belonging to chivalric orders were obliged to wear the collars of their order. These collar days included the principal feasts and saints’ days of the Book of Common Prayer (‘red-letter’ days), as well as a number of commemorations of occasions connected with the state and the royal family: Queen Victoria’s birthday (24th May), the Restoration (29th May), the accession of the queen (20th June), her coronation (28th June), and the twin commemorations of the Gunpowder Plot and Glorious Revolution (5th November). The feast days of the patron saints of Ireland, England, Scotland and Wales were also observed.⁸⁹ As we shall see, these politicized liturgies were not merely services of public commemoration, but tools of propaganda.

The Chapel Royal’s position in the viceregal court made it a particularly fitting venue for such commemorations, and as well as the ‘collar days’, several other occasions of celebration or mourning connected with the state were marked in the Chapel Royal. Countess Talbot, the wife of Lord Lieutenant Earl Talbot, died in December 1819 and lay in state in the Chapel, which was hung in black cloth.⁹⁰ On 1st July 1827, the Chapel choir sang ‘a most appropriate Anthem from Psalm 97’ (presumably ‘The Lord is king’ by Sir John Stevenson) in commemoration of the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne (1st July

⁸⁸ NLI GO MS 150, p. 331–32: ‘Form and order of the ceremonial of the Lord Lieutenant going in State to receive the Sacrament at the Chapel Royal, 1822’.

⁸⁹ NLI GO MS 336: ‘Collar Days as commanded by His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant to be observed at Her Majesty’s Castle of Dublin’, c. 1838–53.

⁹⁰ *JN*, 8th January 1820, p. 2.

1690 OS).⁹¹ In 1832, the colours of the Twenty-Eighth Regiment were consecrated in the Chapel by Dean Charles Vignoles amid military ceremonial, a rare early example of the Chapel's being used as a garrison chapel for the military forces stationed in Dublin Castle (see also 4.1.3 below).⁹² Special services sometimes featured music composed specially for the occasion, including the death of Prince Albert in 1861, and Queen Victoria's golden and diamond jubilees in 1887 and 1897.⁹³

In 1837, controversy erupted in the press concerning the refusal of Dean Vignoles to read the service appointed for 5th November (a joint commemoration of the failure of the Gunpowder Plot and the arrival of William III in England) in the Chapel Royal. Charles Elrington, the Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin and one of the Lord Lieutenant's chaplains, was appointed to preach in the Chapel on that day (a Sunday), and on discovering that the service appointed by the Book of Common Prayer would not be read, he resigned his viceregal chaplaincy in protest.⁹⁴ A press report claimed that the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Mulgrave, had ordered that the service for 5th November should not be read in the Chapel Royal, having been advised by 'Popish' members of the government that the Chapel did not fit any of the categories described in the new queen's order that the service be read in 'all Cathedral and Collegiate Churches and Chapels, in all Chapels of Colleges and Halls, and in all parish Churches and Chapels within England and Ireland'.⁹⁵ Vignoles (apparently following the orders of the Lord Lieutenant) defended this decision by claiming that he had no knowledge of the order from the queen, and also claimed that there was a 'precedent of non usage' of that service in the Chapel Royal and in the Church of Ireland generally.⁹⁶

⁹¹ *DEM*, 2nd July 1827, p. 2.

⁹² *Limerick Chronicle*, 28th March 1832, p. 4.

⁹³ See 3.4.3 below.

⁹⁴ *DEPC*, 2nd November 1837, p. 2.

⁹⁵ *DEPC*, 4th November 1837, p. 4.

⁹⁶ *FJ*, 6th November 1837, p. 2.

Correspondence between Elrington and Vignoles was published in the newspapers and exposed a fundamental political division in the Church of Ireland between high churchmen, who adhered strictly to doctrinal orthodoxy and the traditions of the church, and a growing number of broad churchmen and liberal Evangelicals. One of the most influential broad churchmen of this period was Richard Whately, erstwhile Drummond Professor of Political Economy at Oxford University, who had been appointed Archbishop of Dublin in 1831. Whately's liberal opinions on political and doctrinal matters made him a surprising choice as archbishop: his nomination was an act of political expediency on the part of Earl Grey's Whig government, which viewed him as a potentially useful ally to control the Irish Church. Whately's elevation to high office was a boon to liberal broad churchmen: in his 1857 novel *Barchester Towers*, a satire on political partisanship in the Victorian church, Anthony Trollope commented that after Whately's elevation to the episcopacy 'many wise divines saw that...more liberal ideas would henceforward be suitable to the priests as well as to the laity'.⁹⁷

Whately's doctrinal orthodoxy was questioned at the time of his appointment as archbishop, and he was accused of subscribing to the doctrine of Sabellianism, a non-Trinitarian belief regarded as heresy by orthodox churchmen.⁹⁸ Following his consecration in October 1831, the first time he preached in Dublin was in the Chapel Royal on Christmas Day. During this service, the Athanasian Creed, which was mandated by the Prayer Book to be read on principal feasts, was omitted by Whately's chaplain, Samuel Hinds. A press report suggested that such an act should cause questions to be asked about Whately's orthodoxy and the wisdom of Grey's government in appointing him to such an influential post.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Anthony Trollope, *Barchester Towers* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1929), 19.

⁹⁸ E. Jane Whately, *Life and Correspondence of Richard Whately, D.D., Late Archbishop of Dublin* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1868), 61.

⁹⁹ *DEM*, 28th December 1831, p. 3.

Sermons in the Chapel Royal frequently contained political allusions, and occasionally prompted controversial comment:

The Castle Chapel will, it is thought, be deserted, if political sermons are delivered like that lately preached by Rev. Mr. Hinks [sic.; Edward Hincks, 1792–1866]. The Lord Lieutenant has a great respect for religion, and is quite averse to having politics mingled with the service of the Almighty.¹⁰⁰

Such political sermons were allegedly commonplace in the Church of Ireland in this period:

There is...scarcely a Protestant Church in Ireland where the Sabbath exhortations to a Christian life and temper are not frequently neutralised by political allusions, which war against charity and toleration.¹⁰¹

The Chapel Royal's prominent position at the juncture of church and state meant that political sermons preached there gained a degree of attention that they would not have gained elsewhere. Press reports appeared frequently concerning political sermons in the Chapel, to the extent that in 1850 Dean Hugh Usher Tighe was moved to deny strongly an accusation that the Chapel was 'an arena for tirades'.¹⁰²

The opinions expounded in the pulpit of the Chapel Royal naturally tended to reflect the political alignment of the Lord Lieutenant of the day, as preachers were chosen from among the chaplains he appointed (see 1.3.1 below). As we shall see (4.1.4), the Dean had considerable influence on liturgy and churchmanship; he was also responsible for the choice of preachers from among the viceregal chaplains for particular Sundays.¹⁰³ As we shall see (1.3.2), from the 1830s onwards the office of Dean was not vacated with the appointment of a new Lord Lieutenant, and so whilst the Dean was answerable to the

¹⁰⁰ *Limerick Chronicle*, 14th March 1840, p. 2.

¹⁰¹ *DEP*, 21st March 1840, p. 2.

¹⁰² *DEP*, 10th August 1850, p. 2.

¹⁰³ *FJ*, 6th November 1837, p. 2.

Lord Lieutenant, the office he held was permanent and not affected by changes of ministry. This was not always an harmonious arrangement.

1.3 Titles and duties of Chapel Royal clergy

1.3.1 Viceregal chaplains, Deans and Sub-Deans, 1814–31

As we have seen (1.1.2), Dublin Castle had a chaplaincy since its foundation in the thirteenth century. During the construction of the nineteenth-century Chapel, the Lord Lieutenant began to appoint a number of honorary viceregal chaplains, following the suggestion made by Bishop Thomas O’Beirne in 1801 (see 1.2.1 above).¹⁰⁴ The duty of these chaplains was to preach in turn before the Lord Lieutenant, an arrangement which mirrored the College of Chaplains of the royal household, who preached in rotation in the Chapel Royal, St James’s Palace. The number of chaplains was apparently not fixed, but was usually between twenty and thirty, with each presumably doing duty on one or two Sundays each year.¹⁰⁵ Although there had been viceregal chaplains prior to 1807, the sudden preponderance of clergy describing themselves as such following the laying of the foundation stone of the new Chapel suggests that this was the stimulus for a more formal organization.¹⁰⁶

The principal member of the college of viceregal chaplains was initially styled both ‘First Chaplain’ and ‘Dean of the Chapel’.¹⁰⁷ The Lord Lieutenant’s principal chaplain had been styled ‘First Chaplain’ since at least the mid-eighteenth century,¹⁰⁸ and the additional

¹⁰⁴ Hill, ‘The building of the Chapel Royal’, 41.

¹⁰⁵ The *Dublin Directory* lists twenty-one chaplains for 1818, twenty-three for 1819, twenty-two for 1820, twenty-one for 1821 and 1822, and twenty-seven for 1823. The Marquess of Anglesey appointed only nineteen chaplains in 1828 (*SN*, 13th March 1828, p. 2), whereas the Duke of Northumberland appointed twenty-six chaplains in 1829 (*DEP*, 21st March 1829, p. 1). Earl de Grey’s appointment of thirty-nine chaplains in 1844 was reported to be ‘an unprecedented number’ (*FJ*, 30th January 1844, p. 3).

¹⁰⁶ See *SN*, 16th February 1807, p. 2; *Hibernian Journal; or, Chronicle of Liberty*, 15th May 1807, p. 2; *SN*, 24th August 1808, p. 3; *SN*, 3rd May 1809, p. 2; *SN*, 30th January 1811, p. 2.

¹⁰⁷ *SN*, 20th January 1818, p. 2.

¹⁰⁸ See mention of ‘the Rev. Mr Dodgson, F.R.S. first Chaplain to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant’, *Dublin Courier*, 16th December 1763, p. 2.

style of 'Dean of the Chapel' began to appear following the opening of the new Chapel.¹⁰⁹ The latter style was a further parallel with the English Chapel Royal, in which the principal member of the corporation was called Dean. In the nineteenth century that office was held ex-officio by the Bishop of London.

The 'Propos'd Establishment of the Castle Chapel' (see 3.1.1 below) included a 'Clerk of the Closet': this was yet another parallel with the royal household, in which the superintendent of the College of Chaplains was called Clerk of the Closet.¹¹⁰ This title does not appear subsequently in connexion with the viceregal court, and as we have seen (1.2.3) the responsibility for arranging preachers fell to the Dean or First Chaplain. The First Chaplain's duties were principally public: occasionally the Lord Lieutenant employed a 'Private Chaplain' or 'Domestic Chaplain', offices which were separate from that of First Chaplain, and were likely sinecures paid from the Lord Lieutenant's private purse.¹¹¹

Although initially the titles First Chaplain and Dean were held together, this was not always the case, and the Dean was not ex-officio First Chaplain nor vice versa.¹¹² The first separation of these offices occurred in January 1822 when the Marquess Wellesley appointed William Magee, Bishop of Raphoe, to be Dean of the Chapel, and William Bissett, Archdeacon of Ross, to be First Chaplain.¹¹³ Concerning the separation of these offices, Wellesley's private secretary commented that 'His Excellency has thought it necessary for the service of the Chapel'.¹¹⁴ A letter on the subject from Wellesley himself made further comment on the situation: 'I have not yet named a Chaplain to the Chapel, as

¹⁰⁹ It first appeared in the *Dublin Directory* in 1817.

¹¹⁰ Frank Leslie Cross and Elizabeth A. Livingstone eds, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 369.

¹¹¹ Lawlor, 'The Chapel of Dublin Castle' (1923), 60.

¹¹² Lawlor, 'The Chapel of Dublin Castle' (1923), 60.

¹¹³ NAUK CO/904/180/1, p. 256: Edward Johnston to Henry Goulburn concerning appointment of chaplains to the Chapel of Dublin Castle (list of nominations attached), 25th January 1822.

¹¹⁴ NAUK CO/904/180/1, p. 254: Edward Johnston to Henry Goulburn concerning appointment of chaplains to the Chapel of Dublin Castle, 25th January 1822.

I have some regulations under consideration.¹¹⁵ Whatever those regulations were, they were likely connected with the practical business of who would superintend the weekly services in the Chapel. It was unlikely that this duty would fall either to Magee or Bissett, since both were based in dioceses distant from Dublin. As we shall see, these duties were undertaken by a clergyman who drew the salary of ‘Chaplain to the Castle of Dublin’ as per the government estimates, and was neither Dean nor First Chaplain

A press report announcing Magee’s appointment stated:

The Bishop of Raphoe has been appointed Royal Dean to the Castle Chapel. We believe this to be a novel appointment in this country. This honour shows the estimation in which the talents of this celebrated Dignitary have been appreciated by his Majesty.¹¹⁶

This appears to substantiate the claim that Magee’s appointment had been made at the behest of George IV (see 1.1.5 above). It seems that he held the office only for a short time,¹¹⁷ however, for in November 1822 Bissett (who by then had succeeded Magee as Bishop of Raphoe) was described in a press report as ‘Dean of the Chapel’.¹¹⁸ It seems likely that Magee rescinded his appointment as Dean of the Chapel when he was enthroned as Archbishop of Dublin in August 1822.¹¹⁹

The new Castle Chapel was the physical nexus of the ecclesiastical establishment of the viceregal court, and since in the period 1814 to 1839 the First Chaplain to the Lord Lieutenant usually also held the title ‘Dean of the Chapel’ (with the exception of Magee), he embodied the connexion between these two institutions. Although ‘Dean of the Chapel’ was an imitation of the title of the principal clergyman of the English Chapel Royal, in the Irish office ‘Chapel’ referred to the building and not to a corporation.

¹¹⁵ NAUK CO/904/180/1, p. 251: Marquess Wellesley to Henry Goulburn concerning appointment of chaplains to the Chapel of Dublin Castle, 25th January 1822.

¹¹⁶ *SN*, 29th January 1822, p. 1.

¹¹⁷ Magee is missing from Lawlor’s clerical succession list: see Appendix B.

¹¹⁸ *SN*, 4th November 1822, p. 1.

¹¹⁹ *SN*, 5th August 1822, p. 2. Magee is described as ‘Dean of the Chapel Royal 1821–2’ in J. B. Leslie and W. J. R. Wallace, *Clergy of Dublin and Glendalough* (Dundalk: W. Tempest, 2001), 866.

Although the college of viceregal chaplains functioned somewhat like a corporation, apart from the First Chaplain, the chaplains had little involvement in the day-to-day worship of the Chapel, in contrast to the central role played by the clergy and musicians of the English Chapel Royal in services at St James's Palace. Therefore the Irish Chapel Royal was a loose imitation of its English model, with much less formal structures.

All of the Deans in the period 1814 to 1831 held other salaried offices concurrently: Samuel Slade (1814–17) was Vicar of Staverton, Northamptonshire; John Chetwynd Talbot (1817–21) private secretary to the Lord Lieutenant; Magee (January–c. August 1822) Bishop of Raphoe and later Archbishop of Dublin; Bissett (1822–28)¹²⁰ Archdeacon of Ross and Bishop of Raphoe; John Bayly (1828–29, 1830–31) Dean of Killaloe and later Lismore; and Thomas Singleton (1829–30) Archdeacon of Northumberland and private secretary to the Lord Lieutenant.¹²¹ Although preachers in the Chapel were frequently reported in the press in this period, the officiating clergy were rarely mentioned, and so it is difficult to say how often these Deans actually attended services in the Chapel. The rife pluralism outlined above strongly suggests that the office of Dean was largely honorary.¹²²

The periods in which these Deans held office demonstrate that the office of First Chaplain (and consequently Dean) was vacated with changes of Lord Lieutenant between 1814 and 1831. Slade, who presided at the first service in the Chapel on Christmas Day 1814,¹²³ was appointed First Chaplain to Viscount Whitworth on the latter's appointment as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1813, and at the end of Whitworth's viceroyalty he appointed Slade to the rectory of Hartfield, Sussex.¹²⁴ Slade's successor Talbot was the

¹²⁰ First Chaplain only from January until c. August 1822; First Chaplain and Dean of the Chapel thereafter.

¹²¹ Lawlor, 'The Chapel of Dublin Castle' (1923), 68–9. See also the updated and corrected succession list in Appendix B.

¹²² Such clerical pluralism was extremely common until restrictions were placed on the holding of multiple benefices by the Pluralities Acts of 1838 and 1850.

¹²³ *SN*, 24th December 1814, p. 2.

¹²⁴ Joseph Welch, *The List of the Queen's Scholars of St Peter's College, Westminster* (London: G. W. Ginger, 1852), 429.

brother of Whitworth's successor, Earl Talbot.¹²⁵ Magee and Bissett were appointed by the Marquess Wellesley (Magee, as we have seen, apparently on the instruction of the king), Bayly by the Marquess of Anglesey (twice), and Singleton by the Duke of Northumberland.

On Anglesey's reappointment as Lord Lieutenant in December 1830, it was erroneously reported in the press that he had appointed Thomas Hawkins, Dean of Clonfert, as his First Chaplain and Dean.¹²⁶ This report is perhaps the reason that Hawkins is listed incorrectly as Dean of the Chapel Royal from 1831 in *Burke's Peerage*.¹²⁷ A subsequent correction appeared in the press, stating that Anglesey had in fact reappointed John Bayly to this office.¹²⁸ Lawlor evidently did not have access to this information, and so incorrectly suggested that Charles Vignoles was Singleton's direct successor.¹²⁹ The appointment of a new First Chaplain and Dean by each new Lord Lieutenant continued until Marquess Wellesley's reappointment as Lord Lieutenant in 1833, as discussed in 1.3.2 below.

In this period, it seems that the primary responsibility for conducting worship in the Castle Chapel lay not with the First Chaplain or Dean but remained with the Chaplain, the successor to the ancient chaplains of Dublin Castle. Lawlor claimed that Alexander Staples—who had been appointed in 1764—continued to hold this position until 1816. Although a letter from Staples suggests that he had been dismissed following the closure of the old Castle chapel,¹³⁰ he was listed as Chaplain to the Castle Chapel in the *Dublin Directory* until 1816, by which time he would have been almost eighty years old. His successor, Sir George Bisshopp, was appointed in 1816 and from 1822 was styled 'Sub-

¹²⁵ SN, 20th January 1818, p. 2.

¹²⁶ DEPC, 28th December 1830, p. 2.

¹²⁷ Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry of Ireland* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1912), 304.

¹²⁸ DEPC, 30th December 1830, p. 3.

¹²⁹ Lawlor, 'The Chapel of Dublin Castle' (1923), 70. See Appendix B for a full corrected list of clergy of the Chapel Royal.

¹³⁰ BL Add. MS 35733, p. 108: Alexander Staples to the Earl of Hardwicke, requesting ecclesiastical preferment and complaining of his impoverished state, 20th February 1802.

Dean’,¹³¹ a change which may have resulted from the ‘regulations under consideration’ by Wellesley in relation to the office of Chaplain, as mentioned above. A salary for the ‘Chaplain to the Castle of Dublin’ appeared in the annual treasury estimates for the Lord Lieutenant’s household until the abolition of the Lord Lieutenancy in 1922: this salary was drawn by the Sub-Dean until the 1830s, and thereafter by the Dean (see 1.3.2 below). Neither ‘Dean’ nor ‘Sub-Dean’ appears in the estimates, which suggests that these were courtesy styles rather than salaried offices.¹³²

The Sub-Dean appears to have officiated without the Dean on several special occasions, such as Good Friday and Christmas Day 1823,¹³³ which supports Lawlor’s claim that in this period, while the Dean had precedence, the Sub-Dean was the salaried official of the Chapel and successor to the ancient Chaplain to the Castle.¹³⁴ The bestowal of the title ‘Sub-Dean’ on the Chaplain was surely a further conscious imitation of the administration of the English Chapel Royal, in which the day-to-day business of the Chapel was undertaken by the Sub-Dean whilst the Dean occupied an honorary office with no salary.¹³⁵

1.3.2 *The Dean as Chaplain to the Castle, 1831–60*

The arrangement whereby the Dean enjoyed an honorary style and no salary and the Sub-Dean drew the salary of Chaplain to the Castle continued until Dean Bayly died in June 1831.¹³⁶ The Sub-Dean, Sir George Bisshopp, succeeded to the deanery of Lismore, which had been made vacant by Dean Bayly’s death.¹³⁷ As a result of this preferment, the offices

¹³¹ Lawlor, ‘The Chapel of Dublin Castle’ (1923), 57; *The Gentleman’s and Citizen’s Almanack* (1823), p. 114.

¹³² Lawlor, ‘The Chapel of Dublin Castle’ (1923), 57.

¹³³ *Dublin Correspondent*, 29th March 1823, p. 3; *SN*, 26th December 1823, p. 2.

¹³⁴ Lawlor, ‘The Chapel of Dublin Castle’ (1923), 57.

¹³⁵ NAI OP/405/5: William Howley, Bishop of London and Dean of the English Chapel Royal, to Samuel Slade, November 1814.

¹³⁶ *DEPC*, 25th June 1831, p. 3.

¹³⁷ *Southern Reporter and Cork Commercial Courier*, 30th June 1831, p. 2.

of Dean and Sub-Dean became vacant concurrently, and the Marquess of Anglesey appointed one person to fill them both:

His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant has been pleased to nominate the Rev. Charles Vignoles, to be his Excellency's First Chaplain, and Dean of the Chapel, in the room of the late very Rev. Dean Bailey [sic.]; and Sub-Dean and Chaplain to the Household, in the room of Sir George Bishopp [sic.], appointed Dean of Lismore.¹³⁸

This wording indicates that the office of First Chaplain was tied to that of Dean, and that the office of Sub-Dean to that of 'Chaplain to the Household'. This latter title, which had also been used by Sir George Bishopp while Sub-Dean, suggested further parallels with the royal household in London.¹³⁹ By being appointed as both Dean and Sub-Dean concurrently, Vignoles was therefore the first Dean of the Chapel to be concurrently also Chaplain to the Castle. From this time onwards the salaried office of Chaplain (hitherto held by the Sub-Dean) was held by the Dean, who therefore began to play a direct role in the day-to-day running of the Chapel.

On his reappointment as Lord Lieutenant in September 1833, the Marquess Wellesley departed from precedent by not appointing a new First Chaplain and Dean and instead 'continuing' Vignoles in his appointment.¹⁴⁰ Lords Lieutenant were almost invariably British noblemen with no prior connexion to Ireland, and so Wellesley as an Irishman was a rare exception. His appointing of Bissett and Magee during his first viceroyalty suggests that he favoured his fellow countrymen, and his decision not to replace Vignoles appears to be in keeping with this trend. Furthermore, since Wellesley was a Tory, he and Vignoles shared the same political allegiances in a time when the government was controlled by Whigs.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ *Westmeath Journal*, 30th June 1831, p. 3.

¹³⁹ *DEP*, 21st March 1829, p. 1.

¹⁴⁰ *DEPC*, 1st October 1833, p. 2.

¹⁴¹ *The Pilot*, 27th November 1835, p. 3.

Wellesley's reappointing of Vignoles set a precedent that was followed by both of his successors, the Earl of Haddington and the Earl of Mulgrave.¹⁴² Despite Vignoles's alleged Tory loyalties, he was evidently politically pragmatic and so acquiesced to Mulgrave's reforming tendencies, such as the case of the 5th November controversy (see 1.2.3 above). In 1838, on Mulgrave's instruction, Vignoles announced that members of the public would thenceforward be permitted to sit in pews reserved in the Chapel for members of the government and viceregal court when those pews were unoccupied. This decision, which was evidently motivated by populist concerns, was satirized in the press with the suggestion that earls would have to sit beside tinkers and tailors in the Chapel.¹⁴³

The tacit continuation of the Dean of the Chapel Royal by subsequent Lords Lieutenant was disrupted by the appointment of Viscount Ebrington in 1839, who announced his intention to replace Vignoles with a clergyman of his own choosing. A press report concerning this included the following detailed statement of the distinctions of the several clerical offices connected with the viceregal court, which seems likely to have come from a source within the viceregal household itself:

Lord Ebrington has officially intimated to Doctor Vignoles, that other engagements prevent his Excellency from re-appointing him to his Chaplaincy. There is no such office in existence as Dean or Sub-Dean of the Castle Chapel; the only clerical office is Chaplain to the Household, and for which a salary of £200 a-year is paid. This is not a Church living, nor a Deanery, but a Household appointment, which every new Lord Lieutenant may dispose of as he pleases. Our readers know, that a number of Honorary Chaplains are also appointed by the Lord Lieutenant, who preach gratuitously [i.e. without payment] in turn at the Castle Chapel, and one of them is called principal [i.e. First] Chaplain. Doctor Vignoles held this unpaid appointment, in conjunction with his paid Chaplaincy; but both Chaplaincies, and all the Honorary Chaplaincies, are Household appointments, renewable or not renewable, just as every Lord Lieutenant may think fit.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² *SN*, 19th January 1835, p. 2; *The Pilot*, 15th May 1835, p. 3.

¹⁴³ *DEM*, 13th April 1838, p. 2.

¹⁴⁴ *DEP*, 9th March 1839, p. 3.

Several newspapers reported Vignoles's impending dismissal with a vindictive glee that demonstrates a strong current of negative feeling towards him. The following is a typical example:

...the first act [of the new Lord Lieutenant] we have to announce promises well—that the services of *Parson Vignoles* will be dispensed with at the Castle. He may go mind his flock if he have any flock to mind, and the Castle will no longer have hanging upon it member of a family who were a pest to a Liberal government...¹⁴⁵

The bias against Vignoles's family was displayed in another press report that claimed 'the family pocket something like 3,000*l.* per annum' of public money.¹⁴⁶ This bad feeling was apparently the result of Vignoles's well-known political sympathies, and one press report claimed that such opprobrium was unjustified:

He is Tory, it is true—but as a private gentleman we know him to be most estimable and kind, and have the first authority for stating, that in the performance of his several duties his conduct has been exemplary.¹⁴⁷

Two weeks after the announcement of Vignoles's impending dismissal, it was reported that he had 'successfully resisted the attempt made by Lord Fortescue [Viscount Ebrington] to deprive him of his apartments and salary as Dean of the Chapel Royal'.¹⁴⁸ According to press reports, Ebrington had inspected the warrants under which Vignoles had been appointed, and concluded with the advice of the Law Officers of the Crown that his appointment had been made for life, and not merely for the term of office of the individual Lord Lieutenant.¹⁴⁹ Vignoles agreed to concede the title of First Chaplain, which was conferred on E. G. Hudson, but not the style of Dean, the salary of the Chaplain, or the apartments he occupied in the Castle. These apartments had been reserved for many

¹⁴⁵ *The Pilot*, 11th March 1839, p. 2.

¹⁴⁶ *FJ*, 26th March 1839, p. 2.

¹⁴⁷ *DEP*, 26th March 1839, p. 6.

¹⁴⁸ *FJ*, 26th March 1839, p. 2.

¹⁴⁹ *DEP*, 26th March 1839, p. 6.

years for the First Chaplain (perhaps even prior to the building of the new Chapel), and following Vignoles's relinquishment of this style the brass plaque outside the apartments that had formerly read 'First Chaplain' was replaced with one that read 'Dean of the Chapel'.¹⁵⁰

A further press report ridiculed the compromise agreed with Vignoles, and insisted that the offices of Dean and First Chaplain were one and the same, and that Hudson as First Chaplain was entitled to the style 'Dean'.¹⁵¹ Vignoles's reply pointed out that the offices were not one and the same, since a precedent existed in Magee's having been Dean but not First Chaplain. The newspaper in question rejected this argument and stated that Vignoles had no right to the style Dean, since by Hudson's appointment Vignoles 'fell back on his original appointment of sub-dean'. However, this report presented an erroneous account of Vignoles's original appointment by suggesting that he had been appointed Sub-Dean prior to his appointment as Dean and First Chaplain, whereas, as we have seen, these appointments were conferred concurrently.¹⁵²

The uniting of the style 'Dean of the Chapel' with the emoluments and duties of the Sub-Dean by the appointment of Vignoles to both offices, and the subsequent separation of the office of First Chaplain from that of Dean in 1839, created a precedent which ensured that the Dean was the principal clergyman attached to the Chapel Royal and that incoming Lords Lieutenant had no power to dismiss him. The personal style preferred by Vignoles also added a certain degree of prestige to the office: hitherto, the style of the First Chaplain had been 'Dean of the Chapel', although Vignoles preferred 'Dean of the Chapel Royal', which no doubt contributed to the popularisation of the term 'Chapel Royal' as an epithet for the Castle Chapel (see 1.1.5 above). Vignoles used this style as early as 1832,¹⁵³ and around 1836 he began to use the style 'Very Reverend', which was usually reserved for

¹⁵⁰ *FJ*, 2nd August 1839, p. 2.

¹⁵¹ *FJ*, 11th June 1839, p. 2.

¹⁵² *FJ*, 17th June 1839, p. 2.

¹⁵³ *DEPC*, 24th November 1832, p. 3.

deans of cathedrals.¹⁵⁴ The same style was used by all of Vignoles's successors, and some dressed in the breeches traditionally worn by high-ranking clergy, as seen in a later press comment concerning the 'ecclesiastical person who calls himself dean, and wears a dean's breeches'.¹⁵⁵ This form of dress can be seen worn by Dean Webster in Plate 28.

On the appointment of Earl de Grey as Lord Lieutenant in September 1841, Vignoles was reappointed as First Chaplain.¹⁵⁶ De Grey (a Tory) evidently favoured Vignoles, as he later appointed him to the valuable deanery of Ossory.¹⁵⁷ In May 1843 a false report appeared claiming that a Mr Day (perhaps viceregal chaplain Maurice Day: see p. 104) would succeed Vignoles as Dean of the Chapel Royal.¹⁵⁸ The following month, Hugh Usher Tighe, Rector of Clonmore, was announced as Vignoles's successor. The press report stated that Tighe had been appointed 'Dean of the Chapel Royal and first Chaplain to his Excellency's Household', a conflation of the titles 'First Chaplain' and 'Chaplain to the Household'.¹⁵⁹ Tighe, like Vignoles, received the salary of the Chaplain to the Castle of Dublin, which had formerly been paid to the Sub-Dean.

Tighe was reappointed as Dean and First Chaplain by Lord Heytesbury in 1844: Heytesbury, who was appointed by the same Tory ministry which de Grey had served, also reappointed all of the viceregal chaplains of his predecessor.¹⁶⁰ His Whig successor, the Earl of Bessborough, appointed Samuel Hinds, Rector of Castleknock and a close associate of Archbishop Whately (see 1.2.3 above), as First Chaplain in 1846, an appointment that aroused a certain degree of negative comment.¹⁶¹ During the 1850s several new Lords Lieutenant appointed new First Chaplains of their own choosing, although Tighe remained Dean.

¹⁵⁴ *SN*, 9th March 1836, p. 3; *DEP*, 12th April 1836, p. 1.

¹⁵⁵ *FJ*, 17th November 1869, p. 5.

¹⁵⁶ *DEP*, 16th September 1841, p. 3.

¹⁵⁷ *DEM*, 24th May 1843, p. 2. At the time of disestablishment, the value of this deanery was £830 18s 6d per annum.

¹⁵⁸ *FJ*, 27th May 1843, p. 3.

¹⁵⁹ *SN*, 3rd June 1843, p. 2.

¹⁶⁰ *DEPC*, 23rd July 1844, p. 3.

¹⁶¹ *DEM*, 7th August 1846, p. 2.

Despite being appointed Dean of Leighlin in 1850, Tighe retained his appointment as Dean of the Chapel Royal,¹⁶² and seems to have prioritized his position in the Castle: following his appointment to Leighlin he stated in a letter to the press that he was present at the Chapel Royal ‘on almost every Sunday’.¹⁶³ One of Tighe’s contemporaries described him as a ‘highly smooth and polished divine...who lived in and sniffed up the Castle atmosphere for many a year’ and ‘looked a true ecclesiastical courtier’ (see Plate 22).¹⁶⁴ Tighe’s seventeen years of service were harmonious compared with the controversies of Vignoles’s time in office. This was no doubt a result of his polite nature: a contemporary press report stated that Tighe ‘never alarms noble lords or honourable gentlemen’ and ‘never shocks the feelings’,¹⁶⁵ and one of his successors described him as ‘a kind of tame cat about the Castle’.¹⁶⁶

1.3.3 Deans after 1860

In May 1860 the Earl of Carlisle appointed Tighe Dean of Derry, a lucrative preferment which was described in the press as ‘the richest deanery in Ireland’.¹⁶⁷ Charles Graves, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Dublin, was appointed his successor at the Chapel Royal in July 1860.¹⁶⁸ Graves was evidently energetic and dedicated to his work, and held the office of Dean alongside a Fellowship of Trinity College and the deanery of Clonfert.¹⁶⁹ He was appointed Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert and Aghadoe in 1866, and so was the first Dean of the Chapel to be nominated to the episcopal bench since William Bissett became Bishop of Raphoe in 1822.

¹⁶² *Dublin Mercantile Advertiser, and Weekly Price Current*, 8th March 1850, p. 2.

¹⁶³ *DEP*, 10th August 1850, p. 2.

¹⁶⁴ ‘A Native’ (Percy Hetherington Fitzgerald), *Recollections of Dublin Castle & of Dublin Society* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1902), 177.

¹⁶⁵ *SN*, 21st May 1860, p. 2.

¹⁶⁶ John Cotter Macdonnell, *The Life and Correspondence of William Connor Magee, Archbishop of York, Bishop of Peterborough* (London: Ibister and Co., 1896), 138.

¹⁶⁷ *SN*, 21st May 1860, p. 2. At disestablishment the deanery was valued at £1236 18s 3d.

¹⁶⁸ *DEM*, 27th July 1860, p. 3.

¹⁶⁹ NAI CSO/RP/1864/19005: ‘Graves, Dean: For permission to retain Fellowship in TCD as well as Deanery of Clonfert’, 13th September 1864.

Graves's successor was William Connor Magee, the Dean of Cork and grandson of two former Deans, William Magee and William Bissett.¹⁷⁰ W. C. Magee was unenthusiastic about his appointment as Dean of the Chapel Royal, which he said would 'add literally nothing to my income, and much to my work and responsibility'. His continuing to hold the deanery of Cork made it necessary that he should maintain a residence in both Dublin and Cork, an expense barely covered by the modest stipend paid to him as Dean of the Chapel Royal. However, though he had not been optimistic about opportunities for higher preferment that might arise from the appointment, just two years later he was appointed Bishop of Peterborough by Disraeli's government, and so became the first Irishman to be appointed bishop of an English see since the Reformation. He was appointed Archbishop of York in 1891, but died only weeks after his enthronement.¹⁷¹

By the time of W. C. Magee's appointment as Dean, the distinctions between the offices of Dean of the Chapel, Chaplain to the Household and First Chaplain were concrete. After his appointment in 1866, Magee consulted Charles Graves regarding his duties as Dean and recorded the following:

It seems I am (1) Dean of the Chapel Royal and (2) Chaplain to the household and (3) First Chaplain. The two former offices are permanent, the third vacates with the Lord-Lieutenancy. With the two former go the salary and residence, with the latter the confidential relations and advisership on matters ecclesiastical. I cannot see much use, and I do see much awkwardness, in my holding the two former without the latter after a change of Lord-Lieutenants.¹⁷²

These concerns were quickly actualized, as Earl Russell's Liberal ministry collapsed only weeks after Magee's appointment and a Conservative government came to power, which appointed the Tory Marquess of Abercorn as Lord Lieutenant in place of Lord Wodehouse, the Liberal who had appointed Magee. Abercorn appointed Hercules

¹⁷⁰ Lawlor, 'The Chapel of Dublin Castle' (1923), 71. Such dynastic successions were common in the Church of Ireland, and were arguably more the result of a small clerical gene-pool than a culture of nepotism.

¹⁷¹ Macdonnell, *Life and Correspondence of William Connor Magee*, 136, 198–99, 312.

¹⁷² Macdonnell, *Life and Correspondence of William Connor Magee*, 138.

Dickinson, Rector of St Ann's and Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal,¹⁷³ to be his First Chaplain,¹⁷⁴ and also created for Dickinson the new position of Almoner, the duty of which was to distribute charitable funds on the Lord Lieutenant's behalf.¹⁷⁵ A letter in the press claimed that the choice of Dickinson as First Chaplain was made 'to snub Dean Magee',¹⁷⁶ although this may have been an exaggeration, for Magee wrote that 'Lord Abercorn is not an unpleasant man to deal with personally, and means to be civil to me'.¹⁷⁷

Dickinson, who was not then forty years of age, was not a universally popular appointment as First Chaplain: a press report described him as 'an intemperate and disqualified Puritan' with 'neither the age, nor the discretion, nor the manner to fit him for such a delicate and confidential post'.¹⁷⁸ When Dickinson succeeded Magee as Dean of the Chapel Royal on the latter's episcopal elevation, press reports painted an unflattering picture of him as an intolerant anti-Catholic Orangeman.¹⁷⁹ Dickinson frequently courted controversy, and received a storm of criticism for his remarks in 1880 that poverty in the west of Ireland was 'due to the consumption of drink and to political agitation'.¹⁸⁰ He was the last Dean of the Chapel Royal appointed before the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, and was also the longest-serving: he held the office for almost thirty-seven years until his death in 1905, although he retired from active ministry in 1902.¹⁸¹ He preached for the last time in the Chapel Royal on 9th February 1902, and read morning prayer on St Patrick's Day 1902, which appears to have been the last time he officiated in the Chapel.¹⁸²

¹⁷³ See 1.3.4 below.

¹⁷⁴ *DEP*, 20th October 1866, p. 3.

¹⁷⁵ *FJ*, 12th October 1866, p. 3.

¹⁷⁶ *FJ*, 12th October 1866, p. 3.

¹⁷⁷ Macdonnell, *Life and Correspondence of William Connor Magee*, 141.

¹⁷⁸ *FJ*, 12th October 1866, p. 3.

¹⁷⁹ *DEP*, 28th December 1868, p. 4.

¹⁸⁰ *FJ*, 26th October 1880, p. 3.

¹⁸¹ *Warder and Dublin Weekly Mail*, 16th August 1902, p. 5.

¹⁸² RCB P.0129.08.1.

During the period between Dickinson's retirement and death, the Sub-Dean, Reginald Godfrey Michael Webster, was made 'Acting Dean',¹⁸³ and also undertook the duties of Almoner,¹⁸⁴ although he was not officially appointed to the latter office until 1912.¹⁸⁵ Webster was thus Dickinson's natural successor as Dean, although since he was the first new Dean to be appointed since disestablishment there was some question as to whether the Lord Lieutenant had the right to make such an ecclesiastical appointment.¹⁸⁶ By the time of Dickinson's death the style 'First Chaplain' had long ceased to be used,¹⁸⁷ and so the officials who discussed the appointment of his successor considered there to be two distinct offices of Chaplain to the Castle (to which the salary was attached), and Dean of the Chapel Royal, an honorary office.¹⁸⁸

Webster died suddenly in 1913 whilst playing golf in Malahide,¹⁸⁹ and was succeeded by the Sub-Dean Charles O'Hara Mease, who was also Rector of Castleknock.¹⁹⁰ A long connexion existed between the vicerealty and the clergy of Castleknock parish owing to the Viceregal Lodge's being in that parish.¹⁹¹ As we shall see (1.4.1), Mease's death in May 1922 coincided with a period of uncertainty about the Chapel's future, and because no new appointment to this position was made before the abolition of the Lord Lieutenancy in December 1922, Mease was to be the last holder of the office of Dean.

¹⁸³ NAI CSO/RP/1904/7923 (contained in NAI CSO/RP/1904/19357): F. Cullinan in reply to Audit Office query, 4th May 1904.

¹⁸⁴ *IT*, 16th October 1903, p. 3.

¹⁸⁵ NAI CSO/RP/1912/2987: 'Dean Webster to be Almoner', 17th February 1912.

¹⁸⁶ See p. 68.

¹⁸⁷ Despite the style 'First Chaplain' having fallen out of use, Lawlor claimed that Dean Mease was obliged formally to renounce that style on the appointment of the Roman Catholic Viscount FitzAlan as Lord Lieutenant in 1921: Lawlor, 'The Chapel of Dublin Castle' (1923), 60.

¹⁸⁸ NAUK CO/904/180/1, p. 156–59 (formerly NAI CSO/RP/1905/12806): memorandum concerning appointment of the Dean of the Chapel Royal, 23rd June 1905.

¹⁸⁹ *DDE*, 19th May 1913, p. 5.

¹⁹⁰ *DDE*, 24th May 1913, p. 5.

¹⁹¹ *DEP*, 13th August 1846, p. 3.

1.3.4 Sub-Deans after 1857

William Henry Le Fanu, Rector of St Paul's, was given the exceptional appointment of 'Assistant Chaplain to the Dean of the Chapel Royal' in 1852,¹⁹² and his appointment as Sub-Dean in 1857 was the first such appointment since Vignoles's in 1831.¹⁹³ However, the transfer of the salary of the Chaplain to the Castle to the Dean during Vignoles's tenure meant that the office of Sub-Dean was now merely the Dean's deputy, with no official salary attached. Lawlor claimed that he was unaware of what provision was made from the Sub-Dean's salary between 1852 and 1866, but that 'from 1866 the office was honorary till about 1880'.¹⁹⁴ This claim is contradicted by W. C. Magee's mention of the 'arrangements as to duty and income' made for the Sub-Dean in 1866, which may indicate that Magee paid the Sub-Dean out of his own private funds.¹⁹⁵

The press report concerning Dickinson's appointment as Dean in 1868 claimed that he would receive £135 per annum, from which figure the Sub-Dean's salary was to be deducted.¹⁹⁶ A subsequent report printed the correct figure as per the estimates for the Lord Lieutenant's household (£184 12s 8d); it may be that £135 was the figure received by the Dean after the deduction of the Sub-Dean's salary (and not before, as reported), which would indicate that the Sub-Dean received a salary of around £50.¹⁹⁷ Sub-Deans received an official salary from 1888 onwards, when Dean Dickinson asked the Lord Lieutenant to appoint the Sub-Dean (whose office, he noted, had 'no salary attached') to the office of Reading Clerk, which came with a salary of £41 10s.¹⁹⁸ As we have seen (1.1.2), a clerk had

¹⁹² *Morning Chronicle* (London), 28th October 1852, p. 7.

¹⁹³ NAI CSO/RP/1857/1412: 'Lord Lt.: Rev. W. J. H. Le Fanu appd Sub Dean Chapel Royal', 17th February 1857; *JN*, 19th February 1857, p. 3.

¹⁹⁴ Lawlor, 'The Chapel of Dublin Castle' (1923), 57.

¹⁹⁵ Macdonnell, *Life and Correspondence of William Connor Magee*, 135.

¹⁹⁶ *DDE*, 20th October 1868, p. 2.

¹⁹⁷ *The Evening Freeman*, 21st October 1868, p. 2.

¹⁹⁸ NAUK CO/904/180/1, p. 132–39 (formerly NAI CSO/RP/1888/4443): 'Dickinson, Dean: Chapel Royal, Rev. R. P. Graves to be Reader', 22nd February 1888. Lawlor's guess that this appointment occurred 'about 1880' suggests that he did not have access to this document, which, like that concerning William Magee's appointment as Dean in 1822 (NAUK CO/904/180/1, p. 256), had at some stage before 1922 been removed from the records of the Chief Secretary's Office.

been employed in the Castle chapel from at least the early eighteenth century, and Lawlor suggested that the office of Reading Clerk was a direct successor to this earlier appointment.¹⁹⁹

After the revival of the office of Sub-Dean, it was held by several clergymen in quick succession. Le Fanu resigned within a year of his appointment,²⁰⁰ and was succeeded for a brief period by William Digby Sadleir,²⁰¹ Senior Fellow of Trinity College, who resigned in March 1858.²⁰² Sadleir was replaced by James Gwynne, curate of St Ann's, who served only for six months.²⁰³ (Neither Sadleir nor Gwynne appears on Lawlor's succession list: see Appendix B.) Gwynne's successor was Edward Singleton Abbott, Rector of St Mary's; he was appointed in October 1858,²⁰⁴ and held the position for almost seven years until his death in June 1865.²⁰⁵ By this time the appointment of the Sub-Dean was made by the Dean,²⁰⁶ presumably subject to the approval of the Lord Lieutenant.

Future Dean Hercules Dickinson was appointed Sub-Dean in succession to Abbott in June 1865.²⁰⁷ Dickinson apparently resigned this appointment when he was appointed First Chaplain to the Marquess of Abercorn in October 1866, and was replaced by Robert Perceval Graves, elder brother of Dean Charles Graves.²⁰⁸ R. P. Graves was Professor of Latin and Vice-Warden of Alexandra College, although he held no other church appointments and so devoted much of his time to his work at the Chapel Royal, where he attended almost every service.²⁰⁹ This arrangement no doubt suited W. C. Magee, who only spent part of the year in Dublin and the rest of his time in Cork.²¹⁰

¹⁹⁹ Lawlor, 'The Chapel of Dublin Castle' (1923), 55.

²⁰⁰ Last mentioned as Sub-Dean in *DEPC*, 5th March 1857, p. 2.

²⁰¹ First mentioned as Sub-Dean in *DEP*, 11th March 1858, p. 3.

²⁰² *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 1st April 1858, p. 9.

²⁰³ *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 1st April 1858, p. 9; *SN*, 26th October 1858, p. 3.

²⁰⁴ *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 1st October 1858, p. 14. This date is missing from Lawlor's succession list.

²⁰⁵ *DEM*, 12th June 1865, p. 2.

²⁰⁶ *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 1st October 1858, p. 14. This date is missing from Lawlor's succession list.

²⁰⁷ *SN*, 28th June 1865, p. 3.

²⁰⁸ *DEP*, 20th October 1866, p. 3; Lawlor, 'The Chapel of Dublin Castle' (1923), 71.

²⁰⁹ RCB P.0129.08.1.

²¹⁰ Macdonnell, *Life and Correspondence of William Connor Magee*, 135.

Graves died in 1893 at the age of eighty-four,²¹¹ and was succeeded as Sub-Dean by future Dean, R. G. M. Webster.²¹² Webster apparently received a further salary as ‘Succentor’, presumably for intoning at the choral service (see 3.3.2 below). He later served as Acting Dean, initially during Dickinson’s absence (perhaps through illness) in 1899,²¹³ and again following Dickinson’s retirement from ministry in 1902 (see 1.3.3 above). On Webster’s appointment as Dean in 1905, he was succeeded as Sub-Dean by Charles O’Hara Mease.²¹⁴ When Mease was appointed Dean following Webster’s death in 1913, he was succeeded as Sub-Dean by H. J. Lawlor.²¹⁵ Lawlor’s salary was £80.²¹⁶

Lawlor was Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Dublin, and also Precentor of St Patrick’s Cathedral (he succeeded Dean Dickinson in this post in 1902).²¹⁷ Lawlor continued to minister in the Chapel Royal after Dean Mease’s death until the Chapel was closed at the end of 1922 (see 1.4.1 below), and for several years he vainly lobbied the Irish government to reopen the Chapel (see 1.4.2 below). He played an important role in documenting the history of the Chapel following its closure, and also ensured the preservation of a number of books from the Chapel, including the contents of the music library (see 4.2.3 below) and two books he donated to the Representative Church Body Library.²¹⁸

²¹¹ *IT*, 23rd October 1893, p. 7.

²¹² NAUK CO/904/180/1, p. 131–32 (formerly NAI CSO/RP/1893/12627): ‘Appointment of Rev’d R. G. Webster as Reader, Chapel Royal’, 5th October 1893; NAUK CO/904/180/1, p. 184 (formerly NAI CSO/RP/1893/13334): ‘Apptt of Rev’d G. Webster as Sub-Dean, Chapel Royal’, 24th October 1893.

²¹³ *DDE*, 22nd February 1899, p. 6.

²¹⁴ NAUK CO/904/180/1, p. 128 (formerly NAI CSO/RP/1905/14426): ‘Appt. by H.E. of Rev. C. W. O’H. Mease as Sub Dean’, 13th July 1905.

²¹⁵ NAUK CO/904/180/1, p. 101 (formerly NAI CSO/RP/1913/18737): ‘Rev. H. J. Lawlor to be Reader & Sub Dean of Chapel Royal’, 11th October 1913.

²¹⁶ UCDA P4/501, p. 10: ‘Application for an Annuity by the Sub-Dean, Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle, to the Land Commission’, November 1923.

²¹⁷ C. J. Woods, ‘Lawlor, Hugh Jackson’, *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, eds James McGuire and James Quinn, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

²¹⁸ RCB P.0129.08.1 (Preachers’ Book) and P.0129.28.1 (MS volume of music by Sir John Stevenson).

1.4 The last years of the Chapel Royal and the building after independence

1.4.1 Disestablishment, Home Rule and independence

As we have seen (1.2.2), the Chapel Royal was established in the early nineteenth century as part of a project of viceregal image-making. Throughout the century, the government's continued investment in the Chapel was imperative for the maintenance of the public image of the viceregal court. The preservation of the Lord Lieutenancy depended on the support of the middle classes, both Catholic and Protestant, nationalist and Unionist,²¹⁹ and so the Chapel's role in providing regular interaction between the viceregal court and the general public became increasingly important with the growth of genteel Protestant nationalism after the foundation of the Home Government Association (the precursor of the Irish Parliamentary Party) in 1870, a movement which went on to dominate Irish politics for half a century.

In spite of the promise in the Acts of Union that the union of the churches of England and Ireland would 'remain in full force for ever' (see p. 34), the Irish Church Act of 1869 legislated for the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, which was effected from 1st January 1871. This severing of the legal connexion between the church and state left the Chapel Royal in an anomalous position. A London musical periodical argued for the Chapel's preservation for the sake of its musical tradition, regardless of the official religion of the state or the personal faith of the Lord Lieutenant:

There may be a Roman Catholic representative of Royalty in Dublin Castle; an Excellency of this faith must have his chapel, and we presume his will in this matter would produce little or no dissatisfaction.

²¹⁹ Peter Gray and Olwen Purdue, introduction to *The Irish Lord Lieutenancy*, 1–14 (7).

The author of this piece drew parallels between the English Chapel Royal and the Dublin Chapel, and perhaps unwisely admitted his ignorance of the musical establishment in Dublin:

What has been done by the composers of our English Chapels Royal is known on all sides, but of what has been done in the Irish Chapel Royal we know little or nothing; but we deeply regret to record that there is a possibility of the total abolition of this inestimable foundation in Ireland.²²⁰

A Dublin newspaper published a vitriolic riposte to this piece, offering the above writer some of his opinions about the Chapel, a ‘symbol of Ascendancy...which he so ignorantly worships’:

It was built out of the money of the Irish people; it is decorated and kept in repair by the Board of Works out of the same money; its chief use is to be a spot for jobbery...of the Irish Establishment; its services are Puritanical to the last degree, its vestments, the Genevan black gown; there is no attempt at choral worship; even the psalms are not chanted.²²¹

The last claim in this damning account is inaccurate, since, as we shall see (4.3.2), the psalms were chanted and ‘choral worship’ was certainly practised in this period.²²² Such ill-informed comments imply that beyond certain circles the existence of a choral foundation at the Chapel was a well-kept secret.²²³

Though the continuation of state funding for the Chapel following disestablishment contravened the principle of separation of church and state, little public discussion concerning this issue occurred until 1886 when the Earl of Aberdeen, a Presbyterian, was appointed Lord Lieutenant. Irish nationalist member of parliament Timothy Healy proposed that the government should pay a Presbyterian clergyman to act as chaplain to Aberdeen, and asked whether there would be any legal impediment to the use of the

²²⁰ ‘Her Majesty’s Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle’, *The Orchestra*, 12th December 1868, p. 187.

²²¹ *DEP*, 22nd December 1868, p. 3.

²²² See 4.3.2 below.

²²³ See Conclusion.

Chapel Royal for Presbyterian worship, and if the appointment of future deans of the Chapel Royal would take into account the fact that ‘all Viceroys may not in future belong to the disestablished religion in Ireland’. The Chief Secretary replied that Aberdeen was satisfied with the services of the Dean of the Chapel Royal as his ex-officio chaplain, and that although he would be happy to receive funds for the appointment of a Presbyterian chaplain, he was also satisfied to attend Presbyterian worship at any of the several Presbyterian churches in Dublin.²²⁴ Aberdeen later appointed the Rev’d W. Fleming Stevenson, minister of Rathgar Presbyterian Church, as his Honorary Chaplain,²²⁵ and attended services at Rutland Square Presbyterian Church.²²⁶

Following Aberdeen’s appointment, some members of parliament objected to the £789 paid by the government for the running of the Chapel Royal, claiming that such expenditure was ‘pure waste’ if the Lord Lieutenant would not attend worship there on account of his belonging to a different denomination. A counter-argument was made that the continuation of the Chapel Royal was necessary so that the office of Lord Lieutenant might be ‘maintained in all the state and dignity belonging to a representative of Royalty’—an overt acknowledgement of the Chapel’s image-making *raison d’être*. The Chief Secretary reported that Aberdeen had ‘received considerable edification from the ministrations at the Chapel Royal’ and ‘would on no account desire any interference with this usage’.²²⁷

Although he was the first Lord Lieutenant whose religion provoked parliamentary discussions about the status of the Chapel Royal, Aberdeen was not actually the first Presbyterian to hold the office. The Earl of Haddington, who had served as Lord

²²⁴ *FJ*, 9th March 1886, p. 6.

²²⁵ *DDE*, 26th May 1886, p. 5.

²²⁶ *FJ*, 9th March 1886, p. 5.

²²⁷ *London Evening Standard*, 14th September 1886, p. 2.

Lieutenant from January to April 1835, was a member of the Church of Scotland.²²⁸ There are at least three possible reasons why his religion was not widely discussed at the time. Firstly, the constitutional anomaly of Presbyterianism's being established in Scotland and Episcopalianism's in Ireland seems to have required office holders to conform to the religion of the jurisdiction in which they happened to be serving. Secondly, it was Irish nationalist members who began the parliamentary debate about Aberdeen's religion in 1886, whereas in 1835 there had been no vocal Irish nationalist faction in parliament. Finally, Haddington served only very briefly, although, as we shall see (4.3.2), he created a minor controversy by banning the chanting of the psalms in the Chapel Royal.

The Earl of Aberdeen's first viceroyalty lasted only five months, and came to an end with the collapse of W. E. Gladstone's administration as a result of the rejection of the first Home Rule bill by the House of Commons. Aberdeen was a strong supporter of Home Rule, particularly during his second viceroyalty (1905–15),²²⁹ during which the third Home Rule bill was passed and subsequently suspended. All four Home Rule bills (1886, 1893, 1914, 1920) provided for the preservation of the Lord Lieutenant as the executive head of the devolved Irish legislature.

After 1871, Dean Hercules Dickinson enjoyed the peculiar distinction of continuing to receive a government salary whilst all the other clergy of the Church of Ireland were paid by the new Representative Church Body of the disestablished church. Dickinson allegedly called himself 'the only established clergyman in Ireland' owing to this anomaly.²³⁰ Dickinson's other employment as Vicar of St Ann's and Precentor of St Patrick's ensured that he also played a role in the disestablished church, although he was invariably known as 'Dean of the Chapel Royal' even in his capacity as a member of the General Synod of the

²²⁸ H. C. G. Matthew, 'Hamilton, Thomas, Ninth Earl of Haddington (1780–1858)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (www.oxforddnb.com, accessed 29th August 2018).

²²⁹ Éimear O'Connor, '(Ad)dressing Home Rule', *Making Majesty: The Throne Room at Dublin Castle*, 237–63 (252).

²³⁰ Charles Villiers Stanford, *Pages from an Unwritten Diary* (London: Edward Arnold, 1914), 13.

Church of Ireland. It was not possible to alter the constitution of the Chapel while Dickinson continued to hold the office, since, according to the Chief Secretary, ‘the services at the Chapel Royal, Dublin, by law rests [sic.] with the Dean. The present dean holds his office for life’.²³¹ Dickinson was a vociferous opponent of Home Rule, and in the run-up to the introduction of the second Home Rule bill in parliament in early 1893 he wrote a strongly worded letter to Basil Wilberforce, Rector of Southampton, claiming that Home Rule would establish Catholic hegemony in Ireland. Wilberforce was incensed by the tone of Dickinson’s letter, which he forwarded to Gladstone with a note repeating the remarks of prominent Liberal Unionist Joseph Chamberlain: ‘the time has come to reform altogether the irritating anachronism which is known as Dublin Castle’.²³²

Dickinson held the office of Dean for almost four decades, and by the time of his death in 1905 the Chapel Royal was so firmly established as part of the fabric of the Irish state that there was no doubt a successor would be appointed, although questions were asked whether the Lord Lieutenant had the power to appoint a clergyman without consulting either the Lord Primate (the Archbishop of Armagh) or the Archbishop of Dublin.²³³ This acknowledgement of episcopal jurisdiction reflected the changed relationship between the Chapel, the Church of Ireland and the state as a result of disestablishment, and was further evidence of the anomalous position of the Chapel, which could not be considered a royal peculiar in a kingdom without an established church.

Almost twenty years after his brief first viceroyalty, the Earl of Aberdeen was reappointed in 1905. He held the office for almost ten years, the longest term served by any Lord Lieutenant. As with his first viceroyalty, Aberdeen continued to support the maintenance of the Chapel Royal, although he attended Rutland Square Presbyterian

²³¹ *FJ*, 9th March 1886, p. 6.

²³² BL Add. MS 44515, p. 91: Basil Wilberforce to William E. Gladstone, 5th July 1892.

²³³ NAUK CO/904/180/1, p. 156–59 (formerly NAI CSO/RP/1905/12806): memorandum concerning appointment of the Dean of the Chapel Royal, 23rd June 1905.

Church frequently.²³⁴ The passage of the third Home Rule bill in 1914 caused the status of the Chapel Royal to be discussed once again in the press, and controversy erupted concerning the fate of the Communion silver allegedly presented by William III (see 1.1.3 above) in the event of the Chapel's being turned over to Roman Catholic worship by a Home Rule administration.

James H. Walsh, Dean of Christ Church Cathedral, sought assurances from Dean Mease of the Chapel Royal that the plate would be 'returned' to the cathedral if such a situation arose, claiming that the plate had belonged to Christ Church prior to the opening of the Chapel in 1814.²³⁵ Mease claimed instead that the plate had been not lent but transferred to the Chapel, which had by then been its accustomed home for almost a century.²³⁶ Mease refused to be drawn into speculation concerning what might happen to the Chapel Royal following the establishment of a Home Rule government, and would not commit to the transfer of the plate to Christ Church in the event of the Chapel's being turned to Roman Catholic use. This angered Walsh, who accused Mease of being 'disloyal to the Church of Ireland'.²³⁷ Some months later, after having consulted the Lord Lieutenant,²³⁸ Mease sent a conciliatory letter to Walsh, promising that

in the event of the Chapel Royal being no longer required for the services of the Church of Ireland, if I am Dean and custodian of the plate at the time, I shall do all in my power to preserve it for the use of the Church of Ireland.²³⁹

The suspension of the Home Rule act as a result of the outbreak of war caused the debate about the Chapel's future to die down for several years. Section 37 of the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 (the fourth Home Rule bill) stated that 'no subject of

²³⁴ *FJ*, 28th April 1921, p. 2.

²³⁵ Roy Byrne, 'The Chapel Royal, Christ Church Cathedral and the Silver-Gilt Altar Plate', *The Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle: An Architectural History*, 107–21 (113).

²³⁶ *DDE*, 30th December 1913, p. 2.

²³⁷ NAUK CO/904/180/1, p. 90: copy of James H. Walsh, Dean of Christ Church, to Charles O'Hara Mease, Dean of the Chapel Royal, 27th February 1914.

²³⁸ NAUK CO/904/180/1, p. 77: Earl of Aberdeen to Sir James Dougherty, Under-Secretary, 2nd June 1914.

²³⁹ NAUK CO/904/180/1, p. 73: Charles O'Hara Mease to James H. Walsh, 24th August 1914.

His Majesty shall be disqualified for holding the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on account of his religious belief. This change made the appointment of a Roman Catholic Lord Lieutenant inevitable, and in April 1921 Viscount FitzAlan of Derwent was appointed. Despite his religion, since he was a Tory and staunch Unionist, his appointment was derided in the Irish press as a ‘farcical olive branch’.²⁴⁰ FitzAlan’s religion caused a press report to ask the question: ‘Why, if the Protestant character of the Viceroy’s office is abandoned, should a minor appendage of it [i.e., the Chapel Royal] be maintained out of the public purse?’²⁴¹ This report stated that the Chapel was

the only relic of Establishment that has survived Mr Gladstone’s measure of 1869 [i.e. the Irish Church Act], and it has so far only survived because the Protestantism of the Viceroy which survived both the Emancipation and Disestablishment was still rendered obligatory by an Act of Parliament.²⁴²

Whereas Aberdeen had been content to attend the Chapel Royal occasionally, as a Roman Catholic FitzAlan was forbidden to attend non-Roman Catholic services. The press reported that FitzAlan intended to convert one of the rooms in the Viceregal Lodge for use as a Roman Catholic chapel, although it is not certain if this was carried out.²⁴³ It appears that although FitzAlan did not attend services at the Chapel Royal, he attended at least one organ recital there.²⁴⁴ FitzAlan’s religion did not affect the continuation of worship at the Chapel Royal according to the forms of the Church of Ireland, and services continued to take place throughout the unrest of the War of Independence.

During the Irish War of Independence (1919–21), the Chapel’s location at the centre of the besieged government headquarters evidently caused difficulty for the clergy and choir, as a poignant note in one of the Chapel Royal choir part-books demonstrates: beside the score of Purcell’s anthem ‘Rejoice in the Lord’ is written ‘Performed in Chapel Royal

²⁴⁰ *FJ*, 9th April 1921, p. 1.

²⁴¹ *FJ*, 28th April 1921, p. 2.

²⁴² *FJ*, 28th April 1921, p. 2.

²⁴³ *FJ*, 28th April 1921, p. 2.

²⁴⁴ *IT*, 11th March 1922, p. 6.

23/x/21 under Great Difficulties'.²⁴⁵ What precisely these difficulties may have been is uncertain from the newspaper reports of subsequent days, although one report stated that the Dublin Castle government had begun to concede control of policing to the so-called 'Sinn Féin police', suggesting that law and order in Dublin were in a state of crisis whilst the negotiations which ultimately led to the Anglo-Irish Treaty were underway.²⁴⁶

On 28th November 1920, a memorial service was held in the Chapel for the officers murdered in Dublin on 'Bloody Sunday' (21st November 1920), the music including 'Comfort ye my people' from Handel's *Messiah*, the hymn 'For all the saints', and Chopin's Funeral March. A press report concerning this service demonstrates the personal loss felt by members of the community within Dublin Castle as a result of assassinations by revolutionary forces, an aspect of the conflict frequently absent in later nationalist accounts. Amidst the otherwise elegiac musical items was the National Anthem, which alone in this service of commemoration pointed beyond the sense of tragedy and loss to a more overtly political spirit of struggle and defiance.²⁴⁷

The Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed on 6th December 1921, and the prospect of Irish independence seemed to signal the end for the Chapel Royal. Shortly after the signing of the Treaty, Dean Mease wrote a poignant letter pleading for assurance that his income would be protected until his death, and that the organist and choir would be compensated for their loss of income when the Chapel was closed.²⁴⁸ The establishment of a Provisional Government as per the terms of the Treaty was marked by the symbolic handover of Dublin Castle to Michael Collins, Chairman of the Provisional Government, on 16th January 1922. In spite of this, the Castle continued to function largely as before until Viscount FitzAlan left office in December 1922.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁵ Loft book TDecD, p. 39.

²⁴⁶ *Northern Whig*, 28th October 1921, p. 5.

²⁴⁷ *IT*, 29th November 1920, p. 6.

²⁴⁸ NAUK CO/904/180/1, p. 51–4: Charles O'Hara Mease to Mr Power, 30th December 1921.

²⁴⁹ T. M. Healy, *Letters and Leaders of My Day*, vol. ii (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1928), 650.

For a time it was thought by Castle officials that the Chapel Royal and the State Apartments would remain under the control of the king's representative in Ireland even after the establishment of the Free State.²⁵⁰ Services continued in the Chapel Royal, and when Dean Mease died in May 1922 FitzAlan was keen to appoint a successor. His private secretary wrote on 6th June:

Owing to the death of Dean Mease...the Lord Lieutenant is anxious to know what has been the procedure in the past for the appointment of a Dean to the Chapel Royal.²⁵¹

Following internal deliberations, however, it was decided 'to wait until the Irish Free State is fully established before filling the vacancy caused by the death of Dean Mease'.²⁵² In the absence of a successor for Mease, Sub-Dean H. J. Lawlor took over the running of the Chapel.

Owing to the disbandment of the Royal Irish Constabulary guard at Dublin Castle in mid-1922, arrangements were made to transfer the Chapel Royal Communion silver to Christ Church Cathedral for safe-keeping.²⁵³ When services at the Chapel Royal recommenced in October 1922 after the usual summer break (in spite of the outbreak of civil war the previous June), H. J. Lawlor contacted the Dean of Christ Church to request the return of two silver Communion cups which had been transferred by mistake to Christ Church along with the valuable Williamite Communion silver. The Dean of Christ Church wrote to the Under-Secretary:

Owing to the present uncertainty [Dr Lawlor] is carrying on the Services by arrangement with the Authorities at the Castle, though under restrictions which appear unavoidable in the present circumstances, and he needs the

²⁵⁰ NAUK CO/904/180/1, p. 65: minute from C. Martin-Jones to Stephen Tallents, Secretary to Viscount FitzAlan, 15th June 1922.

²⁵¹ NAUK CO/904/180/1, p. 48: minute from Stephen Tallents, Secretary to Viscount FitzAlan, to C. Martin-Jones, 6th June 1922.

²⁵² NAUK CO/904/180/1, p. 27–31: 'Memorandum on the position in regard to the Chapel of the Castle of Dublin, and the Office of Dean of the Chapel Royal', 24th June 1922.

²⁵³ RCB C6.5.5.14: James MacMahon, Under-Secretary, to Herbert Kennedy, Dean of Christ Church Cathedral, 26th May 1922.

Communion Plate so long as he is permitted to continue to hold Services in the Chapel.²⁵⁴

The Lord Lieutenancy was abolished on 6th December 1922 concomitant with the establishment of the Irish Free State. With no Lord Lieutenant, the Chapel ceased to serve any constitutional role. It seems that final service took place on Christmas Day 1922, 108 years to the day after the first service, without any indication in the press that it would be the last: a press report two days later stated that ‘Christmas was duly observed in the Chapel Royal on Monday morning, when a Service was conducted by the Sub-Dean, the Rev. Dr. Lawlor’.²⁵⁵ The sudden abandonment of the Chapel may have been the result of practical concerns, with threats of violence making the continuation of services difficult or impossible: the remaining British troops stationed in Dublin (including the garrison at the Viceregal Lodge) left Ireland between 13th and 17th December,²⁵⁶ and early in 1923 the Chapel was vandalized, perhaps by combatants in the Civil War.²⁵⁷

Lawlor was informed by the Colonial Office on 1st February 1923 that his salary and those of the organist and choir would no longer be paid.²⁵⁸ On 16th March, Lawlor called on Hugh Kennedy, Attorney General of the Irish Free State, to ask him to speak with members of the Free State government concerning the future of the Chapel Royal and its employees.²⁵⁹ The Free State Department of Finance considered the Chapel Royal staff to have been employees of the Crown (a view with which Lawlor concurred). Kennedy made efforts to persuade the UK Treasury to compensate them for the loss of their ‘very small

²⁵⁴ RCB C6.5.5.19: Herbert Kennedy to James MacMahon, 12th October 1922.

²⁵⁵ *IT*, 27th December 1922, p. 6.

²⁵⁶ *IT*, 1st January 1923, p. 6.

²⁵⁷ NAI TSCH/3/S2129: Hugh Kennedy, Attorney General of the Irish Free State, to the Acting Secretary of the Law Officer’s Department, 12th March 1923.

²⁵⁸ UCDA P4/501, p. 8: draft of letter to the Secretary of the Land Commission (Church Property Branch), sent by H. J. Lawlor to Hugh Kennedy, 29th November 1923.

²⁵⁹ UCDA P4/501, p. 1: H. J. Lawlor to Hugh Kennedy, 23rd March 1923.

stipends', but was unsuccessful.²⁶⁰ The Archbishop of Armagh, Charles D'Arcy, allegedly proposed that the Chapel Royal might continue to operate in Dublin with funds provided by the Crown as an 'expression of the fact that the monarchy is a Christian institution', but such funds were not forthcoming.²⁶¹

Subsequent to the termination of his employment as Sub-Dean, Lawlor made a claim for an annuity under the terms of the Irish Church Act.²⁶² It appears that he hoped such an annuity might persuade the Free State government to allow him to recommence services in the Chapel Royal.²⁶³ No further correspondence on the matter survives, and so it is not known whether Lawlor's annuity claim was successful. Organist W. E. Hopkins contacted the Southern Irish Loyalists' Relief Association in the hope of securing financial assistance for some of the elderly members of the choir who were in financial difficulty as a result of the termination of their employment, but the result of this appeal is not recorded.²⁶⁴

1.4.2 The Chapel after independence

A new office of Governor-General was created for the Irish Free State, a role which had similar executive functions to those formerly held by the Lord Lieutenant. The continuity between these offices was noted by the outgoing Lord Lieutenant, Viscount FitzAlan, who referred to the incoming Governor-General as his 'successor'.²⁶⁵ The first Governor-General, the Cork-born veteran nationalist politician Timothy Healy, cemented this parallel in the minds of the public by accepting the government's invitation to reside in the

²⁶⁰ UCDA P4/501, p. 2: Hugh Kennedy to Sir Francis Greer, HM Treasury, concerning H. J. Lawlor's claims as Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal, 18th June 1923; UCDA P4/501, p. 4: Sir Francis Greer to Hugh Kennedy, 21st June 1923.

²⁶¹ R. B. McDowell, *The Church of Ireland 1869–1969* (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), 139.

²⁶² UCDA P4/501, p. 8: draft of letter to the Secretary of the Land Commission (Church Property Branch), sent by H. J. Lawlor to Hugh Kennedy, 29th November 1923. The Irish Land Commission had absorbed the Church Temporalities Commission under the terms of the Irish Church Amendment Act 1881.

²⁶³ UCDA P4/501, p. 6: H. J. Lawlor to Hugh Kennedy, 8th November 1923.

²⁶⁴ PRONI CAB/9/R/13, p. 5–6: Major I. H. G. White, Southern Irish Loyalists' Relief Association, to Sir Dawson Bates, Northern Ireland Minister of Home Affairs, undated (c. March 1924).

²⁶⁵ *The Scotsman*, 8th December 1922, p. 5.

Viceregal Lodge in the Phoenix Park. However, the Governor-Generalship was in fact significantly different to the office it replaced in that the ceremonial aspects of the Lord Lieutenancy were not carried over. Shortly before his swearing-in, Healy was asked whether there would be any ‘Viceregal State formalities’ attached to the Governor-Generalship, to which he replied, ‘I hope not.’²⁶⁶

In the summer of 1923, the secretary of the Minister for Local Government wrote to Attorney General Hugh Kennedy forwarding a letter from Nellie O’Brien concerning a possible use for the Chapel and asking whether the Chapel was then being used for services. O’Brien’s letter does not survive, and so it is not clear what her proposal was. Kennedy replied to the Minister, stating that the Chapel was ‘simply closed for want of services and of officiating ministers’ as a result of the dismissal of the Sub-Dean, organist and choir earlier that year, and that he objected strongly to the idea of using the Chapel either as a courtroom or as a Roman Catholic church. He felt that the only use to which it could then be put was for ‘recitals of sacred music’, although he thought Nellie O’Brien’s proposal ‘would be excellent’.²⁶⁷ As O’Brien was a Gaelic League activist and Vice-President of the Irish Guild of the Church (a group which promoted the Irish language in the Church of Ireland), it seems likely that she suggested the Chapel be used for Irish-language services.

Shortly after this, Lawlor wrote to Kennedy in an effort to persuade him to lobby the Free State government to reopen the Chapel on the first Sunday of October 1923, ‘the ordinary day for resuming the services after the Long Vacation’.²⁶⁸ Kennedy replied to Lawlor informing him that the reopening of the Chapel was very unlikely, since it was low on the list of priorities for the government, which was then facing an imminent election.

²⁶⁶ *IT*, 6th December 1922, p. 6.

²⁶⁷ UCDA P4/795, p. 1–2: Hugh Kennedy to Ernest Blythe, Minister for Local Government, 21st July 1923.

²⁶⁸ UCDA P4/795, p. 6–7: H. J. Lawlor to Hugh Kennedy, 4th August 1923.

He promised Lawlor, however, that there was ‘no proposal so far entertained for any secular use of the Chapel Royal’.²⁶⁹

Between early 1923 and late 1926, the Chapel was used as a store-room for the records of the Chief Secretary’s Office.²⁷⁰ In September 1926 these documents were transferred to the State Paper Office in the Record Tower, Dublin Castle, by order of W. T. Cosgrave, President of the Executive Council (Free State prime minister).²⁷¹ Once these papers were cleared out of the Chapel, the Department of Justice requested use of the building,²⁷² and in 1927 the Chapel was temporarily converted into a law court to deal with a backlog of Circuit Court appeals.²⁷³ A correspondent in the press condemned this repurposing as a ‘monstrous proposal...worthy of the Bolsheviks’.²⁷⁴ The Chapel continued to be used occasionally as a court until September 1931.²⁷⁵ Both the Chapel and the State Apartments were opened to visitors in 1934.²⁷⁶

H. J. Lawlor continued to style himself Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal, apparently owing to his claim under the terms of the Irish Church Act that he could continue to use this title in an honorary capacity.²⁷⁷ In spite of advice from the Attorney General that there was little will amongst the Irish government to reopen the Chapel Royal,²⁷⁸ Lawlor continued to entertain the hope that the Chapel would be reopened for worship according to the rites of the Church of Ireland.²⁷⁹ In 1925, he wrote to the Commissioners of Public Works requesting that maintenance work be carried out in the Chapel, although a later

²⁶⁹ UCDA P4/795, p. 5: Hugh Kennedy to H. J. Lawlor, 10th August 1923.

²⁷⁰ UCDA P4/795, p. 6–7: H. J. Lawlor to Hugh Kennedy, 4th August 1923; NAI TSCH/3/S5064A: Charles James MacGarry, Assistant Keeper of the Records, 8th July 1926.

²⁷¹ NAI TSCH/3/4991: document signed by W. T. Cosgrave authorizing transfer of papers from Chapel Royal to State Paper Office, 30th September 1926.

²⁷² NAI TSCH/3/S5410: S. A. Roche, Assistant Secretary to the Department of Justice, to Michael McDunphy, Secretary to the Department of the President of the Executive Council, 7th April 1927.

²⁷³ *IT*, 14th April 1927, p. 5.

²⁷⁴ *IT*, 20th April 1927, p. 5.

²⁷⁵ NAI TSCH/3/S5410: ‘Dublin Castle: use of Chapel Royal as a court’, April 1927–May 1932.

²⁷⁶ *Irish Press*, 14th July 1934, p. 8.

²⁷⁷ UCDA P4/501, p. 2: Hugh Kennedy to Sir Francis Greer concerning H. J. Lawlor’s claims as Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal, 18th June 1923.

²⁷⁸ UCDA P4/795, p. 4: Hugh Kennedy to H. J. Lawlor concerning the future use of the Chapel Royal, 10th August 1923.

²⁷⁹ NAI TSCH/3/S2129: H. J. Lawlor to the Secretary of the Executive Council, 8th February 1926.

government memorandum noted that these works were carried out in fulfilment of the ordinary duties of the Commissioners of Public Works, and that Lawlor and the Church of Ireland had no official responsibility for the Chapel.²⁸⁰ However, Lawlor was notified by the government regarding proposed alterations to the Chapel, which demonstrated a respectful attitude by the government towards the Chapel's history.²⁸¹

The future of the Chapel was still in question in the late 1930s. A detailed letter from the Commissioners of Public Works of 24th September 1937 discussed the status of the Chapel, which was 'maintained as an object of interest to sight-seers', noting that the question of 'whether the building should be restored for worship, or put to any other use' was then under consideration.²⁸² Michael McDunphy, a senior civil servant, suggested that 'the Chapel Royal may be used again within a reasonable time for sacred purposes', although this was a 'matter on which no decision has yet been given'. It had been suggested to McDunphy that the Chapel organ could be used for concerts, but this was impractical owing to the 'small capacity of the Chapel' and the fact that the Castle was 'normally not open at night to the public'.²⁸³ (The fate of the organ in the post-independence period is discussed in 2.3.5 below.)

A long-term use for the Chapel Royal was finally found in 1943 when it was consecrated as a Roman Catholic church. The Catholic triumphalism which was subsequently displayed in the Chapel was no doubt a stage-managed reaction against the building's former use: although services at the Chapel in the viceregal period had been relatively low-key, ceremonial aspects such as the singing of the British National Anthem would have been anathema to the Catholic nationalists who ruled Ireland in the 1940s. The repurposing of the Chapel Royal as a Roman Catholic military church was not an

²⁸⁰ NAI TSCH/3/S9935: George P. Fagan, Commissioners of Public Works, to Secretary of the Department of Finance, 24th September 1937.

²⁸¹ NAI TSCH/3/S5410.

²⁸² NAI TSCH/3/S9935: George P. Fagan, Commissioners of Public Works, to Secretary of the Department of Finance, 24th September 1937.

²⁸³ NAI TSCH/3/S9935: memorandum from Michael McDunphy to T. S. C. Dagg, 20th November 1937.

expedient, but a conscious exercise in religious territorialism: the Chapel had never been a Roman Catholic church,²⁸⁴ and so, as we shall see, it was ‘conquered’ (as it were) by Ireland’s new spiritual rulers in a spectacle of Catholic ritual and military display.

The decision to repurpose the Chapel is not surprising, since the Roman Catholic hierarchy had developed considerable influence in the governance of the Irish state in the 1930s and 1940s. This development confirmed the worst fears of those Protestant opponents of Irish self-government who had feared that Home Rule would lead to ‘Rome Rule’. The conversion of the Chapel Royal and the former chapels of military barracks was part of ‘a process of reclaiming for Catholicism symbolic areas of Irish public life associated since the Reformation with the Protestant Ascendancy’, which was spearheaded by the ultra-ultramontanist Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, Dr John Charles McQuaid (see Plate 21).²⁸⁵

Two significant High Masses took place in the Chapel in 1943 and 1944, both attended by representatives of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, the Irish government and the army. In the midst of the Second World War, which for neutral Ireland was euphemistically termed ‘the Emergency’, these highly publicized occasions provided forcible propaganda for a young state which was increasingly aligning itself with Roman Catholic values. Some previous secondary accounts of the consecration and dedication of the Chapel as a military church have failed to note that these took place on two separate occasions a year apart, each overseen by Archbishop McQuaid: the consecration and the first High Mass took place on Whit Sunday, 13th June 1943,²⁸⁶ and the dedication of the

²⁸⁴ Hugh Kennedy had impressed this point on the government in the early 1920s: UCDA P4/795, p. 1–2:

Hugh Kennedy to Ernest Blythe, Minister for Local Government, 21st July 1923.

²⁸⁵ John Cooney, *John Charles McQuaid: Ruler of Catholic Ireland* (Dublin: The O’Brien Press, 1999), 172.

²⁸⁶ *IT*, 26th May 1943, p. 1; *IT*, 9th June 1943, p. 3; *IT*, 14th June 1943, p. 1; *Irish Press*, 14th June 1943, p. 1–2.

Chapel as the Church of the Most Holy Trinity took place on Trinity Sunday, 4th June 1944.²⁸⁷

Though it was not the official state church, the Roman Catholic Church was acknowledged in the 1937 Constitution of Ireland as having a ‘special position...as the guardian of the Faith professed by the great majority of the citizens’. McQuaid failed to persuade Taoiseach Éamon de Valera to insert a clause into the Constitution recognising Roman Catholicism as ‘the One True Church’,²⁸⁸ but after his appointment as Archbishop of Dublin in 1940 he set about cultivating a close association with the state. A press report concerning the consecration of the Chapel in 1943 noted that it was ‘more of a State than a Church function, invitations having been issued by the Minister for Defence’.²⁸⁹

It was reported in June 1943 that ‘no change has been made in the interior of the church’. The preservation of the building’s interior—including the names and coats of arms of the former Lords Lieutenant, and the seats set aside for the Lord Lieutenant and his household—added to the symbolism of overthrowing the old order: ‘The Royal pew and those of the Lord Chancellor, the Chief Secretary, the Under-Secretary, Peers and Peeresses, were empty.’ The High Mass which followed the consecration concluded with the singing of the hymn ‘Faith of our fathers’ in Irish.²⁹⁰ Aside from the symbolism of the use of the Irish language in the former Chapel of the British monarch’s representative in Ireland, the text of this hymn (which refers to the persecution of the Catholic faith by the established church) was a provocatively triumphalistic gesture by the Catholic authorities to the remnants of the Protestant Ascendancy, described by Michael McDunphy as ‘persons who may still regard [the Chapel] with a certain amount of veneration’.²⁹¹

²⁸⁷ *IT*, 2nd June 1944, p. 2; *IT*, 5th June 1944, p. 1.

²⁸⁸ Cooney, *John Charles McQuaid*, 99–100.

²⁸⁹ *IT*, 14th June 1943, p. 1.

²⁹⁰ *IT*, 14th June 1943, p. 1.

²⁹¹ NAI TSCH/3/S5410.

The dedication of the Chapel as ‘the Military Church of the Most Holy Trinity’ on Trinity Sunday 1944 seems to have been an even grander spectacle, and was certainly laden with symbolism.²⁹² Taoiseach Éamon de Valera took the place of the Lord Lieutenant at this ceremony as Ireland’s ruler (although he did not occupy the Lord Lieutenant’s former seat). In a highly symbolic gesture, de Valera ‘knelt at the altar rails to kiss the *Instrumentum Pacis*,’²⁹³ an image of the crucified Jesus (also called a ‘pax’) offered since ancient times to Roman Catholic princes at their coronation.²⁹⁴ The potent symbolism of his playing the role of the Catholic prince in the former Chapel Royal was no doubt masterminded by Archbishop McQuaid, who resented the fact that the then President of Ireland, Douglas Hyde, was a member of the Church of Ireland.²⁹⁵

Though the Chapel Royal had long ceased to function as a place of worship of the Church of Ireland, the symbolism of the building and its historical associations with the Protestant Ascendancy remained powerful. A press report described how

the atmosphere of a bygone world yet clings to the Gothic arches and stained-glass windows of this Chapel which saw many a gathering of notabilities in the nineteenth-century heyday of Dublin Castle society.²⁹⁶

The dedication ceremony of June 1944 seems to have been much grander and more spectacular than anything that had ever taken place in the Chapel Royal hitherto: ‘during the elevation [of the sacrament] trumpeters sounded the Royal Salute and the colours were dipped’,²⁹⁷ a display that easily outshone the modest ceremonial of the days of the viceroyalty.²⁹⁸ This was an early example of the sort of Catholic triumphalism that

²⁹² *IT*, 2nd June 1944, p. 2.

²⁹³ Cooney, *John Charles McQuaid*, 173.

²⁹⁴ John McClintock and James Strong, *The Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1880). The *Irish Press* of 5th June 1944, p. 1 noted that the ‘*Instrumentum Pacis*, a small gold emblem, is only offered to heads of Governments or other high dignitaries’.

²⁹⁵ Cooney, *John Charles McQuaid*, 201.

²⁹⁶ *Irish Press*, 5th June 1944, p. 1. This was the same newspaper that a decade before had described the Castle as the as the haunt of ‘the enemies of Irish nationalism’: *Irish Press*, 14th July 1934, p. 8.

²⁹⁷ *IT*, 5th June 1944, p. 1.

²⁹⁸ NLI GO MS 150, p. 331–32.

characterized McQuaid's long reign as Archbishop of Dublin from 1940 until 1972. The new dedication of the Chapel Royal as the Church of the Most Holy Trinity was no doubt a conscious duplication of the dedication of nearby Christ Church Cathedral, which the Roman Catholic Church had continually recognized as the seat of its Archbishop of Dublin even after the Reformation.

This peculiar epilogue to the Chapel's two decades of limbo following the cessation of services there in 1922 is laden with symbolic evocations of the triumph of Catholic nationalism over Ireland's colonial and Protestant history. In spite of these highly publicized events (both of which were reported on the front pages of the newspapers), the Chapel did not continue to enjoy such a high profile as a Roman Catholic place of worship, and ceased to be used as such by the early 1980s, some time between 23rd May 1982, when the last reported Mass took place,²⁹⁹ and 2nd June 1983, when a question was asked in the Dáil as to whether there was any intention to reopen the Chapel.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁹ *IT*, 24th May 1982, p. 9.

³⁰⁰ Dáil Éireann Debates, vol. 343, no. 3.

CHAPTER TWO

CHURCHMANSHIP, FURNISHINGS AND FUNCTIONS

2.1 Nineteenth-century churchmanship and its influence on liturgy and music

2.1.1 Ecclesiastical architecture and liturgy

The Evangelical churchmanship of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries placed increased emphasis on the preaching of the Word, which led to a corresponding de-emphasis of liturgical worship. In many churches the services of the Book of Common Prayer became perfunctory preludes to lengthy sermons, and the central importance given to the sermon caused the sacraments of baptism and Holy Communion to be relegated to subsidiary positions. By the standards of other periods, baptism was administered in a cursory manner, often using not a font but an improvised bowl placed on the Communion table, and Holy Communion was celebrated only a few times a year.¹ Such downplaying of the sacraments was reflected in architectural trends: the so-called ‘triple-decker’ pulpit (an imposing wooden structure which incorporated a minister’s reading desk, a desk for the parish clerk, and a rostrum from which the sermon was preached) frequently occupied the most prominent position in the church and obscured the view of the Communion table.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, a number of movements for church reform began to gather pace. Although liturgical reforms are often attributed to the progenitors of the Oxford Movement, the early Tractarians (so-called after their publication *Tracts for the Times*, issued between 1833 and 1841) such as John Henry Newman (1801–90) and John Keble (1792–1866) were initially more concerned with church polity and doctrine than with liturgy. However, the emphasis they placed on the Catholic and Apostolic nature of the church inevitably led to an increased focus on

¹ *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 23rd February 1870, p. 30.

sacramental worship. The development of ritualism within the Church of England was frequently identified with Edward Bouverie Pusey, from whose name came the pejorative eponym ‘Puseyism’, a term used by Evangelicals to describe any liturgical innovations they found distastefully ritualistic.

The Cambridge Camden Society (later renamed the Ecclesiological Society) was the most influential outgrowth of the Oxford Movement to affect church architecture and liturgical practice. It was founded in 1839 by John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb in order to promote the reform of church architecture for the better ordering of churches for sacramental worship, and the banishment of the still prevalent eighteenth-century ‘preaching house’ ethos. Its influence spread widely in England and Ireland, and it was a driving force behind the development of the more formal and ordered style of liturgical worship that became widespread by the late nineteenth century.

The Ecclesiological Society launched a journal entitled *The Ecclesiologist* in 1841, which discussed issues of church architecture and liturgical practice from an antiquarian perspective. *The Ecclesiologist* was strongly influenced by the Gothic-Revivalist architect and writer Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, and so encouraged the reordering of existing churches and the building of new churches in a Gothic Revival style.² It recommended the addition of spacious chancels to accommodate robed choirs, and the removal of imposing pulpits and reading desks in order to restore the altar (the term *The Ecclesiologist* preferred to ‘Communion table’) to a prominent position and so reflect the central significance of the sacrament of Holy Communion. Correspondents from all over Britain and Ireland frequently reported on local architectural and liturgical matters, praising those examples that met the Society’s stringent standards, and condemning departures from its strict notions of architectural and liturgical propriety in a characteristically hyperbolic style.

² Nigel Yates, *The Oxford Movement and Anglican Ritualism* (London: Historical Association, 1983), 15.

The Ecclesiological movement radically altered church architecture during the Victorian period, but its influence in liturgical matters was perhaps more wide-ranging and long-lasting. One of the most prolific writers on liturgy was Irish ritualist clergyman John Jebb, a fervent proponent of the Ecclesiological movement. His 1843 magnum opus *The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland* was a painstaking critical survey of liturgical and musical practices in cathedrals and collegiate churches, which strongly censured departures from historic practice. Jebb's writings are perhaps inflexibly antiquarian and share the condemnatory hyperbolic tone of *The Ecclesiologist* (to which he was a frequent contributor), but nonetheless they are an extremely valuable resource concerning liturgical and musical practices in the early nineteenth century, especially from an Irish point of view, owing to Jebb's ancestry and experience of living and working in Ireland.

2.1.2 Cathedral versus parochial models of liturgy

In order to understand the radical changes which affected liturgy and liturgical music during the nineteenth century, it will be necessary briefly to explain the development of liturgical music from the Reformation up as far as the beginning of the so-called Anglican Choral Revival. During this period, two contrasting embodiments of the liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer—the choral and the parochial—developed along distinct lines, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century these styles were essentially mutually exclusive. The rediscovery of ancient precedents by John Jebb and his fellow Ecclesiologists was the principal motivation in the breaking down of these discrete liturgical systems into a common ground that began to develop in the early Victorian period.

Music used in the context of the services of the Book of Common Prayer can either be a vehicle for the performance of the liturgical texts themselves or paraliturgical (i.e.,

appended to the liturgy). Since the time of the early church, many parts of the daily office (versicles and responses, psalms and canticles) and Communion service (Kyrie eleison, Nicene Creed, Sanctus and Gloria in excelsis) have been sung.³ Following the English Reformation the singing of these items became characteristic of the choral service, the mode common in cathedral and collegiate churches. In the parochial mode, which prevailed in parish churches and some collegiate churches, these items were not usually sung, and the only music used was paraliturgical items such as metrical psalms.

Prior to the English Reformation, different parts of England observed various local liturgical forms or ‘uses’, including the Sarum Use, York Use, and so on. Differences also existed between the liturgies of monasteries, cathedrals, collegiate churches, and parish churches. The Book of Common Prayer aimed to unite the entire kingdom in the observance of one standard liturgical use, with a uniform liturgy for all churches from chapels up to cathedrals, with no local variations. The Prayer Books of 1549, 1552 and 1559 each gave different directions for the use of music in the liturgy, and over time it was the style and function of music that came to distinguish the choral service from the parochial mode.

Percy Dearmer described Archbishop Thomas Cranmer’s first Prayer Book of 1549 as

an English simplification, condensation, and reform of the old Latin services, done with care and reverence in a genuine desire to remove the difficulties of the Mediaeval rites by a return to antiquity.⁴

Dearmer’s admiration for the 1549 version was shared by many Victorian high churchmen, who considered this short-lived book to be an ideal of reformed Catholic vernacular liturgy. The *Book of Common Prayer Noted*, containing simple musical settings of the 1549 liturgy, was published in 1550 by John Merbecke, organist of St George’s Chapel, Windsor,

³ Josef Lössl, *The Early Church: History and Memory* (London: A & C Black, 2010), 142.

⁴ Percy Dearmer, *Everyman’s History of the Prayer Book* (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1912), 66.

and this first comprehensive example of vernacular English liturgical music conformed to Cranmer's ideal that music should 'not be full of notes, but, as near as may be, for every syllable a note; so that it may be sung distinctly and devoutly'.⁵

The new Prayer Book issued in 1552 curtailed the use of music in the liturgy somewhat, but No. 49 of Queen Elizabeth's Royal Injunctions of 1559 ordered that pre-existing musical foundations in collegiate and parish churches should continue to perform their duties, singing 'a modest and distinct song...in all parts of the common prayers...that the same may be as plainly understood, as if it were read without singing'. An additional direction made provision for music in those churches (mostly parish churches) that did not have pre-existing musical foundations:

...in the beginning, or in the end of common prayers...there may be sung an hymn, or suchlike song to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be understood and perceived.⁶

Though this direction does not mandate any particular style of music, metrical psalms quickly became popular in parish churches owing to their simplicity and suitability for the purposes outlined in Elizabeth's Injunction. These metrical psalms were English versifications of the Book of Psalms set to simple syllabic tunes, and had become popular with those English Protestants who had been exiled to the continent during the reign of Mary I.⁷ In 1562 John Day published *The Whole Booke of Psalmes, Collected into English Meter*, the so-called Sternhold and Hopkins collection (named for its principal compilers), which soon became ubiquitous in parish churches. The Sternhold and Hopkins collection was eventually superseded by the *New Version of the Psalms of David* by Nahum Tate and Nicholas Brady, published in 1696.

⁵ Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 52.

⁶ Henry Gee and William J. Hardy eds, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (London: Macmillan, 1914), 435.

⁷ Timothy Duguid, *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 13–14.

The eighteenth century saw a rise in the popularity of freely composed non-scriptural hymnody. This was led by Nonconformist hymn-writer Isaac Watts, who wrote hundreds of hymns which are poetic expressions of piety rather than metrical versions of scriptural texts. This was a break away from the Calvinist tradition that had taken hold in England after the Reformation of singing only scriptural texts in public worship.⁸ Non-scriptural hymnody played an important role in the Evangelical revival in the Church of England: its leaders, John and Charles Wesley, were themselves hymn-writers, and they encouraged the use of hymns in worship amongst their followers. The popularity of these hymns helped to spread Evangelical fervour widely.

The Evangelical emphasis on individual faith was well served by hymnody, which provided a method of reinforcing personal piety and scriptural teachings through communal singing. Like metrical psalms, hymns had simple singable melodies, and their versatility and accessibility gave them a strong influence in shaping the theological attitudes of worshippers. An Evangelical victory in a legal case of 1820 confirmed the legality of the use of hymns in public worship. Some high churchmen initially resisted the use of hymns, preferring the traditional metrical psalms to the non-scriptural hymns which they associated with Evangelicalism and Nonconformity, although some notable high churchmen such as Reginald Heber and John Keble published their own collections of hymns. By the middle of the nineteenth century the use of hymns in parish churches was so widespread that it ceased to be a badge of any particular churchmanship.⁹

In keeping with Elizabeth's Injunction, after the Reformation chanting of parts of the liturgy was preserved in those churches which maintained choral foundations. Consequently, cathedrals and collegiate churches developed a musical tradition which focussed on the chanting of the Prayer Book liturgical texts, with the addition of the

⁸ Madeleine Forrell Marshall and Janet M. Todd, *English Congregational Hymns in the Eighteenth Century* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 28.

⁹ Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. i (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 262.

anthem, a setting of an extra-liturgical scriptural text sung by the choir. The interpolation of the anthem after the third collect at Morning and Evening Prayer was mandated in the 1662 Prayer Book by the famous rubric: 'In Quires and Places where they sing, here followeth the Anthem.' In 1843 Jebb noted with disapproval that some cathedral choirs had adopted the practice of singing metrical psalms either in the place of the anthem or at the beginning or end of the service as was the parochial custom.¹⁰

Jebb's *Choral Service* is a comprehensive contemporary eyewitness account of musical practices, and provides a snapshot of cathedral music at the beginning of the Oxford Movement. His personal ideal of the performance of the choral service was based on historical precedents, and he robustly criticized what he called 'modern omissions' and 'abuses' then widespread in cathedrals and collegiate churches. For Jebb the term 'choir' referred not only to the singers but also to the entire musical foundation of a cathedral or collegiate church, which in earlier times had always comprised both clerical and lay members. He considered the terms 'choral service' and 'cathedral service' to be synonymous, since that part of the cathedral church where the singers are placed is called the Choir (or 'quire'), though he admitted that 'choral service' was a more inclusive term, owing to the use of this form of service in some parish churches and in foundations such as the Chapels Royal of London and Dublin.¹¹

Jebb provided a detailed account of the characteristics of the choral service, the foremost of which he deemed 'that sort of unmetrical song which is commonly called the Chant', a description that encompasses plainsong as well as what is now called Anglican chant. In the choral service, Jebb wrote, the minister should chant the sentences of scripture, exhortations, prayers and collects in a monotone (with occasional inflexions which Jebb called 'modulations'); the versicles and responses should be chanted alternately by the minister and choir; the psalms of the day should be chanted antiphonally by 'the

¹⁰ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 382.

¹¹ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 21.

two divisions of the choir'; the canticles should be sung, either in the same antiphonal manner as the psalms, or 'to a more intricate style of Song, resembling Anthems...technically styled "Services"'; the anthem should be sung at Morning and Evening prayer; the Litany should be sung alternately by minister and choir; and finally the Responses to the Commandments should be sung at the Holy Communion, along with anthem-style settings of the Nicene Creed, Sanctus and Gloria in excelsis. Not to sing any of these parts would be, Jebb said, 'an essential violation of the system, impairing its effect, and destroying its proportions'.¹²

Jebb contrasted the choral service, the 'highest, most perfect, and most ancient mode' of worship,¹³ with the parochial service:

The strict parochial mode consists in...reciting all parts of the Liturgy, in the speaking tone of the voice, unaccompanied by music. According to this mode no Chant, or Cantic, or Anthem...is employed: but metrical 'versions' of the Psalms...are sung at certain intervals between, not during the various offices.¹⁴

Like many followers of the Ecclesiological movement, Jebb was concerned with the improvement of public worship by the strict observance of the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer. He objected to the interpolation of metrical psalmody into the liturgy since it was 'justified by no rubrical direction', and considered the Sternhold and Hopkins metrical psalms especially unsuitable for use in the English church owing to their Genevan heritage, their use being in his view 'a custom of foreign growth'.¹⁵ Jebb's comment that the metrical psalms are sung 'between, not during the various offices' is a reference to the practice of singing them between Morning Prayer, the Litany and the Communion service, or before or after the sermon.

¹² Jebb, *Choral Service*, 157.

¹³ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 20.

¹⁴ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 17–18.

¹⁵ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 18.

The combination of aspects of the choral and parochial services was not unknown: Jebb spoke of ‘many Parish Churches and Chapels of charitable institutions’ which had made a ‘partial adoption of the Cathedral mode’, although he noted that there were there ‘such varieties...that it would be impossible, were it desirable, to specify them’.¹⁶ Nonetheless, the two were frequently described in terms that would suggest their being generally perceived as mutually exclusive, as seen in the following definition from the early nineteenth century:

The difference between *cathedral* or *choral service* and *parochial*, consists in the choir of cathedrals chanting the psalms, accompanied by the organ, in 4 parts, antiphonally, instead of the minister and the clerk and congregation, as in parish churches reading them verse for verse without music. The responses are chanted in cathedrals, and the *Te Deum*, *Jubilate*, *Magnificat*, and *Nunc dimittis*, are either chanted like the psalms, or sung to measured and elaborate music, under the title of *Choral Service*.¹⁷

The principal distinction between the use of music in the choral and parochial services was that the choral service featured the musical rendering of the texts of the service as contained within the Book of Common Prayer, whereas the parish service contained only musical interpolations and no singing of the liturgical texts. The spread of Ecclesiological ideas about the performance of liturgy began to break down this two-tier system of liturgical music from the late 1830s onwards. This movement, which saw the introduction of aspects of the choral service into parish churches, has been called the Anglican Choral Revival by some scholars.

The term ‘Choral Revival’, first used by Bernarr Rainbow in his 1970 study of Anglican church music between 1839 and 1872, is somewhat problematic, although it is by now an established scholarly concept. According to Rainbow, the Choral Revival began in

¹⁶ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 19.

¹⁷ Abraham Rees ed., *The Cyclopaedia; or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, 1819), vol. vii.

1839 as a consequence of the Oxford Movement.¹⁸ Although a period of rapid and unprecedented changes in Anglican church music did begin around 1839, these changes were a culmination of disparate trends that had gradually taken hold over many decades prior to the beginning of the Oxford Movement.¹⁹ Rainbow dismissed such earlier innovations as ‘independently spontaneous...heralding rather than originating the Choral Revival’,²⁰ but Nicholas Temperley’s extensive research has demonstrated that movements for reform had taken hold around England as early as the 1760s.²¹

Since the reforms with which Rainbow was concerned departed from precedents and established new styles of musical worship by merging aspects of the choral and parochial patterns, the term ‘revival’, which connotes a golden-age delusion of an idealized past, seems inapt. Furthermore, the term ‘choral service’ was used by Rainbow in the Victorian sense of any service including music, and so he criticized Jebb’s equation of choral service and cathedral service.²² However, Jebb’s use of the term indicates that he considered its defining aspect not to be the use of music but rather the antiphonal performance of the daily office in the quire of the church by the members of the choral foundation (the clergy and their lay deputies):

The very name of Choir, as applied to a particular locality of the Church or Chapel, points out the absurdity of [placing choirs in organ lofts], at war with the antiphonal character of the Choral Service, and with the propriety of its performance.²³

2.1.3 *The ‘Choral Revival’ and anti-ritualism*

Though the Ecclesiological Society was, as noted above, primarily concerned with the reform of church architecture and liturgy, contributors to *The Ecclesiologist* frequently wrote

¹⁸ Rainbow, *The Choral Revival*, 6.

¹⁹ Nicholas Temperley, ‘The Anglican Choral Revival’, *Musical Times*, 112, no. 1535 (January 1971), 73–5.

²⁰ Rainbow, *The Choral Revival*, 4.

²¹ Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 204–43.

²² Rainbow, *The Choral Revival*, 5, 31.

²³ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 203–04.

about the relationship between music and liturgy. The Society for the Promotion of Church Music, which grew out of the Ecclesiological Society, published its own periodical, *The Parish Choir*, in which the following definition of ‘choral service’ appeared in 1846:

By Choral Service is meant that mode of celebrating the public service by both priest and people, in which they sing all portions allotted to each respectively, so as to make it one continued psalm of praise, confession, and intercession from beginning to end.²⁴

This redefining of choral service detached it from its exclusively cathedral associations. The spread of such ideas heralded a period of unprecedented change and the most radical reform of parish liturgy since the Reformation.

The first merging of parochial and choral elements to gain widespread attention was introduced by the Rev’d Frederick Oakeley (1802–80) at Margaret Chapel, London (the precursor to All Saints, Margaret Street) in 1839, the same year in which the Ecclesiological Society was founded. Oakeley introduced settings of the canticles, psalms, and Litany, which were sung to simple melodies, Anglican chants, and plainsong tones. This liturgical music was used alongside the metrical psalms of the old parochial style, and occasional non-scriptural hymns of the Evangelical tradition. This music was sung by the congregation, led by a choir of boys trained by Oakeley himself.²⁵

Oakeley gave the choir a ministerial role as leaders of the congregation, a duty that had previous fallen to the parish clerk who spoke the responses on the people’s behalf.²⁶ This new role was emphasized by the choir’s wearing of surplices, a practice that had survived in cathedrals and collegiate churches, but was effectively unknown in parish churches.²⁷ Sir Frederick Ouseley, the founder of St Michael’s College, Tenbury, later spoke of the surplices worn by the singers as ‘an outward sign of the purity and holiness of

²⁴ Rainbow, *The Choral Revival*, 5.

²⁵ Rainbow, *The Choral Revival*, 19–20.

²⁶ Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 256.

²⁷ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 214–15.

the work they are come to do'. The wearing of surplices by choirs soon became a badge of ritualism.²⁸

Although Oakeley's congregational choral service was widely admired and imitated, John Jebb promoted a much different form of parish choral service that more closely imitated cathedral practice. In 1841 Jebb was asked to advise the Rev'd Walter Hook on the establishment of choral services in Leeds Parish Church, and he encouraged Hook to introduce a service sung by a trained choir, without congregational participation in the singing.²⁹ Oakeley and Jebb both desired to increase the devotional quality of church services through the use of music, although Jebb's model was influenced by his aesthetically purist and antiquarian biases, as well as his preference for cathedral-style liturgical music. He believed that only high-quality music sung by a trained choir could be devotional, and that the congregation should participate in the liturgy only by listening prayerfully:

They [the congregation] believe that the best of every thing ought to be given to God. They give the best they can: the internal worship of their hearts, the outward homage of their bodies: but believing their audible voices would but mar that harmony...they are content not indeed to be silent, (to Him they are not silent,) but to be still.³⁰

Notwithstanding their differing views on congregational participation, both Oakeley and Jebb were united in seeing music as an essential vehicle for the liturgy, and not merely as an optional extra in a spoken service. This radical departure from the old parochial mode created a new focus on the liturgy itself, and gradually led to a move away from the preaching-focussed worship that had characterized the Evangelical churchmanship of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

²⁸ Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 278.

²⁹ Rainbow, *The Choral Revival*, 30–32.

³⁰ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 299–300.

Since Evangelical churchmanship was dominant in the Church of Ireland in the nineteenth century, the Ecclesiological movement was slow to gain ground in Dublin.³¹ The notable exception was All Saints' Church, Grangegorman, where the high-church vicar Dr William Maturin had introduced choral services in the early 1840s. Maturin, whom Irish theologian George Tyrrell described affectionately as the 'terrible old Doctor',³² had briefly been loyally supported by his parishioners, and carried on choral services in Grangegorman without protest for several decades. In the 1860s, another high-church clergyman, the Rev'd William Carroll, introduced choral services at St Bride's Church, which was situated in Dublin city between the two cathedrals. Carroll was evidently not prepared for the vociferous criticism his innovations would receive, and on Easter Day 1866 a mob disrupted the services at St Bride's, protesting against the choral services and ritualistic practices.³³

The scenes at St Bride's caused a wider debate about parish choral services in Ireland, and shortly afterwards the influential Evangelical Bishop of Cork, John Gregg (erstwhile incumbent of Trinity Church, Gardiner Street, Dublin) spoke publicly about his opposition to choral services:

I charge you to see that the noble service we have received from our ancestors...be not turned into an opera... How is it that three hundred years after the reformation some are endeavouring to substitute for our ennobling, and exalting, and scriptural service, one which appeals...merely to the faculty of taste? Are we to have a sensuous, or to use a hard word, an Aesthetic service?³⁴

The remark about turning church service into an opera echoed the irreverent epithet 'Paddy's Opera', which had long been used for the choral services at St Patrick's Cathedral. Gregg was no doubt familiar with this nickname, since it was immortalized in William

³¹ John Crawford, *The Church of Ireland in Victorian Dublin* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005), 133–34.

³² M. D. Petre, *Autobiography and Life of George Tyrrell*, vol. i (London: Edward Arnold, 1912), 98.

³³ *DEM*, 9th April 1866, p. 3.

³⁴ *Cork Constitution*, 21st April 1866, p. 5.

Makepeace Thackeray's *Irish Sketch Book* in the same passage which ridiculed Gregg's impassioned style of preaching at Trinity Church. Thackeray claimed that staunchly Evangelical members of Gregg's congregation 'call the Cathedral Service *Paddy's Opera*; they say it is Popish—downright scarlet—they won't go to it'.³⁵ (As we shall see in 2.2.1, the Puritanical bias against music remained strong in Trinity Church in later decades.)

Gregg's remarks provoked a brief storm of anti-ritualist protest, led by a mob of Evangelical vigilantes known as 'Gregg's lambs'.³⁶ This group attempted to disturb services in Grangegorman, but they proved no match for Dr Maturin, who castigated them for their sacrilegious behaviour and drove them away subdued.³⁷ Despite Maturin's victory over the protestors, high-church clergy in Dublin were deterred by the scenes at St Bride's and Grangegorman, and in the aftermath of these protests they reversed even modest innovations which had been made in the direction of choral worship.³⁸ Because of this, the old-fashioned parochial mode of metrical psalms and hymns continued to prevail in Irish parish churches and chapels. Over time, elements of choral services began to spread more widely, but not without controversy: in 1869 in St John's Church, Sandymount (famed in the twentieth century for its Anglo-Catholic liturgy) some parishioners objected to 'offensive innovations' including chanting the psalms and singing the offertory sentences.³⁹

The gradual introduction of elements of choral services into parish churches in the second half of the nineteenth century normalized such practices, which over time ceased to be the badges of ritualism they had hitherto been. By the beginning of the twentieth century a blend of Oakeley's and Jebb's choral services had taken root in many parish churches and proprietary chapels of Evangelical churchmanship, even in Ireland where anti-ritualist feelings remained strong. The spread of hymnody across all shades of

³⁵ William Makepeace Thackeray, *The Irish Sketch Book of 1842* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1911), 345.

³⁶ Patrick J. Fahey, 'Ritualism, the Revision Movement, and Revision Theology in the Church of Ireland, 1842–1877' (Pontificio Istituto Liturgico: doctoral diss., 1987), 86.

³⁷ *IT*, 23rd April 1866, p. 3.

³⁸ *IT*, 6th October 1866, p. 3.

³⁹ *Belfast Morning News*, 8th November 1869, p. 4.

churchmanship diluted the partisan attitudes to the use of music in the liturgy which had existed earlier in the nineteenth century: hymns, which could be both choral and congregational, occupied a musical middle ground between the two poles of churchmanship and styles of choral service.⁴⁰

2.2 Churchmanship and liturgy in the Chapel Royal

2.2.1 *The Chapel Royal: Ecclesiological precursor or viceregal preaching house?*

The brief sent by Chief Secretary Charles Abbott to James Gandon regarding the design of a new chapel for Dublin Castle in 1801 specified that this chapel should include ‘an Organ for Cathedral Service’.⁴¹ This suggests that this was to be a new departure, in which the choral service would replace the parochial mode that had presumably been used in the old Castle chapel. The existence of a paid reading clerk in the old Castle chapel in the eighteenth century (see 1.1.2 above) suggests that services there may have been read alternatively by the chaplain and clerk, the mode which was common in parish churches until well into the nineteenth century.⁴² As we have seen (1.1.2), there is some evidence to suggest that there was an organ in the old chapel, but if there was any music it was probably limited to parochial-style psalmody. Although the brief sent to Gandon appears to suggest that the inclusion of an organ was a new departure, it may be that ‘an Organ for Cathedral Service’ indicated a larger and more versatile instrument than whatever may have belonged to the old chapel.

The establishment of choral services following the opening of the new Chapel in 1814 is remarkable for several reasons. It appears that the Chapel was the first new collegiate-style choral foundation established in Britain or Ireland since the Reformation,

⁴⁰ Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 276, 296.

⁴¹ BL Add. MS 35733, p. 312: James Gandon to ‘Rev’d Sir’ (Charles Lindsay?), returning a brief he had received the previous year from Charles Abbott, Chief Secretary, 30th March 1802.

⁴² *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 23 February 1870, p. 30.

and it is all the more curious that such a foundation was established in Dublin at a time when Evangelicalism was flourishing. The contrast between the Chapel Royal and the prevailing styles of church architecture and churchmanship at the time of its founding was noted in 1852 by a contributor to *The Ecclesiologist*:

Its date and its locality both considered, there is perhaps hardly any more curious foreshadowing of the ecclesiological movement to be found in the kingdom than the Viceregal chapel at Dublin Castle.⁴³

This writer considered the most remarkable attribute of the Chapel to be its Gothic design, which, as we have seen (1.2.2), was highly unusual in 1814. It is also true to say that the Chapel Royal foreshadowed the wider reforms in music and liturgy that took place a generation later owing to the influence of the Ecclesiological movement.

Though the design of the Chapel and its choral service were departures from prevailing contemporary trends, aspects of the layout, the style of preaching and the governance of the Chapel had much in common with the Evangelical chapels of the time. Such chapels sprang up all around Dublin in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, beginning with the Bethesda Chapel in 1784, which served as a model for later proprietary chapels. These existed outside the parochial system and were influenced by the Evangelical worship of the nascent Methodist movement, although they were at least nominally part of the established church, and were overseen by ‘clergyman of the establishment’ who ‘officiate according to the forms of the national church’. The music at services in the Bethesda was sung by the girls of the orphanage attached to the chapel.⁴⁴ A collection of hymns sung there was published under the editorship of the minister, the

⁴³ *The Ecclesiologist*, 13, no. 92 (October 1852), p. 305.

⁴⁴ Philip Dixon Hardy, *The New Picture of Dublin* (Dublin: William Curry, 1831), 165.

Rev'd Edward Smyth, in 1786,⁴⁵ almost a century before the publication of the first authorized hymnal for the Irish Church in 1864.⁴⁶

The first half of the nineteenth century saw the establishment of a large number of proprietary chapels in Dublin, including the Magdalen Asylum Chapel (Leeson Street), Sandford Chapel (Cullenswood, near Ranelagh), the Free Church (Great Charles Street), the Episcopal Chapel (Baggot Street), and the Protestant Episcopal Church (Gardiner Street, later renamed Trinity Church). The designation 'Episcopal' distinguished these establishments from Methodist chapels. They were frequently endowed by wealthy landowners with Evangelical sympathies, a class of patron described in the Church of Ireland Act 1851 (which regulated the establishment of proprietary chapels) as 'pious and well-disposed Persons'.

Hymn-singing was an indispensable part of Evangelical worship in Dublin: the Bethesda and the Magdalen Asylum published their own hymnbooks, and Thackeray noted that at Trinity Church the congregation joined in the psalms and hymns 'with a fervour which is very unusual in England'.⁴⁷ However, attitudes to the use of the organ either to provide incidental music or to accompany congregational singing varied amongst Dublin Evangelicals: whereas the Free Church had an organ from its opening in 1828,⁴⁸ puritanical attitudes to organs persisted in Trinity Church, where unaccompanied congregational singing was practised until the eventual installation of an organ in 1866.⁴⁹ (The congregation of Trinity Church seems to have been the last of the established religion in Dublin to sing unaccompanied.)⁵⁰

⁴⁵ *A Choice Collection of Hymns, Psalms, and Anthems; Principally designed for the Congregation attending Bethesda-Chapel* (Dublin: B. Dugdale).

⁴⁶ See p. 230.

⁴⁷ Thackeray, *The Irish Sketch Book of 1842*, 343.

⁴⁸ *JN*, 13th April 1830, p. 2.

⁴⁹ *DDE*, 2nd April 1866, p. 2.

⁵⁰ *IT*, 1st November 1864, p. 4.

The formal liturgy, ceremonial and choral service of the Chapel Royal was distinctly unlike the liturgy and music to be found in Evangelical proprietary chapels, although long sermons appear to have been common to both: the Earl of Carlisle commented in 1861 that brevity was ‘rather a rare merit’ in sermons preached in the Chapel.⁵¹ In terms of governance the Chapel Royal resembled the proprietary chapels closely: the trustees of proprietary chapels appointed their favoured preachers as incumbents, and likewise the Lord Lieutenant appointed clergy of his choice as chaplains. However, although proprietary chapels operated outside parish and diocesan structures, they were licensed by the diocesan bishop.⁵² In contrast, as we have seen (1.1.5), the Chapel Royal functioned like a royal peculiar, outside episcopal oversight and under the direct authority of the Lord Lieutenant.

2.2.2 Liturgical space and churchmanship in the Chapel Royal

Although the Gothic architecture and choral service were a whole generation ahead of later trends, aspects of the layout and furniture of the Chapel Royal at its opening in 1814 were strongly influenced by eighteenth-century fashions. Like the new Trinity College chapel, opened in the 1790s, the Chapel Royal was rectangular in shape with north, south and west galleries,⁵³ a layout characteristic of the auditory ethos, in which hearing the preacher was of paramount concern.⁵⁴ Several other churches of this type were built in Dublin, including St Ann’s and St Werburgh’s, as well as St George’s, which was also designed by Francis Johnston and built between 1802 and 1813. St George’s was originally a wide rectangular auditory church with a triple-decker pulpit occupying a commanding

⁵¹ Caroline Lascelles ed., *Extracts from Journals kept by George Howard, Earl of Carlisle* (London: Swift and Company, 1864), 322.

⁵² Crawford, *The Church of Ireland in Victorian Dublin*, 39–40.

⁵³ The galleries in Trinity chapel were removed in 1872, as we shall see (2.2.3).

⁵⁴ James F. White, *The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2004), 6.

central position, and no distinct chancel.⁵⁵ Johnston incorporated some aspects of the design of St George's into the Chapel Royal.

Large central pulpits were almost ubiquitous in eighteenth-century churches, and Johnston placed such a pulpit as the most prominent piece of liturgical furniture in the Chapel Royal. Jebb strongly objected to what he considered a concession to eighteenth-century taste:

A cumbrous pulpit, with a desk beneath, facing the western organ gallery, stands in the centre of the aisle, according to the fashion of the eighteenth century, and in defiance of the order of all the seventeen preceding.⁵⁶

George Petrie's watercolour of the interior of the Chapel from c. 1821 (Plate 4) is an illustration of the building as Jebb described it, and depicts what he described as the 'most offensive arrangement' of the reading desk placed in the centre of the aisle facing away from the Communion table.⁵⁷ The imposing pulpit and desk is the central architectural feature: the pews under the gallery face towards it, and it is overlooked by the Lord Lieutenant's pew in the south gallery. Since this pulpit does not have a clerk's desk attached, it is not a true triple-decker, and although it is relatively modest in size compared with the monstrous triple-decker of St George's,⁵⁸ it is still quite imposing in a small space, and completely obscures the Communion table from view.

The obscuring of the Communion table by the pulpit and desk embodied the Evangelical emphasis on preaching and individual piety over liturgical and sacramental worship. A press correspondent in 1844 claimed that this arrangement in the Chapel Royal was 'against the ordinances of the church', and suggested that a 'remodelling in correcter

⁵⁵ Crawford, *The Church of Ireland in Victorian Dublin*, 127–29.

⁵⁶ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 149.

⁵⁷ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 194.

⁵⁸ Crawford, *The Church of Ireland in Victorian Dublin*, 127.

style is not at all impracticable, though hopeless, till we have an institution similar to the Cambridge Cambden [sic.] Society amongst us'.⁵⁹

Aside from some minor alterations to the interior arrangements in 1829 (see 2.2.3 below), the Chapel remained largely unchanged until the renovations instigated by the Earl of Carlisle in the late 1850s and early 1860s.⁶⁰ An engraving of the Chapel appeared in the *Illustrated London News* in 1849 (Plate 5), although this is not an accurate representation of the interior: the scale is exaggerated, which makes the building appear much larger than it really was; the carved figures on the pillars are depicted as much larger and more imposing than they really are; the freestanding benches in the centre of the Chapel are represented as pews; and the pattern of the tiled floor is altered so as to create an imaginary symmetry, which further adds to the false sense of spaciousness.

An 1854 watercolour of the Chapel by James Mahony (Plate 6) is a much more realistic and accurate depiction of how the interior of the Chapel appeared before Carlisle's alterations. The addition of opposite-facing choir stalls and benches across the floor of the Chapel has diminished the commanding presence and central position of the pulpit, something which had been fundamental to Francis Johnston's concept (see 2.2.3 below). The somewhat cluttered appearance of the body of the Chapel is well captured by Mahony's painting, which includes such details as music books on the choir stalls and a hat carelessly left on the floor beside a bench.

It appears from Mahony's painting that there was a second smaller desk between the desk attached to the pulpit and the eastern side of the decani choir stalls. The second desk, which is not present in Petrie's painting, is decorated in the same style as the choir stalls, which suggests that it was added contemporaneously with them (see 2.2.3 below). Early accounts of services in the Chapel suggest that the service was read by two clergy—the

⁵⁹ DEP, 2nd January 1844, p. 3.

⁶⁰ Myles Campbell, 'The Changing Face of the Chapel Royal, 1815–2015', *The Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle: An Architectural History*, 123–46 (129).

officiating clergyman (usually the Dean or Sub-Dean) and the visiting preacher (usually one of the viceregal chaplains).⁶¹ The second desk was presumably intended to accommodate the assisting clergyman; it is not known where he may have sat before it was added.

Jebb noted that in the Chapel the ‘assisting Minister’ was charged with the reading of the Litany.⁶² He approved of this custom, and preferred it to the practice of one clergyman reading the entire service, which was then prevalent in England.⁶³ When the full Communion service took place in the Chapel, the second clergyman usually assisted at the Communion table, presumably with the distribution of the elements.⁶⁴ According to Jebb, these duties usually fell to one of the visiting viceregal chaplains, who, ‘when they attend to preach their turns, customarily read the Litany, and assist at the Communion’.⁶⁵ As we shall see (4.3.3), it was not until later in the nineteenth century that the Litany was sung by the choir.

A radical, phased reordering of the interior of the Chapel was instigated by the Earl of Carlisle during his two periods as Lord Lieutenant, 1855–58 and 1859–64. His first act was the installation of the Telford organ between 1856 and 1857 (see 2.3.2 below), and between then and 1863 a considerable number of further changes were made. Perhaps the most visually striking alteration was the replacement of the central wooden pulpit with a stone pulpit positioned at the north edge of the chancel. This significant change took place during a period of reordering in late 1859 to early 1860, and followed the wider trend for the disposal of large pulpits instigated by the Ecclesiological Society. This change made the Communion table visible from the main body of the Chapel, and the concomitant repositioning of the choir stalls flush with the pillars created an unrestricted view of the Communion table. At the same time, seats for the officiating clergy were installed at the

⁶¹ *SN*, 25th October 1819, p. 2; *SN*, 4th November 1822, p. 1.

⁶² Jebb, *Choral Service*, 241.

⁶³ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 436.

⁶⁴ *Southern Reporter and Cork Commercial Courier*, 4th March 1823, p. 3.

⁶⁵ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 149.

end of the choir stalls, which replaced the desk attached to the pulpit and the freestanding desk at the east end of the decani choir stalls.⁶⁶ This rearrangement can be seen in Plate 7, a photograph from c. 1860–63.

Further extensive reordering and redecoration was undertaken in late 1863: the ceiling was painted ‘azure, with stars, like the firmament’, open pews facing the Communion table were placed in the main body of the Chapel, and extra rows of choir seats for the boys were added on either side in front of the existing stalls. These stalls can be seen in Plate 8, as can two further changes made around this time: a modest lectern placed in the centre of the chancel in front of the Communion rails, and the small reading desk (visible in Plate 6) moved to face inwards alongside the Communion rails in line with the decani choir stalls.⁶⁷ It is possible that this desk was thenceforth assigned to the Dean, in imitation of the traditional cathedral practice of the dean sitting on the south side of the choir.

This reordering made the Communion table the central feature of the Chapel, and the pews downstairs that had previously faced the central pulpit were now all turned to face the Communion table and the new pulpit to its left. This shift in visual focus was reflected in a shift in churchmanship, as more frequent celebrations of Holy Communion took place in the Chapel from the late 1860s onwards. In the mid-1860s the Chapel Royal was the only church in Dublin that did not have a monthly Communion service,⁶⁸ something which must have contributed to the accusations of the ‘puritanical’ style of worship there, discussed above (1.4.1). Around the time of Hercules Dickinson’s appointment as Dean in 1868, a regular Communion service was introduced on the second

⁶⁶ *IT*, 24th January 1860, p. 3.

⁶⁷ *SN*, 21st December 1863, p. 2.

⁶⁸ See *Dublin Directory*, 1866.

Sunday of every month, in addition to the long-established tradition of holding Communion services on principal feasts.⁶⁹

Carlisle's alterations to the Chapel give an insight into his personal taste and religious opinions. Several decades prior, whilst serving as Chief Secretary for Ireland between 1835 and 1841, Carlisle (then Viscount Morpeth) had attended frequently at Trinity Church, the popular Evangelical proprietary chapel of which John Gregg was incumbent.⁷⁰ It appears that by the time he became Lord Lieutenant Carlisle's Evangelical sympathies had given way to more high church opinions: in his diaries of the 1850s and 1860s he criticized Maurice Day, incumbent of St Matthias's (another Evangelical proprietary chapel) for a sermon 'verging too much on Calvinism', whereas he praised an English clergyman for his 'High Church dash'. Though Carlisle did not attend Trinity Church after his appointment as Lord Lieutenant, he continued to admire John Gregg's abilities as a preacher, and in 1861 he recommended him for appointment as Bishop of Cork.⁷¹

Carlisle's reordering of the Chapel Royal was undertaken in the spirit of the Ecclesiological movement, and removed the vestigial elements of the preaching-house ethos central to Francis Johnston's original design. The alterations to the Chapel's interior were not universally popular: a correspondent who signed himself 'Anti-Puseyite' criticized the 'High Church taste' in which the redecoration of the Chapel, a 'heretofore respectable building', was proceeding, including ornaments and decorations with 'all manner of "mediaeval saints," in all their "mediaeval glory"'.⁷² This correspondent noted that these alterations were taking place 'under the very eye of our distinguished diocesan'. Archbishop Whately was strongly opposed to the architectural and decorative styles encouraged by the Ecclesiological movement, and in 1851 he had allegedly insisted on the removal of several stained glass windows and decorative figures from St John's Church,

⁶⁹ RCB P.0129.08.1.

⁷⁰ *The London Review of Politics, Society, Literature, Art, and Science*, 10th March 1866, p. 280.

⁷¹ Lascelles, *Journals kept by George Howard, Earl of Carlisle*, 129, 321, 347, 352, 354.

⁷² *IT*, 26th December 1859, p. 3.

Sandymount before he would license it for worship.⁷³ Whately evidently had no such authority over the Chapel Royal, which was fully under the control of the Lord Lieutenant.

The Archbishop of Dublin did not play any formal role in the Chapel, and it seems that he was not represented at the opening service on Christmas Day 1814. It is not certain therefore why the throne in the north gallery of the Chapel Royal was, as occasionally claimed, reserved for the Archbishop of Dublin.⁷⁴ While it is by no means unlikely that one or more Archbishops did occupy the throne on visiting the chapel, evidence that this actually happened has yet to emerge. A newspaper report of 1820 made reference to ‘the Vice Regal Pew in the Gallery, and the corresponding one at the oppose [sic.] side’,⁷⁵ which suggests that this pew did not then have any special purpose, and had been placed merely for symmetry with the viceregal pew. An 1928 Office of Public Works plan of the Chapel designated this seat as belonging to the king, which may indicate that royal visitors had occasionally sat there.⁷⁶ (Reports of Prince Albert’s visit in 1861 described it as the ‘Archbishop’s stall’ or the ‘bishop’s pew’.)⁷⁷ Unlike all of the other gallery pews, there is no plaque to indicate for whom it was reserved, which suggests that it was not set aside for any particular purpose.

2.2.3 Stalls and surplices: the placing and appearance of the choir

In April 1814 whilst the construction of the Chapel was still underway, the Board of Works asked Francis Johnston if it would be possible to make some more room for the construction of the proposed organ ‘by some contrivance or arrangement in regard to the accommodation of the Choir’.⁷⁸ No reply from Johnston survives, but it seems from later

⁷³ *The Ecclesiologist*, 12, no. 83 (April 1851), p. 120; *IT*, 9th October 1860, p. 3.

⁷⁴ ‘The Chapel Royal Dublin’, *Musical World*, 3rd May 1838, p. 8; *The Ecclesiologist*, 13, no. 92 (October 1852), p. 306.

⁷⁵ *DEP*, 8th January 1820, p. 2.

⁷⁶ Reproduced in the flyleaf of *The Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle: An Architectural History*.

⁷⁷ *Belfast Morning News*, 4th July 1861, p. 2; *WDWM*, 6th July 1861, p. 2.

⁷⁸ NAI OPW1/1/2/2, p. 349: Robert Robinson to Francis Johnston concerning ten proposals received for building an organ for the Castle Chapel, 25th April 1814.

evidence discussed below that the positioning of the choir in the evidently cramped west gallery was an integral part of his architectural conception of the building. The ethos of the Georgian auditory church mandated that musicians ‘were never allowed to come between the minister and his flock’,⁷⁹ and it is clear that this was the architectural ideal that Johnston sought to follow, as he had done in St George’s Church earlier in his career.

This aspect of the Chapel’s design had both practical and aesthetic benefits: practical because the choir was placed directly beside the organist, and aesthetic because the visual impact of the central pulpit would not be obscured by seating for the choir. A then recent precedent existed in Trinity College chapel, which had a pulpit centrally placed near to the chancel, an organ and choir seats in the west gallery, and further galleries on the liturgical north and south sides (which were removed in 1872).⁸⁰ This arrangement was common also in eighteenth-century parish churches, and so reflected the prevailing auditory ethos. Unsurprisingly, John Jebb was critical of this departure from historical precedent:

No ancient precedent whatever can be shown for the modern arrangement, common in Parish Churches, and adopted in Trinity College and the Chapel Royal in Dublin...of placing the permanent Choir in the organ loft.⁸¹

The placing of the choir in the organ loft made the pulpit more conspicuous than the singers, a physical reflection of the dominance of the Word and the subsidiary role played by liturgical music. The centre of liturgical action was thus the pulpit and reading desk, with music emanating from the far end of the Chapel. This arrangement separated the clergy and choir, the effect of which was that the music seemed to be an accompaniment to the service and not an integral part of it:

⁷⁹ N. J. G. Pounds, *A History of the English Parish* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 489.

⁸⁰ TCD MUN/V/5/13: College Board Register, 14th January 1871–20th December 1877 (p. 60, 29th June 1872).

⁸¹ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 203.

The Lay singers are...completely cut off from the Clergy, and present the appearance of a mere orchestra; as if the Liturgy and the Music of the Church were altogether separate things.⁸²

This was quite a different arrangement to that of the two Dublin cathedrals in the same period. Prior to their restorations in the 1860s and 1870s respectively, St Patrick's and Christ Church each had a screen at the crossing separating quire from nave, which made the quire into a discrete intimate space in which the liturgy took place. The choir stalls were placed on the ground in the centre with galleries all around, an arrangement which evoked the layout of a theatre (Plates 12 and 13). The central position of the singers in this arrangement reflected the central role played by music in the liturgy. The theatrical connotations of the space were enhanced by the singers' ascending to the organ loft to deliver solo parts in the anthem, though according to Jebb this practice ceased in the early nineteenth century. Such a practice had also existed at the Chapel Royal of St James's Palace, though there is no evidence to suggest it was imitated at the Dublin Chapel Royal.⁸³

A certain theatrical air was evoked in the Dublin Chapel by the dignitaries' pews in the galleries overlooking the action downstairs, and the covering of the Lord Lieutenant's pew in a canopy resembling an opera box. The centrally placed pulpit was the focal point of the Chapel, and although the singers in the organ loft were not visible from the seats downstairs, they could be seen by the dignitaries sitting in the galleries.

It seems that the members of the choir were attired in surplices from the time the Chapel was opened. In January 1823 Sub-Dean Sir George Bisshopp wrote to the Board of Works requesting the purchase of nine new surplices for the Chapel choir, since the surplices then used were 'in a very tattered state'.⁸⁴ That these surplices had worn out just eight years after the opening of the Chapel suggests that they had been used frequently. (It is unlikely that second-hand surplices would have been used in such a well-appointed new

⁸² Jebb, *Choral Service*, 204.

⁸³ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 203, 374.

⁸⁴ NAI OPW1/1/2/3, p. 303: Robert Robinson to Sir George Bisshopp, 24th January 1823.

chapel.) The wearing of surplices by the choir was an indispensable aspect of the choral service, and anticipated the later fashion for the wearing of surplices as a symbol of the choir's ministerial role.⁸⁵

Johnston's design for the Chapel placed the choir in the organ loft, but at some stage between the 1820s and 1840s choir stalls in the body of the Chapel were added. There is no surviving evidence concerning precisely when this change took place, but it seems quite likely that it took place in 1829. The stalls are not present in Petrie's watercolour of c. 1821 (Plate 4), but they are visible in the 1849 *Illustrated London News* engraving (Plate 5). No visual depictions of the interior of the Chapel in the intervening years appear to survive. Jebb wrote in 1843 that the choir of the Chapel Royal was 'placed in the organ loft', although in the same paragraph he claimed not to have up-to-date knowledge of practices there, and so it is possible that the move from loft to stalls had taken place prior to the publication of Jebb's book.⁸⁶

An attempt was first made to add choir stalls in January 1825, when Dean William Bissett wrote to the Board of Works requesting 'two desk ranges with Seats for the Choir to be attached & placed in the body of the Chapel'. This Board of Works refused owing to the objection of Francis Johnston, who wrote:

I have received your letter this day respecting two Desk ranges proposed to be placed in the lower part of the Castle Chapel for the Choir, to be used instead of the Organ Gallery originally designed and hitherto appropriated for that purpose. I can give no opinion on the utility of the proposed alteration...as far as it relates to Music, but as to the Architectural appearance and effect, which will be caused by this change, I am of opinion that it will not be an improvement.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 278.

⁸⁶ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 149. Jebb's ordained ministry began in the diocese of Limerick, Ardfert and Aghadoe in the late 1820s, and so it is possible that he had not been to the Chapel since that time: see Thomas Secombe, 'Jebb, John (1805–1886)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (www.oxforddnb.com, accessed 2nd June 2018).

⁸⁷ NAI CSO/RP/1824/2114: Francis Johnston to Robert Robinson, 26th January 1825.

Since, as we shall see (3.3.1), it seems that the number of men in the choir increased in 1824, it may be that Bissett's request was the result of cramped conditions in the organ loft. Johnston appears to have ignored this practical concern, however, since his objections were purely aesthetic.

In responding to this request the Commissioners of the Board of Works felt that owing to Johnston's disapproval they did not 'feel themselves authorized to carry the proposed measure into execution unless specially desired by Government'. It seems that the government did not press the matter further, as there is no subsequent correspondence concerning this question. Johnston died in March 1829, and in July that year the Board of Works authorized 'certain repairs' to the Chapel as requested by the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Northumberland. The Board minute books do not record precisely what those works involved, but the estimated cost of almost £250 suggests a not insubstantial project.⁸⁸ The works were completed by November 1829 and were described in the press as 'considerable improvements'.⁸⁹

Johnston retired as Board of Works architect in 1826.⁹⁰ It seems plausible that the Board avoided making alterations to the Chapel in deference to its distinguished former architect while he was still alive. The short time between Johnston's death and the commencement of the works seems to suggest that they were begun at the earliest opportunity after his death, and it is possible that it included the installation of the very choir stalls to which Johnston had been opposed. If the stalls were added during these works, this early adoption of a trend that did not take hold widely until decades later would make the Chapel an even more remarkable precursor of the Ecclesiological movement (see 2.2.1 above).

⁸⁸ NAI OPW1/1/1/6, p. 57: minute concerning repairs to the Castle Chapel requested by the Duke of Northumberland, 16th July 1829.

⁸⁹ *DEPC*, 3rd November 1829, p. 3.

⁹⁰ NAI CSO/RP/1829/1799: account detailing compensation awarded to architects by the Treasury, 1829.

Although the new position of the choir in stalls in the main body of the Chapel seems to have been either the result or the cause of growing numbers, the visual prominence that this lent to the singers was coterminous with the increasingly central role played by music in the Chapel. From the 1840s onwards, the names of solo singers in anthems were printed in the press, and from the 1850s full details of the music sung at services began to appear in newspapers (see 4.1.2 below). The use of opposite-facing stalls was a *sine qua non* of the choral service, and the introduction of this in the Chapel Royal marked a shift of emphasis from the preaching of the Word to the singing of the liturgy. It was not until 1854 that Trinity College chapel followed this trend and moved its choir from the organ loft to ‘a proper position at each side of the lower floor of the chapel’.⁹¹

The choir stalls as seen in Mahony’s 1854 watercolour were two freestanding opposite-facing enclosed benches. These benches still exist, and can each accommodate four or five adult men or around six boys. It is not known when the men were first divided into *decani* and *cantoris* sides, although this division was presumably already in place by the time the loft books were rebound in 1860, since these books were labelled as ‘*decani*’ or ‘*cantoris*’ (see 4.2.1 below). A photograph from c. 1860–63 (Plate 7) shows no seating provision for the boys in front of the stalls, although the large number of books on the music desks of the stalls (six or seven on each side) suggests that the boys may have occupied the one row of stalls with the men. As we have seen (2.2.2), seats and music desks for the boys were added in front of the benches in 1863, as can be seen in Plate 8.⁹²

No accounts of the robes worn by the choir have been found between 1823 (when the new surplices were ordered) and 1903, when the newly appointed Lord Lieutenant the Earl of Dudley purchased a set of scarlet cassocks and ruffs for the boys, allegedly in

⁹¹ *Limerick Chronicle*, 18th October 1854, p. 2.

⁹² *JN*, 21st December 1863, p. 2. These seats do not survive today, although they were visible in a photograph of the Chapel prior to its conversion for use as a courtroom (*IT*, 16th April 1927, p. 11). It is possible that these seats were repurposed as the kneelers visible in the photograph of the consecration of the Chapel as a Roman Catholic church in 1943 (Plate 20).

imitation of dress of the children of the English Chapel Royal.⁹³ It was noted at the time that the men wore black cassocks, and so it is possible that they had done so for some time. (In the early days, the boys and men may have worn surplices only without cassocks underneath.) The same year some new surplices were purchased with money put aside from the offertories received in the Chapel, and in subsequent years a small amount of offertory money (usually £2) was put aside for ‘Care of Surplices’.⁹⁴ Some of the boys (perhaps the head boy) may have worn a cap on certain occasions: the purchase of a ‘chorister’s cap’ for Dean Webster’s funeral in 1913 is noted in the Preachers’ Book.⁹⁵ The press report of Dean Mease’s funeral in May 1922 described the ‘gentlemen and boys of the choir of the Chapel Royal, in their surplices and red cassocks’, which may suggest that the men had at some stage since 1903 ceased to wear black and acquired scarlet cassocks to match those worn by the boys.⁹⁶

2.3 Organs of the Chapel

2.3.1 *The 1815 William Gray organ*

As we have seen (2.2.1), the brief sent to James Gandon in 1801 stated that the new Castle chapel should contain ‘an Organ for Cathedral Service’. As a result of the protracted construction of the Chapel, it was not until February 1814 that the building was sufficiently complete for the Board of Works to move on the matter of seeking estimates for the construction of an organ.⁹⁷ The following advertisement was printed in several Irish newspapers in March and April 1814:

⁹³ DDE, 13th April 1903, p. 6. According to Percy Dearmer, the wearing of scarlet cassocks by royal chaplains and choirs of royal foundations began only during the reign of Edward VII, which suggests that the Dublin Chapel Royal may have been ahead of this trend: Percy Dearmer, *Robes and the Choir Habit* (London: Warham Guild, 1933).

⁹⁴ RCB P.0129.08.1, Offertory Collections 1903–15 and subsequent years.

⁹⁵ RCB P.0129.08.1, Offertory Collections 1913.

⁹⁶ *IT*, 25th May 1922, p. 6.

⁹⁷ NAI OPW1/1/2/2, p. 321: Robert Robinson to Francis Johnston requesting an estimate for the construction of an organ for the Castle Chapel, 22nd February 1814.

The Commissioners of the Board of Works hereby give notice, that they will, on or before the 20th day of April next, receive proposals for building an Organ for the Castle Chapel, according to a Plan, Specification and Instructions, to be seen at the Architect and Inspector of Civil Buildings' Office, Dublin Castle...⁹⁸

The 'Plan, Specification and Instructions', presumably drawn up by Francis Johnston, seem not to have survived. These likely contained details of the case that Johnston had designed, and possibly a desired stop-list for the organ. Ten proposals were received by the Board of Works, none of which has survived.⁹⁹ Robert Robinson, secretary to the Board of Works, forwarded these proposals to Johnston in April 1814 and drew his attention to

observations so generally made in the said proposals relative to the inadequacy of the space allowed in the plan exhibited for the proper construction of an instrument of the description advertised for...¹⁰⁰

Robinson suggested to Johnston that he might be able to make more room available for the proposed organ by 'some contrivance or arrangement in regard to the accommodation of the Choir'. It is not clear whether or not Johnston amended his plans as requested.

Robinson's letter directed Johnston to ask the advice of James Duncan (organist designate of the Chapel) in order to choose 'the most eligible proposal'. This choice was evidently made quickly, as two days later Robinson wrote to William Gray of London inviting him to come to Dublin in order to see the Chapel before finalizing the contract for the building of an organ.¹⁰¹ Over subsequent weeks Robinson corresponded with Gray concerning his planned visit to Dublin, and on 17th May Robinson informed Gray that the Board of Works would compensate him for expenses incurred in coming to Dublin.¹⁰² Gray evidently came to Dublin shortly afterwards and consulted with Johnston and

⁹⁸ SN, 6th April 1814, p. 3.

⁹⁹ NAI OPW1/1/2/2, p. 349: Robert Robinson to Francis Johnston concerning ten proposals received for building an organ for the Castle Chapel, 25th April 1814.

¹⁰⁰ NAI OPW1/1/2/2, p. 349.

¹⁰¹ NAI OPW1/1/2/2, p. 350: Robert Robinson to William Gray, inviting Gray to visit the Chapel, 27th April 1814.

¹⁰² NAI OPW1/1/2/2, p. 353: Robert Robinson to William Gray concerning his expenses for coming to Dublin, 17th May 1814.

Duncan 'to devise a proper plan of an Instrument to answer the Chapel', which was sent to Johnston on 17th June. (This proposal does not survive.) The cost of the organ was to be 660 guineas, including a further sum of 45 guineas for Gray's expenses in coming to Dublin. The total cost of this project was therefore £740 5s British currency, or £801 18s 9d Irish currency.¹⁰³

No further correspondence took place concerning the organ until February 1815, two months after the first service took place in the Chapel. Robinson wrote to the Under-Secretary, William Gregory on 15th February to request that the £1000 of government funds put aside for the organ be transferred from the 1814 estimates to the 1815 estimates as the organ was still 'unfinished'.¹⁰⁴ The organ was first played in public by James Duncan at a service on Sunday 6th August 1815.¹⁰⁵ The following day Robinson wrote to Johnston to acknowledge the receipt of 'Mr Grey's [sic.] Bill for the organ furnished for the Castle Chapel', and in addition to the amount of this bill he approved a further payment to Gray of one hundred guineas.¹⁰⁶ There is no hint in these documents as to what this extra charge was for, or indeed as to why the construction of the organ took such a long time.

The maintenance of the organ is only mentioned in the Board of Works records on two occasions. In October 1829 the Board requested that the Dean of the Chapel, Thomas Singleton, would have 'the Organ in the Castle Chapel cleaned', perhaps as a result of the works which were then underway in the Chapel (see 2.2.3 above).¹⁰⁷ On 14th October 1832 the Sunday service was cancelled 'in consequence of the repairing of the organ'.¹⁰⁸ This work was carried out by the Edinburgh firm Small, Bruce & Co., for the modest sum

¹⁰³ NAI OPW1/1/2/2, p. 359: Robert Robinson to Francis Johnston concerning cost of proposed organ, 17th June 1814.

¹⁰⁴ NAI OPW1/1/2/2, p. 392: Robert Robinson to William Gregory, 15th February 1815.

¹⁰⁵ *DEP*, 12th August 1815, p. 3.

¹⁰⁶ NAI OPW1/1/2/2, p. 428: Robert Robinson to Francis Johnston, 7th August 1815.

¹⁰⁷ NAI OPW1/1/1/6, p. 87: minute concerning cleaning of the Castle Chapel organ, to be undertaken by Archdeacon Singleton, 30th October 1829.

¹⁰⁸ *WDWM*, 13th October 1832, p. 2.

of £17 4s 7d.¹⁰⁹ This firm carried out work on a number of other organs in Ireland during the early 1830s, including the provision of a new organ for Derry Cathedral in 1833.¹¹⁰

The Board of Works also had responsibility for the payment of an organ-blower for the Chapel. In July 1832 a certain Andrew Connor was paid a salary of £1 16s 4d per quarter as ‘Bellows Blower to the Castle Chapel’,¹¹¹ and his salary was raised to £1 16s 11d per quarter in October 1832.¹¹² This salary was never increased further, and so by the time the office of organ-blower was abolished in January 1901 following the installation of the Gray and Davison organ (2.3.4) it remained the same paltry sum of £7 7s 8d per annum.¹¹³

Gray’s organ was built into a small case designed by Johnston that harmonized with the woodwork elsewhere in the Chapel.¹¹⁴ During the construction of the new Telford organ in the 1850s (2.3.3), Telford agreed to take the Gray organ (including its ‘Carved Case’) as part payment for his new instrument.¹¹⁵ In 1864, Telford installed this organ in St Mary’s Church, Enniscorthy.¹¹⁶ In 1885 the organ was removed from the west gallery of Enniscorthy Church and rebuilt in a chamber in the south aisle. A press report stated:

The organ...originally came from the Castle Chapel; its beautiful old case of carved oak has not been touched, otherwise it is almost new, having been much enlarged and rebuilt by Messrs Brown and Son, of Dublin.¹¹⁷

¹⁰⁹ NAI OPW1/1/1/7, p. 213: minute concerning tradesmen’s bills, 20th November 1832.

¹¹⁰ *Londonderry Sentinel*, 20th April 1833, p. 2.

¹¹¹ NAI OPW1/1/1/7, p. 29: minute concerning salary paid to Andrew Connor, bellows-blower, 10th July 1832.

¹¹² NAI OPW1/1/1/7, p. 160: minute concerning salary paid to Andrew Connor, bellows-blower, 6th October 1832.

¹¹³ NAI CSO/RP/1901/906: Hercules H. Dickinson concerning termination of services of Charles Fox, blower of the organ, 11th January 1901.

¹¹⁴ A small notch is visible today on the wall of the Chapel behind the present organ case, which appears to be the point at which the top of the original case was fastened to the wall.

¹¹⁵ NAI OPW1/1/2/17, p. 15: W. Mooney to Mr Telford, 1st August 1854; NAI OPW1/1/2/17, p. 27: E. Hornsby to Messrs Telford and Telford, 4th August 1854.

¹¹⁶ Information from the dedicatory plaque on the organ of the church. I am grateful to the Rev’d Nicola Halford, Rector of Enniscorthy, for this information.

¹¹⁷ *DDE*, 18th December 1885, p. 2.

The case is still intact and can be seen in its current home in Plate 14. At the time of writing, the organ has been disassembled and removed from the church for restoration work, and so a detailed investigation of the surviving instrument was not possible.

2.3.2 *The Gray organ and changing fashions*

The only eyewitness account of the Gray organ can be found in an 1845 press report of the music at the Chapel by ‘W. G.’, who described it as ‘a disgrace, and in no way suited to the building’.¹¹⁸ Although, as we shall see (3.3.1), the reliability of W. G.’s account is somewhat questionable, such an explicit and damning comment cannot be ignored, especially since it is the only opinion on the organ that has come down to us.

It would seem that this remark was more likely a reflexion of the taste of the time than a condemnation of Gray’s workmanship. Although the organ was by then only thirty years old, momentous changes had taken place in organ-building fashions and technology from around the mid-1830s. As a result of the growing popularity of the organ music of Bach and Mendelssohn in England, the ‘German system’ of organ-building began to take hold in England: choruses became more full toned, C-compass keyboards displaced GG-compass, and independent pedal divisions played by two-octave pedal-boards were introduced.¹¹⁹ In light of such developments, the Gray organ would have seemed extremely old-fashioned and limited in scope. Furthermore, since the space in the gallery was limited (see 2.3.1 above), it may have been necessary to construct an organ that was smaller in scale than would have been appropriate for the Chapel. (The Chapel’s acoustic is not reverberant and is quite dry, owing to the extensive use of wood in the interior.)

Although the original specification of the Gray organ does not survive, comparison with other instruments by the same builder demonstrate that in that period Gray was still building organs in the eighteenth-century style. One such built between 1815 and 1820 for

¹¹⁸ ‘The Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle’, *Musical World*, 16th January 1845, p. 27.

¹¹⁹ Nicholas Thistlethwaite, *The Making of the Victorian Organ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 181–84.

the Church of St Mary the Virgin in Bathwick, Somerset survives in the Musical Instrument Museum in Berlin (Plate 15).¹²⁰ This organ has been considerably enlarged and altered, although its original case is intact and its original specification is known (Table 2.1).

<i>Great</i>	<i>Swell</i>	<i>Choir</i>
Open Diapason	Open Diapason	Stop Diapason
Stop Diapason	Stop Diapason	Dulciana
Principal	Principal	Principal
Twelfth	Hautboy	Flute
Fifteenth		
Sesquialtera		

Table 2.1: Original specification of Gray organ (c. 1815–20) for St Mary the Virgin, Bathwick, Somerset.¹²¹

A comparison with a slightly earlier Dublin organ—that of Trinity College chapel, installed in 1798, and built by Samuel Green, a close contemporary of Gray—shows a broadly similar though slightly larger specification (Table 2.2).

<i>Great</i>	<i>Swell</i>	<i>Choir</i>
Open Diapason	Open Diapason	Stop Diapason
Stop Diapason	Stop Diapason	Dulciana
Principal	Dulciana	Principal
Twelfth	Principal	Fifteenth
Fifteenth	Cornet III	
Sexquialtera [sic.]	Hautboy	
Cornet IV		
Trumpet		

Table 2.2: Original specification of Green organ (1798) for the chapel of Trinity College, Dublin.¹²²

The Bathwick Gray organ is somewhat smaller than the Trinity Green organ, and does not include Trumpet or Cornet stops. The Cornet gradually went out of fashion in the first two decades of the nineteenth century,¹²³ although it is possible that Gray's Chapel Royal organ included this stop, which was also apparently present on the later Telford

¹²⁰ Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 218.

¹²¹ From information displayed in the Musical Instrument Museum, Berlin.

¹²² David C. Wickens, *The Instruments of Samuel Green* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1987), 156.

¹²³ Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 211–14.

organ (see 2.3.3 below). The Bathwick organ is a rare late example of an instrument with a chair organ in a separate case, a feature common in eighteenth-century organs but no longer fashionable in the early nineteenth century.¹²⁴ Since this organ was built either concurrently or soon after the Chapel Royal organ and occupied a case of similar size, it is likely that they both would have been similar in style and specification.

As noted above (2.2.3), Johnston's design for the Chapel Royal building may have been influenced by the architecture of the chapel of Trinity College. It is possible therefore that his design for the Chapel Royal organ case may have been influenced by the case of Green's organ for Trinity chapel. Thus the Chapel Royal organ may have had a separate chair case (now lost), which might explain the curious old-fashioned design of the case of the 1857 organ (see 2.3.3 below). It is impossible to confirm this, however, since no drawings survive of the Gray organ in place in the Chapel Royal, and no Gray records prior to 1821 appear to survive.

A comparison of the two specifications above with those of contemporary English organs shows them to be typical of the style that was current from the mid-eighteenth century until the early nineteenth century (part of the so-called 'long eighteenth century'). The specification of the Trinity Green organ is identical to that of the organ built by John Byfield II for St Mary's Church, Rotherhithe in 1765, except that Byfield's organ has three additional stops.¹²⁵ Likewise, a diagram of a typical English organ from 1819 gives a notional stop-list very similar to the two reproduced above.¹²⁶ Comparisons of specifications alone cannot account for technological developments that may have influenced the construction of the constituent parts of the organ and indeed the sound made by the pipes, although the persistence of a similar approach to formulating stop-lists

¹²⁴ Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 218.

¹²⁵ Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 169.

¹²⁶ 'Interior Profile of an English Church Organ', *The Cyclopaedia*, vol. iv.

for more than half a century demonstrates that this was a period of relative stasis in the development of organ-building:

[In 1820] any one of the metropolitan organ-builders of the day would have produced an almost identical specification for a 3-manual organ of twenty-three stops. Half a century before, the stop list would have been much the same.¹²⁷

Rapid advances took place in the 1820s and 1830s, however, and by the 1840s the English organ was a transformed instrument. Rudimentary pedal registers were not unknown prior to the 1820s: numerous examples of mostly one-octave pedal-boards with one dedicated rank of ‘pedal pipes’ can be found on organs built between 1790 and 1820, including several instruments by Gray. The widespread introduction of full pedal-boards of the type which had long been common in northern Europe (which the English called ‘German pedals’) was, however, an innovation of the early Victorian period.¹²⁸

A degree of conservatism took hold amongst older organists who resisted the use of pedals and preferred the long manual GG-compass that had been normative since the late seventeenth century, which provided a greater range of low notes for the left hand.¹²⁹ English organ music since Tudor times had frequently featured florid left-hand lines, and this preference for left-hand dexterity over pedal agility changed somewhat more slowly than the organ technology did. The resistance of the older generation of organists to the use of pedal-boards was encapsulated in a famous remark by Sir George Smart (1776–1867), organist of the English Chapel Royal: ‘My dear Sir, I never in my life played upon a *gridiron!*’¹³⁰

Green’s Trinity chapel organ was replaced in 1838 with a new instrument built by the young William Telford, who had established his organ-building firm in Dublin in

¹²⁷ Thistlethwaite, *The Making of the Victorian Organ*, 11.

¹²⁸ Thistlethwaite, *The Making of the Victorian Organ*, 16–22.

¹²⁹ Thistlethwaite, *The Making of the Victorian Organ*, 3.

¹³⁰ David Yearsley, *Bach’s Feet: The Organ Pedals in European Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 193.

1830.¹³¹ Part of the Green organ was rebuilt and installed by Telford in Durrow Church, Co. Laois (then Queen's County) in 1842, where it survives today.¹³² The specification of Telford's Trinity chapel organ was characteristic of the transitional period during which it was built: whilst it retained some of the hallmarks of the eighteenth-century style (such as the retention of Green's GG-compass chair organ, and the use of GG compass also for the new great organ), it also incorporated innovations that became common in later Victorian instruments (five independent pedal stops, the doubling of manual diapason ranks, and the preponderance of eight-foot tone on the great and swell division). Telford's organs for St Nicholas of Myra Church, Francis Street, Dublin (1842) and St Columba's College, then in Stackallan, Co. Meath (1843) demonstrate further moves towards the characteristic specifications of the 'German system' organs of the later Victorian era, as outlined above.¹³³

A comparison of Green's Trinity chapel organ with the Telford that replaced it demonstrates the momentous changes in organ-building that had occurred in a period of just four decades. In this light, one can see how such a late example of an eighteenth-century-style organ as the one built by Gray for the Chapel Royal would have failed to impress an observer in 1845. The rapid development of organ technology in the early Victorian period and the resulting changes in playing and accompanying styles caused many eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century organs to be discarded or drastically altered.¹³⁴ Such was the fate of Gray's organ for the Chapel Royal: although Telford moved the original case to Enniscorthy, he rebuilt the pipes and mechanism in keeping with new trends, and so the organ so retained very little of original character.

¹³¹ Gerard Gillen, 'William Telford and the Victorian Organ in Ireland', *Irish Musical Studies 2: Music and the Church*, eds Gerard Gillen and Harry White (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1993), 108–28 (108).

¹³² Wickens, *The Instruments of Samuel Green*, 50.

¹³³ The specifications of these organs and that built for Trinity College chapel are reproduced in Gillen, 'William Telford', 120–21.

¹³⁴ Thistlethwaite, *The Making of the Victorian Organ*, 7.

2.3.3 *The 1857 Telford organ*

As we have seen (2.2.2), the installation of a new organ was the first of a number of significant alterations to the Chapel made during the viceroyalty of the Earl of Carlisle, though plans for this new organ had been laid prior to Carlisle's appointment as Lord Lieutenant in March 1855. William Telford's proposal for a new organ had been approved in August 1854 and it was agreed that the organ would be completed by April 1855.¹³⁵ Although it appears that a lack of funds available to the Board of Works caused the project to be shelved temporarily in December 1854,¹³⁶ the project was revived in January 1856 when tenders were sought from craftsmen Thomas Marshall and Zachariah Jaques for constructing a case for a new organ according to the 'Drawings and Specifications' prepared by Board of Works architect James Owen.¹³⁷ At the same time a proposal for the decoration of the front pipes was sought from Early of Grafton Street.¹³⁸

Jaques's proposal for 'for furnishing, and putting up New Organ Case' for a sum of £160 was accepted by the Board of Works on 28th January 1856,¹³⁹ although when presented with a contract in March of that year he claimed that the plans drawn up by the Board went beyond that for which he had tendered and refused to sign a contract for that amount.¹⁴⁰ The eventual amount agreed is not recorded, although in October 1856 Jaques requested a further payment of £60 for the work.¹⁴¹ The surviving drawings of the planned organ case signed by James Owen and Jaques are reproduced in Plate 16.

It is not known what other organ-builders may have tendered for this work, as Telford's is the only proposal recorded in the Board of Works minutes. By the 1850s Telford was firmly established as the leading Irish organ-builder, but nonetheless he seems

¹³⁵ NAI OPW1/1/2/17, p. 27: E. Hornsby to Messrs Telford and Telford, 4th August 1854.

¹³⁶ NAI OPW1/1/2/17, p. 277: minute concerning drawing of organ case sent to James Owen, 20th December 1854.

¹³⁷ NAI OPW1/1/2/18, p. 396: E. Hornsby to Thomas Marshall and Zachariah Jaques, 15th January 1856.

¹³⁸ NAI OPW1/1/2/18, p. 397: E. Hornsby to Mr Early, Grafton Street, 15th January 1856.

¹³⁹ NAI OPW1/1/2/18, p. 416: E. Hornsby to Zachariah Jaques accepting the latter's proposal, 28th January 1856.

¹⁴⁰ NAI OPW1/1/2/19, p. 27: memorandum to James Owen, 15th March 1856.

¹⁴¹ NAI OPW1/1/2/19, p. 358: minute concerning payment to Zachariah Jaques, 23rd October 1856.

to have been keen to secure the contract to build the new Chapel Royal organ, since he quoted an usually small price of £350 for the construction of this organ.¹⁴² Although the old Gray instrument was included as part payment, this was still a remarkably low price: the organs of Bride Street and Rowe Street churches in Wexford, built by Telford in 1858, cost 500 guineas each,¹⁴³ and though they were similar in size to the Chapel organ, neither had the costly full-compass swell that the Chapel organ had. Telford may have quoted such a low price in a bid to secure this prestigious job, and the unusual feature of a full-compass swell (as discussed below) suggests that he spared no expense in building an impressive instrument for the Chapel.

The installation of the organ began in September 1856:

The Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle, is about to be closed for a short time, in order to admit of Mr. Telford, the eminent organ builder, erecting a magnificent new organ. Other necessary repairs will take place.¹⁴⁴

The Chapel apparently remained closed for several months whilst this work was underway.

Some details of the new organ appeared in a press report on 19th January 1857:

It contains a great organ of nine stops, a choir organ of six stops, a swell organ (of full compass) of nine stops, and a pedal organ with double open diapasons of sixteen feet, composition pedals, coupling actions, and a tremolo of peculiar construction on the swell organ. The keys are placed at the north end or side of the instrument, enabling the performer to see into the body of the chapel, and giving more space for the organ. The swell organ (which is very fine) has been placed in the thickness of the wall, which in fact forms the top and sides of the swell box...¹⁴⁵

On the following Sunday (25th January), the organ was played for the first time in public by Chapel organist Henry Bussell, although it was not then entirely complete:

¹⁴² NAI OPW1/1/2/17, p. 15: W. Mooney to Mr Telford, 1st August 1854; NAI OPW1/1/2/17, p. 27: E. Hornsby to Messrs Telford and Telford, 4th August 1854.

¹⁴³ Gillen, 'William Telford', 111.

¹⁴⁴ *DEP*, 16th September 1856, p. 3.

¹⁴⁵ *DDE*, 19th January 1857, p. 2.

A portion only—the choir-organ—of the new and splendid instrument in process of erection by Messrs. Telford, the eminent organ-builders, was sufficiently complete for use on the occasion; but from the tone, &c., of this fragmentary part, we could form some idea of the power and admirable composition of this noble instrument. The carving of its dark oak case is most exquisitely executed by M. Jaques, from designs by J. H. Owen, Esq., Architect to the Board of Works, under whose tasteful superintendence the general decorations have been conducted. The “diapering” of the organ pipes, in brilliant chromatic patterns, is very effective.¹⁴⁶

This report stated that the organ would be ‘completely finished in about a fortnight’, and also noted that during the period in which the Chapel had been closed the chancel had been redecorated with ‘colouring and gilding’. This is referred to in the Board of Works records as the ‘decoration of the chance end [sic.] of the Chapel desired by the Lord Lieutenant’, which cost a total of £65.¹⁴⁷

A further press report several weeks later stated that the organ had been completed, and included a slightly larger specification than the report quoted from above, with ten stops each on great and swell, and two pedal stops. (This larger number presumably included the pedal couplers to great and swell: choir to pedal couplers were not included in Telford’s organs until much later in the nineteenth century.) This report described a performance given by Sir Robert Stewart, organist of Christ Church, St Patrick’s and Trinity College, on Tuesday 17th February at half-past two ‘for the purpose of opening the organ in the presence of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant’. Stewart played a short recital for a small audience, amongst which were several dignitaries, including the deans of the Chapel Royal and St Patrick’s:

Dr. Stuart [sic.] performed selections from the sonatos [sic.] of Mendelssohn in exquisite style, displaying the softness and purity of tone of the instrument. In “Handel’s Funeral March” in Saul, played by desire of his Excellency, and in “The Consolation,” by Dassek [sic.],¹⁴⁸ he showed its power and compass.

¹⁴⁶ *DDE*, 26th January 1857, p. 3.

¹⁴⁷ NAI OPW1/1/2/19, p. 386: Board of Works to Captain Williams concerning redecoration of the Chapel, 4th November 1856.

¹⁴⁸ *La Consolation*, op. 62, a virtuosic piano fantasy by Jan Ladislav Dussek.

At the conclusion of several other pieces,¹⁴⁹ which were given in a masterly manner, his Excellency complimented Dr. Stuart on his playing, and Mr. Telford, for the excellent character of the organ... It possesses much power, combined with great softness, and we have never heard anything finer than the diapason and flute stop.¹⁵⁰

Some days later, a letter from Henry Bussell appeared in several newspapers contradicting what he claimed was an incorrect assertion that Stewart's recital had been a public 'opening' of the organ. He claimed that he had opened the organ himself on 25th January, and that Stewart's recital was an informal event arranged not by the Lord Lieutenant but by Telford:

Mr. Telford, who built the organ, without any intimation to me, asked permission from the Dean for Dr. Stewart to try the instrument...and when his Excellency learned that he had made the application he was happy to avail himself of the opportunity of hearing his performance... [T]he announcement in the papers of a "public performance" of what was simply intended to be quite private caused no little astonishment within the walls of the Castle.¹⁵¹

At the front of this new organ was a sort of false chair organ case, which was incorporated into the main case as one contiguous structure (Plate 16). The inclusion of such a feature seems extraordinarily old-fashioned for a new organ of its time, and it seems likely that this was an effort to harmonize the new case with its Gothic surroundings, or perhaps to imitate the arrangement of the old organ, which (as discussed above) may have had a separate chair case. The similarity between the 1857 case (Plate 17) and the case of the Bathwick Gray organ (Plate 15) is quite striking. Such an evocation of ancient styles was not without precedent in Telford's instruments: a similar Gothic-style chair case formed part of the organ Telford built for St Peter's College, Radley, Berkshire in 1847,¹⁵² the main case of which closely resembles that of the 1815 Chapel Royal organ (Plate 14).

¹⁴⁹ One of these pieces was by Rinck, according to *DDE*, 18th February 1857, p. 2.

¹⁵⁰ *FJ*, 18th February 1857, p. 2.

¹⁵¹ *FJ*, 21st February 1857, p. 3.

¹⁵² Gillen, 'William Telford', 116.

Telford's 1844 organ for the Mercy Convent, Baggot Street featured a false chair façade which covered the reversed console.

Although the case was old-fashioned and the voicing (like that of Telford's other organs) presumably more akin to the style of the English classical organ,¹⁵³ the specification of the Chapel Royal had a number of distinctly modern features, including an early example of a full-compass swell. It has been claimed that the first such swell in Ireland was built by Telford for his 1857 Christ Church Cathedral organ,¹⁵⁴ although that instrument was not completed until nine months later.¹⁵⁵ Such a novelty is worthy of remark as Telford continued to build short-compass swells into the late 1860s. The twin Wexford organs (built in 1858) both had tenor-C swells,¹⁵⁶ and as late as 1867 Telford preserved the tenor-G swell compass in his rebuild of the organ of St Werburgh's Church, a feature which was condemned in the press:

We cannot forbear regretting that these old-fashioned half-benches are allowed to remain in our parish churches at all... We trust that, in due time, Mr Telford will have the trouble of remedying this deficiency in St Werburgh's organ, and elsewhere.¹⁵⁷

The surviving Chapel organ books contain numerous indications of registrations (see Appendix C3), although owing to the long period in which these books appear to have been in use (c. 1818 to c. 1870) it is impossible to know which stop names refer to the Telford organ and which to the Gray organ. In addition to common foundational stop names like Open Diapason, Stopped Diapason, Principal, and Fifteenth, there are instances of reeds (Hautboy and Trumpet), and registrations such as 'Full to 15th' and

¹⁵³ Gillen, 'William Telford', 117–18.

¹⁵⁴ Gillen, 'William Telford', 116. I am informed by organ-builder Trevor Crowe that the organ built in 1844 by Telford for the Mercy Convent, Baggot Street included the unusual and apparently original feature of an enclosed GG-compass swell.

¹⁵⁵ *SN*, 11th November 1857, p. 2.

¹⁵⁶ Gillen, 'William Telford', 116.

¹⁵⁷ *SN*, 28th January 1867, p. 2.

'Loud Organ', as well as several mentions of a Cornet stop. (It appears that the swell of Telford's organ included a Cornet stop, as discussed below.)

As we shall see (2.3.4), in 1900 the London builders of the first Chapel Royal organ, called since 1842 Gray and Davison,¹⁵⁸ removed the Telford organ prior to installing a completely new instrument of their own. Shortly after its removal from Dublin, it was modified and installed by the same builders in Ilford Congregational Church, Essex. Two stop-lists for this organ survive—one from a survey of the rebuilt organ made in 1900 and recorded in the National Pipe Organ Register,¹⁵⁹ and the other printed in the periodical *The Organist and Choirmaster* in April 1901.¹⁶⁰ A hypothetical original stop-list of the Telford organ (Table 2.3) can be deduced from these stop-lists by omitting the modifications made by Gray and Davison in 1900 and comparing the details given in the press reports discussed above.

¹⁵⁸ Thistlethwaite, *The Making of the Victorian Organ*, 55.

¹⁵⁹ no. E01285: organ by William Telford, rebuilt by Gray and Davison (1900) in Vine Memorial Congregational Church, Upper High Road, Ilford, Essex (National Pipe Organ Register, www.npor.org.uk).

¹⁶⁰ *The Organist and Choirmaster*, April 1901, p. 289.

<i>Great</i>	<i>Swell</i>	<i>Choir</i>
Open Diapason No. 1 8'	Bourdon 16'	Viol di Gamba 8'
Open Diapason No. 2 8'	Open Diapason 8'	Dulciana 8'
Clarabella 8'	Dulciana 8'	Stopped Diapason 8'
Principal 4'	Principal 4'	Principal 4'
Flute 4'	Dulciana Principal 4'	Fifteenth 2'
Twelfth 2½'	Fifteenth 2'	Clarinet 8'
Fifteenth 2'	Cornet III	
Sesquialtera III	Oboe 8'	Pedal
Trumpet 8'	Tremulant	Open Diapason 16'
	[Trumpet 8', added 1859/60] ¹⁶¹	Bourdon 16'

Table 2.3: Hypothetical specification of Telford organ (1857) for Chapel Royal, excluding modifications by Gray and Davison (1900).¹⁶²

In addition to the novel full-compass swell, two features of the likely specification call for comment. The stop named ‘Cornet’ is striking since, as we have seen (2.3.2), Cornets were going out of fashion even by the time of the construction of the 1815 Gray organ. Telford seldom included Cornets in his organs,¹⁶³ although the abovementioned organ for St Peter’s College, Radley unusually included two such stops—a three-rank Mounted Cornet on the choir organ, and a three-rank Cornet of dulciana scale on the swell. This organ was built ten years before the Chapel Royal organ, and was designed on a lavish scale (with forty-seven stops over three manuals and pedals) as a showpiece instrument by Telford, and so its specification was not at all typical.¹⁶⁴

As mentioned above, the case of the Radley College organ was, like the 1857 Chapel Royal case, retrospective in aesthetic, and so the inclusion of stops called ‘Cornet’ on both

¹⁶¹ This addition to Telford’s original scheme was proposed by the Board of Works to Dean Tighe in December 1857 (NAI OPW1/1/2/20, p. 254: Board of Works to H. U. Tighe concerning redecoration of the Chapel, 12th December 1857), and was executed during the period in which the Chapel was closed for extensive renovations in late 1859 and early 1860 (*IT*, 24th January 1860, p. 3).

¹⁶² Each of the specifications consulted included numerous extra stops which had been prepared for but were seemingly never installed. The specification in *The Organist and Choirmaster* does not include the swell Dulciana Principal mentioned in the NPOR specification, although this appears to be an unintentional omission, since the piece describes the swell as having eleven stops but only lists ten. Both specifications include a pedal Bass Flute, which is indicated on the NPOR to have been derived from the pedal Bourdon. The NPOR also indicates the borrowing of the swell Bourdon on the pedal, which is omitted in *The Organist and Choirmaster*, although as with the swell this appears to have been an unintentional omission owing to a similar discrepancy in the number of stops listed. Organ registrations in music library sources (Appendix C3) sometimes refer to a ‘Hautboy’ stop seemingly on this instrument, which may indicate that the Oboe was so called.

¹⁶³ Gillen, ‘William Telford’, 119–26.

¹⁶⁴ Gillen, ‘William Telford’, 114–22.

of these organs may have been a further evocation of an antique style. Telford frequently included three-rank swell mixtures in his larger organs, and it is possible that the Chapel Royal stop called ‘Cornet’ was no different in construction to the three-rank swell mixtures of the organs of Christ Church Cathedral and the twin Wexford churches. Since the Radley College swell Cornet was of dulciana scale, however, the term ‘Cornet’ may have been used by Telford in the Chapel Royal organ to indicate a departure from his usual style of mixture—perhaps a soft mixture, or even a tierce mixture in classical style. It is also possible that Telford may have reused a Cornet stop from the Gray organ, perhaps along with other stops or components from the older organ. The preservation of such an old-fashioned stop (the principal use of which would have been for eighteenth-century cornet voluntaries) may have been done at the behest of Henry Bussell, who appears in other respects to have had conservative tastes.¹⁶⁵

A noteworthy common feature shared by Telford’s Radley College, Trinity College and Chapel Royal organs was the inclusion of a second 4’ Principal on the swell. In the NPOR specification of the rebuilt Chapel Royal organ this stop is called ‘Dulciana Principal’, which indicates that it was of a smaller scale than the other Principal. The Radley College organ included both large and small Principals on the great to complement the doubling of the 8’ Open Diapason, as well as a second small 4’ Principal on the swell. The doubling of stops aside from 8’ Open Diapasons was common in the 1820s and 1830s but unusual after 1840 (with the notable exceptions of the early instruments of Henry Willis).¹⁶⁶

2.3.4 *The 1900 Gray and Davison organ*

In the later Victorian period, the growing popularity of transcriptions of orchestral music and oratorio excerpts played on the organ influenced the development of more ‘romantic’

¹⁶⁵ Stanford, *Pages from an Unwritten Diary*, 55.

¹⁶⁶ Thistlethwaite, *The Making of the Victorian Organ*, 110–11.

organ specifications that attempted to imitate the sounds of the orchestra, both in solo and ensemble registrations. These organs had a plethora of eight-foot tone, including keenly voiced strings, orchestral-style flutes, imitative reed stops, high wind-pressures, light pneumatic key action and more sophisticated registrational aids, all of which encouraged the use of a greater variety of registrational colour and denser textures. The Willis organs of Leinster House, Dublin (1899), St Patrick's, Dundalk (1900) and St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin (1902) demonstrated very well this new aesthetic, which characterized a style that endured until the middle of the twentieth century.¹⁶⁷

Such developments in organ technology gave rise to a new 'symphonic' style of Anglican church music, which was pioneered by Sir Charles Villiers Stanford in his service in B-flat (1879). This setting made use of both symphonic forms and an orchestral-style organ accompaniment that was inspired by the 'expressive "orchestral" range of the newly renovated and increasingly romantic organ' of Trinity College, Cambridge, where Stanford was organist.¹⁶⁸ James Culwick, Henry Bussell's successor as organist of the Chapel Royal, was an admirer of Stanford's music, and introduced the B-flat service to the repertoire of the Chapel Royal choir in 1882.¹⁶⁹

The changes in organ-playing styles, particularly as a result of the emergence of new styles of church music in the late nineteenth century, would have made Telford's 1857 Chapel Royal organ seem old-fashioned and quite inadequate: its limited registrational aids would have made orchestral effects such as dramatic crescendos and diminuendos difficult to execute effectively, and its classical voicing would have precluded the use of orchestral tonal palettes. The first indication of an intention to replace this organ was reported in the press in January 1900:

¹⁶⁷ Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 298–325.

¹⁶⁸ Jeremy Dibble, 'Stanford's Service in B flat op. 10 and the Choir of Trinity College, Cambridge', *Irish Musical Studies 2: Music and the Church*, 129–48 (136).

¹⁶⁹ See Appendix E2.

The Chapel Royal is shortly to be enriched with a new organ of large dimensions. Messrs. Gray and Davison, the eminent organ builders, of London, have secured the order, and may be relied on to supply a first-class instrument. The fine organ recently erected in Monkstown parish church was the work of the same firm.¹⁷⁰

Shortly after this report, a newspaper advertisement stated that the Telford organ, ‘with the exception of the casework and front decorated pipes’, was being offered for sale.¹⁷¹ As we have seen (2.3.3), this organ was purchased by Gray and Davison.

The firm Gray and Davison traced its heritage to William Gray who built the first Chapel Royal organ: it was established in 1842 by William’s son, John Gray, in partnership with Frederick Davison.¹⁷² Gray and Davison built several organs in Dublin in the late nineteenth century, including a large instrument of three manuals and forty-five stops for St Bartholomew’s Church in 1887.¹⁷³ Culwick was no doubt familiar with this organ, as he was a close friend of William Henry Vipond Barry, organist of St Bartholomew’s. Shortly after the completion of the new Chapel Royal organ, Gray and Davison installed a large new three-manual organ in Christ Church, Leeson Park, which was completed in early 1902.¹⁷⁴ It seems likely that Culwick would have played a role in this project, as he had lived in Leeson Park until 1895 and had connexions with the church.¹⁷⁵

The new Chapel Royal organ was constructed during late 1900 and was first played in public by Culwick on 9th December of that year.¹⁷⁶ It was built into the 1857 case, although otherwise it was entirely new: owing to the installation of the Telford organ in Ilford, it is most unlikely to have included any pipework from the Telford organ, with the exception of the case pipes (although it is not known if these were speaking pipes). An article concerning the new organ by organist Annie Patterson, an erstwhile pupil of

¹⁷⁰ *IT*, 17th January 1900, p. 4.

¹⁷¹ *The Daily Nation*, 3rd February 1900, p. 1.

¹⁷² Thistlethwaite, *The Making of the Victorian Organ*, 55.

¹⁷³ *DDE*, 23rd December 1887, p. 3. See also Kenneth Milne, *S. Bartholomew’s: A History of the Dublin Parish* (Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1963), 33.

¹⁷⁴ *IT*, 8th February 1902, p. 7.

¹⁷⁵ *DDE*, 24th January 1895.

¹⁷⁶ *The Organist and Choirmaster*, December 1900, p. 205.

Culwick's, appeared in the press in January 1901, which included a detailed specification (Table 2.4).

<i>Great</i>	<i>Swell</i>	<i>Choir</i>	<i>Pedal</i>
Double Diapason 16'	Bourdon 16'	Violin Diapason 8'	Open Diapason 16'
Open Diapason No. 1 8'	Open Diapason 8'	Dulciana 8'	Bourdon 16'
Open Diapason No. 2 8'	Echo Gamba 8'	Concert Flute 8'	Violoncello 8'
Stopped Diapason 8'	Voix Celeste 8'	Gemshorn 4'	Bass Flute 8'
Octave 4'	Octave Viola 4'	Wald Flöte 4'	Bourdon 16' (from Swell)
Harmonic Flute 4'	Flageolet 2'	Piccolo Harmonique 2'	Trombone 16'
Twelfth 2 $\frac{2}{3}$ '	Mixture III 8'	Corno di Bassetto 8'	
Super Octave 2'	Horn 8'		
Posaune 8'	Oboe 8'		
	Tremulant (bar-type)		

Table 2.4: Specification of Gray and Davison organ (1900) for Chapel Royal.¹⁷⁷

Although this specification was only a few stops larger than that of the Telford it replaced, the inclusion of several extra pedal stops and extensive registrational aids made it enormously more versatile for the performance of orchestral accompaniments and transcriptions. The style of the specification suggests a much broader and more orchestral sound palette: the great 16' Double Diapason would have added much gravity to the sound, and the Posaune and Open Diapason No. 1 (both on five inches of wind-pressure) would have been quite loud in a small and dry acoustic. The inclusion of loud fundamental stops and the absence of a great mixture demonstrates that this organ was conceived with strength of tone in mind and not classical brilliance. Patterson commented particularly on this aspect of the great organ: 'the "full" tone of the manuel [sic.], while grand and ennobling, has nothing about it that savours of the harsh and strident, "screaming" mixtures being wisely excluded'.¹⁷⁸

Although the swell specification is superficially similar to that of the Telford, the preponderance of stop-names which evoke string sounds on the Gray and Davison suggests narrow-scaled pipework of a more incisive sound, which provides further evidence of the orchestral ethos of the organ. Perhaps the most radically different division

¹⁷⁷ *IT*, 5th January 1901, p. 3.

¹⁷⁸ *IT*, 5th January 1901, p. 3.

from the old organ was the choir manual: in contrast to the Telford, which contained a specification broadly similar to choir organs of classical instruments, the Gray and Davison choir division had no shortage of imitative orchestral sounds with names that evoked orchestral instruments and sonorities. The uncompromisingly Romantic character of this division was enhanced by its being entirely enclosed in a swell-box.

The new organ was also well supplied with registrational aids, including thumb pistons, composition pedals, an array of couplers (including a swell octave coupler), and what Patterson called a ‘sforzando pedal’, which may have been a type of crescendo pedal. Patterson also commented favourably on the use of tubular pneumatic action in the organ, which she claimed lent the keyboards an ‘extreme lightness and responsiveness of “touch”’, which she compared to the best modern piano actions.

As we have seen (2.3.3), the Chapel had been closed during the construction of the Telford organ in the 1850s. It is uncertain when precisely the construction of the Gray and Davison organ began, although it presumably began shortly after the press report of January 1900 (quoted above), and was completed by December. It appears that regular choral services continued throughout this period (except during the usual summer vacation of July, August and September).¹⁷⁹ The continuation of services as normal may have been made possible by the provision of a small temporary organ whilst the work on the new organ was underway. The National Pipe Organ Register states that the Gray and Davison organ installed in 1900 in Bristo Place Congregational Church, Edinburgh, had been moved from the Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle. This organ had around two manuals and seventeen stops, and since it was small in size (Plate 18) it may have been placed in a side gallery in the Chapel. The note in the Chapel Royal Preachers’ Book which states ‘New

¹⁷⁹ *IT*, 16th June 1900, p. 8; *IT*, 13th October 1900, p. 7.

Organ erected March 1900' may be a reference to this temporary organ, since the three-manual Gray and Davison organ was not completed until many months later.¹⁸⁰

The new organ's hydraulic blowing engine made redundant the minor official employed to blow the organ by hand (see 2.3.1 above). This post had been financed by the Board of Works from 1815 until 1895, after which time the responsibility was transferred to the Dean of the Chapel Royal, who paid the salary out of the budget provided for the Chapel in the estimates for the Lord Lieutenant's household.¹⁸¹ The office of bellows-blower was officially abolished in January 1901 after the completion of the Gray and Davison organ.¹⁸²

A surviving Board of Works file documents repairs made to the organ after its installation. It seems that several maintenance issues arose in the years following its installation: in December 1909 a visiting tuner from Gray and Davison observed that the organ was 'in a very dirty condition and the Pedal Touch Box has been seriously affected by damp', and in 1911 it was necessary to repair the blower.¹⁸³

Organ recitals rarely took place in the Chapel until the appointment of W. E. Hopkins as organist in 1920. Details of a series of recitals he performed in the Chapel can be found in Appendix F.

2.3.5 *The organ after 1922*

As we have seen (1.4.2), the Chapel Royal building existed in a state of limbo for two decades after the final service took place in December 1922. Discussions took place in 1928 between the Office of Public Works (as the Board of Works had been renamed) and the Department of Finance concerning the idea of transferring the Chapel organ to

¹⁸⁰ RCB P.0129.08.1.

¹⁸¹ NAI CSO/RP/1895/711 (contained in NAI CSO/RP/1901/906): Secretary of the Board of Works to the Under-Secretary, Dublin Castle, 26th October 1894; Hercules H. Dickinson to F. Cullinan, 31st October 1894.

¹⁸² NAI CSO/RP/1901/906: Hercules H. Dickinson concerning termination of services of Charles Fox, blower of the organ, 11th January 1901.

¹⁸³ NAI OPW5/15992/10: files concerning maintenance of the organ at the Chapel Royal, 1909–11.

somewhere that it might be used more often, although this idea was rejected as it would ‘materially lessen the interest of the building for visitors’.¹⁸⁴ It seems that the organ lay unused until a proposal was made in April 1937 by the Department of Finance that it might be made available to music students of the Royal Irish Academy of Music and the Municipal School of Music, or of ‘recognised music teachers whose students are not permitted to receive lessons or to practise on the organs in their churches’. As a result of this decision, the Minister for Finance requested a quotation for the organ to be ‘overhauled and put into thorough order for playing’.¹⁸⁵

Telford and Telford quoted to undertake this work at a cost of £172.¹⁸⁶ It seems that the pneumatic action had decayed in the fifteen years during which the organ had lain unused. Telford and Telford proposed taking out ‘nearly all the speaking tubes, numbering about 2,000 for cleaning’ and providing an electric blower. Permission was granted on 26th May for this work to begin, but it was suspended two weeks later following receipt of a letter from Dr Denis Coffey, President of University College Dublin.¹⁸⁷ Coffey wrote directly to Éamon de Valera, then President of the Executive Council (an office which was a short time later renamed Taoiseach) to propose that the Chapel Royal organ would be transferred on loan to the UCD Aula Maxima, St Stephen’s Green, to be used as part of a recently established scheme for the training of organists, on the assumption that

there may be no future use of the Organ in the Castle Chapel for the immediate purpose of the Government, and that a loan may be possible on such conditions as the Government may decide.

¹⁸⁴ NAI TSCH/3/S9935: George P. Fagan, Commissioners of Public Works, to Secretary of the Department of Finance, 24th September 1937 (reference to earlier correspondence of 14th August 1928).

¹⁸⁵ NAI TSCH/3/S9745: W. Doolin, Department of Finance, to Secretary of the Office of the President of the Executive Council, 1st April 1937.

¹⁸⁶ NAI TSCH/3/S9745: W. Doolin to Secretary of the Office of the President of the Executive Council, 1st April 1937.

¹⁸⁷ NAI TSCH/3/S9935: George P. Fagan to the Secretary of the Department of Finance, 24th September 1937.

Coffey explained that UCD could not afford the sum of £1500 for the building of a new organ, and that Telford and Telford had quoted £400 to move the Chapel organ, following a request from Dr John F. Larchet, UCD Professor of Music.¹⁸⁸ Telford and Telford had advised that the organ could be removed from the Chapel provided the ‘outer architectural casing, and the exposed speaking pipes are left intact’, although a government memorandum concerning this proposal stated that this would leave the Chapel with ‘a “shell” or casing of a sham organ’.¹⁸⁹

In response to Coffey’s request, Maurice Moynihan, Secretary to the Executive Council, noted the recent approval for the use of the organ by music students, and stated that ‘it should no doubt be possible to make arrangements by which the two proposals could be reconciled’.¹⁹⁰ A considerable amount of internal government correspondence resulted from Coffey’s request, and de Valera did not reply until more than six months later, stating that the government would not allow the organ to be removed from the Chapel, but that UCD would be welcome to be part of the scheme of use of the organ for ‘pupils of such institutions as the Royal Irish Academy of Music and the Municipal School of Music’.¹⁹¹

As a result of Coffey’s request, members of the government began to consider the future use of the Chapel and the organ. In September 1937 the Commissioners of Public Works reported that the Chapel was then ‘maintained as an object of interest to sight-seers’, and the question as to ‘whether the building should be restored for worship, or put to any other use’ was then under consideration.¹⁹² In response to this, senior civil servant Michael McDunphy summarized several ideas then under discussion concerning the future

¹⁸⁸ NAI TSCH/3/S9935: Denis J. Coffey to Éamon de Valera, 8th June 1937.

¹⁸⁹ NAI TSCH/3/S9935: George P. Fagan to Secretary of the Department of Finance, 24th September 1937.

¹⁹⁰ NAI TSCH/3/S9935: Maurice Moynihan to the Private Secretary of the Minister for Finance, 16th June 1937.

¹⁹¹ NAI TSCH/3/S9935: Éamon de Valera to Denis J. Coffey, 21st December 1937.

¹⁹² NAI TSCH/3/S9935: George P. Fagan to Secretary of the Department of Finance, 24th September 1937.

use of the organ, which at that stage was ‘not played for visitors’.¹⁹³ Around the same time, discussions were taking place in government concerning the building of a national concert hall, and the suggestion was made that the Chapel Royal organ could be transferred to such a venue.¹⁹⁴ McDunphy advised that this organ would be inadequate, since a concert hall ‘would demand an instrument more modern in design and more ambitious in scope’. He also rejected a suggestion that the organ could be moved to the State Apartments ‘for use at official functions’, since music for such events could be provided by a band or orchestra, and dismissed the idea of holding organ recitals in the Chapel, owing to its small capacity and the fact that the Castle was ‘normally not open at night to the public’.¹⁹⁵

The protracted discussions created by Coffey’s request caused the planned overhaul of the organ to be delayed for several months. In October 1937 a letter was sent to de Valera’s department noting that:

The Minister for Education is pressing that these repairs should be completed without delay so that the Organ can be made available for the use of the students of the Municipal School of Music.¹⁹⁶

The maintenance work that had originally been approved in May 1937 was not finally completed until late in 1938. The Commissioners of Public Works then indicated that the Department of Education could proceed with its scheme.¹⁹⁷ UCD and the Royal Irish Academy of Music declined to be part of the scheme, and so it was offered for use by pupils of the Municipal School of Music and the Leinster School of Music.¹⁹⁸ A press report in August 1939 stated that the organ was to be made available by the Departments of Education and Finance to ‘serious students of organ music for training and

¹⁹³ NAI TSCH/3/S9935: memorandum from Michael McDunphy to T. S. C. Dagg, Secretary of the Department of Finance, 20th November 1937.

¹⁹⁴ Patricia Butler and Pat O’Kelly, *The National Concert Hall at Earlsfort Terrace, Dublin: A History* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 2000), 104–05.

¹⁹⁵ NAI TSCH/3/S9935: memorandum from Michael McDunphy to T. S. C. Dagg, 20th November 1937.

¹⁹⁶ NAI TSCH/3/S9935: T. S. C. Dagg to Michael McDunphy, 14th October 1937.

¹⁹⁷ NAI TSCH/3/S9935: P. J. Raftery, Commissioners of Public Works, to Secretary of the Department of Finance, 12th November 1938.

¹⁹⁸ NAI TSCH/3/S9935: memorandum to Secretary of the Department of Finance, 27th April 1939.

practising'.¹⁹⁹ The organ was used for teaching by Joseph O'Brien, Director of the Municipal School of Music, although this arrangement lasted only until 1942, by which time other plans for the Chapel were in hand.²⁰⁰

The restoration generated some new interest in the organ: in early 1940 a tour of the Castle for members of the Old Dublin Society concluded with a short recital in the Chapel Royal of music by Handel and Mendelssohn performed by tenor William F. Watt and organist Mrs A. M. Fraser.²⁰¹ In 1942, P. J. Little (1884–1963), Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, proposed a plan to convert the Capitol Theatre off O'Connell Street into a state concert hall, which included the transfer of the Chapel Royal organ into this new venue, although the plan came to nothing.²⁰² Following the consecration of the Chapel Royal for Roman Catholic worship in June 1943, a new use was found for the building and for the organ. A series of organ recitals (a rare event in Irish Roman Catholic churches in those times) was planned as part of the Dublin International Festival of Music and the Arts in 1961, featuring organists Robert Johnson, F. C. J. Swanton, Oliver O'Brien, Staf Gebruers and Michael van Dessel, but this series had to be cancelled owing to building work then taking place in the Castle.²⁰³

Following the closure of the Chapel building in the early 1980s, the organ was unused once again and fell into disrepair. The organ case was restored in 2008 by Kenneth Jones and Associates as part of the phased restoration of the Chapel building, although by then the instrument itself had deteriorated to an unusable state. As the extreme weight of the organ had contributed to the structural collapse of the gallery, it was decided during the restoration work to remove the mechanism and pipework of the organ, which were

¹⁹⁹ *IT*, 2nd August 1939, p. 4.

²⁰⁰ Jim Cooke, 'A Musical Journey 1890–1993: From Municipal School of Music to Dublin Institute of Technology' ('Arrow@DIT': Dublin Institute of Technology, 1994), 28–9. The author of this piece suggests that the arrangement lasted such a short time on account of the unsuitable times at which the Chapel was available, although a press report concerning the Municipal School of Music suggests that the conversion of the Chapel into a Roman Catholic church was the reason: *IT*, 28th May 1952, p. 8.

²⁰¹ *IT*, 3rd February 1940, p. 14.

²⁰² Butler and O'Kelly, *The National Concert Hall*, 107.

²⁰³ *IT*, 6th June 1961, p. 7.

stored partly in the case and partly in the blowing room in the basement of the Chapel.²⁰⁴

At the time of writing, there are no plans to restore the organ.

²⁰⁴ I am grateful to Derek Byrne of Kenneth Jones and Associates for this information.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CHOIR AND THE ORGANISTS

3.1 The musical foundation

3.1.1 The birth of the musical foundation

As we have seen (1.2.2), even before the new Castle Chapel was completed, the Castle authorities had begun to plan a foundation that would mirror that of the chapel of St James's Palace in London. This is proved by a previously unnoticed letter in the National Archives of Ireland sent on 14th October 1814 by William Howley, Bishop of London and ex-officio Dean of the English Chapel Royal, to Samuel Slade, First Chaplain to the Lord Lieutenant. Enclosed with this letter was an account of how the choral service was performed at the Chapel Royal, St James's Palace written by William Holmes, Sub-Dean of the English Chapel Royal, and his suggestions as to how a similar (albeit more modest) choral foundation might be established in the chapel of Dublin Castle.¹

Holmes's letter reported that the English Chapel Royal choir at the time consisted of sixteen gentlemen, ten choristers, a master of the boys, two composers, and two organists. After explaining times of services and duties of various officials, Holmes made the following recommendations:

As "the Chapel of Dublin Castle is on a much smaller scale than the Chapel Royal", the Choir might be reduced to one Organist, 2 Contra Tenors, 2 Tenors, and 2 Basses, with 6 or 8 Choristers.

The quotation marks suggest that this remark was a quotation from Slade's lost original letter to Howley, which was presumably a request for advice as to how the services of the English Chapel Royal might be imitated in the new Castle Chapel. Slade evidently

¹ NAI OP/405/5: 'Propos'd Establishment of the Castle Chapel'.

considered these suggestions alongside other members of the viceregal administration, as enclosed with these letters is a document dated 30th November 1814:

Organist and Composer: Sir John Stephenson [sic.]²
 Organist: Mr Duncan
 2 Tenors: Messrs Spray and Jager
 2 Contra Tenors: Messrs Smith and Hamerton
 2 Basses: Sir John Stephenson and Mr Hooper
 6 Boys
 1 Clerk of the Closet for the Ld Lieutenant (1 side)
 1 for the opposite side of the Gallery
 1 for below

From comparison with a letter of 1801 in Samuel Slade's hand,³ it appears that this list was not written by him. Although Stevenson and James Duncan were appointed to the posts listed here, as we shall see (3.2.2), the other names are not those of the choir men eventually employed after the opening of the Chapel (although William Henry Hamerton and John Smith later had associations with the Chapel).

Stevenson's appointment to the Chapel as 'Organist and Composer' was clearly an attempt to imitate the English Chapel Royal as per Holmes's description by combining two offices into one. The poet Thomas Moore, with whom Stevenson collaborated on the famous collection of *Irish Melodies*, wrote to his music publisher on 12th November 1814 making excuses on Stevenson's behalf: 'Stevenson, I suppose you know, has been appointed to the new Castle chapel, and is continually busy with the Viceroy making arrangements about it.'⁴ Although there was apparently no formal announcement of this appointment in the press, Moore's comment suggests that Stevenson's appointment had been publicized several weeks before the 'Propos'd Establishment' was written, and so these singers may have been Stevenson's suggestions. This list is unlikely to have been

² Stevenson's name was usually spelled with a 'v', although after 1800 the spelling 'Stephenson' was seldom used.

³ BL Add. MS 38235, p. 253: Samuel Slade to 1st Earl of Liverpool.

⁴ John Russell ed., *Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence of Thomas Moore: Letters 1814–1818*, vol. ii (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1853), 52.

written by Stevenson, however, owing to the unusual variant spelling of his name and the confusion between Jager and Smith's voice parts.

Almost all of the singers in this aspirational list were members of the Dublin cathedral choirs. This demonstrates that the progenitors of the Chapel's choral foundation wished to establish a small but high-quality choir as a counterpart to the three other pre-existing professional liturgical choirs in Dublin—those of the two cathedrals and Trinity College chapel. As we shall see, this was not to be an ad hoc choir of cathedral personnel assembled whenever singers were required at the Chapel, but an independent foundation established as a Dublin equivalent to the English Chapel Royal.

3.1.2 Pluralism between the cathedral choirs, Trinity College and the Chapel Royal

The intention of the Castle authorities to form a choir from cathedral singers proved impossible, since those singers were already occupied with singing in Christ Church Cathedral on Sunday mornings, and St Patrick's Cathedral on Sunday afternoons. The duplication of personnel between Christ Church and St Patrick's was well established by the early nineteenth century. John Jebb strongly condemned this arrangement, which he claimed had originated only in the second half of the eighteenth century:

...to the disgrace of this numerous Chapter and rich foundation [St Patrick's], the Choral Service is performed on the evenings of Sundays and Christmas-day only; not even on Holidays or eves. This was not formerly the case. The abuse has arisen from the plurality of offices allowed to the Choir, who belong also to Christ Church; though the endowments of each Cathedral are sufficient to support a full Choir of its own.⁵

The earliest surviving St Patrick's choir attendance book begins in 1847: this shows that the Sunday morning service was sung by the boy choristers alone, and that the lay vicars and some supernumerary singers attended only at the Sunday afternoon service.⁶ (Jebb's punctilious view of what defined 'Choral Service' evidently did not extend to a

⁵ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 104–05.

⁶ RCB C2.1.19.1: St Patrick's Cathedral choir attendance book, 1847–62.

service sung by boys alone.) No attendance books survive from Christ Church for the same period, although the St Patrick's lay vicars and a number of supernumeraries had sung at the Sunday morning service there during the 1820s and 1830s.⁷ Christ Church employed both lay vicars choral and stipendiary singers (who were paid smaller salaries). Some of the Christ Church stipendiaries were concurrently lay vicars at St Patrick's (which employed a larger number of lay vicars, but no formal stipendiaries). Those Christ Church stipendiaries that did not hold formal positions in St Patrick's sometimes attended as supernumeraries at the St Patrick's afternoon service.⁸

These convoluted arrangements for the deployment of singers in the two cathedrals continued until full daily choral services were established at St Patrick's from February 1865 on the completion of the Guinness restoration of the cathedral. From this time onwards, the twice-daily choral services at St Patrick's made it impossible for singers to hold full-time positions in Christ Church also, although some members of Christ Church choir continued to sing at St Patrick's on Sunday afternoons, an arrangement described by Charles Tisdall, Chancellor of Christ Church, as late as 1895.⁹

From 1865 onwards, some members of St Patrick's choir sang in Christ Church on certain occasions. Benjamin Mullen (a sometime Chapel Royal man) sang at every choral service in St Patrick's except the Sunday morning service, when he regularly sent a deputy so that he could sing at Christ Church.¹⁰ This was presumably in order to fulfil the terms of Mullen's position as a deputy lay vicar at Christ Church (which seems to have commenced in the autumn of 1865),¹¹ for which he received a third of the salary of a full

⁷ RCB C6.1.23.7: Christ Church Cathedral choir attendance book, 1826–41.

⁸ RCB C2.1.19.1: St Patrick's Cathedral choir attendance book, 1847–62.

⁹ *IT*, 5th October 1895, p. 5.

¹⁰ RCB C2.1.19.2–7: St Patrick's Cathedral choir attendance books, 1865–66, 1866–67, 1867–68, 1868–69, 1869–71, 1871–72. The deputy in these years was usually a Mr Talbot—not the same person as A. Talbot of the Chapel Royal, who was also an occasional alto deputy at St Patrick's.

¹¹ He was present at St Patrick's on Sunday mornings until August 1865 (RCB C2.1.19.1–2: St Patrick's Cathedral choir attendance books, 1847–65, 1865–66).

lay vicar.¹² This arrangement continued until a few years before Mullen's death in 1908. Similar arrangements existed for Thomas Gick and Samuel Dobbin, both of whom had also sung at both cathedrals prior to the restoration of St Patrick's.¹³

In the early part of the nineteenth century, before doing duty at Christ Church members of the cathedral choirs sang in the chapel of Trinity College, where the Sunday morning service took place at 9.45am. The first mention of music in the College chapel dates back to 1743, when four 'chanters' were employed, whose duty it was 'to answer all ye responses with an audible voice, & attend ye organ in chanting & singing the psalms',¹⁴ a set of duties akin to those of contemporary parish clerks.¹⁵ Between two and four chanters were employed in Trinity chapel at various times between 1743 and 1777, although around the 1760s their musical duties were delegated to a choir of men from the cathedrals.¹⁶ Despite this the term 'chanter' remained in use, even though this official's duties were now only to read the prayers and not to sing

In order to arrive at Christ Church in time for the morning service, the members of Trinity chapel choir left the chapel after the anthem, during the reading of the Litany. This practice (which John Jebb found particularly egregious) continued until the middle of the nineteenth century.¹⁷ Christ Church initially provided a number of men and boy singers from its choir to Trinity College for an agreed fee. Numerous requests were made by the dean and chapter of Christ Church for increases to this fee,¹⁸ and it seems that a final request for a three-fold increase in late 1814 caused the arrangement to be abandoned from the end of the Christmas vacation (January 1815).¹⁹ A hitherto unnoticed entry in the

¹² Paul Arbuthnot, 'A Survey of the Vicars Choral of St Patrick's and Christ Church Cathedrals During the Nineteenth Century', (Trinity College Dublin: MLitt diss., 2007), 125.

¹³ RCB C6.1.22.2: Christ Church Cathedral chapter and choir attendance book, 1898–1905.

¹⁴ TCD MUN/V/5/3: College Board Register, 29th March 1740–20th December 1783 (p. 23, 13th May 1743).

¹⁵ See 2.1.3 above.

¹⁶ Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral*, 106 (n. 25).

¹⁷ Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral*, 106 (n. 25); Jebb, *Choral Service*, 144.

¹⁸ Barra Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral*, 106 (n. 25).

¹⁹ *FJ*, 5th January 1815, p. 4.

College board minutes from 23rd December 1814 indicates that the board intended to provide for its own independent choir:

Agreed to allow Mr Smith sixty guineas a year for instructing four boys to prepare them to attend College Chappel on Sunday mornings in place of the Boys belonging to the Choir of Christ Church.²⁰

For the next thirty years, Trinity chapel choir was organized independently of the cathedral choirs, although owing to compatible times of service it was still possible for cathedral singers to be concurrently members of the College chapel choir. It now comprised singing boys trained by John Smith (later Professor of Music) and men employed on a freelance basis, some but not all of whom were members of the cathedral choirs. Smith continued to act as master of the boys of the chapel until March 1844, when on the death of College organist John Robinson it was decided that his successor should also be master of the boys. Apparently in nepotistic compensation for Smith's loss of the considerable salary of sixty guineas, the board employed his son Richard, hitherto an unpaid supernumerary, as a full member of the chapel choir.²¹

Three months later, Robert Stewart having been appointed College organist, James Henthorn Todd, a member of the College board, proposed that an arrangement be made with the Dean of St Patrick's Cathedral that the boys of St Patrick's choir should attend at the College chapel on Sunday mornings instead of the boys previously trained by Smith.²² This arrangement was to continue until 1967,²³ although there were occasional complaints regarding the 'inefficiency' of the boys.²⁴ In 1867, John Pentland Mahaffy was

²⁰ TCD MUN/V/5/6: College Board Register, 20th October 1810–5th December 1829 (p. 145, 23rd December 1814).

²¹ TCD MUN/V/5/8: College Board Register, 15th June 1840–27th May 1847 (p. 173, 14th October 1843; p. 204, 23rd March 1844).

²² TCD MUN/V/5/8: College Board Register, 15th June 1840–27th May 1847 (p. 216, 15th June 1844).

²³ Kerry Houston, 'Restoration and Consolidation: Music, 1865–1977', *St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin: A History*, 353–82 (381).

²⁴ TCD MUN/V/5/12: College Board Register, 12th April 1862–24th December 1870 (p. 66, 27th June 1863).

appointed Precentor of the College chapel with responsibility for the chapel choir and the music performed at services,²⁵ a prerogative previously exercised by the Provost.²⁶

The independently organized choir in Trinity College chapel was instigated just two days before the opening of the Chapel Royal in Dublin Castle on Christmas Day 1814. This coincidence, and the opportunity for a potential collaboration between these two institutions, was commented on in the press, and the suggestion was made that the Provost of Trinity and the Lord Lieutenant should consolidate their funds to form a new choir to sing at both Trinity chapel and the Chapel Royal.²⁷ Although such an arrangement never transpired, during the following decades certain singers proved it was possible to serve both institutions concurrently.

The first Chapel Royal singer to sing also in Trinity chapel was John Barton, who was engaged by the College board in 1821.²⁸ Barton had been a member of the Chapel Royal choir since 1814, and was never a member of either cathedral choir. Later in the nineteenth century some Chapel Royal men (including altos William Manning and Iver MacDonnell, and tenor John O'Rorke) sang at Trinity chapel, and also attended frequently as supernumerary singers at the St Patrick's afternoon service.²⁹ This situation explains the reference to the Chapel Royal in Charles Villiers Stanford's often quoted account of the cathedral singers in his childhood:

When I was a boy, one organist and one choir did duty for three of [the Dublin choirs]: Trinity at 9.30 a.m., Christ Church at 11 a.m., St. Patrick's at 3 p.m., and Christ Church again in the evening. At Trinity after the anthem, the choir all decamped out of Chapel, and made off hot-foot for the Cathedral, dropping four or five singers on the way to do duty at the Chapel Royal. They

²⁵ TCD MUN/V/5/12: College Board Register, 12th April 1862–24th December 1870 (p. 278, 6th November 1867).

²⁶ TCD MUN/V/5/11/2: College Board Register, 6th July 1858–5th April 1862 (p. 477, 22nd March 1862).

²⁷ *FJ*, 5th January 1815, p. 4.

²⁸ TCD MUN/V/5/6: College Board Register, 20th October 1810–5th December 1829 (p. 306, 29th August 1821).

²⁹ RCB C2.1.19.1: St Patrick's Cathedral choir attendance book, 1847–62; RCB C2.1.19.1A: St Patrick's Cathedral choir attendance book, 1856–62.

all combined at three for “Paddy’s Opera,” and those that had any voice left dissipated the remains of it in the evening at Christ Church.³⁰

When Stanford wrote that ‘one organist and one choir did duty for three of them’, it is clear that he meant Trinity chapel and the two cathedrals, and not the Chapel Royal. Nonetheless, several scholars have quoted this account in support of the incorrect notion that the Chapel Royal singers were a subset of the cathedral choirs, and that it was possible to hold positions concurrently in both choirs.³¹ In fact, there was no crossover between the membership of the Chapel Royal choir and that of Christ Church Cathedral in this period, owing to clashing times of service. In 1831 both William M’Ghie and William Murphy (later William Murphy Herbert) auditioned for a position as stipendiary singer in Christ Church, but were disqualified on account of being members of the Chapel Royal choir.³²

The combined income available from singing at Trinity chapel, the Chapel Royal and as a Sunday afternoon supernumerary in St Patrick’s would not have been a very large amount, although it was still a fair remuneration for relatively few hours. As we shall see (3.3.2), the men of the Chapel Royal choir in this period were paid modest salaries of between £30 and £40 per annum. Iver MacDonnell, for example, was paid £30 as a member of the Chapel Royal choir,³³ and received approximately £10 per annum for his duties at Trinity during the 1860s and early 1870s.³⁴ It is not known how much singers were paid for attendance as supernumeraries in St Patrick’s, although singers who attended on a casual basis to sing in Trinity chapel were paid on average half a guinea per service.³⁵

³⁰ Stanford, *Pages from an Unwritten Diary*, 41.

³¹ Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral*, 106.

³² DEPC, 8th December 1831, p. 3.

³³ NAI CSO/RP/1874/7541: Iver MacDonnell to the Lords of Her Majesty’s Treasury, 5th May 1874.

³⁴ MacDonnell was granted a retiring allowance of £20 by the board of Trinity College (TCD MUN/V/5/13, p. 172, 1st March 1874), which he claimed was ‘a sum equal to two years [sic.] salary’ (NAI CSO/RP/1874/7541, 5th May 1874).

³⁵ Most singers received half a guinea per service in payment, including countertenors Dunne and Gray (TCD MUN/V/5/11/1, p. 234, 12th June 1858); unnamed tenor (TCD MUN/V/5/12, p. 66, 27th June 1863); Benjamin Mullen, unpaid singer from 1861, and paid from 1863 (TCD MUN/V/5/12, p. 66, 27th

Some singers left the Chapel Royal choir in order to take up much more lucrative cathedral appointments: William Manning became a stipendiary at Christ Church in 1858 with a salary of around £140,³⁶ and John O'Rorke became a half lay vicar at St Patrick's in 1865,³⁷ with a salary of £123.³⁸ The incomes of the Dublin cathedral singers were far in excess of salaries offered for equivalent positions in English cathedrals.³⁹

Members of Christ Church choir were required to attend at two services every day in the week, as were members of St Patrick's choir after the Guinness restoration of 1865. Because of this, in the latter part of the nineteenth century membership of either of these choirs as a stipendiary singer or lay vicar was quite a large commitment. The disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1871 caused the property which generated the valuable incomes of the members of the cathedral choirs to be liquidated, and the straitened financial circumstances which ensued caused a decline in the resources available for the payment of singers.⁴⁰

As a result of this change, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the cathedral choirs were no longer entirely professional. St Patrick's began to employ 'honorary' or 'amateur' members of the choir (who sang on Sundays only),⁴¹ and 'Choral Assistants' who received a modest salary, presumably for less work than the lay vicars. (An alto 'Choral Assistantship' was advertised in 1910 with a salary of £30 per annum.)⁴² Christ Church employed several men in a similar capacity, including a couple of Chapel Royal men (Edmond Oldham and H. O. Tisdall) who sang only on Sunday afternoons in the

June 1863); and Grattan Kelly, bass (TCD MUN/V/5/13, p. 18, 10th June 1871). Some received as little as five shillings (TCD MUN/V/5/10, p. 465, 24th November 1855) and as much as one guinea (TCD MUN/V/5/8, p. 11, 7th August 1840).

³⁶ DEPC, 17th June 1858, p. 3; Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral*, 153.

³⁷ Although he was appointed in 1862, he continued singing in the Chapel Royal until St Patrick's was reopened in 1865.

³⁸ *Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Ireland Report, 1869–80, with Appendix*, 65–6 (Enhanced British Parliamentary Papers on Ireland, www.dippam.ac.uk/eppi/documents/16855, accessed 20th February 2018).

³⁹ Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral*, 104.

⁴⁰ Houston, 'Restoration and Consolidation', 359.

⁴¹ RCB C2.1.19.12: St Patrick's Cathedral choir attendance book, 1879–82.

⁴² DDE, 12th March 1910, p. 4.

cathedral.⁴³ It seems that a similar system may have existed in the Chapel Royal also: in January 1921 a notice appeared in the press concerning ‘Vacancies for an Alto and Tenor in the Honorary Choir of the Chapel Royal’.⁴⁴ In Trinity chapel, choral scholarships were first introduced in 1867, around the same time Mahaffy was appointed Precentor.⁴⁵ This preceded similar developments in King’s College Cambridge by almost fourteen years.⁴⁶ Later efforts were made to form a chapel choir of undergraduates and divinity students,⁴⁷ but it was not until the late 1960s that a student choir was finally established in Trinity chapel.⁴⁸

3.2 Boys of the Chapel Royal

3.2.1 Numbers of boys and hierarchies within the choir

As we have seen (3.1.1), the 1814 ‘Propos’d Establishment of the Castle Chapel’ recommended six boys for the new choir. The only information available on the boys in this period is contained in a letter of September 1817 from organist James Duncan in response to a query from the Under-Secretary as to why he ‘discontinued’ one of the boys, David Hastings (see 3.2.3 below), in the choir:

I was obliged to discontinue David Hastings from the Choir of the Castle Chapel, in consequence of the natural failure of his voice, and that from the same necessity which must exist in every boy who has passed the age of 15 years, Richard Gaudry, and John, and Charles Egan, were also discontinued.⁴⁹

No other substantial evidence concerning the boy choristers appears to survive until the 1830s. An ‘Allowance...for six Singing Boys’ for the Castle Chapel appears in the

⁴³ RCB C6.1.22.2: Christ Church Cathedral chapter and choir attendance book, 1898–1905.

⁴⁴ *IT*, 8th January 1921, p. 1.

⁴⁵ *DDE*, 22nd October 1867, p. 3; *DDE*, 2nd May 1883, p. 6.

⁴⁶ *Musical Times*, 1st February 1881, p. 57.

⁴⁷ TCD MUN/V/5/16: College Board Register, 17th January 1891–20th November 1898 (p. 41–2, 20th June 1891).

⁴⁸ Houston, ‘Restoration and Consolidation’, 381.

⁴⁹ NAI OP/471/5: James Duncan concerning ‘discontinuing’ of boys in the choir, 11th September 1817.

parliamentary estimates for 1831,⁵⁰ and it is possible that this allowance was in place as early as 1816.⁵¹ Since, as we shall see (3.3.1), in the early period there were only three men in the choir, the Sub-Dean's request for nine new choir surplices in January 1823 (see 2.2.3 above) suggests six boys. Given, however, that not all the old surplices may have been replaced at this time, and that at least one of the new ones may have been a spare, this figure must be treated with caution.⁵²

No names of boys survive between Duncan's letter and a list of four 'Boys of the Chapel Royal, 1837' in the inside back cover of Loft Book SDecA. Only three of these names are legible: Henry A. Walker, Thomas Jackson and a second Jackson (perhaps with the first initial 'P.'). The *Musical World* account that appeared the following year stated there were six boys in the choir,⁵³ and the account of 1845 in the same publication claimed there were 'four boy singers, who are paid' and 'a few supernumerary boys (who wait for the first vacancy amongst the paid boys)'.⁵⁴ Presumably, therefore, the four names in the 1837 list were those of the four paid boys at that time, and excluded the two or more unpaid supernumeraries. A further such list that appears to date from 1850 also included four boys.⁵⁵

As we have seen (3.1.2), Trinity College chapel choir also had four boys from 1814. The cathedral choirs had slightly larger complements of choristers in the same period: Christ Church had six,⁵⁶ and St Patrick's eight (figures which presumably excluded

⁵⁰ 'Salaries for the Attendants and Officers of the Household of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland' in 'Ireland: Estimates of Miscellaneous Services for the year 1831', *Estimates and Accounts, One Volume, relating to the Army; Navy; Ordnance; British Museum; Windsor Castle; Civil List Pensions; Commissariat; Miscellaneous Services; Exchequer Bills; Coinage* (14th June–20th October 1831), vol. xiii, p. 24.

⁵¹ See 3.3.1 below.

⁵² NAI OPW1/1/2/3, p. 303: Robert Robinson to Sir George Bisshopp, 24th January 1823.

⁵³ 'The Chapel Royal Dublin', *Musical World*, 3rd May 1838, p. 8.

⁵⁴ 'The Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle', *Musical World*, 16th January 1845, p. 27.

⁵⁵ Loft book SDecA, reverse of index page. Some music has been pasted onto this page just below this list, and so it is possible that there were further names that have been obscured.

⁵⁶ Barra Boydell, 'Music in the Nineteenth-Century Cathedral, 1800–1870', *Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin: A History*, 339–52 (344).

supernumeraries).⁵⁷ The cathedral choirs had a system like that of the Chapel Royal whereby supernumerary boys became full paid choristers once older boys left the choir: a press advertisement in 1840 invited boys ‘from seven to nine years of age’ to attend an audition in St Patrick’s ‘in order to fill up two Vacancies now on the Supernumerary List of Choir Boys’.⁵⁸ In 1848 sometimes as many as seven supernumerary boys sang at the boys-only Sunday morning service in St Patrick’s alongside the eight full choristers.⁵⁹

From three further lists found in the loft books, each of which includes six names, it appears the number of boys in the Chapel Royal had risen to six or more by c. 1860, the date of the earliest of these lists.⁶⁰ That list describes two of the boys on each side as ‘seniors’ and one as ‘junior’, which suggests that the supernumerary system was still in place. H. Byron, named as junior cantoris boy in that list, may be the same boy as ‘Byron, supernumerary’ graffitied in Cupboard 2,⁶¹ which may suggest that the term ‘supernumerary’ only began to fall out of use around 1860. However, as with the 1837 list mentioned above, it appears there were other supernumerary boys in the choir at this time whose names were not included in these lists: six boys from the Chapel Royal participated in the opening service of the restored St Patrick’s Cathedral in February 1865 (Robert Sheperd, G. S. Stuart, Iver MacDonnell junior, A. Sheperd, C. Smith, and R. A. Andrews),⁶² but there was at least one junior Chapel Royal boy who did not sing in that service (Thomas Meyer, who entered the choir in 1863).⁶³

The distinction between junior and senior boys is not made in the two later Loft Book lists, but rather the boys on each side are numbered in order of decreasing seniority from one down to three. This would suggest that the system of four full choristers and two

⁵⁷ ‘Cathedral Choirs in Dublin’, *Musical World*, 1st September 1837, p. 184.

⁵⁸ *SN*, 6th January 1840, p. 4.

⁵⁹ RCB C2.1.19.1: St Patrick’s Cathedral choir attendance book, 1847–62.

⁶⁰ Loft book SDecB, inside cover; Loft Book SDecA, inside cover; Loft Book SCanA, inside cover.

⁶¹ See Appendix D5.

⁶² *FJ*, 25th February 1865, p. 4.

⁶³ Loft book SDecD, p. 26.

supernumeraries had been superseded by a hierarchical system of six choristers, and perhaps also some unlisted junior or supernumerary boys. Yet another list of names of choristers, from c. 1880, has a similar hierarchy, although instead of being numbered 1, 2, and 3, the boys on each side are described as ‘£15’, ‘£10’, and ‘£5’.⁶⁴ (On these monetary values see 3.2.2 below.) This list appears to have two ‘£5’ boys on cantoris, which makes it the first concrete evidence of there being more than six boys in the choir.

During James Culwick’s tenure as organist, the number of boys increased considerably. This followed a similar contemporary trend in England, where by the 1880s the numbers of boys at several choral foundations had almost doubled.⁶⁵ By 1894 there were eleven boys in total in the Chapel Royal choir: nine choristers and two probationers. The term ‘probationer’ was used by Dean Dickinson to refer to boys who were ‘in training but receive no pay’,⁶⁶ and so has the same meaning as ‘supernumerary’ did in the earlier period. A list of choristers from Christmas 1899 includes the names of twelve boys—four seniors and eight juniors.⁶⁷ The division into senior and junior appears to have been based on age: the senior boys were all around fourteen years old, whereas the juniors varied in age from ten up to thirteen. It is possible that there were other probationers in addition not included in this list.

The division of the choristers into seniors and juniors appears to have persisted until 1920, although the terminology changed, perhaps owing to William Edmond Hopkins’s attempts to imitate the London Chapel Royal (see 3.4.2 below). At the Christmas carol service in 1920, the members of the choir processed into the Chapel beginning with the ‘Children of the chapel choir’, followed by the ‘Junior and Senior Gentlemen of the Chapel

⁶⁴ Loft book SDecB, inside cover.

⁶⁵ Mould, *The English Chorister*, 193.

⁶⁶ NAI CSO/RP/1895/711 (contained in NAI CSO/RP/1901/906): Hercules H. Dickinson to F. Cullinan, 31st December 1894.

⁶⁷ RCB P.0129.08.1, ‘Christmas gifts from H[is] E[xc]ellency to Choristers’, 1899.

Royal'.⁶⁸ The 'Children' were presumably the younger boys (called 'juniors' in 1899) and perhaps probationers also, whereas the 'Junior Gentlemen' were presumably the older boys (the 'seniors' of 1899), and the 'Senior Gentlemen' the adult singers of the choir.⁶⁹

Several mentions of a 'principal boy' or 'head boy' are found in archival sources. It is not clear whether this was an official position or merely an informal designation for the most senior boy. A list of 'head boys' appears in one of the loft books:⁷⁰ Thomas Meyer (chorister 1863–c. 1870),⁷¹ William Burby, and Arthur Deale (head boy, c. 1880). Another list in the loft books uses the term 'principal boy':⁷² the first mentioned in this list is Edward Brennan (chorister c. 1855–59), who later in life claimed to have been 'principal boy soloist' in the Chapel Royal.⁷³ R. J. F. Mayston (chorister c. 1916–22), who may have been the last head boy, was also described as 'boy soloist'.⁷⁴

A survey of the choristers listed in Appendix D1 suggests the boys were usually enrolled in the choir as supernumeraries or probationers around age nine, although an 1819 press advertisement stated that 'boys between the age of ten and twelve years would be preferred',⁷⁵ and another in 1850 sought 'boys (under nine years of age) as Supernumeraries in the Choir'.⁷⁶ Thomas Meyer joined the choir as a probationer in 1863 at around age seven.⁷⁷ After progressing to the rank of full chorister, most boys appear to have stayed until the onset of voice-change between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. Occasional advertisements appeared in the press, often for two new boys (presumably to fill vacancies amongst the supernumeraries). The following such advertisement is a typical example:

⁶⁸ *IT*, 27th December 1920, p. 4.

⁶⁹ The title 'junior gentleman' appears to have been an innovation of Hopkins's.

⁷⁰ Loft book SDecB, inside cover.

⁷¹ Born c. 1856: see Appendix D1.1.

⁷² Loft book ADecB, table in back cover: see Appendix D4.

⁷³ *IT*, 25th June 1909, p. 3.

⁷⁴ *IT*, 14th May 1963, p. 9.

⁷⁵ *SN*, 18th December 1819, p. 4.

⁷⁶ *DEM*, 5th August 1850, p. 1.

⁷⁷ See Appendix D1.1.

Chapel Royal, Dublin.—Wanted for the Choir, two Singing Boys. Ages not to exceed nine years. None but respectable Boys, having good voices, need apply. Communications to be addressed to Mr. Willis, Chapel-keeper.⁷⁸

3.2.2 *Salaries and allowances of the boys*

From 1831 or before, provision of £147 16s 8d was made for six boys in the parliamentary estimates for the Lord Lieutenant's household, although, as we shall see (3.3.2), the bulk of this allowance was put to other uses. In the English Chapel Royal the master of the boys was paid an allowance for the boys' food, clothing and lodgings.⁷⁹ In the Dublin Chapel it seems that an allowance was paid to the 'Organist and Master' and then disbursed as salaries for the boys, and that the master's responsibilities were otherwise entirely musical.

The 1845 *Musical World* article claimed that the four paid choristers received £20 each per annum, which left almost £68 of the allowance unaccounted for. As the nineteenth century progressed, the salaries of the boys decreased gradually but considerably, although the allowance as per the parliamentary estimates was reduced only by £2 in 1862.⁸⁰ By c. 1880, the system of paying the choristers £15, £10 or £5 according to seniority (see 3.2.1 above) meant that only around £60 per annum was paid to the boys. By 1894 a sum of £54 was divided between nine choristers, although it is not known how much individual choristers received. (Probationers received 'rewards' of £1 12s 2d each.)⁸¹ Dean Webster noted that Culwick deducted fines from the boys' payment for 'irregularity in attendance'.⁸² For comparison, the choristers of St Patrick's in 1890 were paid salaries of

⁷⁸ *SN*, 2nd December 1867, p. 4. See also *WDWM* of 28th December 1844, p. 2 and *IT*, 8th January 1921, p. 1.

⁷⁹ Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, 148–49.

⁸⁰ This decrease is first noted in the 1862–63 parliamentary estimates for the Lord Lieutenant's household, although as the volume notes that these estimates were 'the same as for 1861–62', and the combined total sum allocated for the Chapel was not decreased, it would appear that this deduction was a clerical error. This minor adjustment was carried forward in all future estimates, although the total amount disbursed to the Chapel was unchanged.

⁸¹ NAI CSO/RP/1895/711 (contained in NAI CSO/RP/1901/906): Hercules H. Dickinson to F. Cullinan, 31st December 1894.

⁸² NAI CSO/RP/1904/7923 (contained in NAI CSO/RP/1904/19357): R. G. M. Webster to F. Cullinan, 3rd May 1904.

either £5 or £10 per annum, depending on seniority,⁸³ and a ‘progressive salary...according to musical progress’ was offered to the choristers of the Dublin parish of St Bartholomew in the same period.⁸⁴

As we have seen, the number of choristers in the Chapel choir almost doubled between 1845 and 1894, although during the same period the average chorister’s salary declined from £20 to £6. Whilst, as we shall see (3.3.2), the incomes of the men declined also in this period, these reductions were relatively slight compared with the huge decrease in the boys’ salaries, which by the close of the nineteenth century were little more than pocket money. The gradual decrease in the value of the salaries coincided with a gradual shift in the social class of the choristers, as we shall see (3.2.3). The boys’ salaries were augmented by small Christmas bonuses, partly from Chapel offertory collections and partly donated by the Lord Lieutenant.⁸⁵ As well as these occasional financial rewards, the boys were on at least one occasion invited by the Lord Lieutenant to a party at the Viceregal Lodge, where they played a cricket match with boys from the cathedral choirs.⁸⁶

3.2.3 Social background and education of the boy choristers

Between 1814 and 1922 the social backgrounds of the choristers changed considerably. This was certainly connected to the gradual decrease in the value of the boys’ salaries, although this may have been partly both a cause and an effect. In the early nineteenth century, a chorister from a poor background (such as David Hastings) could have depended on the income of around £20 per annum to support his family. Hastings, who joined around the end of 1815, was among the first boys admitted to the Chapel choir.⁸⁷ He was evidently from a poor family, and left the charity school of St Mary’s parish to

⁸³ *IT*, 5th November 1890, p. 1.

⁸⁴ *DDE*, 12th January 1895, p. 1.

⁸⁵ RCB P.0129.08.1, Offertory Collections 1899–1915.

⁸⁶ *DDE*, 29th May 1895, p. 5. The joint team of Chapel Royal and Christ Church boys defeated the St Patrick’s team.

⁸⁷ See Appendix D1.

enter the choir in the hope of earning a living, according to a memorial written by his mother, Charlotte:

Memorialist in consequence of the death of her Husband, was obliged to put her only Child David Hastings into the Parochial School of St Mary's Dublin, in which he was dicted [sic.] Lodge'd Clothe'd and Educated, and when Qualified would be entitled to ten pound's Fee, which has been forfeited by his being appointed one of your Excellencies Choir Boys by Mr. Duncan.

When his voice broke and he was 'discontinued' in the choir (the phrase used by Duncan), his widowed mother complained that he had been left without any means of supporting himself, since there was no retiring allowance granted to the boys of the Chapel Royal choir as there was in the cathedral choirs:

...at the time of his appointment in the Choir Memorialist was told if the Boys Voice's [sic.] would break there would be some provision made for them as is the case in St. Patrick's and Christ Church Choirs.⁸⁸

Before the establishment of a state-sponsored national school system in 1831, charity schools were often the only means of education available to the children of poor families. Joining the Chapel choir may have seemed a more attractive option to Hastings, for it provided both income and education, and preparation for a musical career. However, Hastings was evidently not very musically gifted and did not succeed in establishing himself as a professional musician: in 1818 he wrote himself to the Lord Lieutenant describing how he had been 'unable to perform an almost instant part in the choir', and after leaving the choir had no opportunity to learn another trade.⁸⁹

Some of Hastings's contemporaries in the Chapel choir were rather more successful in their later musical careers. Richard Otto Gaudry became organist of St Ann's, Dawson Street,⁹⁰ and had some success as a composer, and though he died at the age of twenty-five

⁸⁸ NAI OP/471/5: memorial of Charlotte Hastings to Viscount Whitworth, c. September 1817.

⁸⁹ NAI CSO/RP/1818/322: petition of David Hastings to Earl Talbot, November 1818.

⁹⁰ See Appendix D1.

a number of his compositions remained popular for many years after his death. (The anthem ‘O Lord thou art my God’, based on music by Haydn, was a staple of the repertoire of the Chapel Royal choir: see Appendices C and E.) Two other contemporaries of Hastings and Gaudry were John and Charles Egan, the sons of Dublin harp-maker John Egan.⁹¹ Charles, who was later harp tutor to Princess Augusta (sister of George IV) dedicated his collection of ‘Original Sacred Airs’ to James Duncan.⁹²

None of these early choristers came from wealthy backgrounds. Hastings and Gaudry were both obliged to earn money from singing in the choir in order to support their widowed mothers and families. (Gaudry’s father, also Richard Gaudry, had been an actor and singer, and died young.)⁹³ Gaudry and the Egan family were from musical families, and singing in the Chapel Royal choir provided an education for a musical career, in a similar way that aspiring artisans and craftsmen would have undertaken an apprenticeship.⁹⁴ However, in contrast to many artisanal professions, a career as a musician afforded considerable possibilities for social upward mobility, especially for those musicians who found themselves aristocratic employers. Charles Egan’s education in the Chapel of the viceregal court no doubt prepared him for his later employment as a music teacher to a royal pupil. Similarly, John Smith’s courting of influential personages was no doubt honed by his connexions with the Castle, as we shall see (3.4.3). The gentrifying influence of this upward mobility also widened the boys’ educational prospects, and a number of boys went on to have a university education. Frederick Barnes, a chorister in the late 1840s, was the son of a silk mercer, and became a sizar and later scholar of Trinity College; later in life he

⁹¹ Nancy Hurrell, ‘John Egan’, *Grove Music Online* (www.oxfordmusiconline.com, accessed 21st March 2018).

⁹² No copies of this collection appear to survive: the dedication appears in a prospectus of Egan’s works in his volume *The Harp Primer* (London: J. Mallett, 1829).

⁹³ Kalman A. Burnim, Philip H. Highfill and Edward A. Langhans eds, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers, and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*, vol. v (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978), 128.

⁹⁴ Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750–1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 62.

was headmaster of Ennis College.⁹⁵ Like Barnes, several other choristers in the middle of the nineteenth century were sons of artisans and merchants. The Deale boys (choristers in the 1870s and '80s) were sons of brothers William and Samuel Deale, who had a boot-making business in Aungier Street;⁹⁶ Frederick Dyas (chorister c. 1880) was the son of a house painter; and the Squier brothers (choristers c. the early 1880s) were sons of a merchant.⁹⁷

At the turn of the century, whilst some choristers such as Alfred Cossar (chorister c. 1905–08) were the sons of skilled workers,⁹⁸ an increasing number of boys were from middle-class backgrounds: the Doran brothers (choristers in the 1890s) were sons of a school inspector; the Blake brothers (choristers in the 1890s) were sons of an army officer;⁹⁹ the Sleith brothers (choristers in the 1900s) were sons of a schoolmaster; and John Burland (chorister c. 1920) was the son of a clergyman.¹⁰⁰ A similar class shift occurred amongst the men, as we shall see (3.3.3).

A number of choristers from the first half of the nineteenth century went on to careers as church organists.¹⁰¹ Henry Walker (chorister c. 1837) was organist of St Bride's and St Audoen's; Charles Frederick Phillips (chorister c. 1845) was organist of Rathfarnham, Booterstown, St Mary's, St George's, and others; and John Joseph O'Shanessy (chorister in the early 1850s) was organist of Booterstown, Bandon, Coleraine, St Nicholas Galway, and elsewhere.¹⁰² It is likely that these boys learned the organ with the Chapel organist whilst they were choristers, and may have had the opportunity to play at services in the Chapel.

⁹⁵ Appendix D1.

⁹⁶ *DEPC*, 26th July 1859, p. 1.

⁹⁷ Appendix D1.

⁹⁸ Appendix D1.

⁹⁹ Census of Ireland, 1911 (www.census.nationalarchives.ie).

¹⁰⁰ Appendix D1.

¹⁰¹ Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 90.

¹⁰² Appendix D1.

The general musical education of the boys was presumably overseen by either the organist or the master of the boys,¹⁰³ but apart from that it is not known what other primary education might have been available to the Chapel choristers, none of whom attended either of the cathedral choir schools.¹⁰⁴ In the early twentieth century, some boys, such as Wilfred Wells (chorister c. 1904–09), went on to secondary education after leaving the Chapel choir.¹⁰⁵ Others went on to careers in the civil service (such as the Doran brothers and Percy Blake) or the legal professional (such as Henry Morris, chorister c. 1900).¹⁰⁶ A few choristers from this later period did become professional musicians: Frank Cowle (chorister in the 1910s) became a professional singer and singing teacher; Arthur Duff (chorister c. 1913) became an organist and Assistant Music Director of Radio Éireann;¹⁰⁷ and R. J. F. Mayston (head boy c. 1921) spent several years working as a parish organist before he was ordained in 1931.¹⁰⁸

Most of the choristers came from Church of Ireland families, although a few boys came from other Protestant denominations. Frank Cowle and Alfred Cossar were from Presbyterian families;¹⁰⁹ the Attwooll brothers were Methodists, as were a number of the Deale family: Herbert Deale (chorister c. 1880) was later ordained a Methodist minister,¹¹⁰ and his younger brother Edwin—father of the composer Edgar Deale (1902–99)—was later organist of Centenary Methodist Church, St Stephen's Green.¹¹¹

Like the Deales, several families enrolled numerous sons as choristers, including the Jacksons in the 1830s and 1840s, the Sheperds in the 1850s and 1860s, and the Maystons in the 1910s and 1920s. As well as these, there were numerous other choristers who were

¹⁰³ The distinction is discussed in 3.4.1.

¹⁰⁴ An investigation of relevant choir and choir school attendance books from St Patrick's (RCB C2.1.19.1–14) and Christ Church (RCB C6.1.23.6–11) revealed no names of Chapel Royal choristers.

¹⁰⁵ Appendix D1.

¹⁰⁶ Census of Ireland, 1911 (www.census.nationalarchives.ie).

¹⁰⁷ Appendix D1.

¹⁰⁸ *IT*, 14th May 1963, p. 9. See also Appendix D1.

¹⁰⁹ Census of Ireland, 1911 (www.census.nationalarchives.ie).

¹¹⁰ *FJ*, 21st June 1894, p. 7.

¹¹¹ *DDE*, 7th May 1892, p. 1.

pairs of siblings close in age. A number of choristers were the sons of men of the choir: Iver MacDonnell junior (son of the alto of the same name) later went on to a career as an actor and singer under the stage name Iver McKay,¹¹² and the Mayston brothers were sons of tenor A. E. Mayston. Such family connexions provided a steady stream of boys for the choir, which may explain why press advertisements for chorister vacancies appeared only sporadically.

It seems that some sort of loose association for past choristers of the Chapel existed, although very little evidence concerning this survives. The ‘Old Boys of the Chapel Royal Choir’ sent a wreath to Dean Webster’s funeral in 1913,¹¹³ and in 1921 it was reported that the gentlemen of the choir had decided to prepare ‘a roll of honour containing the names of past children of the Chapel who lost their lives in the great war’.¹¹⁴ It is not known if this roll of honour was ever prepared, as it is not in evidence in the Chapel today.

3.3 Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal

3.3.1 Numbers of gentlemen of the choir

Less than two weeks after the first service, a press report stated that ‘a Choir has already begun its formation at the Castle Chapel under Mr. Barton’.¹¹⁵ John Barton, who would be a member of the choir for over thirty years, was evidently one of the founding singers, although this suggestion that he was master of the choir is not substantiated by any other evidence. There is no surviving official documentation of the choir in the first years, but an official of the Irish Public Record Office claimed to have found in 1905 ‘a warrant establishing a staff of laymen for the chapel’ from 1816.¹¹⁶ Since the majority of the lay staff of the Chapel (as per the annual parliamentary estimates, from 1831 onwards) were

¹¹² *Musical World*, 6th October 1888, p. 785.

¹¹³ *DDE*, 21st May 1913, p. 7.

¹¹⁴ *IT*, 14th March 1921, p. 7.

¹¹⁵ *FJ*, 5th January 1815, p. 4.

¹¹⁶ NAUK CO/904/180/1, p. 174–77 (175): James Mills, Public Record Office of Ireland, to Mr Le Fanu, 27th June 1905.

musicians, it seems very likely that this document was the first official authorization for the payment of singers for the Chapel. No evidence of this document survives, which would suggest that it perished in the catastrophic explosion that destroyed the Irish Public Records Office in 1922.

A list of the members of the staff of the Chapel from 1823 includes the names of the organist James Duncan, and three gentlemen of the choir, John Barton, Charles Mills, and George Mills.¹¹⁷ These names ('Mr G. Mills', 'Mr C. Mills' and 'Mr Barton') are also to be found neatly pencilled above hooks in Cupboard 1 in the Chapel,¹¹⁸ alongside the name 'Gaudry'. As Richard Gaudry was in the choir between c. 1815 and 1817,¹¹⁹ this suggests that the three men listed in 1823 had by then been members of the choir for several years. John Barton, as we have seen, was a member of the choir from the beginning of 1815, and George Mills seems to have been a member of the choir from 1819 or earlier.¹²⁰

It would appear therefore that for around the first decade of the choir's existence, there was only one man to each of the lower parts—George Mills (alto), John Barton (tenor), and Charles Mills (bass)—although, as we shall see, it is possible that there were other unpaid voluntary singers also whose names have not been recorded. George Mills was replaced by William Henry Hamerton early in 1824.¹²¹ A Mr Walsh appears to have joined the choir some time later that year,¹²² and it is likely that this is the 'Mr B. Walsh' whose name appears over another hook in Cupboard 1, albeit in a different hand to the other listed above. It is not known what part Walsh sang.¹²³ The addition of a fourth man to the choir may be the reason Dean Bissett requested the addition of 'two desk ranges' in

¹¹⁷ *Dublin Directory*, 1823.

¹¹⁸ See Appendix D5.

¹¹⁹ See Appendix D1.

¹²⁰ RCB P.0129.28.1: *Morning Services & Holy Communion Services Composed by Sir J. A. Stevenson* (MS volume).

¹²¹ NAI CSO/RP/1824/36: Lieutenant Colonel Meyrick Shawe to Henry Goulburn, Chief Secretary, concerning the appointment of William Henry Hamerton as 'one of the Singing Men at the Castle Chapel', 5th January 1824.

¹²² The *Dublin Directory* in 1825, 1826 and 1827 listed four singers—Hamerton, Barton, Charles Mills, and Mr Walsh.

¹²³ See Appendix D2.

the body of the Chapel in January 1825 to accommodate the choir instead of the evidently cramped organ loft (see 2.2.3 above).¹²⁴

The number of men grew from four to five (one alto, two tenors and two basses) some time between 1827 and 1835.¹²⁵ A tenor named Mr Falkner (who called himself ‘Principal Tenor’, despite John Barton’s seniority) was allegedly a member of the choir in 1830.¹²⁶ If Walsh had been a tenor, it is possible that Falkner was his successor; however, if Walsh were a bass and still in the choir at this stage, this would suggest that the choir had expanded to five men by 1830. Falkner seems to have been replaced by William Murphy (later known as William Murphy Herbert) by 1831. Bass William M’Ghie is first mentioned as singing in the choir in 1831.¹²⁷ He was allegedly a voluntary member of the choir,¹²⁸ and so may have been an additional singer and not a replacement for any previous member. His death notice in 1851 claimed that he had been a member of the choir for ‘upwards of thirty years’,¹²⁹ and if this is true then his name must have been omitted from earlier lists simply because he was not a salaried member of the choir. The first definitive evidence of two basses in the choir is in 1835, when Antonio Sapio was listed as a member of the choir. It is possible, as we shall see (3.3.2), that he was the successor of Charles Mills.

The 1838 *Musical World* account of the Chapel choir lists five men: alto Robert Orr, tenors John Barton and William Murphy Herbert, and basses William M’Ghie and Antonio Sapio.¹³⁰ It would appear that at this stage the personnel of the choir had remained unchanged since at least 1835, although one curious piece of evidence may suggest that a second alto sang in the choir as early as January 1836. Inside the front cover of Loft Book ADecB there is what appears to be a mock transcription of a disastrous performance of an

¹²⁴ NAI OPW1/1/2/2, p. 349: letter to Francis Johnston from Robert Robinson, 25th April 1814.

¹²⁵ See Appendices D2 and D4.

¹²⁶ *Sligo Observer*, 5th October 1830, p. 3.

¹²⁷ *DEPC*, 8th December 1851, p. 3.

¹²⁸ See 3.3.2 below.

¹²⁹ *DEP*, 6th March 1831, p. 3

¹³⁰ ‘The Chapel Royal Dublin’, *Musical World*, 3rd May 1838, p. 8.

‘Amen’ dated 26th January 1836. The score is written for five voices (SAATB) on four staves with both alto parts written on the second stave, and with names of singers in the left margin beside each part, although these are almost entirely illegible. The name on the second alto part appears to read ‘Baxter’, although it could be ‘Barton’ (it sits entirely in the tenor register on leger lines below the stave). Since this transcription was roughly written and intended to be humorous, the layout of the staves may not accurately reflect the distribution of voice parts.¹³¹

Robert Orr left the choir around Christmas 1838 to take up an appointment as organist of Derry Cathedral.¹³² It is not certain who his immediate successor was, though it may have been either Gormley or Brooks.¹³³ The first definitive evidence of a second alto in the choir is at the beginning of 1842, when altos Christian and G. Rossington were first mentioned.¹³⁴ From that point onwards the choir consistently had at least one alto, one tenor and one bass on each side of the choir (*decani* and *cantoris*). This increase in numbers occurred around the same time the choir moved from the organ loft to the stalls in the body of the Chapel. As we have seen (2.2.3), it appears that the expansion of the choir was a motivation for its relocation.

A more detailed (though partly inaccurate) account of the Chapel’s musical foundation appeared in *Musical World* in January 1845, signed by a correspondent with the initials ‘W. G.’ (whose identity is not known).¹³⁵ This author (who wrote a similar account of St Patrick’s Cathedral a month later)¹³⁶ claimed that the choir consisted of ‘only four men...Mr. John Barton, Mr. William M’Ghie, [and] the Messrs. Rossington’. The ‘Messrs.

¹³¹ See Appendix C5.1.

¹³² *Londonderry Sentinel*, 1st December 1838, p. 3; *Londonderry Standard*, 20th February 1839, p. 2.

¹³³ See Appendices D2 and D4.

¹³⁴ See Appendix D2.

¹³⁵ ‘The Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle’, *Musical World*, 16th January 1845, p. 27.

¹³⁶ ‘St Patrick’s Cathedral, Dublin’, *Musical World*, 13th February 1845, p. 74–5.

Rossington' were alto G. Rossington (mentioned above), and tenor William Rossington, presumably his brother, who was first mentioned singing in the Chapel in early 1844.¹³⁷

It is probable that W. G. attended a service at the Chapel on an occasion on which there were only four of the singing men present, as other newspaper reports from this time mention at least six different singing men at various times.¹³⁸ It is impossible to know whether the full choir attended every week, since the names only of solo singers in anthems appeared in these newspaper reports, and so W. G.'s account may be a reasonably representative account of an ordinary Sunday service in the Chapel. W. G.'s erroneous claim that the Chapel was 'built some time between the years 1816 and 1820' was most likely based on hearsay, but his assertion that William M'Ghie was master of the boys is corroborated by several other sources.¹³⁹

Two singers who were in the choir in this period but not mentioned in W. G.'s account are Christian (alto), who joined the choir c. 1842,¹⁴⁰ and Lawrence (bass), who was first mentioned in October 1843,¹⁴¹ and was presumably the replacement for Antonio Sapio, who left the choir two months earlier.¹⁴² G. Rossington appears to have left the choir around the time that W. G.'s piece appeared, since an advertisement for a new alto appeared in the press in December 1844.¹⁴³ William Manning (presumably Rossington's replacement) is first mentioned singing in the Chapel in April 1845, alongside Alfred Sapio (tenor, and nephew of Antonio) and M'Ghie.¹⁴⁴ Alfred Sapio may have taken the place of William Rossington in the choir, as neither of the Rossington brothers are mentioned in later press reports.

¹³⁷ *DEM*, 4th March 1844, p. 3.

¹³⁸ See Appendix D4.

¹³⁹ See 3.4.1 below.

¹⁴⁰ *DEM*, 3rd February 1851, p. 3.

¹⁴¹ *SN*, 30th October 1843, p. 2.

¹⁴² *SN*, 5th August 1843, p. 3.

¹⁴³ *WDWM*, 28th December 1844, p. 2.

¹⁴⁴ *DEM*, 21st April 1845, p. 3.

A couple of anomalies exist with regard to the singers of this period who appear to have left the choir and then rejoined it. Antonio Sapio left in 1843, although a press report indicates that he sang at least once in 1846, perhaps as a deputy for either Lawrence or M'Ghie. Confusingly, his nephew Alfred Sapio was also a member of the choir at this time, although the report described Alfred as 'A. Sapio' and Antonio as 'Signor Sapio'.¹⁴⁵ Similarly, it seems that tenor John O'Rourke sang in the choir in 1842 and 1843, but then left until 1847. His absence coincides with the presence of William Rossington initially, and then Alfred Sapio, which suggests that his place in the choir was taken by these two singers before he resumed it in 1847.¹⁴⁶

After many changes of choir personnel during the 1840s, the succeeding two decades were relatively stable. Full lists of names of the men can be found for c. 1860 (Loft Book SDecB) and 1866 (SDecA), and more names can be found elsewhere in Loft Book marginalia. The most detailed list in the loft books is a table of personnel of the Chapel choir (ADecB) which covers the period from around 1840 until the early 1870s, with some later information added c. 1920. This list is especially useful since it includes dates of appointment and resignation that mostly seem to be consistent with other available evidence. (See Appendix D4.)

Relatively little evidence for names of singers in the last three decades of the nineteenth century has yet been discovered, although there is some useful marginalia and annotations in the 'Services', 'Anthems' and 'Services & Anthems' books. Details concerning the Chapel Royal choir appeared in the press only occasionally after 1870: men were sometimes listed as soloists at concerts outside the Chapel, and the attendance of members of the choir at funerals was sometimes also noted, such as the funeral of choir member Fitzgerald Whelan in 1920.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ *SN*, 2nd March 1846, p. 2.

¹⁴⁶ See Appendix D2.

¹⁴⁷ *IT*, 10th November 1920, p. 6.

3.3.2 Salaries and payment of the gentlemen of the choir

In his 1852 word-book *Cathedral Anthems*, John Finlayson (later Succentor of Christ Church) wrote as follows about the early history of the Chapel choir:

It would appear that though the office of Organist and Master of the Children was created in 1814, Choral Service was not celebrated during the succeeding nine years; as the first appointment of ‘two singing men’ took place,—according to the entry in the Record Office,—9th January, 1824, from which time, however, it has regularly been continued.¹⁴⁸

The claim that the Chapel choir was not founded until 1824 is demonstrably wrong, since the evidence above shows how the choir had three men from around the time of the Chapel’s founding. However, an exploration of this claim will shed some light on how the singers were employed and paid.

The ‘entry in the Record Office’ to which Finlayson referred appears not to have survived, although a surviving letter from several days earlier presumably concerning the same matter gives an indication as to what Finlayson’s reference may have contained:

Lord Wellesley desires me to acquaint you that Archdeacon Bishopp [sic.] having recommended “Mr William Henry Hamerton” to be appointed “one of the Singing Men at the Castle Chapel” in the room of Mr George Mills, His Excellency approves the same, and requests that the necessary notification may be made to the Treasury &c.¹⁴⁹

The ‘Singing Men’ mentioned in this document were officers of the Chapel paid directly by the Treasury in London through the annual estimates for the Lord Lieutenant’s household. The Treasury estimates from 1831 onwards only ever mentioned ‘Two Singing Men’, although, as we have seen, there were always more than two men in the choir. The reasons for this discrepancy will shortly become clear.

¹⁴⁸ John Finlayson, *A Collection of Anthems as Sung in the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, Commonly Called Christ Church (Her Majesty’s Chapel Royal), in the Collegiate and Cathedral Church of St Patrick, in the Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle, and in the Chapel of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin: George Herbert, 1852), xxxiv.

¹⁴⁹ NAI CSO/RP/1824/36: Lieutenant Colonel Meyrick Shawe to Henry Goulburn concerning the appointment of William Henry Hamerton as ‘one of the Singing Men at the Castle Chapel’, 5th January 1824. That this recommendation was made by the Sub-Dean is further evidence of that official’s executive role in this period (see 1.3.1 above and 4.1.4 below).

The paid officials of the Chapel as per the Treasury estimates were as follows: ‘Chaplain to the Castle of Dublin’, ‘Reading Clerk’, ‘Organist and Master’ (to whose salary was added an allowance for ‘six Singing Boys’), ‘Two Singing Men’, and ‘Keeper of the Chapel’.¹⁵⁰ Although another lost document of 1816 (mentioned in 3.3.1 above) allegedly established a staff of laymen for the Chapel, it is possible that Hamerton’s appointment in January 1824 (apparently the first change in personnel of the Chapel choir since its founding) caused this arrangement to be formalized with the Treasury for the first time and official salaries to be created. Prior to this date it is not inconceivable that the choir was entirely voluntary.

Although the personnel of the choir changed frequently, only those members who held the ‘Two Singing Men’ positions were mentioned in the state papers, presumably because their appointments required the official sanction of the government. In contrast, most of the other members of the choir were appointed by the Dean on a somewhat casual basis and, as we shall see, paid with money drawn from a variety of sources. Hamerton presumably vacated his position as ‘Singing Man’ on his departure from Ireland in 1829,¹⁵¹ although it is not known who succeeded him. The other Singing Man position was held by John Barton until his death in 1863,¹⁵² although, as we shall see, he seems to have retired from the choir around 1848.

It is not known what payment Walsh and Charles Mills (the other members of the choir in 1824) received. It is possible that one or both of them sang on a voluntary basis. An 1831 press report claimed that William M’Ghie received ‘no salary nor any

¹⁵⁰ ‘Salaries for the Attendants and Officers of the Household of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland’ in ‘Ireland: Estimates of Miscellaneous Services for the year 1831’, *Estimates and Accounts, One Volume, Relating to the Army; Navy; Ordnance; British Museum; Windsor Castle; Civil List Pensions; Commissariat; Miscellaneous Services; Exchequer Bills; Coinage* (14th June–20th October 1831), vol. xiii, p. 22. See also similar volumes for 1841, 1843, 1844, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1866, as well as reproductions of similar estimates from the 1890s in NAI CSO/RP/1901/906.

¹⁵¹ See Appendix D2.

¹⁵² NAI CSO/RP/1863/5200: Charles Graves to Sir Thomas Larcom, Under-Secretary, 10th June 1863.

remuneration whatever for his services' as a member of the Chapel choir,¹⁵³ although it seems likely (as we shall see) that he later received a salary as master of the boys. It is possible that a system of unpaid supernumeraries like that of the boys existed amongst the men, whereby the unpaid members succeeded to paid positions as they became available. Such a system may have attracted singers to join the choir initially as volunteers. Since M'Ghie had allegedly been a member of the choir since 1821 or earlier,¹⁵⁴ there may well have been other unpaid singers in the choir in the earlier period whose names have not been recorded.

Most of the other singers appear to have been paid, however, and the funds to pay their salaries came from a proprietary redistribution of the amounts enumerated in the Treasury estimates. The 1838 *Musical World* piece claimed that each man received a stipend of 'about 40 or 50 pounds': this seems to be a rough figure, since the 'Two Singing Men' as per the estimates were paid £37 4d each. As there were five men in the choir at that time, that left salaries for three other singers not covered by the stipends as per the estimates. As we shall see, the salary of £41 10s allotted in the Treasury estimates to the 'Reading Clerk' was paid to at least one member of the choir. As we have seen (3.2.2), in this period about £68 of the allowance for the boys was unused, which could have provided salaries for two further adult singers. It is also possible that some of the salary set aside for the 'Organist and Master' was used to pay singers.

The 1845 *Musical World* piece claimed that 'the salaries of the singers vary from £30 to £50 per annum', and that William Henry White received a salary of £52 a as organist. The figure of £240 3s 8d in the estimates for the 'Organist and Master' included an 'Allowance of £147 16s 8d for six Singing Boys', which left £92 7s for the 'Organist and Master'. Since M'Ghie acted as master of the boys in this period (as noted in the article), it is likely that he received the remainder of this figure over and above the £52 paid to

¹⁵³ DEPC, 8th December 1831, p. 3.

¹⁵⁴ DEP, 6th March 1851, p. 3.

White—around £40 7s. This salary may have covered his duties both as master of the boys and as a gentleman of the choir (since, as we have seen, he had earlier been an unpaid singer).

During White's tenure as organist, he was responsible for distributing the salaries to the singers, although since this was done on a proprietary basis, there are no surviving records of precisely how much individual singers were paid. After White resigned, the duty of distributing salaries passed to M'Ghie as master of the boys. Dean Tighe wrote to the Under-Secretary in September 1845:

Mr White, the late Organist of the Chapel Royal, has been in the habit of receiving the quarterly payment at the Treasury, allotted to the maintenance of the Choir. Mr White having been appointed Organist at St. Patrick's Cathedral, & having consequently left the Chapel Royal, it becomes necessary that another member of the Choir should be authorised to receive the money for that body, prior to the 1st of Octr. I should therefore feel obliged to you to obtain the Lord Lieutenant's direction, that it should in future be paid to Mr William McGhie the Master of the Choir.¹⁵⁵

The next document concerning an appointment to the choir in the state papers is a request made in June 1863 by Dean Graves for the sanction of the Lord Lieutenant for 'the appointment of Mr Benjamin Mullen as Singing Man in the Chapel Royal, in the place of Mr John Barton, deceased; the appointment to date from the 10th of March 1863'.¹⁵⁶ The timing of this appointment is remarkable for several reasons: it seems that Barton, a tenor, had retired from the Chapel choir in the late 1840s, and that Mullen, a bass, had been singing in the Chapel choir already for several years before this appointment.¹⁵⁷ Since Mullen seems to have been the successor to Thomas Grattan Kelly (who in turn appears to have succeeded M'Ghie), there may originally have been no salary attached to the

¹⁵⁵ NAI CSO/RP/1845/E12632 (contained in NAI CSO/RP/1845/E12788): 'Mr Wm McGhie Master of the Choir in the Chapel Royal to receive the quarterly payt allotted to the master of the Choir', 18th September 1845.

¹⁵⁶ NAI CSO/RP/1863/5200: Charles Graves to Sir Thomas Larcom, Under-Secretary, 10th June 1863. 10th March was the day following Barton's death.

¹⁵⁷ See Appendix D2.

position he occupied (M'Ghie's salary, as we have seen, latterly being derived from his position as master of the boys). The fact that Barton had retained his appointment as 'Singing Man' in spite of his having ceased to sing in the choir some fifteen years prior indicates that his appointment had been made for life.¹⁵⁸ Thus, it appears that the 'Two Singing Men' were appointed on a freehold basis, like the vicars choral of the cathedrals.

Mullen had been a half vicar choral of St Patrick's Cathedral since 1849, and in January 1862 he succeeded to the full vicarship made vacant by the death of Dr John Smith.¹⁵⁹ Although prior to the restoration of St Patrick's in 1865 the choirs of the two cathedrals were essentially united (see 3.1.2 above), it seems that Mullen unusually held an appointment in St Patrick's but not in Christ Church (although he was later appointed a 'deputy lay vicar' in the latter).¹⁶⁰ Prior to 1865, as we have seen, services at St Patrick's took place only on Sunday afternoons. It seems that the final service to take place in the cathedral before it was closed for restoration was on Sunday 15th June 1862.¹⁶¹

Mullen appears to have sung in the Chapel Royal either occasionally or regularly since 1859 or before,¹⁶² and had also joined Trinity chapel choir around 1861. Just a couple of weeks after his request for Mullen's appointment as a Singing Man in the Chapel Royal, Dean Graves (who was also a Senior Fellow of Trinity College) recommended that Mullen, who had sung in Trinity chapel as 'an unpaid chorister for two years and a half' should 'be henceforth paid at the rate of half a guinea for each day of Attendance' in the College chapel.¹⁶³ It is curious that Dean Graves interceded on Mullen's behalf in two such

¹⁵⁸ Similarly, Barton was permitted to 'retire on half pay' from Trinity chapel choir after twenty-six years of service, with his successor Gustavus Geary received only the remaining half of the salary. TCD MUN/V/5/8: College Board Register, 15th June 1840–27th May 1847 (p. 350, 27th March 1847); TCD MUN/V/5/9: College Board Register, 10th April 1847–30th April 1851 (p. 13, 16th October 1847).

¹⁵⁹ DEM, 13th January 1862, p. 3.

¹⁶⁰ Arbuthnot, 'A Survey of the Vicars Choral', 125.

¹⁶¹ RCB C2.1.19.1A: St Patrick's Cathedral choir attendance book, 1856–62.

¹⁶² Loft book ADecB, p. 19R; DEPC, 25th March 1861, p. 3.

¹⁶³ TCD MUN/V/5/12: College Board Register, 12th April 1862–24th December 1870 (p. 66, 27th June 1863).

financial matters just weeks apart. This may suggest that Mullen had experienced some sort of financial hardship, although no corroborative evidence is extant.

Mullen ceased to sing in the Chapel Royal choir after the reopening of St Patrick's in 1865, according to an unsigned note in the front inside cover of Loft Book ADecB which reads:

Feb 19/65. Last Sunday Mr Mullen & Mr O'Rorke sang here. St Patrick's was opened Feb 23rd where they are vicars.

John O'Rorke, a long-time member of the Chapel choir, had succeeded to the half vicarship at St Patrick's vacated by Mullen in 1862,¹⁶⁴ although like Mullen he continued to sing in the Chapel Royal for three years until his services were required in St Patrick's on its restoration. Mullen was replaced in the Chapel Royal choir in 1865 by Edmond Oldham, who sang in the choir until his death in 1901. It seems, however, that Oldham did not succeed to the Singing Man salary held by Mullen: a memorandum received by the Chief Secretary's Office in December 1867 noted that the 'Chapel Royal Salary hitherto paid to Mr Mullen [is] to be paid to Mr Bussell'.¹⁶⁵ Organist Henry Bussell was responsible (as his predecessor White had been) for the payment of salaries to members of the Chapel choir, and so this appears to have been an effort to consolidate the government funds allocated for the Chapel musicians into a single proprietary fund to be distributed by the organist. (Presumably the salary granted to Hamerton in 1824 was at some stage also diverted into this fund.)

In 1874 Iver MacDonnell, who had been an alto in the choir from 1859, requested a government pension on his retirement, but he was refused owing to his not having been officially employed by the government:

¹⁶⁴ SN, 13th January 1862, p. 2.

¹⁶⁵ NAI CSO/CR/129 (index book), entry 21378 (the document NAI CSO/RP/1867/21378 to which this entry refers does not survive).

Mr MacDonnell's name does not appear on the Salary list of the Chapel, nor indeed the names of any of the Choristers &c. except that of Mr Bussell who receives the money and pays the several parties.¹⁶⁶

By this time it seems that only one singer was not paid from the proprietary fund. Charles Hanlon, who had been a bass in the choir since August 1848,¹⁶⁷ received the salary allotted in the Treasury estimates for the 'Reading Clerk'. There is no evidence of Hanlon singing in the choir after 1866,¹⁶⁸ and so it is possible that he may have retired and like Barton before him continued to receive this government salary until his death on 20th February 1888, at the age of seventy-three.¹⁶⁹ A day after Hanlon's death, Dean Dickinson wrote to the Lord Lieutenant to request that the salary of the 'Reading Clerk', hitherto paid to Hanlon, would be transferred to the Sub-Dean:

May it please yr Excellency. In room of Mr. Chas. Henry Hanlon, deceased I beg leave to nominate to yr Excellency...the Rev. R. P. Graves AM as "Reader" in his room. There is no salary attached to the office of Sub-Dean who is in reality the "Reader"—and the salary of this office is only £42 per ann.¹⁷⁰

It is not clear whether Hanlon was the first member of the choir to draw this salary. It is possible that the Reading Clerk's salary may have been paid to a member of the choir from the inception of the choir, in which case it would have been paid to Hanlon's predecessors Lawrence and Sapio. Sapio settled in Dublin in early 1832,¹⁷¹ and so he may have been the direct successor of Charles Mills, who had been bass in the choir since its inception, and who was the only early member of the choir who was not one of the Two Singing Men. As we have seen (1.3.2), Charles Vignoles was appointed at once Dean and Sub-Dean in 1831, and since prior to this the salary of the Chaplain to the Castle had been

¹⁶⁶ NAI CSO/RP/1874/7541: memorandum by 'T. T.' concerning Iver MacDonnell's application for a retiring allowance, 2nd June 1874.

¹⁶⁷ Loft book ADecB, table in back cover: see Appendices D2 and D4.

¹⁶⁸ Loft book SDecA, inside cover; Loft Book SCanA, inside cover.

¹⁶⁹ *DDE*, 21st February 1888, p. 1.

¹⁷⁰ NAUK CO/904/180/1 p. 137–39 (formerly NAI CSO/RP/1888/4443): Hercules H. Dickinson to the Marquess of Londonderry, 21st February 1888.

¹⁷¹ *SN*, 6th February 1832, p. 3.

drawn by the Sub-Dean (the office of Dean being honorary), it would appear that the salary of the Reading Clerk was not paid to a clergyman at this time. (Perhaps the member of the choir that held the appointment as Reading Clerk was expected to read lessons in fulfilment of that role, although no evidence for such a practice is extant.)

The evidence presented above demonstrates that the arrangements for the payment of singers in the Chapel in the first half century or so were at best casual and at worst chaotic. An effort to formalize these arrangements was made in the 1890s, and the surviving relevant correspondence is informative about the number of singers in this period and the salaries they received. The following query from the Audit Office in London concerning the procedures for payment of Chapel choir singers was forwarded to Dean Dickinson in December 1893:

It is noticed that the payments of salaries to the two choristers in respect of which provision of £74 is made in the Estimates, and not supported, as is usual in such instances, by sub[scription] receipts. It would seem desirable that the general practice should be observed in future & sub. receipts furnished.¹⁷²

This memorandum included the total amount allocated for the payment of musicians in the Chapel: £314 4s 4d per annum, or £78 11s 1d per quarter, which was the £240 3s 8d for the ‘Organist and Master, including an allowance of 145l 16s 8d¹⁷³ for Six Boy Choristers’ added to the £74 8d for the payment of ‘Choristers’ (the ‘Two Singing Men’). This sum was paid to the organist, James Culwick, and included his salary as well as the salaries of the boys and men. In a reply to the Audit Office, Culwick explained that the money was not distributed according to the divisions in the estimates:

This money has for a very long time—longer than my appointment has lasted—been paid away not to “two Choristers” as mentioned in your note but

¹⁷² NAI CSO/RP/1894/7262 (contained in NAI CSO/RP/1901/906): memorandum from F. Cullinan concerning salaries and allowances of the Chapel Royal choir, 29th December 1893.

¹⁷³ See note 80 on p. 151.

to about 16 individuals, more or less, who carry on the services of the Chapel.¹⁷⁴

Culwick mentioned in his reply that Dean Dickinson would ‘arrange about the necessary pay sheet’, which had been requested by the Audit Office in lieu of receipts. A later letter from Dean Dickinson of 14th June 1894 is included in the same file, to which is attached a printed copy of ‘the Pay Sheet used for the past two quarters’. This pay sheet included the following persons and their quarterly salaries:¹⁷⁵

Organist £20
 Succentor £5
 First Bass £7.10
 First Alto £7.10
 First Tenor £6.5
 Second Bass £6
 Second Alto £6
 Second Tenor £6
 Chorister Boys £13.10 (Signed & certified by Dean or Sub-Dean)
 Premiums to Junior Boys (Probationers) 16s 1d
 Total: £78.11.1¹⁷⁶

This list is the first detailed breakdown of the salaries paid to the Chapel musicians, and accounts for the entirety of the £78 11s 1d paid quarterly to Culwick. Particularly informative are the details of the salary paid to the boys (see 3.2.2 above). On the reverse of this pay sheet, Dean Dickinson wrote and signed the following list of annual payments:

Organist £80
 Succentor £20
 First Bass £30
 ” Alto £30
 First Tenor £25
 Second Bass £20
 Second Tenor £20
 Second Alto £20
 Choristers. Boys. £54

¹⁷⁴ NAI CSO/RP/1893/15948 (contained in NAI CSO/RP/1901/906): James Culwick concerning payment of salaries of the Chapel Royal choir, 23rd December 1893.

¹⁷⁵ NAI CSO/RP/1894/7416 (contained in NAI CSO/RP/1901/906): Hercules H. Dickinson enclosing copy of pay sheet used by Chapel Royal choir, 14th June 1894.

¹⁷⁶ NAI CSO/RP/1894/7416 (contained in NAI CSO/RP/1901/906): pay sheet used by Chapel Royal choir, 14th June 1894.

Probationers (as rewards) £3.4.4
 Total: £302.4.4¹⁷⁷

Dickinson's list is accompanied by a further note which states:

In the Annual Estimates, these payments might be thus classified...
 Organist, Succentor & 6 Gentlemen of Choir: £245.0.0
 Boy Choristers: £57.4.4
 In addt. to above allowances for:
 Reader
 Verger
 Chapel Keeper
 Dean¹⁷⁸

These suggestions for a revision of how the salaries of the Chapel musicians were listed in the household estimates were apparently ignored, since the estimates for 1895–96 used the same divisions that had been in use since 1831.

Dickinson's pay sheet is a very valuable document, since it provides a detailed account of the musical personnel of the Chapel at the end of the nineteenth century and their salaries. The '16 individuals' to whom Culwick referred in the letter quoted above were himself (organist and choir master), six gentlemen, and around nine boy choristers. This number did not include the two probationers, who were not paid but received 'rewards'.¹⁷⁹ The 'Succentor' is not mentioned in any earlier sources: it would appear that this was a small salary paid to the clergyman (perhaps the Sub-Dean) who intoned the service. This practice appears to have been introduced in the second half of the nineteenth century, as in the earlier period it had been noted that 'the clergymen do not chant'.¹⁸⁰ An 1897 press report stated that the service was 'intoned by the Sub-Dean' (R. G. M. Webster).¹⁸¹ Webster was appointed Reader (Reading Clerk) and Sub-Dean in 1893,¹⁸² and

¹⁷⁷ NAI CSO/RP/1894/7416 (contained in NAI CSO/RP/1901/906): pay sheet used by Chapel Royal choir, 14th June 1894.

¹⁷⁸ NAI CSO/RP/1894/7416 (contained in NAI CSO/RP/1901/906): pay sheet used by Chapel Royal choir, 14th June 1894.

¹⁷⁹ See 3.2.1 above.

¹⁸⁰ 'The Chapel Royal Dublin', *Musical World*, 3rd May 1838, p. 8.

¹⁸¹ *IT*, 21st June 1897, p. 6.

became Dean in 1905.¹⁸³ It is not clear whether he began to receive the salary of Succentor as Sub-Dean or Dean, although he held it at the time of his death in 1913. It is unclear who (if anyone) received this salary after Webster's death.¹⁸⁴

Dickinson's pay sheet shows that the 'first' (presumably decani) singers received higher salaries than the 'second' singers. Throughout the history of the Chapel choir, there are instances of members of the choir being described as 'principal', 'first' or 'solo' singer: Robert Orr, 'Principal Contr'alto';¹⁸⁵ Iver MacDonnell, 'principal counter-tenor';¹⁸⁶ Mr Falkner, 'Principal Tenor';¹⁸⁷ John O'Rorke, 'Principal Tenor' and 'First Tenor';¹⁸⁸ A. E. Mayston, 'solo tenor';¹⁸⁹ Thomas Grattan Kelly, 'Primo Basso';¹⁹⁰ and both Edmond Oldham and James George Scott, 'solo bass'.¹⁹¹ Although it is possible that such titles were merely self-aggrandizement on the parts of the singers, it would appear that since the 'first' singers were paid higher salaries that these positions were more prestigious, and may have meant that the singers had responsibility for solos in verse anthems.

It would appear that the choir consistently comprised six men until the beginning of the twentieth century. A press report in early 1903 stated that the Earl of Dudley, with 'the object of improving the musical portion' of services at the Chapel Royal, had 'at his own private expense...increased the adult choir by two voices'.¹⁹² Since there is very little evidence for the names of singers in this period, it has not been possible to corroborate this. It is certain, however, that Dudley personally gave money for the payment of the

¹⁸² NAUK CO/904/180/1, p. 131–32 (formerly NAI CSO/RP/1893/12627): 'Appointment of Rev'd R. G. Webster as Reader, Chapel Royal', 5th October 1893; NAUK CO/904/180/1, p. 184 (formerly NAI CSO/RP/1893/13334): 'Apptt of Rev'd G. Webster as Sub-Dean, Chapel Royal', 24th October 1893.

¹⁸³ NAUK CO/904/180/1, p. 151: notice of the appointment of R. G. M. Webster as Dean of the Chapel Royal, 4th July 1905.

¹⁸⁴ NAUK CO/904/180/1, p. 118 (formerly NAI CSO/RP/1913/9529): 'Rev. C. O'H. Mease (Sub Dean) to be Dean of Chapel Royal', 22nd May 1913.

¹⁸⁵ *Southern Reporter and Cork Commercial Courier*, 2nd July 1842, p. 1.

¹⁸⁶ NAI CSO/RP/1874/7541: Iver MacDonnell to the Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, 5th May 1874.

¹⁸⁷ *Sligo Observer*, 5th August 1830, p. 3.

¹⁸⁸ *Northern Whig*, 30th November 1854, p. 3; *Waterford Mail*, 7th November 1857, p. 8.

¹⁸⁹ *Waterford Mirror and Tramore Visitor*, 13th March 1902, p. 2.

¹⁹⁰ *Belfast Commercial Chronicle*, 19th September 1854, p. 3.

¹⁹¹ *DDE*, 13th June 1901, p. 4.

¹⁹² *DDE*, 13th April 1903, p. 6.

choir, although it may be that his money was used not to employ two extra singers but to increase the salaries of the existing six men. R. G. M. Webster, who was then Acting Dean, wrote in 1904:

H. E. Earl of Dudley gives me, out of his private purse, an annual sum to supplement the payments for the Choir.¹⁹³

Dudley was evidently concerned with improving all aspects of the viceregal court, for as well as his contribution to the music, he instigated a number of reforms of the structure of the viceregal household during his tenure.¹⁹⁴ It is not known if his successor, the Earl of Aberdeen, followed his lead and maintained a similar private contribution to Chapel choir funds.

Two further files on the salaries of the choir are recorded in the index books of the Chief Secretary's Office Registered Papers, one dated 3rd August 1920 concerning 'Chapel Royal organist & choir: For increased salaries',¹⁹⁵ and the other including three 'Letters from Dean Mease re salaries of Dr Lawlor [the Sub-Dean] Organist & Choir' dated 9th July, 7th September and 10th September 1921.¹⁹⁶ Unfortunately neither file appears to have survived, and so no further details concerning salaries of the men in the early twentieth century are available.

3.3.3 Backgrounds and professions of the gentlemen of the choir

A job as a singer in the Chapel Royal choir was never a full-time occupation at any time during the 108 years in which the Chapel functioned. However, though the gentlemen of the choir were paid part-time salaries, the remuneration they received was relatively

¹⁹³ NAI CSO/RP/1904/19357: R. G. M. Webster, Acting Dean, to F. Cullinan, Chief Secretary's Office, 18th October 1904.

¹⁹⁴ NAUK CO/904/171/2, p. 212–13: J. Murray, HM Treasury, to the Under-Secretary, Dublin Castle concerning restructuring of the Lord Lieutenant's household, 19th June 1905.

¹⁹⁵ NAI CSO/CR/329 (index book), entry 19450 (the document NAI CSO/RP/1920/19450 to which this entry refers does not survive).

¹⁹⁶ NAI CSO/CR/333 (index book), entry 2352 (the document NAI CSO/RP/1921/2352 to which this entry refers does not survive).

generous in proportion to the light duties required of them. According to the 1845 *Musical World* account, members of the Chapel Royal choir were required only to attend one rehearsal and one service per week:

The duty of the choir is to attend every Sunday, for divine service... The choir are also obliged to attend on every Friday, to rehearse the chaunts, service, &c. for the following Sunday.¹⁹⁷

In the early days of the Chapel choir, most of the men were full-time musicians, for whom membership of the choir was a small part of a wider musical career: John Barton (tenor, appointed c. 1814) was a conductor, clarinettist and music teacher;¹⁹⁸ William Henry Hamerton (alto, appointed 1824) was master of the boys at Christ Church Cathedral; William Murphy Herbert (tenor, appointed c. 1830/31) was a music teacher; and Antonio Sapio (bass, appointed between 1832 and 1835) enjoyed a busy career as a solo singer and teacher.¹⁹⁹ At least one singer in this period was not a full-time musician, however: George Dallas Mills (alto, appointed c. 1814) was Chief Clerk in the Accountant General's Office of the General Post Office.²⁰⁰

As we have seen (3.1.2), in the mid-nineteenth century, a number of singers sang as members of the Chapel Royal choir (and sometimes also Trinity chapel choir) before being appointed to Christ Church or St Patrick's. Perhaps the first person to use the Chapel Royal as a 'stepping-stone' into the cathedrals was William Henry White, organist from 1836 until 1845, who left the Chapel Royal for the more generously remunerated and prestigious position of organist of St Patrick's. As we have already seen, William Manning and John O'Rorke both left the Chapel Royal for positions in the cathedral choirs. Another singer who followed a similar path was Thomas Grattan Kelly (bass, appointed

¹⁹⁷ 'The Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle', *Musical World*, 16th January 1845, p. 27.

¹⁹⁸ Ferris, 'The Use of Newspapers', 81.

¹⁹⁹ Ferris, 'The Use of Newspapers', 146. (This source incorrectly lists Sapio as a tenor.)

²⁰⁰ *DMR*, 12th January 1832, p. 3.

1851): he joined the Chapel Royal choir in 1851 around age nineteen,²⁰¹ and subsequently studied in Italy and then lived in England before he returned to Dublin, where he sang in Christ Church and later St Patrick's.²⁰²

In contrast to the earlier years when many singers were full-time musicians, in the later nineteenth century and early twentieth century most of the gentlemen of the Chapel Royal choir were part-time musicians, whose main income was derived from non-musical day jobs. Alexander Williams (alto, appointed 1874) was an artist; H. O. Tisdall (bass, appointed c. 1901) was Secretary to Dublin and Blessington Steam Train Company; James George Scott (bass, appointed 1901) was a clerk in the Guinness brewery; and Fitzgerald Whelan (bass, appointed in or before 1916) was Bursar of St Columba's College,²⁰³ and later worked in the finance department of the Representative Church Body.²⁰⁴

This shows that the choir in this period was largely made up of middle-class professionals for whom employment in the Chapel Royal choir provided a modest though no doubt useful addition to their main income. There were, however, one or two members of the choir in this period for whom music was a full-time occupation: A. E. Mayston (tenor, appointed before 1902), was a 'Vocalist & Teacher of Singing', and W. C. Harrison (bass or alto, appointed in or before 1922) was a professional violinist.²⁰⁵ Nonetheless, the majority of singers in this period were part-time musicians, and so these full-time musicians were in a minority—an inversion of the trend which had prevailed in the earlier period.

There may be several possible reasons for this change. As we have seen, between 1814 and 1922 the salaries of the men decreased slightly in monetary value, and since general trends in this period saw the average value of incomes increase about three-fold,

²⁰¹ See entry for Kelly in Appendix D2.

²⁰² *DDE*, 2nd September 1897, p. 5.

²⁰³ Census of Ireland, 1911 (www.census.nationalarchives.ie).

²⁰⁴ *IT*, 9th November 1920, p. 6.

²⁰⁵ Census of Ireland, 1911 (www.census.nationalarchives.ie).

the value of £30 in 1922 would have been paltry compared with that of £40 in 1814.²⁰⁶ The decrease in the value of the salaries may have made singing in the Chapel choir a less attractive job for singers who made their full-time living from music. However, as we have seen (3.1.2), after the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1871 the lucrative salaries that had previously been available to singers in the cathedral choirs were substantially decreased. As the cathedral choirs increasingly relied on amateur and semi-professional singers, the gap in salary and prestige which had previously existed between the Chapel Royal choir and the cathedral choirs narrowed. This caused the trend of Chapel Royal singers leaving to take up positions in the cathedral choirs to abate somewhat in the later nineteenth century, and consequently members of the Chapel choir seem to have served relatively longer periods in the choir than had been usual hitherto.

3.4 Organists and composers

3.4.1 *'Organist and Master'*

As we have seen (3.3.2), the annual estimates of the household of the Lord Lieutenant made provision for a salary for an 'Organist and Master', roles which were usually held by one person, but were at least in one period held by two different people. Between 1814 and 1922, nine different men held the position of organist of the Chapel. Some of these organists made notable contributions to the raising of musical standards in the Chapel through their stewardship of the choir and composition of new repertoire.

As we have seen (3.1.1), the 'Propos'd Establishment' included the names of two organists: Sir John Stevenson, 'Organist & Composer', and James Duncan, 'Organist'. This was an imitation of the 'two Organists, and two Composers' of the Chapel Royal, St

²⁰⁶ 'Five Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a UK Pound Amount, 1270 to Present' (www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare, accessed 5th September 2018).

James's Palace, as described by its Sub-Dean, William Holmes.²⁰⁷ Whilst, as we shall see (3.4.4), it appears that Stevenson undertook some duties as composer, there is no evidence that he ever played the organ in the Chapel or had any involvement in the running of the choir there. Several sources (including his memorial at Christ Church Cathedral) claim that he was the first organist of the Chapel,²⁰⁸ although it would seem that this distinction correctly belongs to Duncan, who was actually responsible for training the choir and playing the organ.²⁰⁹

Duncan is first mentioned as organist in a Board of Works letter of April 1814,²¹⁰ which shows that he was appointed prior to the opening of the Chapel. After the completion of the Chapel organ, Duncan played it in public for the first time on Sunday 6th August 1815.²¹¹ Though Duncan's son wrote to the Lord Lieutenant in February 1825 and suggested that his father would retire imminently,²¹² in 1827 Duncan placed an advertisement in the press denying a 'frequently reported' rumour that he had retired.²¹³ He was still organist of the Chapel in early 1829,²¹⁴ although no evidence concerning the appointment of his successor appears to survive, which makes it difficult to say whether or not he retired prior to his death on 14th October 1831.²¹⁵ His death notice stated that he had been 'for 16 years Organist to the Castle Chapel': this figure may have counted only from the time the organ was installed in 1815 (even though he had been appointed in 1814 or earlier), or may suggest that he retired in 1830.

²⁰⁷ NAI OP/405/5: 'Propos'd Establishment of the Castle Chapel'.

²⁰⁸ John Skelton Bumpus, *Sir John Stevenson: A Biographical Sketch* (London: T. B. Bumpus, 1893), 24.

²⁰⁹ *FJ*, 5th January 1815, p. 4; *DEP*, 12th August 1815, p. 3; *SN*, 16th December 1819, p. 4; *SN*, 4th March 1829, p. 4. See also 3.2.1 and 3.2.3 above.

²¹⁰ NAI OPW1/1/2/2, p. 349: Robert Robinson to Francis Johnston concerning ten proposals received for building an organ for the Castle Chapel, 25th April 1814.

²¹¹ *DEP*, 12th August 1815, p. 3.

²¹² NAI CSO/RP/1825/90: James Duncan junior, clerk at the head office of police to William Gregory, Under-Secretary, requesting a salary increase, 11th February 1825.

²¹³ *SN*, 19th March 1827, p. 3.

²¹⁴ *SN*, 4th March 1829, p. 4.

²¹⁵ *DEPC*, 20th October 1831, p. 3.

The list of Chapel organists in John Finlayson's *Cathedral Anthems* states that Duncan was organist from 1814 until 1833, and that he was succeeded in 1833 by Dr John Smith, vicar choral of St Patrick's.²¹⁶ These dates are obviously unreliable because Duncan died in 1831, yet the information concerning organists of the Chapel in this book was provided by Smith himself. It is likely that twenty years on he simply misremembered the dates. The first available official record of the appointment of a Chapel organist is from 1836,²¹⁷ and so prior to this date it is only possible to speculate about when organists might have been appointed based on other pieces of evidence.

Smith had been a lay vicar choral of St Patrick's Cathedral and a stipendiary of Christ Church since the mid-1810s, and continued to hold these offices until his death in 1861. His Sunday-afternoon duties at St Patrick's would not have clashed with services at the Chapel Royal,²¹⁸ although Sunday morning services at Christ Church usually did. However, it seems that the vacancy for an organist at the Chapel Royal arose at a serendipitous time for Smith: Christ Church Cathedral was closed for restoration between 1829 and 1833, and so Smith was free to take on the duties of organist at the Chapel in this period.²¹⁹ Even after the reopening of the cathedral, Smith was very frequently absent from Sunday morning services between 1833 and 1836.²²⁰ This might suggest that even after Christ Church was reopened, Smith continued to play at the Chapel on some Sunday mornings,

²¹⁶ Finlayson, *A Collection of Anthems as Sung in the Cathedral...*, xxxi. Since there were two organists of the Chapel named John Smith, 'Smith' or 'John Smith' should be understood to refer to John Smith senior, later Professor of Music at the University of Dublin, and 'J. T. Smith' as his son, John T. Smith, d. 1836.

²¹⁷ NAI CSO/RP/1837/751: 'White, Wm.: Organist to Castle Chapel', 10th April 1837.

²¹⁸ See 3.1.2 above.

²¹⁹ According to notes made by verger Robert Mayston in the 1826–41 Christ Church choir attendance book (RCB C6.1.23.7), the cathedral was closed from 14th March 1829 until 5th February 1833. Mayston's detailed notes show that during that period services took place only occasionally and when absolutely necessary, such as burials, visitations and installations of dignitaries (including Richard Whately as Archbishop of Dublin in October 1831). This period of almost four years of closure is slightly longer than the two years suggested in Stuart Kinsella, 'An Architectural History of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, c. 1540–c. 1870' (Trinity College Dublin: PhD diss., 2009), 252–53.

²²⁰ Following the reopening of the cathedral in February 1833, Smith was absent from the morning service on eight Sunday mornings that year; in 1834 he was absent for nineteen; 1835, sixteen; and in 1836, eighteen. RCB C6.1.23.7: Christ Church Cathedral choir attendance book, 1826–41.

sending deputies to one or other as required, and drawing salaries from both.²²¹ As we shall see (3.4.3), Smith used his position at the Chapel as a way to further his viceregal patronage.

According to the information supplied by Smith to Finlayson, Smith's son J. T. Smith succeeded him as organist of the Chapel in 1835 and held the post until his early death in 1836. However, this is contradicted by a press advertisement placed by Smith senior in February 1833, which described his son as 'Organist of the Chapel Royal'.²²² This advertisement first appeared on the same day that Christ Church Cathedral was reopened, which may not be merely a coincidence. It is possible that J. T. Smith played in the Chapel as his father's deputy on the Sundays when Smith senior fulfilled his duties as a stipendiary at Christ Church, and then eventually succeeded to hold the post in his own right. J. T. Smith matriculated at Trinity College in October 1834, then aged nineteen,²²³ and died in March 1836 four weeks after his twenty-first birthday. He was buried with his maternal grandfather John Spray in St Patrick's Cathedral on 11th March 1836.²²⁴

From 1836 until 1917, documents concerning the appointment of Chapel organists survive amongst the Registered Papers of the Chief Secretary's Office. William Henry White was appointed on 25th December 1836,²²⁵ although it is possible that he may have acted as organist prior to his formal appointment following the death of J. T. Smith. White was born in either 1821 or 1822, and so was only fourteen or fifteen years old at the time of his appointment: his death notice stated that Dean Vignoles appointed him organist when he was 'though a mere boy'.²²⁶ It is possible that he may have been a chorister in the Chapel Royal.²²⁷ He was described by a contemporary periodical as 'a most promising young

²²¹ See 3.4.2 below.

²²² *DEPC*, 5th February 1833, p. 2; *SN*, 16th February 1835, p. 3.

²²³ TCD MUN/V/23/5: Trinity College Dublin matriculation book (p. 95v–96r). His father is listed as 'John Vic. Chor.'.

²²⁴ *SN*, 10th March 1836, p. 3.

²²⁵ NAI CSO/RP/1837/751: 'White, Wm.: Organist to Castle Chapel', 10th April 1837.

²²⁶ *DEM*, 31st May 1852, p. 3.

²²⁷ His name appears amongst the graffitied boys' names in Cupboard 2: see Appendix D5.

man',²²⁸ and 'one of the cleverest and best organists and pianists that Dublin can produce'.²²⁹ He left the Chapel Royal to become organist of St Patrick's Cathedral on 29th April 1845.²³⁰ He died in 1852 at the age of thirty,²³¹ as a result of what J. S. Bumpus described as 'reckless intemperance'.²³² A number of his compositions and arrangements remained in the repertoire of the Chapel choir, as we shall see (3.4.3).

William M'Ghie acted as 'master of the choir' during White's tenure as organist.²³³ It is not known when he was appointed to this position, although he retained this post after the appointment of White's successor.²³⁴ As he still held this position in August 1850,²³⁵ it seems likely that he continued to hold it until his death in March 1851.²³⁶ His duties as master presumably involved teaching singing and music theory to the boys: similar offices existed in the two cathedrals, which were held at various times by William Beaty (Christ Church),²³⁷ and Thomas Grattan Kelly (St Patrick's).²³⁸

Henry Bussell succeeded White as organist in July 1845,²³⁹ and became master of the boys prior to 1854 (presumably on M'Ghie's death in 1851).²⁴⁰ Bussell was born in England in 1809,²⁴¹ and came to Dublin some time in or before 1828.²⁴² He was organist of Booterstown Parish Church, and he continued to hold that position following his appointment as organist of the Chapel Royal. A number of former Chapel Royal choristers seem to have acted as his deputies in Booterstown, including J. J. O'Shanessy and Charles

²²⁸ 'The Chapel Royal Dublin', *Musical World*, 3rd May 1838, p. 8.

²²⁹ 'The Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle', *Musical World*, 16th January 1845, p. 27.

²³⁰ H. J. Lawlor, *Fasti of St Patrick's, Dublin* (Dundalk: W. Tempest, 1930), 251.

²³¹ *DEM*, 31st May 1852, p. 3.

²³² John Skelton Bumpus, 'Irish Church Composers and the Irish Cathedrals' (Part 2), 123.

²³³ *WDWM*, 28th December 1844, p. 2.

²³⁴ *SN*, 12th January 1846, p. 3.

²³⁵ *DEM*, 5th August 1850, p. 1.

²³⁶ *DEP*, 6th March 1851, p. 3.

²³⁷ Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral*, 158.

²³⁸ Houston, 'Restoration and Consolidation', 360.

²³⁹ NAI CSO/RP/1845/E12842 (contained in NAI CSO/RP/1881/26402): H. U. Tighe to the Under-Secretary, recommending the appointment of Henry Bussell as organist of the Chapel Royal, 23rd September 1845.

²⁴⁰ *SN*, 31st October 1854, p. 3.

²⁴¹ Sir Robert Stewart ed., *Church Hymnal, with Appendix* (Dublin: Charles W. Gibbs, 1891), 29.

²⁴² *SN*, 14th October 1828, p. 3.

F. Phillips.²⁴³ Those Chapel choristers in this period who went on to become organists presumably learned the organ with Bussell.

A survey of the repertoire of the Chapel choir during Bussell's tenure suggests a conservative musical taste in keeping with Charles Villiers Stanford's unflattering description of him as 'a kindly Englishman of exceptional stodginess'.²⁴⁴ However, as we shall see (3.4.3), he contributed a number of original compositions to the repertoire of the Chapel choir. He also made a considerable contribution to musical life in Dublin as a music-seller and publisher, and his hymnal *The Choralist* was an important precursor to the *Irish Church Hymnal* (see 4.2.5 below).

Bussell served for thirty-six years, and so was the longest-serving organist of the Chapel. He applied for a government pension prior to his retirement in 1881, and on his superannuation application form Dean Dickinson provided the following lukewarm testimony:

Mr Henry Bussell discharged his duties with diligence and fidelity, and I believe to the satisfaction generally speaking, of my predecessors. From his advanced age he has not been able to do so for some years; and I can only therefore truthfully certify to his respectability and personal character, and to the strong claim which his long services constitute.²⁴⁵

Although this appears to suggest that Bussell had been unable to 'discharge his duties' since prior to Dickinson's appointment in 1868, elsewhere on the same form Dickinson stated that Bussell had not been absent at all during the preceding ten years. It seems therefore that Dickinson meant that Bussell's age had prevented him from discharging his duties 'with diligence and fidelity'. This phrase was copied from the Superannuation Act 1859 (extracts from which were attached to the form), which required applicants for superannuation to submit a declaration that they had 'served with diligence and fidelity to

²⁴³ See Appendix D1.

²⁴⁴ Stanford, *Pages from an Unwritten Diary*, 55.

²⁴⁵ NAI CSO/RP/1881/26402: application to HM Treasury for superannuation for Henry Bussell completed by H. H. Dickinson, undated (c. July 1881).

the satisfaction of [the] head officer' of their department (in the case of the Chapel, the Dean). Bussell's request for a pension was refused on account of his not having been employed as a full-time public servant.²⁴⁶ He died on 3rd April 1882.²⁴⁷

James Cooksey Culwick (1845–1907) was appointed to succeed Bussell in July 1881.²⁴⁸ Like his predecessor, Culwick was an Englishman who had emigrated to Ireland at an early age. Prior to his appointment as organist of the Chapel Royal, Culwick had been organist of St Ann's, Dawson Street since 1871,²⁴⁹ where he had developed a close working relationship with Dean Dickinson, who was also Vicar of St Ann's. During his long tenure of twenty-six years he made a huge contribution to raising the standards of the choir and the reputation of the Chapel Royal, as we shall see (3.4.2). Culwick not only distinguished himself in his role as organist of the Chapel Royal, but also enjoyed a wide and varied musical career. He was respected as a composer, and was also a teacher at Alexandra College, a notable choral conductor, and co-founder of the Feis Ceoil. His large compositional output included a number of works for the Chapel choir (see 3.4.3 below). He remained as organist of the Chapel Royal until his death in 1907.²⁵⁰

After Culwick's death Dr T. R. G. Jozé briefly acted as organist of the Chapel,²⁵¹ and one source claimed that Culwick's daughter Florence (herself a distinguished choir-trainer) assisted with the training of the Chapel choir.²⁵² George Hewson (1881–1972), assistant organist of St Patrick's Cathedral, was appointed organist of the Chapel a few weeks after

²⁴⁶ NAI CSO/RP/1881/26402: R. R. W. Singer, HM Treasury, to T. H. Burke, Under-Secretary, concerning Henry Bussell's superannuation application, 3rd August 1881.

²⁴⁷ *IT*, 5th April 1882, p. 4.

²⁴⁸ NAI CSO/RP/1881/15073: memorandum from H. H. Dickinson, 'Mr J. C. Culwick to be organist vice Bussell from 1st July', 10th May 1881.

²⁴⁹ *WDWM*, 25th November, 1871, p. 2.

²⁵⁰ *FJ*, 7th October 1907, p. 10.

²⁵¹ NAI CSO/CR/261 (index book), entry 25537 (the document NAI CSO/RP/1907/25537 to which this entry refers does not survive).

²⁵² Jane Clare, Magdalen O'Connell and Ann Simmons, *The Culwick Choral Society Celebrates One Hundred Years, 1898–1998* (Dublin: Culwick Choral Society, 1998), 8.

Culwick's death.²⁵³ He continued to hold his part-time appointment at St Patrick's.²⁵⁴ Hewson continued Culwick's work by maintaining the cathedral-style repertoire of the Chapel choir,²⁵⁵ and no doubt his youth and recent experience at St Patrick's brought a fresh approach to his work at the Chapel. In late 1916, after nine years as Chapel organist, Hewson was appointed to Armagh Cathedral, and in 1920 he returned to Dublin as organist of St Patrick's Cathedral, a position he held for forty years.²⁵⁶

Hewson's successor Thomas Henry Weaving (1881–1966) was appointed in January 1917.²⁵⁷ He had previously been organist of Rutland Square Presbyterian Church ('Findlater's Church') and Christ Church, Kingstown.²⁵⁸ He served for a short period, although, as we shall see (3.4.3), he produced at least one composition for the Chapel choir. Like Hewson before him, his position at the Chapel Royal was a stepping stone to a career as a cathedral organist, and he left the Chapel in 1920 to take up the post of organist of Christ Church Cathedral.²⁵⁹

The last organist of the Chapel Royal was William Edmond Hopkins (1898–1951), who was appointed at the age of twenty-two in July 1920.²⁶⁰ Like Hewson, Hopkins had been a chorister in St Patrick's Cathedral and later assistant organist. He acted as organist of the cathedral during the final illness of his teacher Charles Marchant, and distinguished himself as an accompanist. According to a press report he brought 'exceptional ability and experience in cathedral music' to the Chapel Royal.²⁶¹ One of Hopkins's most important contributions to music at the Chapel was his performance of frequent organ recitals. Prior to his appointment it appears that the organ was rarely heard outside services, and

²⁵³ *DEM*, 31st October 1907, p. 2. A note in RCB P.0129.08.1 (Chapel Royal Preachers' Book) states that he was appointed on 28th October.

²⁵⁴ Frederick W. Thornsby ed., *Dictionary of Organs and Organists* 2nd ed. (London: Augener & Co., 1921), 358.

²⁵⁵ See Appendices E4 and E5.

²⁵⁶ Houston, 'Restoration and Consolidation', 374–75.

²⁵⁷ NAI CSO/RP/1917/238: 'Thos. H. Weaving to be organist & choir master Chapel Royal', 3rd January 1917.

²⁵⁸ *DDE*, 2nd January 1917, p. 3.

²⁵⁹ *IT*, 7th June 1920, p. 3.

²⁶⁰ Born on 25th May 1898 (Church Records, irishgenealogy.ie).

²⁶¹ *IT*, 14th July 1920, p. 4.

Hopkins's innovative programming opened music at the Chapel Royal up to a new audience during a time of civil unrest.²⁶²

Hopkins was evidently interested in matters of music history and performance practice, as demonstrated in an article he wrote for the *Irish Times* on ancient musical customs in Christ Church Cathedral,²⁶³ and a later lecture he gave on the 'Early Music of the Christian Church'.²⁶⁴ He introduced the singing of plainsong during Lent and Advent into the Chapel Royal,²⁶⁵ and also reintroduced works such as George Walsh's service in D and Stevenson's anthem 'Rejoice in the Lord O ye righteous' to the repertoire of the choir, using the original nineteenth-century part-books.²⁶⁶

Hopkins's tenure as organist was abruptly terminated when the Chapel Royal closed at the end of 1922, and, as we shall see (4.2.3), his decision to remove the contents of the music library from the Chapel seem to have saved those books from destruction. Although he resumed his previous appointment as organist of St Mary's, Donnybrook,²⁶⁷ he began training for ministry shortly after the closure of the Chapel and was ordained in 1927.²⁶⁸

3.4.2 *The status and salary of the Chapel organist*

The salary paid to the Chapel organist was never especially generous, and so like many of the men of the choir, the organist usually supplemented this modest income with work as a teacher or performer. The small salary may partly explain why two of the early Chapel organists (J. T. Smith and White) were exceptionally young when appointed. As we have seen (3.3.2), W. G.'s 1845 account claimed that White received £52 a year as organist, although it is possible that his successor Bussell received a larger salary for acting as both

²⁶² See Appendix F.

²⁶³ *IT*, 18th November 1921, p. 4.

²⁶⁴ *IT*, 12th December 1923, p. 4.

²⁶⁵ *IT*, 29th November 1921, p. 6; *IT*, 4th March 1922, p. 4. See also Appendix C5.4.

²⁶⁶ *IT*, 15th October 1921, p. 10. See annotations by Hopkins in loft books ACanAx, p. 19R; TDecA, p. 105R; TCanDx, p. 21; BDecA, p. 105; BCanAx, p. 72 and 37R.

²⁶⁷ *IT*, 8th February 1918, p. 3; *IT*, 12th April 1924, p. 5.

²⁶⁸ *IT*, 19th December 1927, p. 8.

organist and master of the choir. £52 was a reasonable remuneration for relatively light duties, which involved playing only for the morning (and occasional evening) service on Sunday and attending a rehearsal on the preceding Friday evening.²⁶⁹ However, this was slightly less than the salaries paid to organists of large parish churches in Dublin at the time: St Catherine's paid £52 10s,²⁷⁰ St Andrew's £53,²⁷¹ St Thomas's £55,²⁷² St Peter's £65,²⁷³ and St George's the exceptionally large sum of £75.²⁷⁴ Even larger salaries were available in the cathedrals: as organist of St Patrick's Cathedral from 1845, White received a salary of £100 per annum for a set of duties similarly light to those he had undertaken at the Chapel Royal (owing to the infrequent choral services in the cathedral).²⁷⁵

It remains to be established how much Bussell was paid, or how much Culwick was paid at the time of his appointment in 1881, although by 1894 Culwick was paid £80.²⁷⁶ It would seem that this amount was maintained until August 1920, when a request was made for an increase in Hopkins's salary.²⁷⁷ (It is not known if this requested increase was granted.) Although £80 was not an exceptionally large salary, it was more generous than the salaries offered by some other Dublin churches at the time: around the time Culwick was appointed to the Chapel Royal, Trinity Church on Gardiner Street advertised for a new organist with a salary of £50,²⁷⁸ and in 1891 the Molyneux Church, Bride Street (close to the Chapel Royal) offered a salary of £40.²⁷⁹ Since evening services at the Chapel Royal were discontinued early in Culwick's tenure (see 4.3.2 below), his duties at the Chapel were

²⁶⁹ The organist of Trinity College Dublin received a salary of £50 per annum for similar duties in 1814. TCD MUN/V/5/6: College Board Register, 20th October 1810–5th December 1829 (p. 113, 8th January 1814).

²⁷⁰ *DMR*, 13th April 1830, p. 2.

²⁷¹ *SN*, 13th April 1830, p. 2.

²⁷² *DMR*, 13th April 1830, p. 3.

²⁷³ *SN*, 22nd April 1829, p. 2.

²⁷⁴ *DMR*, 6th April 1831, p. 4.

²⁷⁵ RCB C2.1.19.1: St Patrick's Cathedral choir attendance book, 1847–62.

²⁷⁶ NAI CSO/RP/1894/7416 (contained in NAI CSO/RP/1901/906): pay sheet used by Chapel Royal choir, 14th June 1894.

²⁷⁷ NAI CSO/CR/329 (index book), entry 19450 (the document NAI CSO/RP/1920/19450 to which this entry refers does not survive).

²⁷⁸ *DDE*, 11th June 1881, p. 2.

²⁷⁹ *DDE*, 14th January 1891, p. 2.

presumably lighter than those undertaken by organists of most parish churches and proprietary chapels, which suggests that a salary of £80 was relatively generous.²⁸⁰

Culwick relied on his salary from the Chapel Royal for only part of his income, as he was also a teacher at Alexandra College and a freelance conductor. His twenty-six-year tenure made him the second longest-serving organist after his immediate predecessor, Henry Bussell. Six decades during which the Chapel was served by only two organists may have contributed to a perceived musical stasis, evident in the following remarks by a press correspondent concerning the appointment of Hewson as Culwick's successor:

It is sometimes said that a musician becoming connected with the Castle Chapel is practically buried so far as church music is concerned, but an organist of zeal, ability and conscience can effect a considerable improvement in the musical work there.²⁸¹

Despite the negative tone of these remarks, the writer acknowledged that the post of organist of the Chapel Royal was an 'important position', a phrase which he may have unconsciously copied from Culwick's obituary, which had appeared only weeks before.²⁸² This obituary suggested that Culwick was responsible for the high esteem in which music at the Chapel Royal had come to be held:

In 1881 he was appointed to the important position of organist to the Chapel Royal, and filled that post with such conspicuous ability as greatly to lift the level of its services, and to enhance the public interest taken in them.²⁸³

Hopkins, the last organist, was twenty-two years old at the time of his appointment, and he evidently wished to lend a more prestigious air to his position and music in the Chapel more generally. He appears to have introduced the practice of describing the boys and men of the choir as 'Children of the Chapel' and 'Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal'

²⁸⁰ The salary of William Murphy, organist of St Patrick's, was raised in 1874 from £73 to £100: Houston, 'Restoration and Consolidation', 360.

²⁸¹ *DEM*, 31st October 1907, p. 2.

²⁸² *IT*, 7th October 1907, p. 5.

²⁸³ *DEM*, 31st October 1907, p. 2.

respectively, in imitation of the English Chapel Royal.²⁸⁴ As we have seen (3.4.1), Hopkins had a keen interest in history, and in March 1921 he obtained a patent from the Ulster King of Arms (the chief heraldic officer for Ireland) for the use of the title ‘Director and Supervisor of State Musicians, Trumpets and Kettledrums in Ireland’ or ‘Director of State Music in Ireland’ (Plate 19). These were presumably inspired by similar titles once held by Hopkins’s predecessor John Smith. Before obtaining this patent, Hopkins used the title ‘Master of the King’s Music in Ireland’ in his capacity as organist of the Chapel Royal,²⁸⁵ which earned him a rebuke from Sir Walter Parratt, who signed a letter to Hopkins as ‘Master of the King’s Musick in England, Ireland and Everywhere Else’.²⁸⁶

3.4.3 *Chapel composers*

As we have seen (3.4.1), Sir John Stevenson’s duties as ‘Organist and Composer’ to the Chapel were apparently confined to the occasional composition of new music for the Chapel choir. His top billing on the ‘Propos’d Establishment’ reflected the celebrity he enjoyed on the Irish musical scene and the respect in which he was held as a composer by the Irish establishment. (He was knighted in 1801 after the Earl of Hardwicke heard one of his compositions.)²⁸⁷ The choice of the foremost native Irish composer of the day was an important part of the prestige that the Castle authorities hoped to imbue into the new Chapel: this extension of viceregal patronage to musical art confirmed the centrality of music to the new Chapel’s liturgies.

A press report in December 1814 claimed for Stevenson the accolade of ‘the best musical composer in the British empire’.²⁸⁸ There may in fact have been some truth in this

²⁸⁴ *IT*, 27th December 1920, p. 4. The term ‘Gentleman of the Chapel Royal’ was used by W. H. Hamerton as early as 1828 (*SN*, 8th May 1828, p. 2), although this seems to have been exceptional.

²⁸⁵ *IT*, 8th January 1921, p. 1.

²⁸⁶ *IT*, 21st July 1951, p. 7.

²⁸⁷ Patrick M. Geoghegan, ‘Stevenson, Sir John Andrew’, *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, eds James McGuire and James Quinn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

²⁸⁸ *SN*, 15th December 1814, p. 2.

seemingly outlandish claim. Stevenson's early compositions were mostly for the theatre,²⁸⁹ and his later forays into church music produced a number of works which remained in the repertoire of choirs in Ireland and England throughout the nineteenth century.²⁹⁰ Although a number of his English contemporaries were church musicians, including Matthew Camidge, John Stafford Smith, and Samuel Wesley, only Thomas Attwood and William Crotch produced enough church music to rival Stevenson's significant corpus of church compositions. As composer to the Irish Chapel Royal, he had little competition from William Knyvett, one of his two counterparts (along with Attwood) in the English Chapel Royal. Knyvett's small number of church compositions are now entirely forgotten, and received little contemporary acclaim: his anthem 'The king shall rejoice', composed for the coronation of George IV in 1821,²⁹¹ was described by a contemporary reviewer as 'deficient in that grandeur and variety of effect to characterize justly this species of composition'.²⁹²

Stevenson's church compositions were influenced by the music of Haydn, 'his ideal master' (according to his memorial in Christ Church Cathedral), although it seems that Stevenson was influenced more by Haydn's oratorios than his church music. Stevenson's anthem 'In the beginning' is a reworking of sections of the first part of Haydn's *Creation* linked together with original music by Stevenson. In his anthems and services, Stevenson made consistent use of the sectionalized soloistic style popular in eighteenth-century English verse anthems (the staples of the Dublin cathedral repertoires in Stevenson's time), in which solo voices, duets, trios and full chorus were contrasted in alternating

²⁸⁹ William H. Husk, W. H. Grattan Flood, and Bruce Carr, 'Stevenson, Sir John', *Grove Music Online* (www.oxfordmusiconline.com, accessed 25th April 2018).

²⁹⁰ Elaine Sherwin, 'An Edition of the Cathedral Works of Sir John Andrew Stevenson', vol. i (National University of Ireland, Maynooth: PhD diss., 2012), 33.

²⁹¹ Matthias Range, *Music and Ceremonial at British Coronations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 283.

²⁹² 'The Birmingham Festival', *The Harmonicon*, no. 12 (December 1823), p. 182.

sections, and married this form with elements of the harmonic language and melodic vocal-writing of Haydn.

Stevenson's music was very popular in nineteenth-century Dublin, and some of his anthems were even sung in English cathedrals, but today it is almost entirely forgotten. His biographer J. S. Bumpus argued that 'whatever grammatical faults he may have possessed he was immeasurably superior to many a feeble and flimsy English contemporary',²⁹³ and certainly, as we have seen, Stevenson's distinguished English contemporaries were few in number. Harry Grindle criticized Stevenson's church music as lacking in technical refinement and originality,²⁹⁴ although he perhaps deserves a little more credit for his inventive pictorial organ accompaniments, which had very little precedent anywhere else in his time.²⁹⁵

According to handwritten notes in a manuscript volume of Stevenson's works, his service in E major (comprising a Te Deum, Jubilate, Sanctus, and Responses to the Commandments) was composed for the opening service of the Chapel on Christmas Day 1814,²⁹⁶ and another service in F was composed for the Chapel choir in 1819.²⁹⁷ Both of these services were copied into the set of Chapel part-books which date from 1818,²⁹⁸ as were Stevenson's two morning services in C major, the so-called 'Short Service for Holy Days',²⁹⁹ and the longer setting sometimes called the 'Royal' service.³⁰⁰ This epithet (or 'Long') appears in the part-books of Christ Church Cathedral to distinguish it from the

²⁹³ Bumpus, *Sir John Stevenson*, 29.

²⁹⁴ Grindle, *Irish Cathedral Music*, 191–95.

²⁹⁵ Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral*, 140–41.

²⁹⁶ This service was apparently never published, and it seems that Bumpus was unaware of the existence of the Communion service items, since they were not included in his list of Stevenson's works: Bumpus, *Sir John Stevenson*, 27.

²⁹⁷ RCB P.0129.28.1: *Morning Services & Holy Communion Services Composed by Sir J. A. Stevenson* (MS volume).

²⁹⁸ See 4.2.1 below.

²⁹⁹ Sir John Stevenson, *Anthems and Services for the Use of the Church of England* (London: J. Power, 1825).

³⁰⁰ Bumpus, *Sir John Stevenson*, 27.

‘Short’ service,³⁰¹ although the nickname ‘Royal’ appears only once in the Chapel Royal loft books.³⁰² The ‘Long’ service appears to have been composed before 1807,³⁰³ which would mean it was not composed for the Chapel, in spite of the nickname ‘Royal’. However, it is possible that the ‘Short’ service (which was composed between c. 1812 and 1815)³⁰⁴ was connected with the Chapel: according to another note in the manuscript volume of Stevenson’s works,³⁰⁵ it was the this service that was originally called ‘Royal Service’, and not the ‘Long’ service.

Stevenson seems to have produced very little new church music after the publication of his two-volume *Anthems and Services* in 1825, and there is no evidence of his having composed any more works for the Chapel choir.³⁰⁶ John Smith, who had first secured viceregal patronage in 1825 with his appointment as Master and Composer to the State Band,³⁰⁷ seems to have written music for the Chapel choir around the time of his appointment as organist of the Chapel in c. 1830–31. The ‘Anglesey’ Communion service in C major, published in Smith’s 1837 collection *Cathedral Music*, was allegedly commissioned by the Marquess of Anglesey whilst he was Lord Lieutenant (1828 to 1829, and again from 1830 to 1833).³⁰⁸ The Chapel Royal part-books contain what appears to be an earlier version of this work in the key of D major,³⁰⁹ although two of the books contain

³⁰¹ RCB C6.1.24.1.28 (score book), p. 1 has ‘Long’. RCB C6.1.24.3.10 (treble part-book), p. 1, RCB C6.1.24.3.30 (alto part-book), p. 42R, and RCB C6.1.24.3.31 (tenor part-book), p. 42 all have ‘Royal’ in pencil. RCB C6.1.24.3.32 (bass part-book), p. 44 has neither ‘Long’ nor ‘Royal’.

³⁰² Loft book OB2, p. 1R. The other service is usually called ‘Short’ in the Chapel Royal part-books: see Appendix C3.

³⁰³ Sherwin, ‘An Edition of the Cathedral Works of Sir John Andrew Stevenson’, vol. v, 115.

³⁰⁴ Sherwin, ‘An Edition of the Cathedral Works of Sir John Andrew Stevenson’, vol. v, 135.

³⁰⁵ RCB P.0129.28.1: *Morning Services & Holy Communion Services Composed by Sir J. A. Stevenson* (MS volume). This note is in the hand of D. F. R. Wilson, later Dean of St Patrick’s Cathedral, who found this volume in a second-hand bookshop and later presented it to H. J. Lawlor.

³⁰⁶ It seems that he retired from singing at Christ Church some time between July and November of 1827, by which time he would have been over sixty years old: RCB C6.1.23.7: Christ Church Cathedral choir attendance book, 1826–41.

³⁰⁷ NAI CSO/RP/1825/1524: Lieutenant Colonel Meyrick Shawe to Henry Goulburn concerning the appointment of John Smith as ‘Master & Composer of State Music’ in succession to the late John Crosdill, 26th October 1825.

³⁰⁸ John Smith, *Cathedral Music* (London: J. Alfred Novello, 1837).

³⁰⁹ Loft books SDecB, p. 44R; ACanAx, p. 35; TCanAx, p. 79; OB4, p. 65R.

a version in C major that more closely resembles the published version.³¹⁰ It seems likely that the variant in D major was the original version, which may have been performed first by the Chapel choir.

Smith began to use the title ‘Composer to the Chapel Royal’ around 1837, shortly after White was appointed organist.³¹¹ This title does not appear on any salary lists, and there appears to be no official record of such a title being conferred on Smith. W. G.’s account of 1845 alleged that Smith received a state pension of £100 ‘for the eminent services he has rendered to the cathedral, and his compositions for the church’,³¹² although this salary was actually paid for the position of ‘Master & Composer of State Music’, which Smith succeeded to in 1825.³¹³ The title ‘Composer to the Chapel Royal’ (which was never used by any later Dublin composer) may have been Smith’s own invention, conceived in imitation of the position held by his musical idol, George Frideric Handel. According to Donald Burrows, ‘Handel’s position as Composer to the Chapel Royal was independent of the Composers in the Chapel’s regular establishment.’³¹⁴ It is possible that after relinquishing his formal position as organist of the Chapel Royal Smith conceived his continued association with the Chapel in similar terms.

The setting of the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus* published in Smith’s *Cathedral Music* was (according to a note in that volume) composed for the consecration of Richard Ponsonby as Bishop of Killaloe in St Patrick’s Cathedral in 1828.³¹⁵ The Chapel part-books contain a ‘Ponsonby’ chant, Sanctus and Responses, and it is possible that these were composed for this or some other event connected with Ponsonby, who was Dean of St Patrick’s prior to his elevation to the episcopate. However, it is also possible that the pieces in the Chapel

³¹⁰ Loft books ACanDx, p. 11R; BCanDx, p. 11R.

³¹¹ *DEPC*, 8th April 1837, p. 2.

³¹² ‘The Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle’, *Musical World*, 16th January 1845, p. 27.

³¹³ NAI CSO/RP/1825/1524: Lieutenant Colonel Meyrick Shawe to Henry Goulburn concerning the appointment of John Smith as ‘Master & Composer of State Music’ in succession to the late John Crosdill, 26th October 1825.

³¹⁴ Donald Burrows, *Handel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 157.

³¹⁵ *JN*, 17th March 1828, p. 2.

part-books were dedicated to a different Ponsonby with a nearer connexion to the Chapel—John Ponsonby, Earl of Bessborough, who was Lord Lieutenant from 1846 to 1847.

W. H. White composed three settings of the Sanctus and Responses in E, E-flat and G major, each of which is contained in the Chapel part-books. Two of these settings (in E-flat and G) were published in London when White was organist of St Patrick's.³¹⁶ A double chant in G major by White also appears to have been used frequently in the Chapel.³¹⁷ During his tenure as organist of the Chapel Royal, White also published his arrangement of Jeremiah Clark's anthem 'I will love thee O Lord', which was sung in the Chapel.³¹⁸

Henry Bussell also contributed several service settings to the repertoire of the Chapel choir, but no anthems. His two morning services in B-flat and E-flat major, each comprising Te Deum, Jubilate, Sanctus and Responses, appear in several Chapel part-books and organ books. One of Bussell's services was composed early in his long tenure as organist, and was performed in the Chapel in 1847.³¹⁹ Another setting of the Sanctus and Responses in G minor was composed in 1861 in memory of Albert, Prince Consort.³²⁰ A further setting of the Sanctus and Responses in the unusual key of G-flat major is extant in three of the part-books, and may have been written for men's voices (ATB).³²¹ Although Bussell was a music publisher, it appears that none of his compositions for the Chapel choir was published, and so it is unlikely that they were ever performed outside the Chapel.

James Culwick had already had some modest success as a composer prior to his appointment as Chapel organist in 1881, but after his appointment his compositional output increased considerably. He produced a number of sacred choral works in the 1880s

³¹⁶ William Henry White, *Sanctus and Responses as Performed at the Chapel Royal, Dublin, Composed by William Henry White, Organist of St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin* (London: Frederick Hehl, n. d. [c. 1845–52]).

³¹⁷ Loft book OB4, p. 74R.

³¹⁸ Score Book 1, item 12.

³¹⁹ DEM, 5th July 1847, p. 3.

³²⁰ Loft book ADecD, p. 24R.

³²¹ Loft books ACanAx, p. 144; TCanAx, inside cover; BCanAx, inside cover.

and 1890s, many of which were composed for and sung by the Chapel choir. His *Te Deum* and *Benedictus* in E major (which may have been composed especially for the Chapel choir) was sung in the Chapel in late 1881,³²² only months after his appointment. This service (the score of which is lost) was likely of a festive character, as it was sung on Christmas Day in both 1881 and 1882.³²³

Culwick's *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* in D was published by Charles Vincent in 1885 as his opus 8, and was dedicated to the Prince of Wales. It had been sung in the Chapel for the Prince's visit there earlier that year,³²⁴ although it had been composed at least a year earlier.³²⁵ It seems that this setting also included a *Benedictus*, sung in the Chapel in 1885,³²⁶ and *Benedicite* and *Nicene Creed* in D minor (the key of the *Jubilate*), which were performed as early as 1882,³²⁷ none of these items were published and are now lost. A later *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* in B-flat was performed in the Chapel in 1886 and 1887,³²⁸ and a *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* in C was performed in 1894 (these settings are both lost).³²⁹ Culwick wrote two other service settings for Lichfield Cathedral (where he had been a chorister and assistant organist): a *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis* in A (his opus 6, published in 1883),³³⁰ and a 'Festival Service' in G (*Te Deum* and *Benedictus*) for men's voices, which was first sung by the men of the Chapel Royal on 21st May 1893.³³¹

Of all the Chapel musicians, Culwick contributed the most significant number of original compositions to the repertoire of the choir. Unlike his predecessors, who seem

³²² On 30th October and 6th November 1881: see Appendix E2.

³²³ Appendix E2. The service in E may have included other movements (a *Benedicite* in E was performed in 1894): see Appendix E3.

³²⁴ *DDE*, 21st May 1885, p. 2.

³²⁵ The *Te Deum* was performed alone in April 1884 (*DDE*, 19th April 1884, p. 7); both movements were performed in June 1884 (*DDE*, 28th June 1884, p. 5). Choir book Ser2 contains extensive corrections and annotations to the published edition, apparently in Culwick's hand.

³²⁶ *DDE*, 2nd May 1885, p. 6.

³²⁷ Appendix E2.

³²⁸ *DDE*, 23rd January 1886, p. 7 (*Te Deum* only); *DDE*, 19th November 1887, p. 3 (*Jubilate* only).

³²⁹ Appendix E3.

³³⁰ This was sung in St Patrick's Cathedral: *DDE*, 3rd May 1884, p. 3. The commission by Lichfield Cathedral is noted in Culwick's own hand in the bound copy of his published church music presented to the library of Trinity College, Dublin (shelfmark M2-706).

³³¹ *IT*, 22nd May 1893, p. 5. It has not yet been possible to trace a copy of this work.

only to have composed service settings, Culwick also composed several anthems. ‘Bless the Lord, O my soul’ (the words selected by Dean Dickinson), ‘O Lord, the great and dreadful God’ and ‘Answer me when I call’ were all published in 1896, although by that time these anthems had all been in the repertoire of the Chapel Royal choir for over a decade.³³² Culwick wrote two special anthems for Queen Victoria’s golden and diamond jubilees: ‘O Lord, grant the queen a long life’ (the words selected by Dean Dickinson) in 1887,³³³ and ‘Behold, O God, our defender’ in 1897.³³⁴

Culwick’s successor George Hewson was not a prolific composer, and it appears that the only work he wrote for the Chapel Royal choir was a Sanctus and Gloria in F, first sung on Easter Day 1908.³³⁵ This setting remained in the choir’s repertoire after Hewson’s departure for Armagh,³³⁶ although the score is now lost. Hewson’s successor Thomas Henry Weaving composed a ‘Choral Communion’ in G major, which includes settings of the Kyrie, Sursum corda, Sanctus, and Gloria in excelsis. William Edmond Hopkins is not known to have composed any original music, although he made an innovative arrangement of the carol ‘The First Nowell’ for a trio of boys and another trio of men for the Chapel Christmas carol service in 1920.³³⁷

Aside from the organists of the Chapel, a number of gentlemen of the choir composed works which were included in the Chapel part-books: William Murphy Herbert (tenor in the 1830s) composed a Te Deum and Jubilate in E-flat; William Rossington (tenor in the early 1840s) composed a setting of the Sanctus and Responses in C minor; and Charles Hanlon (bass, 1848–c. 1888) composed a morning service (comprising Te

³³² ‘O Lord, the great and dreadful God’ was first performed in the Chapel Royal on 12th March 1882, and ‘Praise the Lord, O my soul’ (presumably the same anthem as or an earlier version of the published ‘Bless the Lord, O my soul’) was first performed on 7th May 1882 (Appendix E2). ‘Answer me when I call’ was performed in the Chapel in January 1883 (*IT*, 27th January 1883, p. 6). No earlier manuscript editions of these anthems survive in the Chapel music library, although the 1896 published editions can be found in the ‘Services and Anthems’ books.

³³³ *DDE*, 18th June 1887, p. 5; *IT*, 18th June 1887, p. 5.

³³⁴ *DDE*, 18th June 1897, p. 5.

³³⁵ Appendix E4.

³³⁶ Appendix E5.

³³⁷ *IT*, 27th December 1920, p. 4.

Deum, Jubilate, Sanctus and Responses) in F major, and arranged a Sanctus and Responses in D and G from music by Mendelssohn.³³⁸ In addition, fragments of two settings of the Sanctus and Responses by William M'Ghie (bass, 1831 or before–1851) appear in two part-books, one of which may have been a setting for trebles only.³³⁹

A number of minor works in the Chapel part-books are attributed to otherwise unknown composers who apparently had some direct connexion to the Chapel: a Sanctus and Responses in F by Major Bagot (Aide-de-Camp to the Lord Lieutenant),³⁴⁰ Responses in E-flat by the Hon. Captain Lindsay (Master of the Horse of the Lord Lieutenant's Household),³⁴¹ Responses in B-flat by Mrs Pennant (a frequent dinner guest of Lord Heytesbury's during his Lord Lieutenancy, who may have been his sister),³⁴² and a Sanctus and Responses curiously attributed to both Mrs Tighe (presumably the wife of Dean Tighe) and Rev'd Mr Le Fanu (the sometime Sub-Dean).

³³⁸ Fragments of an arrangement of 'Lord I call upon thee' (Psalm 141) by Hanlon can be found amongst the leaves of loft books SDecD and BCanDx, and a fragment of an adaptation of Himmell's 'O Lord from whom all good things flow' is found in TDecD, p. 21.

³³⁹ Loft books SCanB, p. 2 (in B-flat, possibly for trebles only); ACanAx, p. 92 (in C).

³⁴⁰ *DEM*, 15th March 1852, p. 2.

³⁴¹ *FJ*, 3rd November 1845, p. 3.

³⁴² *DEP*, 26th December 1844, p. 3; *WDWM*, 1st March 1845, p. 7; *DEP*, 22nd May 1845, p. 2; *FJ*, 20th June 1845, p. 2. In Loft Book ACanAx, p. 12a this piece is attributed to 'Mrs Crawford, Lord Heytesbury's Sister'.

CHAPTER FOUR

LITURGY AND MUSIC

4.1 Sources and influences

4.1.1 Primary sources

The preceding chapters have presented an account of the choral foundation of the Chapel Royal by focussing on its personnel and the physical space in which it operated. Although sources are somewhat patchy, it has been possible to build up a reasonably thorough account of the previously obscure history of the choral foundation between its inception in 1814 and its disbandment in 1922, and the subsequent fate of the Chapel building and its patrimony. This institutional history has thus laid the foundation for an overview of the liturgy and music of the Chapel, which comprises the final section of this study. Two important questions remain to be answered: what shape did the liturgy take, and what music was performed?

The primary purpose of the Chapel's choral foundation was the performance of the liturgy through music, and so the question of how the liturgy was performed is closely connected with issues of repertoire and musical performance practice. Although the Book of Common Prayer was highly codified and contained many prescriptive rubrics, its services admitted many variations in musical practice, as we shall see (4.3.1). Such variations can provide an insight into the tastes and opinions of clergy and musicians, and the influence of wider trends. As we shall see (4.1.4), the Chapel Royal is a particularly interesting case in this respect, owing to its unique constitution and its dual role within the church and state in Ireland.

The principal primary sources for information on liturgy and music in the Chapel are the surviving music library books (see 4.2.1 below, and Appendix C3), and a few assorted

other books which have survived from the Chapel (see 4.2.5 below). Further details of services at the Chapel can be gleaned from occasional eyewitness accounts in newspapers and periodicals, and government documents. As we shall see (4.2.1), the so-called ‘loft books’ (which constitute a significant portion of the surviving music library) date from between 1818 and 1863, and seem to have been disused from around 1870. Information on repertoire of the later period can be gleaned from the ‘Services’, ‘Anthems’ and ‘Services and Anthems’ books, all dating from c. 1900 (see 4.2.2 below).

Although some new repertoire not found in the loft books was introduced to the choir in the late 1860s (Appendix E1), the most significant changes to the repertoire occurred following the appointment of James Culwick as organist in 1881. In the early years the repertoire of the Chapel choir was largely contemporary or of recent date, with a strong emphasis on the works of English Chapel Royal composers and Dublin Chapel composer Sir John Stevenson.¹ Culwick modernized the repertoire of the choir by introducing a significant amount of music by living English and continental composers.

The loft books are the only significant source of information concerning liturgical music performed in the Chapel before c. 1850. From the 1850s onwards detailed accounts of psalm chants, service settings, anthems, hymns and other items began to appear in newspaper music lists. As we shall see (4.1.2), some details of music sung at the Chapel had appeared in the press during the 1840s, but this was usually only the title of the anthem and names of soloists.

Although these sources are patchy, it has been possible to glean a general overview of music and liturgy in the Chapel throughout the entire period of its existence from a synthesis of the available information. Secondary sources concerning music and liturgy at the Chapel Royal are scarce, owing to the almost complete lack of attention paid to the Chapel’s musical foundation in previous scholarship. A very useful resource is John Jebb’s

¹ Compare, for example, the list of composers quoted in the 1845 *Musical World* article (see Appendix A1) with the music sung during Culwick’s tenure (see Appendix E2, E3 and E4).

seminal 1843 treatise on *The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland*, in which the Chapel is mentioned several times. Jebb's book is a useful starting point for any survey of performance practice in a nineteenth-century liturgical context, since it presents many specific examples of liturgical and musical practices through the author's extraordinarily wide range of eyewitness accounts.

4.1.2 *Newspaper music lists*

Accounts of services at the Chapel Royal appeared occasionally in the Dublin newspapers as part of viceregal court news in the early years following the opening of the Chapel. Such reports usually included little detail beyond the names of dignitaries in attendance, the officiating clergy, and the preacher. The following is a typical example:

His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant attended Divine Service yesterday at the Castle Chapel. The morning Service, and the Lessons, were read by the Archdeacon of Aghadoe, (Dr. Bishop [sic.; Sub-Dean Sir George Bisshopp]); the Litany by the Very Rev. the Dean of Cloyne [Alexander Arbuthnot, viceregal chaplain], who likewise assisted the Bishop of Raphoe [Dean William Bissett] in officiating at the Communion Table. The Dean of Cloyne preached an eloquent and truly impressive Sermon, from the 18th verse of the 6th chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews.²

During the early 1840s these reports began to include details of the anthem sung by the choir, and often the solo singers too:

His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant and the Countess De Grey and suite, attended Divine Service on Sunday at the Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle. The Advent Sermon was preached by the Rev. W. A. Butler, Professor of Moral Philosophy, Trinity College. The Anthem—'I looked, and Lo!'—Sir John Stevenson—was sung by Messrs. Brooks, Yoakley, M'Ghie, and Sapio.³

Such reports appeared in almost all of the Dublin daily newspapers, including *Dublin Morning Register*, *Dublin Evening Mail*, *Dublin Evening Packet and Correspondent*, *Dublin Evening*

² *Southern Reporter and Cork Commercial Courier*, 4th March 1823, p. 3.

³ *DEPC*, 30th November 1841, p. 3.

Post, *Freeman's Journal*, and *Saunders's News-Letter*, as well as occasionally in regional newspapers such as the *Belfast News-Letter* and the *Nenagh Guardian*.

Similar reports continued to appear in these newspapers into the 1850s, although the *Dublin Daily Express*, which was established in 1851, appears to have pioneered the printing of detailed accounts of chants, service settings and anthems:

Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle—11½ a.m.—Responses—Graham. Chant—Smith and Robinson. “Te Deum,” &c—H. Bussell. Anthem—“Thou, O God, art praised in Zion.”—M. Greene, Mus. D.⁴

The *Dublin Daily Express* also printed similar lists for the two cathedrals and Trinity College, under the headline ‘Services and Anthems in Collegiate and Cathedral Churches’. The *Irish Times*, first published in 1859, followed this trend also, and gradually the older Dublin newspapers followed suit. Music lists usually appeared in the press on Saturday with details of the services of the following day, although when occasional choral services took place on weekdays (such as Ash Wednesday, Good Friday and Ascension Day) the music lists appeared in the morning papers of that day.

Since the music lists for the Sunday services in Dublin’s four Anglican choral foundations were printed beside one another almost every Saturday, it is easy to compare their repertoires for similarities and differences. A detailed investigation of this question is beyond the scope of the present study, but a casual comparison shows that each of the four foundations maintained its own distinctive repertoire. Although there was naturally some crossover in the choice of anthems (the core repertoire of cathedral anthems being quite small in the early and mid-nineteenth century), each foundation performed its own particular set of the wide repertoire of service settings, some of which were composed by in-house musicians (see 3.4.3 above). In the cathedrals and in Trinity chapel, music was

⁴ *DDE*, 20th January 1855, p. 2.

presumably selected by the respective precentors, and as we shall see (4.1.4), the repertoire of the Chapel Royal was influenced by both the Dean and the organist.

Detailed weekly music lists from the Chapel (as well as Trinity chapel and the cathedrals) are available in several newspapers for most periods between c. 1860 and 1922, although there are occasional gaps. The music lists for the Chapel are somewhat patchy from 1918 onwards, and they ceased to appear altogether in the summer of 1922. The printing of the same music list in several newspapers has sometimes been useful for comparison, particularly when obvious errors (such as spelling) have been made during the typesetting of the newspaper. It is possible that music was occasionally changed at the last minute (between publication and performance), although the relatively static repertoire in which the same few works were repeated frequently would suggest that this was unlikely.

The music lists are useful resources for surveying changes in the way music was used in the liturgy, although some caution is required when attempting to ascertain liturgical changes from these music lists, since their completeness and accuracy relied on the thoroughness of their compiler. For example, the first mention of the singing of the Nicene Creed in a music list occurred just weeks after Culwick's appointment, but it is not absolutely clear whether Culwick introduced the singing of the Creed in the Chapel for the first time, or merely began to include in the published music lists details of a pre-existing practice which had been omitted from these lists by his predecessor.

Changes in the format and content of music lists are particularly noticeable immediately following the appointment of a new organist. During 1916 the number of the chant for the Venite appeared less and less frequently in the published music lists until it disappeared altogether in October 1916. Following the appointment of Thomas Weaving as George Hewson's successor in January 1917, details of the Venite appeared once again in the music lists. Unlike the example concerning the Nicene Creed mentioned above, it seems that in this case no change in performance practice occurred, and that Weaving (at

least initially) took a more fastidious approach to the compilation of the music lists than Hewson had done. Such examples demonstrate the potential unreliability of the music lists as a resource for identifying general trends, and so the discussion of these trends in 4.3 below will treat such evidence with caution.

The newspaper music lists have been used primarily to survey general trends in repertoire and the use of music in the liturgy, and so a few cross-sections of music lists from a few years at a time have been collated in Appendix E. These are drawn mainly from the *Dublin Daily Express*, but also the *Irish Times* and occasionally the *Dublin Evening Mail*. The periods covered in this appendix have been selected to coincide with significant changes in the music of the Chapel: periods before and after changes of organist (Appendices E2, E4 and E5), and the approximate period in which the loft books were phased out (Appendix E1). Appendices E1 and E3 present years in the middle of terms of long-serving organists for comparison. The material collated in Appendix E is presented for reference purposes, and represents only a small part of the music lists which have been consulted in the preparation of this research. Music lists from periods not included in this appendix are cited individually as newspaper references.

4.1.3 Times and forms of service

In order to present an overview of music and liturgy at the Chapel Royal in this chapter, it will be necessary to determine the types of services which took place there, the liturgical texts used, the order in which they were used, whether they were spoken or sung, and what sort of musical settings were employed. Liturgical practices in the English and Irish churches evolved considerably between 1814 and 1922, and so forms of service changed gradually as elements were added or subtracted, and more of the liturgical texts were sung instead of spoken.

The principal choral service in the Chapel Royal took place on Sunday morning. The first service on Christmas Day 1814 took place at midday,⁵ and this choice of time was presumably another imitation of the Chapel Royal of St James's Palace (see 3.1.1 above). Although no evidence concerning times of service is available for the subsequent two decades, in the late 1830s the regular Sunday morning service took place at midday,⁶ which would suggest that the time of the opening service had been maintained. This late starting time was common in many parish churches in Dublin until the 1860s, when Archbishop Trench criticized it as giving the impression to 'our Roman Catholic neighbours that we do not appear to worship the almighty until the day is half over'.⁷

In the early 1840s the time of the Chapel Royal Sunday morning service fluctuated between eleven o'clock, half-past eleven and midday at different times of the year. The moving of the morning service to an earlier time appears to have been connected with the establishment of a regular Sunday evening service during the 'Castle season' (a period of several weeks around St Patrick's Day in which the Lord Lieutenant was in residence in the Castle). These evening services, which took place at either five or six o'clock, seem to have been introduced shortly after the appointment of Hugh Usher Tighe as Dean in 1843.⁸ It is not known when the choir began to participate in these services, although they certainly did by 1858, when details of the music first began to appear in newspapers.⁹ By the late 1860s, the usual time of the morning service had moved to half-past eleven (a move which reflected a wider trend in Dublin churches),¹⁰ although during the Castle season the morning service took place at eleven and the evening service (which was choral) took place

⁵ *SN*, 24th December 1814, p. 2.

⁶ *DEM*, 13th April 1838, p. 2.

⁷ Crawford, *The Church of Ireland in Victorian Dublin*, 145.

⁸ *SN*, 18th January 1844, p. 1; *Dublin Monitor*, 19th April 1844, p. 1; *FJ*, 6th November 1844, p. 2.

⁹ *DDE*, 20th February 1858, p. 2.

¹⁰ Crawford, *The Church of Ireland in Victorian Dublin*, 145.

at four.¹¹ The regular morning service took place consistently at half-past eleven from around 1870 until mid-1920, when the time of service was moved to quarter-past eleven.¹²

Initially, services took place on every Sunday morning in the year, but from around 1876 onwards the Chapel was closed during the summer, and services did not take place in July, August or September, with the exception of occasional military services.¹³ Beginning in summer 1888, occasional services for troops stationed in the Castle took place on Sunday mornings in addition to the usual morning service.¹⁴ It is not clear whether the Chapel choir sang at those services, which frequently incorporated military band music in addition to Anglican chant psalms and canticles.¹⁵ During the First World War services continued during the summers of 1915–18 with a ‘half choir’ of ‘boys’ voices only’,¹⁶ in order to facilitate soldiers recovering in the Dublin Castle Red Cross Hospital,¹⁷ which had been set up in the State Apartments in December 1914 on the initiative of Lady Aberdeen, wife of the Lord Lieutenant.¹⁸ A noteworthy change to this schedule occurred on Sunday 29th July 1917, when the full choir sang the service:¹⁹ it seems, owing to a note in one of the choir books, that this was a special service for the closing of the first session of the Irish Convention.²⁰

Weekday choral services did not take place regularly in the Chapel, except on Good Friday and (in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century) on Ash Wednesday and Ascension Day. Said weekday services of Morning Prayer took place at various times, seemingly at the will of the Lord Lieutenant of the day. Viscount Ebrington (Lord

¹¹ Appendix E1.

¹² See Appendix E.

¹³ RCB P.0129.08.1.

¹⁴ NAI CSO/RP/1888/5685: memorandum from War Office concerning use of Chapel Royal for service for troops, 14th March 1888. The first such service seems to have taken place on Sunday 17th June 1888: RCB P.0129.08.1.

¹⁵ *IT*, 13th October 1888, p. 6.

¹⁶ *DDE*, 20th July 1915, p. 2.

¹⁷ *DDE*, 30th June 1916, p. 7.

¹⁸ *DDE*, 15th December 1914, p. 4.

¹⁹ Appendix E5.

²⁰ Choir book Ant7.

Lieutenant 1839–41) allegedly introduced daily services in Chapel during periods in which the viceregal court was in residence.²¹ In spite of a rumour that the Duke of Marlborough wished to introduce daily services on his appointment as Lord Lieutenant at the end of 1876,²² it seems that this development did not take place until 1890, when daily services of Morning Prayer at 9.45am were introduced during the Castle season, which were kept up until 1906.²³ From late 1915, regular early-morning said services of Holy Communion took place on Sunday mornings,²⁴ in stark contrast to the practice of fifty years before of celebrating Holy Communion only a few times a year in the Chapel (see 2.2.2 above). These early Communion services were choral on special occasions (such as Christmas 1916).²⁵

Like the rest of the United Church of England and Ireland, prior to disestablishment in 1871 the services at the Chapel Royal would have followed the forms prescribed by the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. Whereas nowadays the services of the Prayer Book are usually performed discretely, in the nineteenth century and for much of the twentieth century the usual practice was to combine Morning Prayer, the Litany, and the first part of the office of Holy Communion as far as the Prayer for the Church Militant (the so-called ‘ante-Communion’). This tripartite service (with a sermon interpolated) was the usual Sunday morning liturgy in parish churches, cathedrals and collegiate churches. The entire Communion service was celebrated on Christmas Day, Easter Day, and Whitsun Day, and many parish churches and cathedrals held regular monthly Communion services in addition.²⁶ As we have seen (2.2.2), a regular monthly Communion service was not begun in the Chapel Royal until the late 1860s.

²¹ *FJ*, 21st August 1841, p. 3.

²² *Derry Journal*, 8th January 1877, p. 2.

²³ RCB P.0129.08.1.

²⁴ RCB P.0129.08.1; Appendix E5.

²⁵ Appendix E5.

²⁶ Neil Patterson, ‘A Perusal of the History of the Book of Common Prayer’, *The Book of Common Prayer: Past Present and Future*, ed. Prudence Daley (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), 3–14 (9).

After disestablishment, the Church of Ireland produced its own revision of the Book of Common Prayer, which was promulgated in 1878. It is not known if this revision of the Prayer Book was introduced into the Chapel Royal, as no service books from after disestablishment appear to survive.²⁷ Since, as we have seen (1.4.1), the Chapel Royal occupied an anomalous position in the post-disestablishment Church of Ireland, it is possible that the services of the 1662 Prayer Book were maintained in the Chapel Royal by default, since the General Synod of the Church of Ireland had no official role in the governance of the Chapel. However, as Dean Dickinson was a prominent member of the General Synod (in his capacity as Vicar of St Ann's), and also a member of the committee which oversaw the publication of the revised Prayer Book,²⁸ it seems unlikely that he would have objected to the use of the revised Prayer Book in the Chapel.

4.1.4 Influences on liturgy and music

As we have seen (1.1.4), the constitutional status of the Chapel Royal was analogous to English royal peculiars, in which the monarch was the ordinary. Because of this, ultimate authority over the conduct of worship in the Chapel (both liturgy and music) rested with the Lord Lieutenant, as noted by Jebb:

There is no fixed rule for the performance of the Choral Service, which has been enlarged or curtailed (sometimes even to the omission of the Chant in the Psalms) according to the will of different Viceroys.²⁹

During the period 1814–1922 there were no fewer than thirty-six changes of Lord Lieutenant, and although a few Lords Lieutenant served multiple terms there were still thirty individual office-holders in this period.³⁰ The essentially ephemeral nature of the vicerealty ensured that changes instigated by one Lord Lieutenant could easily be

²⁷ McDonnell, 'The bindings of the service books for the Dublin Castle Chapel', 93.

²⁸ *Cork Constitution*, 1st May 1877, p. 2.

²⁹ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 149.

³⁰ See Appendix B.

overturned by his successor. Therefore, although some Lords Lieutenant intervened directly in matters relating to music and liturgy in the Chapel Royal, the main influence in this respect lay with the Dean, whose office, unlike that of the Lord Lieutenant, was permanent (at least from 1831 onwards: see 1.3.2 above).

The Dean's authority in matters of worship was well illustrated during the 5th November controversy in 1837 (see 1.2.3 above). That authority was also evident in the Dean's control over appointments to offices in the Chapel with government salaries. From correspondence in the papers of the Chief Secretary's Office, it is clear that such appointments were made on the recommendation of the Dean, subject to the sanction of the Lord Lieutenant. Concerning the appointment of a 'Singing Man' to the Chapel in 1863, Dean Graves wrote to the Under-Secretary that 'the appointment is with me subject to His Ex[cellency]'s approval'.³¹ In the early days of the Chapel, prior to the Dean's becoming the salaried Chaplain to the Castle in 1831 (see 1.3.2 above), it seems that such appointments were under the control of the Sub-Dean.³²

It appears that the Dean as 'head of the department' of the Chapel had free rein to appoint whomever he wished to those offices in the Chapel that were not listed in the viceregal estimates.³³ Most of the men of the choir were employed on this basis, although responsibility for paying of members of the choir seems to have been delegated by the Dean to the organist or master of the choir (see 3.3.2 above). Since the Dean had ultimate oversight of the choir and responsibility for the liturgy, his role also encompassed the duties that in a cathedral would usually fall to the precentor. It is not clear how much

³¹ NAI CSO/RP/1863/5200: Charles Graves to Sir Thomas Larcom, Under-Secretary, 10th June 1863. (See 3.3.2 above.)

³² NAI CSO/RP/1824/36: Lieutenant Colonel Meyrick Shawe to Henry Goulburn concerning the appointment of William Henry Hamerton as 'one of the Singing Men at the Castle Chapel', 5th January 1824.

³³ NAI CSO/RP/1893/15948 (contained in NAI CSO/RP/1901/906): James Culwick concerning payment of salaries of the Chapel Royal choir, 23rd December 1893.

influence the Dean exercised in the choice of music sung at services, however, or if that responsibility lay with the organist.

No doubt the decanal influence on music would have fluctuated according to the musical knowledge and abilities of individual Deans. Although there is little surviving evidence concerning Dean Graves's involvement in the running of music at the Chapel Royal, as a member of the board of Trinity College he was closely involved with the running of the College chapel choir before the appointment of the first Precentor to undertake that duty (see 3.1.2 above). In June 1863 Graves recommended the dismissal of Mr Moran from the College chapel choir,³⁴ and this decision may have been connected with Moran's departure from the Chapel Royal in early 1864.³⁵ Graves may also have been responsible for the introduction of a chant in E major by his young godson, Charles Villiers Stanford, into the repertoire of the Chapel Royal choir in the early 1860s.³⁶

Dean Dickinson, by far the longest-serving Dean of the Chapel, was strongly interested in music. As Precentor of St Patrick's he had first-hand experience of managing a choir and choosing repertoire, and he was also a pioneer of hymnody in the Church of Ireland: he compiled the first ever authorized hymnal, *Hymns for Public Worship*, and sat on the editorial committee of the later *Church Hymnal*.³⁷ Dickinson enjoyed a close working relationship with James Culwick, and selected texts for a number of anthems composed by Culwick that were performed in the Chapel (see 3.4.3 above). Dickinson's successor Dean Webster, who had served as Acting Dean at various times prior to Dickinson's death (see 1.3.4 above), also worked closely with Culwick and his successor George Hewson, and regularly provided both organists with funds for the purchase of music for the choir.³⁸

³⁴ TCD MUN/V/5/12: College Board Register, 12th April 1862–24th December 1870 (p. 66, 27th June 1863).

³⁵ See Appendix D2.

³⁶ See Appendix C5.1.

³⁷ Crawford, *The Church of Ireland in Victorian Dublin*, 143.

³⁸ RCB P.0129.08.1, Offertory Collections 1903–15.

Aside from the Earl of Haddington's decision to discontinue the chanting of the psalms in the Chapel in 1835 (discussed in 4.3.2 below), it appears that direct interventions by the Lord Lieutenant in musical matters were rare. Lord Carlisle evidently took an interest in Chapel music, as he frequently recorded his opinions on music there and in the cathedrals in his diaries.³⁹ Several Lords Lieutenant took an interest in the welfare of the boy choristers: Lord Houghton invited the choristers to a summer party in the Viceregal Lodge in May 1895,⁴⁰ and the Earl Cadogan gave £2 towards a Christmas bonus for the choristers in 1899, a practice that appears to have been continued by his successors Dudley and Aberdeen.⁴¹ During the early part of the Earl of Dudley's viceroyalty a press report stated:

His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant is displaying the deepest interest in the services of the Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle, and has done much with the object of improving the musical portion, in which he has been ably assisted by the Countess of Dudley, herself a musician of no mean order.⁴²

Precisely what Dudley and his wife may have done to 'improve' the music at services is not known, although Dudley gave money to the Dean in order to supplement the payment of the choir,⁴³ and, as we have seen (2.2.3), purchased at his own personal expense a new set of cassocks and ruffs for the choristers.⁴⁴

4.2 The Chapel Royal music collection

4.2.1 *Loft books and score books*

Two significant collections of music from the Chapel Royal survive: a set of thirty-two volumes from the Chapel music library now held at the Representative Church Body

³⁹ Lascelles, *Journals kept by George Howard, Earl of Carlisle*.

⁴⁰ DDE, 29th May 1895, p. 5.

⁴¹ RCB P.0129.08.1, Offertory Collections 1899–1915.

⁴² DDE, 13th April 1903, p. 6.

⁴³ See 3.3.2 above.

⁴⁴ DDE, 13th April 1903, p. 6.

Library, Dublin, and a further thirty-two volumes held in the music library of Trinity College chapel. As we shall see (4.2.3), these volumes together account for around two thirds of the music removed from the Chapel following the cessation of services there at the end of 1922. The so-called ‘loft books’ (along with two ‘score books’) comprise the bulk of the RCB collection; the other two volumes in the RCB collection are part of the ‘Services and Anthems’ set, the remaining twelve volumes of which are in the set in the chapel of Trinity College Dublin, and so will be discussed along with those volumes in 4.2.2 below.

The loft books comprise a set of twenty-eight bound manuscript volumes: twenty-three vocal part-books (with individual voice parts only) and five organ books (with organ accompaniments and occasional vocal cues). These volumes contain settings of services, anthems and some chants, and were copied at various times between 1818 and 1863 (some copyists’ signatures being dated). From the marginalia present in these books and the evidence presented in the 1923 inventory of the library made by W. E. Hopkins (see 4.2.4 below and Appendix C1), it appears that this set was in use from the early period of the choir’s history until approximately 1870, and so contains repertoire from around the first half of the choir’s lifetime. Details of the contents of the loft books can be found in Appendix C3.1.

The term ‘loft books’, which derives from Hopkins’s inventory, is not in widespread usage, and its origin with regard to this collection is somewhat obscure. Hopkins, as we have seen (3.4.1), had antiquarian interests, and so may have been familiar with the term from its application in Christ Church Cathedral, where it denoted the books used by the soloists who in earlier times sang from the organ loft (see 2.2.3 above).⁴⁵ The earliest of the Chapel loft books dates from the period when the choir sang from the organ loft (see 2.2.3 above), and it is possible that by the time Hopkins was organist these disused books were

⁴⁵ Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral*, 127.

stored in the large shelved cupboard in the corridor behind the organ loft near to the former locations of the console. This term has been preserved since it conveniently distinguishes this set of books from the other surviving items.

The two ‘score books’ are collections of individual printed full scores of services and anthems bound together, apparently for the use of the organist, with contents dating from c. 1860 or earlier. Contents of these books can also be found in Appendix C3.1. These score books along with the five organ loft books together contain organ accompaniments for almost all of the items in the vocal part-books. Those items with vocal parts and no corresponding accompaniment (or vice versa) are enumerated as ‘orphans’ in Appendix C4.1.

The RCB volumes were transferred in 2014 to the Representative Church Body Library as part of a large collection of historic material from the St Patrick’s Cathedral music library. The whole of that collection had been packed into a large number of boxes, six of which were identified as containing books from the former Chapel Royal music collection. I inspected these boxes first in May 2015 and made a preliminary survey of their contents. They had been boxed according to the shelves they formerly occupied in the St Patrick’s library (D3 and D4); some of them had shelfmarks (D3.1, etc.) written in ballpoint pen on slips of white paper and taped onto the covers, and others had these numbers written in pencil on the inside flyleaf. This sequence appeared to be arbitrary, and probably reflected nothing more than a haphazard arrangement on the library shelves.

The loft books are handsomely bound, and have red labels on their front covers gilt with ‘Castle Chapel’ or ‘Chapel Royal’ and the name of the voice part and side of the choir (decani or cantoris). A different set of numbers to the St Patrick’s D3 and D4 shelfmarks can be found on the spines of these books, and these numbers have usually also been copied in pencil into their front inside cover. This system of numbering arranges the books according to voice part from soprano downwards and may have been the order in which

they were arranged in the Chapel music library. The numbers are inconsistent, however: some volumes have no number, some share the same number, and some numbers are illegible or missing.

Because of these inconsistencies in numbering, it was necessary to devise a new and more coherent system of identification for these books before beginning to investigate their contents. This new system categorizes the books according to their voice part (S, A, T or B), decani or cantoris designation, and a system of letters which indicates shared contents between volumes. An initial inspection of the books indicated four distinct series, each containing roughly the same repertoire copied around the same time by the same copyists. These four sets were designated as A, B, C, and D, with A being roughly the oldest set and D the newest. Since some of the volumes have had items added by later copyists, the division by age takes into account the rough age of the majority of the items in a single volume.

This system allows each of the part-books to be given a new descriptive identifying siglum according to its voice part, side, and set of repertoire: ‘Soprano Decani A’, or SDecA for short, therefore corresponds closely with the contents of Soprano Cantoris A (SCanA), Alto Decani A (ADecA), etc. Most of the soprano books were called ‘treble’ on their labels, although ‘soprano’ was preferred in order to avoid confusion in the abbreviations. Similarly, the terms ‘contra tenor’ and ‘alto’ were both on the covers interchangeably, with the latter being preferred because of its now more widespread use.

Whilst the decani and cantoris sets of treble books corresponded closely with one another, numerous discrepancies between decani and cantoris volumes in the other parts necessitated a slight adaptation of this system. Although there are three decani books for each of the lower voice parts (ADecA, ADecB, ADecD, TDecA, etc.),⁴⁶ there are only two cantoris books for each of the lower parts, called Ax and Dx in each case, since they

⁴⁶ There are no alto, tenor or bass C books.

correspond mostly with the A and D series respectively, but also each contain some material from the B series and other items. The Ax and Dx volumes seem to have been put together in a haphazard way, and there are numerous inconsistencies even between Ax and Dx volumes of the same voice part, as can be seen in Appendix C4.

All of the vocal part-books are physically similar, except for the D volumes, which are larger and evidently later than the others. The D books appear to date from c. 1863 (owing to the presence of dated copyist's signatures), whereas all of the other books (except the C volumes) are definitely earlier and were rebound in 1860 (according to the watermarks on their flyleaves). This rebinding was presumably the result of the following request from Dean Tighe to the Board of Works:

I shall feel much obliged to you to bring before the Board, the state of the Music Books belonging to The Choir of the Chapel Royal, with a request that some new ones may be provided. They are heavily torn, from long use, so much so that most of the leaves being loose, occasion mistakes to be made.⁴⁷

The Board of Works provided £15 for the rebinding of these volumes.⁴⁸ The D volumes were copied out in August 1863 by John O'Rorke (also a tenor in the choir). These volumes (which, except SCanD, are all decani books) share many items with the older Dx cantoris books, which may suggest that the D books were a replacement for an older set of decani books which had worn out.

The earliest dateable part-book is ADecA, which has a copyist's signature from November 1818. Therefore, it would seem that all the A books (and, as we shall see, OB1 and OB2) date from around this time. As the B books appear to have been copied by the same copyist as the A books, it is possible that these books date from around 1818 also. The surviving Ax and Dx cantoris books may have been second copies of earlier volumes made necessary by the expansion of the choir or the move to choir stalls (see 2.2.3 above),

⁴⁷ NAI OPW5/4629/1859 (contained in OPW5/7918/59): H. U. Tighe to the Secretary of the Board of Works concerning the condition of the Chapel Royal music books, 23rd March 1859.

⁴⁸ NAI OPW5/4629/1859.

but the presence of some items in the Dx volumes not present in either the A or B volumes is a further reason to suspect the existence of a lost earlier set of D decani books. If this suspicion is correct, then it would seem that the Ax and Dx books were somewhat haphazard copies of the original A, B and D books, leaving out repertoire from those books that had fallen out of the repertoire of the choir.

The ‘C’ series comprises only two soprano books (SDecC and SCanC), each of which contains relatively few items, all of which are duplicated in other soprano books of the A, B and D series. Although they were, like the D books, copied by John O’Rorke, there is no indication in them when they might have been copied. (O’Rorke had been a member of the choir since c. 1842, and had acted as copyist in the Chapel as early as 1849.)⁴⁹ The C volumes are different in size and shape to the other loft books, and are not watermarked as the A, B and Dx books are, and so it is impossible to date these volumes accurately. Since all of the items in the C books can be found in at least one other soprano volume, this might suggest that the C books were copies of items from older volumes made necessary by the admission of more boys to the choir (see 3.2.1 above).

Since many of the volumes seem to have been copied somewhat chaotically, any attempt to categorize these part-books according to a system of shared contents will be problematic. Therefore, the new sigla only roughly indicate the volumes’ dates and common contents. A detailed inventory of the loft books is given in Appendix C3.1, and a list of works present in the loft books with the sigla of the volumes in which they appear is given in Appendix C4.1.

The five organ books which make up the remainder of the loft books are more difficult to classify, as none of them corresponds perfectly with the A, B, C or D sets. Although they are companion volumes to the material in the vocal part-books, some of the items in the part-books do not have corresponding accompaniments in these organ books.

⁴⁹ Loft book OB4, p. 100R.

The organ books also have numbers on their spines, but this system seems to be arbitrary and so has been discarded in favour of new numbers 1 to 5 in roughly chronological order (1 being approximately the earliest and 5 the latest). The first book, Organ Book 1 (OB1) is exactly contemporary with ADecA, and like that book is dated November 1818 by the same copyist. OB1 and OB2 contain accompaniments of items from the A (and Ax) part-books, with OB1 containing only anthems and OB2 containing a mixture of anthems and services. The other three organ books contain a mixture of anthems and services: OB3 contains accompaniments of items mostly from the A and D part-books (as well as Ax and Dx) and a few items from the B books; OB4 contains mostly items from the B books, alongside a few items from the D, Ax and Dx books; and OB5 contains items from the D and Dx books with a few items from the B books.

Accompaniments for some of the items in the part-books without corresponding accompaniments in the organ books are present in the two ‘score books’ (SB1 and SB2). As we have seen, these books are sets of bound individual copies, which appear to be contemporary with the loft books (although the binding may be later). The two score books have the numbers 5 and 6 on their spines: this suggests that they were considered part of the same set as the organ books, which are numbered 1 to 4 (OB5 having no number). A survey of the contents of these score books can be found in Appendix C3. Those remaining items in the part-books without corresponding accompaniments in either the organ or score books may have been accompanied from some of the loose individual editions which were transferred from the music library in 1923 but are now lost (see 4.2.3 below).

More perplexing is the existence of numerous ‘orphan’ items with accompaniments present in the organ books but no corresponding entries in the vocal part-books (as mentioned above), which may be further evidence for the existence of a lost series of earlier books, which contained items that had fallen out of the repertoire and so were not

copied into the later vocal part-books. A note in ACanAx by W. E. Hopkins makes reference to ‘a curious black Counter Tenor Volume in the Library of the Chapel Royal’ which contained the alto part of ‘Rejoice in the Lord O ye righteous’ by Sir John Stevenson, which was only partly copied into ACanAx.⁵⁰ Hopkins’s description of this volume as ‘curious’ suggests that it may have been a single item which did not belong to any larger set, in which case it may have been the last surviving copy of an obsolete set of part-books. It does not appear to fit with any of the other sets of books in Hopkins’s inventory of 1923.

4.2.2 Surviving post-1870 music volumes

In addition to the collection of books held at the RCB Library, twelve further ‘Services and Anthems’ books, as well as eight ‘Services’ books and twelve ‘Anthems’ books were found amongst a large collection of historic material in the Precentor’s Room in the chapel of Trinity College, Dublin in January 2019. These books together make up one third of the volumes included in Hopkins’s 1923 inventory of the surviving Chapel music library.

The ‘Services and Anthems’ books were labelled ‘Chapel Royal’, and were easily identified as being similar to the two ‘Services and Anthems’ books in the RCB collection. The ‘Services’ and ‘Anthems’ books were not labelled as Chapel Royal volumes, although it was possible to identify them as some of the missing volumes mentioned in Hopkins’s inventory owing to the marginalia, which frequently included the label ‘Chapel Royal’ on individual items, as well as the names of known Chapel Royal singers. Most compellingly, one of the brown-red volumes of each of the ‘Services’ and ‘Anthems’ sets was marked with the initials ‘RGMW’ (Reginald Godfrey Michael Webster, Dean of the Chapel Royal 1905–13).

⁵⁰ Loft book ACanAx, p. 19R.

Like the ‘score books’ in the RCB collection, the ‘Services’, ‘Anthems’ and ‘Services and Anthems’ books are collections of loose printed scores bound together into single volumes. The marginalia in these items would suggest that they had been used as loose copies before their binding together, possibly for several decades (the earliest editions date from the 1850s). One piece of marginalia suggests that the ‘Services and Anthems’ books were not bound together until after 1901: S&A2 includes a copy of ‘Send out thy light’ (an arrangement of music by Gounod) with the initials ‘JGS’ on the front. J. G. Scott did not join the choir until June 1901, and his initialling of the front cover of an item suggests that the pieces contained in these volumes were still used as single loose copies when Scott first joined.

The ‘Services and Anthems’ books comprise one thin red ‘Organ’ volume (S&A1), eleven thin black volumes (S&A2–12), and two thicker brown volumes (S&A13 and 14). One of the black volumes (S&A12) and one of the brown volumes (S&A14) are in the RCB collection; the remainder of these books are in the TCD chapel collection. As can be seen in Appendix C4.2, the contents of these books are mostly identical, except for the brown volumes (S&A13 and 14), which correspond broadly with the other S&A books, but include some items contained in the ‘Services’ and ‘Anthems’ books, and exclude some of the items contained in other S&A books. It is possible that the thicker brown volumes were bound later than the other volumes as extra copies, and so excluded less frequently used items in favour of other more useful items from the other books.

As we shall see (4.2.4), Hopkins’s inventory included only thirteen ‘Services and Anthems’ books, where in fact fourteen have survived. The one volume unaccounted for in his inventory may be the unidentified volume given by H. J. Lawlor to Hugh Kennedy on 23rd March 1923 (see 4.2.3 below), subsequent to Hopkins’s compilation of the inventory, although the revised inventories of 1926 (see Appendix C1) also mention only thirteen ‘Services and Anthems’ volumes.

Hopkins's inventory mentioned fourteen 'Services' books and thirteen 'Anthems' books, which together comprised 'the set principally used'. He also noted that 'there appear to have been originally 16 of each; 5 of these having become worn out'. The TCD chapel collection includes eight 'Services' books and twelve 'Anthems' books; the whereabouts of the six missing 'Services' books and one missing 'Anthems' book is unknown, but they may be among the uncatalogued St Patrick's Cathedral material now held at the RCB Library.

Each of these sets includes two brown-red volumes, one marked 'Organ' (Ser1 and Ant1) and the other with the initials of Dean Webster (Ser2 and Ant2). The remaining 'Services' books (Ser3–8) have black covers, and the remaining 'Anthems' books (Ant3–12) have black covers with a purple tinge. As Webster was associated with the Chapel between 1893 and 1913, these volumes were probably bound during this period, most likely after Webster became Acting Dean in 1902. Since these volumes were (like the 'Services and Anthems' books) collections of loose copies that were originally used singly, the marginalia (much of which predates their binding together) is of limited use in dating them.

Although, as we shall see (4.2.3), these volumes were originally transferred to St Patrick's Cathedral in 1926, they were subsequently moved to Trinity chapel. Until 1967 the organist and some members of the choir of St Patrick's Cathedral regularly provided music at the morning service in Trinity chapel.⁵¹ It seems likely that former Chapel Royal organist George Hewson (who was, from 1920 to 1960, organist of both St Patrick's and Trinity) brought the 'Services', 'Anthems' and 'Services and Anthems' books from St Patrick's to Trinity after 1926 where they were used by the choir.

Ant6 has the name 'Norman Ryan' in the inside cover, and Ant8 has 'A. Shaw', both names dated 14th November 1954, which suggests that the books were used by these

⁵¹ Kerry Houston, 'Restoration and Consolidation: Music, 1865–1977', *St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin: A History*, 353–82 (381).

singers (possibly boy choristers) for the first time on that date. However, one earlier piece of dated marginalia suggests that the books had been moved from St Patrick's to Trinity much earlier. Some cuts are marked to Greene's 'God is our hope and strength' in Ant8, dated 10th November 1929 and signed by 'EMG'. No music lists for that Sunday were printed in the newspapers for Trinity chapel, although as this anthem was not sung on that date in St Patrick's,⁵² it seems likely that it was sung from this copy in Trinity chapel. The initials 'EMG' are likely to be those of Ewart Molesworth Grace, who began singing as an alto in St Patrick's (and presumably also Trinity chapel) in 1928 or 1929.⁵³

The books are at present still stored in Trinity chapel, but it is hoped that they will soon be transferred to the custody of the RCB Library, and so reunited with the rest of the surviving Chapel Royal music collection.

4.2.3 The music collection, 1923–2019

Since the closure of the Chapel Royal at Christmas 1922, its surviving music books as described in 4.2.1 above have had a turbulent afterlife. How they made their way from the Chapel to St Patrick's Cathedral is explained by a file preserved in the National Archives of Ireland.⁵⁴ This is an invaluable source as it provides details of the contents of the Chapel's music library at the time of the closure of the Chapel, and also gives an insight into the political circumstances concerning the Chapel's closure and the roles played by organist W. E. Hopkins and Sub-Dean H. J. Lawlor.

Most of the documents in this file are government memoranda and letters between Lawlor and officials in various government departments; the circumstances of the removal of the music library from the Chapel Royal can be gleaned from this correspondence.

⁵² *IT*, 9th November 1929, p. 15.

⁵³ *IT*, 30th January 1969, p. 10; *IT*, 15th March 1989, p. 11.

⁵⁴ NAI TSCH/3/S2129: 'Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle: transfer of music volumes to Saint Patrick's Cathedral on loan', 1923–26.

Shortly after the closure of the Chapel at the end of 1922, Hopkins decided to remove the music books from the Chapel for fear they would be damaged, and

without consulting anyone brought a van from Dockrell's into the Castle, and loaded all the music, including some old manuscript volumes into the van and [took] it away with him.⁵⁵

The Keeper of the Chapel, who was then still resident in the apartments below the Chapel, attempted to prevent Hopkins from removing the books, and subsequently reported the incident to Lawlor.⁵⁶ In an effort to recover the volumes Lawlor requested the assistance of the Attorney General of the new Irish Free State, Hugh Kennedy. Kennedy contacted Hopkins and ordered him to surrender the music books to the government, since they (along with all of Dublin Castle) were now the property of the Free State. Hopkins complied with this request, and the books were delivered to the Department of Finance on 12th March 1923, where they were deposited in a strong-room.⁵⁷

In the midst of the Irish Civil War, the attention given by such a senior government figure as the Attorney General to what seems on the surface a relatively trivial matter is puzzling, and requires some further comment. Apparently Lawlor was introduced to Kennedy by Lawlor's brother-in-law, Judge Arthur Warren Samuels.⁵⁸ Lawlor's involvement of Kennedy in this dispute suggests that Lawlor had been unable to persuade Hopkins to return the books: this may be evidence of a tense relationship between the Sub-Dean and the young organist. Kennedy's interest in this matter was no doubt motivated by a desire to protect a valuable piece of patrimony of pre-independent Ireland in light of the catastrophic destruction of the Public Records Office in the summer of

⁵⁵ NAI TSCH/3/S2129: Hugh Kennedy, Attorney General of the Irish Free State, to the Acting Secretary of the Law Officer's Department, 12th March 1923.

⁵⁶ NAI TSCH/3/S2129: H. J. Lawlor to the Secretary of the Executive Council, 8th February 1926.

⁵⁷ NAI TSCH/3/S2129: Hugh Kennedy to the Acting Secretary of the Law Officer's Department, 12th March 1923.

⁵⁸ UCDA P4/501, p. 3: Hugh Kennedy to Sir Francis Greer, HM Treasury, 18th June 1923.

1922. It was not until after Hopkins returned the books that Lawlor and Kennedy began to correspond concerning the future of the Chapel Royal (see 1.4.2 above).

The file contains an inventory of the books delivered by Hopkins in his handwriting, and signed by him on 12th March 1923 (reproduced in Appendix C1). It appears from an annotation to this document that not all of the books were delivered by Hopkins that day: between the ‘Services’ and ‘Anthems’ volumes (items 5 and 6 in Table 4.1 below) is written ‘taken to Donnybrook’, which presumably refers to St Mary’s Church, Donnybrook, the church where Hopkins had resumed his appointment as organist following the closure of the Chapel Royal (see 3.4.2 above). A further volume from the library was given by Lawlor to Hugh Kennedy on 23rd March 1923:⁵⁹ this may have been the copy of *Messiah* or the bound items from Novello’s ‘Parish Choir Book’ series, neither of which was included in Hopkins’s inventory, or perhaps a further ‘Services and Anthems’ volume (see 4.2.2 above).

It seems that these books were stored in the strong-room of the Department of Finance for almost three years before any further interest was taken in them. Lawlor was appointed Dean of St Patrick’s Cathedral in 1924, and in February 1926 he wrote to the Secretary of the Executive Council with a request that the music volumes from the Chapel Royal might be transferred to the music library of St Patrick’s Cathedral so that they might be restored ‘in the event of the reopening of the Chapel Royal for religious services’.⁶⁰ The timing of this request was curious, since only a few months before this Lawlor had made enquiries with the Board of Works concerning repairs to the Chapel building (see 1.4.2 above). For some reason, more than two years after Kennedy had assured him that the reopening of the Chapel Royal was unlikely, this idea was once again in Lawlor’s mind.

Lawlor’s request appears to have drawn the attention of the civil servants within the relevant government departments to the existence of these books, and within days of the

⁵⁹ UCDA P4/501, p. 1: H. J. Lawlor to Hugh Kennedy, 23rd March 1923.

⁶⁰ NAI TSCH/3/S2129: H. J. Lawlor to the Secretary of the Executive Council, 8th February 1926.

receipt of his letter several type-written and tabulated inventories of the books were prepared from Hopkins's handwritten original of 1923. Three such inventories are extant in the National Archives of Ireland, which a memorandum states were typed up from Hopkins's original on 12th February 1926 in response to a request made by 'JM'. Each of the first two draft copies has each been corrected by hand, although not by the same person: one is unsigned and undated, and the other was signed by 'JM' on 19th February 1926. The final copy incorporates the corrections made to the two earlier versions, and was signed by Lawlor, presumably when he inspected the books prior to their transfer.⁶¹ Hopkins's original inventory and the three typewritten versions are reproduced in Appendix C1.

On 22nd February, Michael McDunphy, Assistant Secretary to the Executive Council, wrote to a Mr Brennan, Secretary to the Department of Finance, providing details of Lawlor's request, and asking if the books were state property and whether or not Lawlor had any claim to them.⁶² A terse reply was sent by Arthur D. Codling of the Department of Finance on 12th March 1926, which stated that 'the music books now belong to the Free State' and made no comment about Lawlor's request.⁶³ A subsequent letter of 8th April 1926 from McDunphy to Brennan asked 'whether there is any objection to their transfer, on loan, to the Cathedral authorities'; Codling's reply of 16th April stated that 'the Minister for Finance...sees no objection to their transfer'.⁶⁴

McDunphy wrote to Lawlor on 23rd April 1926 stating that the government was prepared to transfer the Chapel Royal music collection to St Patrick's Cathedral, 'on condition that it will be returned in good order and condition to the custody of the

⁶¹ NAI TSCH/3/S2129: three typewritten inventories of the 'Music Library of the Chapel Royal'. See Appendix C1.

⁶² NAI TSCH/3/S2129: Michael McDunphy, Assistant Secretary to the Executive Council to Mr Brennan, Secretary to the Department of Finance, 22nd February 1926.

⁶³ NAI TSCH/3/S2129: Arthur D. Codling, Department of Finance, to Michael McDunphy, 12th March 1926.

⁶⁴ NAI TSCH/3/S2129: Michael McDunphy to Mr Brennan, 8th April 1926; NAI TSCH/3/S2129: Arthur D. Codling to Michael McDunphy, 16th April 1926.

Government as and when so required'. McDunphy requested that Lawlor call to Government Buildings so as to inspect the books and make arrangements for their transfer.⁶⁵ A memorandum of 23rd April requested that the books would be 'rechecked with list' (presumably the type-written inventory) in advance of Lawlor's visit. Lawlor called on 29th April and signed copies of both the type-written inventory and the following declaration:

I hereby undertake to return in good condition and order as and when requested by the Executive Council of Saorstát Éireann the several volumes of music, the cases and other the [sic.] items (which said volumes, cases and other the items are the property of the Government of Saorstát Éireann) set out in the Schedule hereto which I have received on loan from the Executive Council of Saorstát Éireann on this 29th day of April 1926.

A final memorandum by 'JM' stated that the books were transferred to Lawlor on 3rd May 1926.

It is not known if these books were ever used in St Patrick's Cathedral, or if they were simply kept in storage there. As we have seen (4.2.2), the 'Services', 'Anthems' and 'Services and Anthems' books found in Trinity College chapel appear to have been brought there in 1954 or perhaps earlier for the use of the College chapel choir. Little interest was taken in the books that remained in St Patrick's until Kerry Houston began to make a catalogue of the loft books in the early 1990s, although this project was abandoned after just four books were catalogued. These books remained in St Patrick's until 2014, when the contents of the organ loft library were cleared out and transferred to the custody of the Representative Church Body Library. They are currently kept in storage as part of a large and otherwise uncatalogued collection of historic music from the cathedral, dating mostly from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The inventory of the books transferred to Lawlor in 1926 mentions a total of ninety-four manuscript and printed volumes, ten sets of parts, and around fifty individual printed

⁶⁵ NAI TSCH/3/S2129: Michael McDunphy to H. J. Lawlor, 23rd April 1926.

items. At the time of writing, sixty-four volumes (detailed in 4.2.1 and 4.2.2 above) have been accounted for, and the whereabouts of the rest of the music collection are currently unknown. It is possible that these items were mixed up with the rest of the St Patrick's collection held by the RCB, which, as noted, is currently uncatalogued and kept in storage. This collection may therefore contain a number of lost works by Culwick and Hewson (mentioned in 3.4.3 above).

It is possible that some of the missing Chapel music was destroyed in a fire in St Patrick's on Good Friday 1940. This fire broke out near the choir stalls, and destroyed part of the cathedral music collection, and severely damaged the choir stalls and part of the organ. Although no record was made of precisely what music was lost in this fire,⁶⁶ a music cupboard located near the choir stalls was severely damaged, and a press report stated that 'some old music—part of which is irreplaceable...[was] completely destroyed'.⁶⁷ There is evidence of minor smoke damage to some of the surviving Chapel Royal volumes, which may suggest that they were stored near to the source of the fire.

4.2.4 The 1923 Hopkins inventory and the missing volumes

The inventory of the surviving Chapel music books prepared by Hopkins in 1923, later amended and typed up by government officials, is reproduced both in its handwritten original and its final typed version in Appendix C1. A list of the items described in the final draft can be found in Table 4.1. Table 4.2 indicates how many of these items which survive today and their locations, as outlined above in 4.2.1 and 4.2.2.

⁶⁶ Kerry Houston, 'The Eighteenth-Century Music Manuscripts at Saint Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin: Sources, Lineage, and Relationship to Other Collections', vol. i (Trinity College Dublin: PhD diss., 2002), 22.

⁶⁷ *IT*, 23rd March 1940, p. 7.

<i>Choir volumes:</i>	
1. Loft books (manuscript part books)	23 volumes
2. Cases of printed parts for Cathedral Anthems	10 cases: 2 Treble Decani; 2 Treble Cantoris; 1 Alto Decani; 1 Alto Cantoris; 1 Tenor Decani; 1 Tenor Cantoris; 1 Bass Decani; 1 Bass Cantoris
3. Old Anthems	17 volumes
4. Services and Anthems	13 volumes
5. Services	14 volumes
6. Anthems	15 volumes
7. 'The Choralist'	3 copies
8. Handel's <i>Messiah</i>	1 copy
9. Novello's Parish Choir Book	1 copy
<i>Organ volumes:</i>	
1. Loft books (manuscript books)	5 volumes
2. Score books	2 volumes
<i>Miscellaneous loose items:</i>	
'All ye who weep' (Fauré)	16 copies
Communion Service in B-flat (Mozart)	12 copies
Te Deum and Jubilate in F (Ireland)	10 and 9 copies respectively
Communion Service (T. H. Weaving)	Several loose choral parts

Table 4.1: List of items from Chapel Royal music collection handed over to H. J. Lawlor.⁶⁸

<i>Choir volumes:</i>	
1. Loft Books (manuscript part books)	23 volumes (RCB; complete)
2. Cases of printed parts for Cathedral Anthems	None extant
3. Old Anthems	None extant
4. Services and Anthems	13 volumes (2 in RCB, 12 in TCD; complete)
5. Services	8 volumes (TCD; 6 missing)
6. Anthems	12 volumes (TCD; 3 missing)
7. 'The Choralist'	None extant
8. Handel's <i>Messiah</i>	None extant
9. Novello's Parish Choir Book	None extant
<i>Organ volumes:</i>	
1. Loft Books (manuscript books)	5 volumes (RCB; complete)
2. Score books	2 volumes (RCB; complete)
<i>Miscellaneous loose items:</i>	
'All ye who weep' (Fauré)	None extant
Communion Service in B-flat (Mozart)	None extant
Te Deum and Jubilate in F (Ireland)	None extant
Communion Service (T. H. Weaving)	One copy (RCB)

Table 4.2: List of items from Chapel Royal music collection extant in Representative Church Body Library (RCB) and the chapel of Trinity College Dublin (TCD).

⁶⁸ NAI TSCH/3/S2129: typewritten inventory of the 'Music Library of the Chapel Royal', signed by H. J. Lawlor. See Appendix C1.

What the cases of parts for ‘Cathedral Anthems’ might have contained is difficult to determine, since it is uncertain if ‘Cathedral Anthems’ was the name of a publication or merely a generic term for individual printed copies of music. It is possible that it may have been Vincent Novello’s 1849 edition of William Boyce’s *Cathedral Music*, which is a late example of a collection published with individual separate vocal parts.⁶⁹ The term ‘Cathedral Anthems’ may have been used by Hopkins in his inventory as an unconscious reference to the anthem word-book of the same name, which, as we shall see (4.2.5), was also used in the Chapel.

Since none of the ‘Old Anthem’ books survive, it is difficult to determine what these volumes may have contained. There is, however, a clue in an annotation made by Hopkins to his inventory regarding these books:

Many in need of repair.—Some of those in best state of preservation appear to have been intended for the use of Aides-de-Camp.⁷⁰

Since the Lord Lieutenant’s aides-de-camp could hardly have had much use for volumes of printed music, it seems more likely that these ‘Old Anthem’ books were actually anthem word-books, perhaps the 1821 collection by Morgan Jellett (discussed in 4.2.5 below), which was described as the ‘Old’ anthem word book in loft book marginalia.⁷¹ It is significant that Hopkins thought the books ‘in best state of preservation’ had been intended for the aides-de-camp: this may suggest that these volumes had been bound in more expensive material than those intended for the use of the choir, and so had lasted longer.⁷²

The loss of the copies of *The Choralist* is unfortunate: this collection was compiled by Chapel organist Henry Bussell and was an important precursor of the *Church Hymnal* (see

⁶⁹ *Musical Times*, 1st May 1849, p. 156.

⁷⁰ See Appendix C1.1.

⁷¹ See Appendix C3.1.

⁷² See also McDonnell, ‘The Bindings of the Service Books for the Dublin Castle Chapel’, *The Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle: An Architectural History*, 82–93.

4.2.5 below), and though it was widely used in the nineteenth century few copies survive today. The copy of *Messiah* mentioned in this inventory may have been merely a loose vocal score of this ubiquitous work, or could perhaps have been the ‘Music of the Messiah with Mozart’s Accompaniment’, which Dean Vignoles sought to purchase for the Chapel choir in January 1836.⁷³ The copy of Novello’s ‘Parish Choir Book’ is curiously described as ‘King’s Book’ in a pencilled annotation on the first typed version of Hopkins’s inventory: this may indicate that it was a binding together of the *Eight Hymns with tunes suitable for use at services in celebration of the coronation of His Majesty King Edward VII*, published as part of Novello’s Parish Choir Book series in 1902.⁷⁴

Concerning the miscellaneous loose items, the anthem ‘All ye who weep’ was composed by Jean-Baptiste Faure (1830–1914), and not his now better-known namesake, and the Mozart Communion Service was presumably the Berthold Tours adaptation of the spurious Mass in B-flat K. Anh. 233 published by Novello. The other items are likely to be relatively late additions to the library: Ireland’s morning canticles in F were first published in 1907, and T. H. Weaving’s Communion Service was presumably written or copied by the composer during the period in which he was organist of the Chapel (1917–20).

4.2.5 *Chant books, anthem books and hymn books*

In addition to the music library volumes outlined above, a number of other individual music books from the Chapel Royal survive. These include two chant books containing Anglican chants and assorted liturgical items (such as settings of the Sanctus and Responses to the Commandments), and a copy of the anthem word-book, *Cathedral Anthems* (1880).

⁷³ NAI OPW1/1/2/5: Henry R. Paine, Secretary, Office of Public Works, to Rev’d Dr Vignoles, concerning purchase of a copy of Mozart’s accompaniment for Handel’s *Messiah* for the Chapel Royal choir, 11th January 1836.

⁷⁴ The earlier typed draft of this list had a handwritten annotation which referred to ‘the King’s pew’ (see 2.2.2 above), but this was crossed out.

Chants Ancient and Modern, Responses, etc., published by the Association for Discountenancing Vice in Dublin in 1868, was the first chant book prepared for the use of the Church of Ireland. Although the book does not explicitly credit an editor, the preface acknowledges the role of Sir Robert Stewart in preparing the volume. What appears to be the only surviving publicly accessible copy of this book is held by the National Library of Ireland, and according to the NLI's acquisitions catalogue this book formerly belonged to the Chapel Royal, and was donated to the Library on 17th July 1909. This book lost its original cover when it was rebound in 1961, and so there is no indication anywhere in the book of a connexion to the Chapel Royal. The first publication of a chant number corresponding to this edition in a Chapel Royal newspaper music list was for the morning service on Sunday 7th February 1869.⁷⁵

A new chant book edited by Sir Robert Stewart, which was a considerable revision and enlargement of the 1868 book, was published in 1883. This new edition was not introduced into the Chapel until the beginning of the new choir term in October 1892. The published music list for 2nd October 1892 (the first choral service of the new term) stated that the numbers of the chants for the psalms were from the 'new edition'.⁷⁶ The music lists of the preceding June show the same pairings of psalms with chants (with numbers from the 1868 edition) that had been in use in the Chapel for many years. Although evidence from the music lists shows that the 1883 edition was indeed adopted in the Chapel, no copies of this edition of the chant book used in the Chapel appear to have survived. A revision of the 1883 edition was published shortly after Stewart's death in 1894, although differences between the 1883 and 1894 editions are trivial.

Another new edition of the chant book was published in 1906 under the title *Chants and Responses*, edited by T. R. G. Jozé and George William Torrance. This book contained almost twice the number of chants found in the 1883 edition, and its editors abandoned

⁷⁵ Appendix E1.

⁷⁶ DDE, 1st October 1892, p. 5.

the alphabetical ordering by composer used in previous editions for a system which presented complete sets of varied chants for the canticles and psalms on particular days of the liturgical calendar. (This was the system used in all subsequent revision of the book, which were published under the title *The Irish Chant Book*.) The 1906 edition was introduced into the Chapel in October 1910, replacing the 1883 edition which had been in use since 1892: the music list for 30th October is the first to list psalm chants from the new edition, as the numbers for the preceding Sundays are given according to the 1883 edition.⁷⁷ One copy of this book used in the Chapel Royal (by the decani tenor) survives, in the private collection of Canon Roy Byrne: it is embossed on the cover with ‘The Chapel Royal, Dublin’, and contains numerous annotations and additions in pen and pencil.

The 1880 edition of *Cathedral Anthems* published by Novello, Ewer and Co. was an anthem word-book designed for the use of Irish cathedral and collegiate churches. It was prepared by an editorial committee led by Hercules Dickinson, Dean of the Chapel Royal, and included 793 items. This book took into account the ‘large additions...made to cathedral music’ since the publication of John Finlayson’s 1852 *Cathedral Anthems*, which contained only 234 items.⁷⁸ A copy of the 1880 edition stamped with ‘Chapel Royal Dublin’ is also in the possession of Canon Roy Byrne. Numbers of anthems according to this book were occasionally included in newspaper music lists, the first appearing in June 1882 (see Appendix E2). Numerous expanded revisions of the 1880 edition were printed over the next several decades, and later printed music lists from the Chapel contain reference to numbers which feature in these larger editions, which preserved the numbering of the 1880 edition and added new items at the end.

Although no copies of earlier anthem word-books survive from the Chapel, it is evident from marginalia in the loft books that both Finlayson’s 1852 volume and Morgan

⁷⁷ DDE, 22nd October 1910, p. 4; DDE, 29th October 1910, p. 11.

⁷⁸ Hercules H. Dickinson et al eds, *Cathedral Anthems Published for the Cathedrals of Christ Church, and S. Patrick, Dublin* (London: Novello, Ewer and Co., 1880), iii.

Jellett's 1821 *Collection of Anthems Used in His Majesty's Chapels Royal and in the Cathedral Churches of England and Ireland* were used. (The 'Old Anthem' books mentioned in 4.2.4 above may have been copies of one of these publications.) Many of the anthems in the loft books have page number cross-references pencilled beside their titles, and all of these correspond with entries for the same anthems in Jellett's book. Many of these numbers have been crossed out and replaced with references to a 'new book', which correspond with Finlayson's 1852 collection.

As we have seen (4.2.4), the surviving Chapel music library contained three copies of *The Choralist*, the hymnal compiled by Henry Bussell and first published in 1841.⁷⁹ It was intended by Bussell to be a successor to David Weyman's collection *Melodia Sacra*, which had been hugely popular throughout Ireland in the earlier nineteenth century. *Melodia Sacra* was a collection of metrical psalmody and simple anthems, and was essentially an old-fashioned manual of parish music in the eighteenth-century style. It was used widely in parish churches, but does not seem to have been used in the Chapel Royal. Although 'Duncan, James, Esq. Organist, Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle' appeared on the list of subscribers to an early edition of *Melodia Sacra*,⁸⁰ it is likely that Duncan purchased this volume as a private individual and music teacher rather than for use in the Chapel Royal.

It is not known when hymns were first introduced into services at the Chapel Royal, although they began to appear in published music lists in July 1870.⁸¹ Each hymn was identified with two numbers: these referred to *The Choralist*, and to the *Church Hymnal*, published in 1864 under the editorship of George William Torrance. From 1871 until 1877, the music lists only included references to *The Choralist*, but from 17th February 1877 onwards the music lists included only references to the *Church Hymnal*.⁸² Numbers from *Hymns Ancient and Modern* appeared occasionally in music lists for military services (see

⁷⁹ *Musical World*, 7th October 1841, p. 237.

⁸⁰ David Weyman ed., *Melodia Sacra, or the Psalms of David* (Dublin: Geo. Allen, 1816).

⁸¹ Appendix E1.

⁸² DDE, 17th February 1877, p. 3.

4.1.3 above),⁸³ sometimes along with corresponding numbers from the *Church Hymnal*,⁸⁴ although hymn numbers for the usual Chapel Royal morning service in this period referred to the *Church Hymnal* only.

The Choralist was used in a number of parish churches in Dublin, and Bussell submitted it to the Representative Church Body in an attempt to have it recommended for general adoption by the disestablished church.⁸⁵ In the event Torrance's *Church Hymnal* was adopted as the official hymnal of the Church of Ireland, and a revised and expanded edition was published in 1873, edited by Sir Robert Stewart.⁸⁶ The sudden switch from *The Choralist* to the *Church Hymnal* in the published Chapel Royal music lists in early 1877 suggests that Bussell finally gave in and adopted the rival publication. This may have been a cause of tension with Dean Dickinson, who was a member of the editorial committee that produced the *Hymnal*, and who, as we have seen (3.4.1), seems not to have had a high opinion of Bussell. In the last years of Bussell's tenure as organist, the music lists frequently included names of hymns: these are not the first lines of the hymns, but rather the scriptural titles of the hymns given in the *Church Hymnal*.

The 1873 edition of the *Church Hymnal* contained 475 hymns, and the publication of an appendix in 1891 increased that number to 642.⁸⁷ The appendix was evidently adopted in the Chapel soon after publication, as hymns from it began to appear in the music lists in early 1894. This hymnal remained in use in the Chapel until at least 1921.⁸⁸ For a brief period in 1918 and early 1919 music lists included hymn numbers which referred to the 'Army Book',⁸⁹ presumably *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, which had been used since the late 1880s at military services.

⁸³ DDE, 12th October 1889, p. 6.

⁸⁴ DDE, 25th February 1893, p. 2.

⁸⁵ *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 19th July 1871, p. 3.

⁸⁶ Sir Robert Stewart ed., *Church Hymnal, with Appendix* (Dublin: Charles W. Gibbs, 1891), iii.

⁸⁷ David Frederick Ruddell Wilson, 'The Irish Church Hymnal', *The Irish Church Quarterly*, 8, no. 32 (October 1915), 270–82 (273).

⁸⁸ IT, 19th February 1921, p. 5.

⁸⁹ IT, 14th December 1918, p. 10.

4.3 The use of music in the liturgy

4.3.1 *Elements of the sung liturgy*

The promulgators of the first Book of Common Prayer, issued in 1549, hoped that the book would bring uniformity in liturgical practice to the entire English church:

And where heretofore, there hath been great diversitie in saying and synging in churches within this realme... Now from hencefurth, all the whole realme shall have but one use.⁹⁰

Although liturgical texts and orders of service were made uniform by this book, this ‘one use’ developed different flavours in different places, especially, as we have seen (2.1.2), in the distinction between cathedral and parochial liturgy. Interpretations of the rubrics of the Prayer Book varied, and in some places rubrics were ignored for reasons of convenience. Jebb’s *Choral Service* amply demonstrated such omissions and the consequently diverse approaches to liturgical music that existed in different choral foundations.

Choral Service reads as a manifesto for the improvement of liturgy and music in choral foundations. Jebb considered the following to be the ‘essential parts’ of the choral service:

1. The Chanting by the Minister of the sentences, exhortations, prayers, and Collects throughout the Liturgy, in a monotone, slightly varied by occasional modulations.
2. The alternate Chant of the Versicles and Responses by the Minister and Choir.
3. The alternate Chant, by the two divisions of the Choir, of the daily Psalms, and of such as occur in the various offices of the Church.
4. The singing of all the Canticles and Hymns, in the Morning and Evening Service, either to an alternated Chant, or to a more intricate style of Song, resembling Anthems in their construction, and which are technically styled “Services.”
5. The Singing of the Anthem after the third Collect both in Morning and Evening Prayer.
6. The alternate Chanting of the Litany, by the Minister and Choir.
7. The singing of the Responses after the Commandments in the Communion office.

⁹⁰ Brian Cummings ed., *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 5.

8. The singing of the Nicene Creed, the Sanctus, and Gloria in Excelsis in the Communion Service Anthem-wise.
9. The chanting or singing of those parts in the occasional offices, which are rubrically permitted to be sung.⁹¹

Jebb's book is a survey of practices then current in choral foundations, which he compared with ancient precedents and critiqued according to how much they departed from those precedents. He excoriated in particular those foundations which shirked their duties in the performance of the twice-daily choral service in spite of having sufficient money and skilled personnel. As greater attention to liturgical propriety filtered through the entire church in the decades following the Oxford Movement and the so-called Choral Revival, choral foundations became more diligent in adherence to the practices outlined by Jebb.

As we shall see, the Chapel Royal had been established at a low point in observance of the historical ideals of the choral service promoted by Jebb. In the early nineteenth century, a press account of the Chapel noted that 'the service performed here is not strictly the cathedral, as the clergymen do not chant', although the account noted that most of the other elements of the choral service were performed:

the choir chant the psalms of the day, the Te Deum, Jubilate, and the responses to the commandments, and also sing anthems and psalms in general very well.⁹²

Throughout the nineteenth century the Chapel adopted more of the practices outlined by Jebb through a gradual expansion in the choral provision within the liturgy, and so by the early twentieth century many of Jebb's essential elements of the choral service were customary in the Chapel.

4.3.2 Singing Morning (and Evening) Prayer

The Order for Morning Prayer in the 1662 Prayer Book contained the following elements:

⁹¹ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 156–57.

⁹² 'The Chapel Royal Dublin', *Musical World*, 3rd May 1838, p. 8.

1. Sentences of scripture, exhortation, confession, absolution and the Lord's Prayer
2. Versicles and responses ('O Lord, open thou our lips', etc.)
3. Venite (or Easter Anthems on Easter Day)
4. Psalm(s) of the day
5. First lesson
6. Te Deum (or Benedicite)
7. Second lesson
8. Benedictus or Jubilate
9. Apostles' Creed (or Athanasian Creed on certain feasts)
10. Versicles and responses ('The Lord be with you', etc.), Lord's Prayer, collects
11. Anthem
12. Prayers

As we have seen (3.3.2), the 'intoning' of the service in the Chapel Royal by a clergyman was a practice begun only in the late nineteenth century: it is possible that this may have extended to intoning of elements of items 1, 2, 9, 10 and 12 of the table above. The singing of parts of item 1 by the choir was practised in the Dublin cathedrals, though this appears to have been an oral tradition for which no written music survives.⁹³

Like several English cathedrals, St Patrick's Cathedral had its own distinct 'use',⁹⁴ an oral-tradition plainsong form of the versicles and responses (items 2 and 10 above), which survives in use to the present day. Although the singing of the versicles and responses to composed settings (including those of Tallis and Sir John Stevenson) was practised in the Dublin cathedrals in the early nineteenth century,⁹⁵ the Chapel Royal loft books contain no such settings, and no such settings appear in the later music library books either. The music lists make no mention of such settings, although, as we have seen (4.1.2), this does not prove they were not used.

It is possible that this and other parts of the liturgy may have been sung to unison or harmonized versions passed down by oral tradition. A slip of card found between the leaves of SDecB includes a 'Litany Chant (To be used as far as the Lord's prayer,

⁹³ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 249.

⁹⁴ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 259–60.

⁹⁵ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 261–62. These claims by Jebb are substantiated by surviving copies in the music libraries of the cathedrals.

afterwards unison)' in G major (reproduced in Appendix C5.3), which may refer either to the distinct service of the Litany (discussed in 4.3.3 below) or the second set of versicles and responses in Morning Prayer (item 10 above), which was sometimes called the 'lesser litany'.⁹⁶ This fragment provides tantalizing evidence of the existence of local oral-tradition settings of parts of the liturgy in the Chapel Royal.

Almost no through-composed settings of the Apostles' Creed exist, and this is presumably because it was, according to Jebb, never sung to a setting as the Nicene Creed was, but rather sung only on one note:

Now there is no record of the Apostles' Creed being so performed [i.e., to a composed setting] in the Church of England. It is simply recited on one note; and the only inflexion is the cadence on Amen.⁹⁷

Jebb noted that the rubric of the Prayer Book permitted this Creed to be 'sung or said', although he considered that the text was 'not constructed for chanting [to a composed setting], not being divided into verses'.⁹⁸ The use of the Athanasian Creed in place of the Apostles' Creed was prescribed for certain principal feasts by a rubric in the Prayer Book, although, as we have seen (1.2.3), this rubric was not always observed in the Chapel. Jebb recommended the singing of this Creed to a simple chant by Tallis (which appeared in the 1868 edition of *Chants Ancient and Modern*), although he noted with disapproval that 'in some Choirs, where the Responses are not sung, as at Trinity College, Dublin, the Athanasian Creed is parochially read'.⁹⁹ The rubric concerning the use of the Athanasian Creed was removed in the 1878 revision of the Church of Ireland Prayer Book.

The singing of the invitatory psalm Venite was certainly practised in the Chapel by the middle of the nineteenth century, when the music lists frequently appeared to suggest that it was chanted to the same chant used for the psalms of the day, although this

⁹⁶ Including in a set of music lists found between the pages of Loft Book ADecD.

⁹⁷ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 353.

⁹⁸ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 353.

⁹⁹ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 355–56.

discrepancy may have been the result of a less than fastidious approach to compiling the music lists discussed above (4.1.2). By early 1869 separate chants for the Venite and Psalms began to appear in the music lists: this may have been the result of the adoption of *Chants Ancient and Modern* around the beginning of 1869 (see 4.2.5 above), and the consequent availability of a much larger number of chants.

Through-composed settings of the Venite are almost unknown, and so the singing of the Venite to Anglican chant in the Chapel Royal mirrored widespread practices elsewhere. From October 1892 (coinciding with the introduction of the new chant book, as discussed in 4.2.5 above) the Venite was sung to two different chants, although no obvious division of this psalm is made in the Prayer Book. Immediately after Hewson's appointment as organist it seems that this practice was abandoned and the Venite was sung to just one chant.¹⁰⁰ The music lists also demonstrate that the Easter Anthems were substituted for the Venite on Easter Day, as per the rubric in the Prayer Book.

There is evidence that the psalms of the day were chanted from the 1830s or earlier, since the Earl of Haddington decided in 1835 to forbid this practice in the Chapel, as reported in the press:

Lord Haddington disrelishes the chanting of the psalms in the Chapel Royal here, and by his order this part of the Cathedral service is discontinued.¹⁰¹

Shortly after this notice appeared several newspapers printed a satirical 'Dialogue between a Scot and an Irish Nobleman', which portrayed Haddington as a stereotypical Scotsman with a thick accent and a penchant for bagpipes, and suggested that his prohibition of chanted psalmody in the Chapel Royal was the first of several intended reforms of the Irish Church.¹⁰² This incident was presumably what Jebb was referring to when he stated that the will of individual Lords Lieutenant had curtailed the choral service, 'even to the

¹⁰⁰ See Appendix E4.

¹⁰¹ *DMR*, 30th January 1835, p. 3.

¹⁰² *Clare Journal, and Ennis Advertiser*, 9th February 1835, p. 2.

omission of the Chant in the Psalms' (see 4.1.4 above).¹⁰³ Haddington's viceroyalty was short-lived, however, and he was replaced by the Earl of Mulgrave in April 1835, just three months after the press announcement quoted above. Mulgrave (who served until 1839) evidently reinstated the practice, since, as quoted above (4.3.1), the 1838 *Musical World* account mentioned that the choir chanted the psalms of the day.

Prior to the adoption of the first edition of *Chants Ancient and Modern* in the Chapel in early 1869, the chants used by the choir were often copied roughly into spare corners of pages in the loft books. The choir had a reasonably large repertoire of chants prior to the introduction of this collection: the music lists for the 126 choral services that took place in 1867 and 1868 shows a repertoire of around thirty distinct chants. This evidence disproves the 1868 claim that the psalms were not chanted in the Chapel (discussed in 1.4.1 above).

The published music lists demonstrate that the same psalms tended always to be sung to the same chants, and that such practices were sufficiently well established to outlast changes of organist. Whereas in earlier years the music lists suggest that the psalms of the day were all sung to one chant, by the middle years of Culwick's tenure as organist the psalms of the day were frequently sung to as many as three or four different chants. It appears that each psalm was sung to a different chant, and that these chants were usually related by dominant or subdominant relationships.

A significant portion of the repertoire in the loft books is through-composed settings of the canticles *Te Deum* and *Jubilate*. Although the *Jubilate* is actually an alternative to the *Benedictus* permitted by rubric, composers most frequently chose to set the short and picturesque *Jubilate* in preference to the more lengthy *Benedictus*. Consequently, comparatively few settings of the latter canticle exist compared with a large number of paired settings of the *Te Deum* and *Jubilate*. Although the Prayer Book permitted the use of the *Benedicite* as an alternative to the *Te Deum*, few through-

¹⁰³ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 149.

composed settings of the Benedicite exist. It was, however, occasionally used as an alternative to the Te Deum in the Chapel in the late nineteenth century: a setting in D by James Culwick was sung as early as 1882,¹⁰⁴ and annotated copies of Gerard F. Cobb's plainsong-style setting in G can be found in the 'Services and Anthems' books.

Only two settings of the Benedictus are present in the Chapel loft books—the setting by Orlando Gibbons in F, and a setting by John Smith from his service in B-flat. Smith's service unusually included settings of all the morning and evening canticles (except the Benedicite), and two settings of the Te Deum—a long one, to be paired with the Jubilate, and a short one, to be paired with the Benedictus.¹⁰⁵ The Chapel loft books contain the short Te Deum, Benedictus and Jubilate from Smith's service. A comparison of the heavily annotated scores of the Jubilate with the largely clean copes of the Benedictus suggest that the former was much more frequently sung than the latter.

From around 1869, the music lists indicate that the Benedictus was occasionally used as the second canticle, particularly during Advent and Lent, and was sung to Anglican chant. This change appears to have coincided with the introduction of *Chants Ancient and Modern*, which included pointed texts of the canticles. After Culwick's appointment in 1881, the music lists show that composed settings of the Benedictus were more frequently sung. Settings of the Benedictus by Cobb, Mann, Parry, Dykes, Hopkins, Prout, Stainer and Smart are included in the 'Services and Anthems' books, and Culwick's own settings in E and D were also frequently sung.¹⁰⁶

The canticles Te Deum and Jubilate were also sometimes sung to Anglican chant, with the Te Deum divided into three parts, perhaps as per the division of the pointed text in *Chants Ancient and Modern*. (The now-widespread division of this canticle into three parts was not introduced in Ireland until the publication of the 1926 Church of Ireland Prayer

¹⁰⁴ Appendix E2.

¹⁰⁵ Smith, *Cathedral Music*.

¹⁰⁶ See 3.4.3 above.

Book.) The music lists suggest that by the time of Culwick's appointment in 1881 through-composed settings of the canticles had fallen out of use almost entirely (see Appendix E2). This trend was presumably connected with Henry Bussell's alleged inability to discharge his duties owing to his advanced age (see 3.4.1 above): if Bussell were unable to play challenging accompaniments owing to infirmity, this would have reduced the repertoire of the choir and over time adversely affected musical standards.

Immediately following Culwick's appointment, through-composed settings of the canticles were gradually reintroduced, beginning with a small repertoire of settings of the *Te Deum* only and gradually expanding to include the *Jubilate* also.¹⁰⁷ At various later points during Culwick's tenure and that of his successor George Hewson, one of the two canticles was occasionally sung to Anglican chant, perhaps in order to allow the choir to spend more time rehearsing other music.¹⁰⁸

The inclusion of the anthem in the service of Morning and Evening Prayer was a defining aspect of the liturgy of choral foundations, according to the famous rubric of the 1662 Prayer Book placed between the collects and the prayers: 'In Quires and Places where they sing, here followeth the Anthem.' The repertoire of anthems contained within the loft books shows for the most part a conservative choice of texts: the majority are based on psalms, with the remainder based on various passages of scripture (including Revelation and several Old Testament books). Scriptural references are prominently identified in the loft books, and in the 1840s anthems were frequently listed in newspapers by their scriptural reference rather than title. The loft books also contain a small number of anthems based on collects from the Book of Common Prayer, including 'Grant to us, Lord' (Sir John Stevenson), 'Grant, we beseech thee' (John Smith) and 'Lord of all power and might' (William Mason).

¹⁰⁷ Appendix E2.

¹⁰⁸ Appendices E3 and E4.

Many of the anthems in the loft books are in the soloistic verse anthem style that was popular between the late sixteenth century and early nineteenth.¹⁰⁹ As we have seen (4.1.2), the music lists of the early period frequently listed the names of solo singers in such anthems. The earliest loft books (dating from 1818) do not contain many oratorio excerpts, with the exception of excerpts from Handel's ubiquitously popular *Messiah* and some movements from his *Israel in Egypt*, and Stevenson's reworking of parts of Haydn's *Creation*, 'In the beginning' (see 3.4.3 above). The latest loft books (dating from 1863) contain a few movements from oratorios, including excerpts from Beethoven's *Christ on the Mount of Olives* (*Christus am Ölberge*, Op. 85) and Spohr's *Calvary* (*Des Heilands letzte Stunden*), although these movements have been retexted with metrical psalms from the Tate and Brady collection, 'With restless and ungoverned rage' (Psalm 2) and 'As pants the hart' (Psalm 42) respectively.

It was not until the later nineteenth century that oratorio excerpts with original texts were used as anthems in the Chapel, a development which reflected a wider contemporary predilection amongst cathedral musicians for oratorio, particularly the works of Mendelssohn.¹¹⁰ The Chapel music lists from 1894, for example, include 'O come every one that thirsteth' and 'Draw near, all ye people' from *Elijah*, 'Happy and blest' and 'Sleepers wake' from *St Paul*, and 'I waited for the Lord' from the *Hymn of Praise*. During the early twentieth century a number of retexted works by Gounod also entered the repertoire of the Chapel choir, including a setting of Mrs Alexander's well-known children's hymn 'There is a green hill far away', a choice which demonstrates the increasingly wide range of texts then considered appropriate as anthems. The scores of these and other similar works can be found in the 'Anthems' and 'Services and Anthems' books.

¹⁰⁹ John Harper, Peter Le Huray, Ralph T. Daniel and John Ogasapian, 'Anthem', *Grove Music Online* (www.oxfordmusiconline.com, accessed 27th September 2018).

¹¹⁰ Gatens, *Victorian Cathedral Music*, 110.

Although the use of oratorio excerpts as anthems was popular in the Chapel from the late nineteenth century, anthems based on psalm texts remained in use alongside this newer repertoire. The older anthems which remained in the repertoire were largely ‘full anthems’, however, and not the soloistic verse anthems that had been popular in the first half of the nineteenth century. The introduction of new anthems by then-contemporary composers began in the late 1860s, as works by composers such as C. E. Horsley, E. J. Hopkins and Sir Robert Stewart began to appear in music lists along with the older repertoire contained in the loft books. Although some of these new anthems are present in the ‘Anthems’ and ‘Services and Anthems’ volumes, these volumes were likely bound after 1900 and so include only repertoire that was frequently sung at that stage. The scores of anthems that entered the repertoire in the 1860s and 1870s but are not present in the later bound volumes may have been contained in the loose ‘Cathedral Anthems’ sets (see 4.2.4 above).

The service of Evening Prayer has a very similar structure to that of Morning Prayer (as outlined at the beginning of this subsection), with the only significant differences being the absence of the invitatory psalm *Venite* and the substitution of the canticle *Magnificat* (or *Cantate Domino*) for *Te Deum*, and *Nunc Dimittis* (or *Deus Misereatur*) for the *Benedictus*. As we have seen (4.1.3), Sunday evening services were introduced in the Chapel around the early 1840s, and these services included choral music by 1858.¹¹¹ The music lists for evening services suggest that they included a more modest musical provision than the morning services—initially only an anthem, and later also the canticles sung to Anglican chant. The anthems listed were occasionally for either trebles only or ATB men’s voices, and by the early 1880s they were invariably hymns, which suggests that the evening service was usually sung by a reduced choir of either boys or men only. Since

¹¹¹ *DDE*, 20th February 1858, p. 2.

the evening canticles were sung to Anglican chant, it seems that there were no through-composed settings of the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in the choir's repertoire.¹¹²

These evening services were discontinued after 1885, and it seems that after that time no regular choral evening services took place in the Chapel.¹¹³ Occasional evening services took place in 1921, beginning with a 'Festival Evensong' on Friday 18th March to mark the 'Irish Festival' of St Patrick's weekend.¹¹⁴ This service was described in one of the newspapers as 'shortened Evensong',¹¹⁵ and it appears that only one canticle was sung—the Deus Misereatur from Sir Robert Stewart's service in E-flat for double choir.¹¹⁶ Prior to the commencement of the service, the band of the 2nd Battalion Royal Berkshire Regiment performed a programme of music in the Chapel.¹¹⁷ Later in 1921, services of choral evensong were introduced on Tuesdays in Advent.¹¹⁸ The inclusion of plainsong office hymns in these services and the singing of the Advent Prose gave them a distinctly antique flavour, which reflected W. E. Hopkins's strong interest in plainsong (see 3.4.1 above).

4.3.3 *Singing the Litany*

In keeping with the then-widespread form of service discussed above (4.1.3), the Litany was regularly performed after Morning Prayer on ordinary Sundays in the Chapel Royal. The Prayer Book provides no rubrical direction concerning the performance of the Litany except that it is 'to be said or sung after Morning Prayer upon Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and at other times when it shall be commanded by the Ordinary'. No. 18 of the 1559 Injunctions of Elizabeth I directed that

¹¹² Two such settings (by Gibbons and King) were included as part of printed editions of complete services bound into SB1.

¹¹³ RCB P.0129.08.1.

¹¹⁴ *IT*, 19th March 1921, p. 5.

¹¹⁵ *IT*, 18th March 1921, p. 4.

¹¹⁶ *IT*, 17th March 1921, p. 9.

¹¹⁷ *IT*, 19th March 1921, p. 5.

¹¹⁸ *IT*, 29th November 1921, p. 6; *IT*, 6th December 1921, p. 6; *IT*, 13th December 1921, p. 6.

the priests with other of the quire shall kneel in the midst of the church, and sing or say plainly and distinctly the Litany...to the intent the people may hear and answer...

Jebb was at pains to point out that this Injunction mentioned singing first, and so claimed that the saying of the Litany was a secondary inferior alternative to choral performance.¹¹⁹ As we have seen (2.2.2), in the early years of the Chapel Royal the Litany was not sung but read, usually by the visiting preacher. It seems that this practice continued until at least 1863.¹²⁰

Alongside the 'Litany chant' mentioned above (4.3.2), another piece of tantalizing evidence for oral tradition performance practice at the Chapel Royal can be found pencilled onto a blank page of TDecB. This excerpt (reproduced in Appendix C5.3) features notations of intonations of a few verses of the Litany with varying modulations and text stresses indicated by underlining of words, which appear to be a demonstration by one person to another of different possible ways of intoning the Litany. Since this is present in one of the tenor loft books, this suggests that the practice of reading the Litany was replaced by a choral performance while these books were still in use (prior to c. 1870), perhaps with one of the tenors acting as cantor.

The evidence above suggests that occasional or regular choral performance of the Litany was introduced to the Chapel some time between 1863 and c. 1870, although the singing of the Litany was not mentioned in the music lists until the 1890s. Tallis's setting was introduced to the Chapel some time in or before March 1897:¹²¹ according to the music lists, during 1907 the Tallis Litany was sung regularly on the last Sunday of the month,¹²² which may indicate that on other Sundays it was sung to plainsong or merely read.

¹¹⁹ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 431.

¹²⁰ *IT*, 29th September 1862, p. 2; *IT*, 24th August 1863, p. 2.

¹²¹ *DDE*, 24th April 1897, p. 7.

¹²² Appendix E4.

4.3.4 *Singing the Communion service*

The shortened form of the Communion service ('ante-Communion') described in 4.1.3 above contained the following elements according to the 1662 Prayer Book:

1. Lord's Prayer and collect
2. Ten Commandments, and Responses to the Commandments
3. Collects, Epistle, Gospel
4. Nicene Creed
5. Sermon
6. Offertory, collect, Prayer for the Church Militant

On those Sundays on which the full Communion service did not take place, the widespread practice was to end the service at this point. On the occasional Sundays on which the entire Communion service took place, those who did not wish to partake in Communion (including the members of the choir) usually dispersed after the Prayer for the Church Militant and before the commencement of the Communion proper.¹²³ (Jebb noted, however, that some variations existed with regard to this practice.)¹²⁴ The Communion service would then continue as follows:

7. Exhortation, confession, absolution
8. Comfortable words
9. Sursum corda, preface, Sanctus
10. Prayer of Humble Access, consecration, distribution
11. Lord's Prayer; post-Communion prayer
12. Gloria in excelsis
13. Blessing

Although a few choral foundations (notably Durham Cathedral) did sing this latter part of the service frequently, the widespread practice of the choir's dispersing after the Prayer for the Church Militant meant that the texts of the second half of the Communion service were in most places usually said and not sung.¹²⁵ Consequently, until liturgical practices

¹²³ Gatens, *Victorian Cathedral Music*, 13–14.

¹²⁴ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 501–02.

¹²⁵ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 504–05.

began to change in the late nineteenth century, few composers made settings of these texts.

The singing of the Sanctus in its proper place according to the Prayer Book was rare owing to the dispersal of the choir. However, a curious practice was widespread until the later part of the nineteenth century of singing the Sanctus whilst the clergy proceeded to the altar between the end of the Litany and the beginning of the Communion service in the manner of an introit.¹²⁶ Since this practice was widespread from the seventeenth to the late nineteenth centuries, many settings of this text exist from this period. These were frequently paired with the other commonly sung item from the Communion service, the Responses to the Commandments. These twin-sets were invariably called ‘Sanctus and Responses’, reflecting the order in which the items were sung in practice, and sometimes also included a setting of the Nicene Creed. The practice of singing the Sanctus as an introit fell out of fashion in St Patrick’s Cathedral in the late nineteenth century, with the interval between the Litany and Communion service being filled instead by a hymn.¹²⁷

The Chapel Royal music lists from 1869 include details of the ‘introit’ to the Communion service, which is frequently a setting of the Sanctus, but is also occasionally a second anthem, and for a brief period in 1870 (as discussed in 4.2.5 above) a hymn. This second anthem was usually listed in the newspapers as being sung ‘after the Litany’ or ‘before the Holy Communion’, although in a few cases it was indicated to be sung ‘before the Sermon’.¹²⁸ By 1880 the singing of a hymn before the sermon was standard practice every Sunday. It seems that the Chapel followed the trend observed in St Patrick’s of replacing the Sanctus sung between the Litany and Communion with a hymn: from the time of Culwick’s appointment in 1881, an ‘Introit’ hymn featured in the music lists on

¹²⁶ John Skelton Bumpus, *A History of English Cathedral Music, 1549–1889* (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1908), 415.

¹²⁷ Bumpus, *Sir John Stevenson*, 60–61.

¹²⁸ See Appendix E1.

Communion Sundays, and the Sanctus was apparently not used, even in its proper place in the liturgy.¹²⁹

The large number of settings of the Responses to the Commandments in the Chapel loft books demonstrates that this item was sung in the Chapel from the early period. In the loft books, these responses were variously entitled ‘Commandments’, ‘Responses’ (not to be confused with the versicles and responses of Morning Prayer), or ‘Kyrie’ (frequently ‘Kyrie elieson’ [sic.]). Most of these sets comprise a setting of the response which follows commandments nos. 1–9 (‘Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law’), and another musically similar setting of the response to the tenth commandment (‘Lord, have mercy upon us, and write all these thy laws in our hearts, we beseech thee’). Some sets include several varied settings of the response to the first nine commandments, and two sets present in the loft books even include a different setting for the response to each commandment. The set of ten responses in G by Thomas Attwood (Organist and Composer to the English Chapel Royal) seems to have inspired a similarly extensive set in the same key by Dublin Chapel organist W. H. White.

It seems that settings of the Sanctus and Responses were frequently sung from *Chants and Responses* following its introduction to the Chapel in 1869, since numbers for these items corresponding with that book began to appear in published music lists. The 1868 edition of *Chants and Responses* included thirty-two various liturgical items (both Sanctuses and sets of Responses to the Commandments called ‘Kyries’), and the introduction of this collection caused an immediate change in the repertoire of the Chapel choir, which now included settings by composers including Dickinson, Stewart and Torrance which were included in the chant book but not the loft books.¹³⁰ This change in repertoire was likely a factor in the gradual disuse of the loft books around this time.

¹²⁹ See Appendix E2.

¹³⁰ Appendix E1.

It appears that the disuse of the Sanctus as outlined above occurred rapidly in the Church of Ireland between the publication of the first chant book in 1868 and the revised edition in 1883, since the latter edition contained fifty settings of the Responses but no Sanctus settings whatever. Settings of the Sanctus did not appear at all in Chapel music lists from the time of Culwick's appointment, which suggests that once the practice of using the Sanctus as an introit had died out these settings were not used at all, even in their proper place in the liturgy. As we shall see, the singing of the Sanctus in its proper place in the liturgy appears to have been introduced by Hewson in 1908.

The response 'Glory be to thee, O Lord' to the announcement of the Gospel in the Communion service was not mandated by rubric in the 1662 Prayer Book, although Jebb claimed that it was widely sung in choral foundations:

The Glory before the Gospel is a short Anthem, customarily kept up in all Churches, and forming part of the Choral system universally, though enjoined by no present Rubric.¹³¹

Despite this allegedly widespread use, few musical settings of this short response have been published, probably because—owing to its brevity—it was mostly sung to local settings. A few settings of it can be found in the Chapel loft books, usually alongside larger service settings (such as the service in C by Davoren Crosthwaite). Most of these are written roughly in pencil, and may represent another written record of an oral tradition. Settings of this response were included in the 1868, 1883, 1894 and 1906 chant books, in which they were called 'Doxologies'. Numbers for these items did not begin to appear in published music lists until after Weaving's appointment in 1917, although it seems likely that the singing of this response (which had been practised as early as the period in which the loft books were in use) was kept up throughout Culwick and Hewson's tenures despite not being included in music lists.

¹³¹ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 481.

In the Prayer Book the rubric directed that the Nicene Creed be ‘sung or said’ immediately following the Gospel. Since no settings of the Nicene Creed are present in the loft books, it would appear that singing this text was rare in the Chapel Royal in the early decades. Curiously, neither of the Stevenson services allegedly written for the Chapel choir includes a setting of the Nicene Creed, although most of his other Communion services did.¹³² The score books contain one setting (Gibbons in F), although this is part of a printed edition of the full service, from which only the Te Deum and Benedictus were copied into the loft books.

The first mention of a sung Creed in the music lists appears just weeks after Culwick’s appointment, when Sir John Stainer’s arrangement of Merbecke’s Nicene Creed was sung. As we have seen (4.1.2), it is possible that this item was sung prior to Culwick’s appointment and that he merely began to include it in the published music lists, although even if this were the case the absence of settings of the Creed in the loft books would suggest that it was not sung until at least c. 1870. The Stainer/Merbecke setting (which includes a central SATB section) was included in S&A13 and S&A14.¹³³ Wesley’s setting of the Nicene Creed in E was included in the ‘Services’ books, as well as S&A13 and S&A14; Culwick introduced (or perhaps reintroduced) this setting into the Chapel repertoire in March 1882. Prior to this the Stainer/Merbecke setting had been used continually for six months, and thereafter was used interchangeably with Wesley’s setting.

Culwick’s own setting of the Nicene Creed in D minor was introduced into the Chapel repertoire in late 1882,¹³⁴ and the setting in G by Sir Robert Stewart (included in the ‘Services’ books and in S&A13 and S&A14 as part of a full Communion service) was introduced into the repertoire at a later date, seemingly along with the Kyrie from the same

¹³² RCB P.0129.28.1: *Morning Services & Holy Communion Services Composed by Sir J. A. Stevenson* (MS volume).

¹³³ This item is included in the tables of contents of the ‘Services’ books, but has been torn out of each volume.

¹³⁴ Appendix E2.

service.¹³⁵ Other settings of the Creed were introduced by Culwick during his time as organist, including a setting in C by William Crowther Alwyn, and curious setting in D by John Goss,¹³⁶ which is written in a plainsong idiom and allegedly based on ‘ancient sources’ (it is a conflation of plainsong tones VII and VIII). Later music lists mention a ‘Unison’ setting of the Nicene Creed, which is likely to be this setting by Goss, which is included in the ‘Services’ books.¹³⁷

It seems that a full sung Communion service with settings of the Kyrie, Doxology, Sanctus and Gloria in excelsis was introduced shortly after Hewson’s appointment, when his setting of the Sanctus and Gloria in F was first sung on Easter Day 1908.¹³⁸ The newspaper music lists thereafter referred to such a service as a ‘Choral celebration of Holy Communion’.¹³⁹ The order in which the sung items of the Communion service appear in this music list indicate that the Sanctus was sung in its proper place according to the Prayer Book liturgy, and not as an introit as before. It seems, however, that this full choral Communion usually took place only on principal feasts (Easter Day, Whit Sunday, and Christmas Day), whereas on ordinary Communion Sundays only the Kyrie, Doxology and Nicene Creed were sung.¹⁴⁰ It is possible, therefore, that the practice of the choir’s dispersing after the Prayer for the Church Militant was maintained in the Chapel Royal (except on special occasions) until 1917 or later. By the early 1920s Stainer’s sevenfold Amen was also at least occasionally sung after the prayer of consecration and the blessing.¹⁴¹

Hewson’s setting of the Gloria appears to have been the most frequently sung setting of that item in the Chapel after its introduction in 1908. T. H. Weaving’s setting in

¹³⁵ See Appendix E3.

¹³⁶ *DDE*, 12th October 1889, p. 6.

¹³⁷ See Appendices E4 and E5.

¹³⁸ Appendix E4.

¹³⁹ *DDE*, 24th December 1908, p. 7.

¹⁴⁰ See Appendices E4 and E5.

¹⁴¹ Music list in choir book S&A2.

G (see 3.4.3 above) may have been introduced during his time as organist. Settings by William Crowther Alwyn and Sir Robert Stewart are included in the ‘Services’ books,¹⁴² but these are part of editions of full Communion services, from which only the Creed seems to have been sung regularly.

It seems that the singing of the *Sursum corda* may have been introduced during Weaving’s time as organist, owing to the inclusion of this item in his Communion setting. Singing this portion of the Communion service was almost unknown in Jebb’s time,¹⁴³ and it seems to have been unusual in the Church of Ireland in the early twentieth century, since no setting was included in the 1906 chant book. Other innovations made during the early part of Weaving’s time as organist included the introduction of a hymn sung during the distribution of Communion,¹⁴⁴ and a processional hymn at the beginning of the service on special occasions (such as Harvest Thanksgiving).¹⁴⁵

In the last couple of years prior to the Chapel’s closure, a significant change occurred in the Sunday morning liturgy, as Morning Prayer and Holy Communion were performed as separate services. The following details concerning Christmas Day services in the Chapel appeared in the press in December 1921:

Tomorrow (Christmas Day) there will be celebration of Holy Communion at 8 o’clock. Matins will be sung at 10.30 by the children of the chapel. There will be a Choral Celebration of the Holy Communion at 11.15 o’clock. A Christmas anthem will be sung, and Mozart’s setting in B flat of the Kyrie; Sanctus and Gloria will be used.¹⁴⁶

The singing of Matins (Morning Prayer) by the boys alone as a prelude to the Holy Communion service sung by the full choir demonstrates a radical shift in liturgical focus by the early 1920s. For most of the period in which the Chapel Royal operated, Morning

¹⁴² Stewart’s setting also appears in S&A13 and S&A14.

¹⁴³ Jebb, *Choral Service*, 504.

¹⁴⁴ DDE, 26th May 1917, p. 7.

¹⁴⁵ DDE, 13th October 1917, p. 7. See also the typed music list from Easter Day 1921 in choir book S&A2.

¹⁴⁶ IT, 24th December 1921, p. 6.

Prayer had been the principal Sunday morning service and as such featured the most elaborate music, whereas Communion was an infrequent adjunct to Morning Prayer and featured minimal music. The new central position afforded to the Communion service in the liturgy was a development reflected elsewhere in the church after the First World War,¹⁴⁷ and was a culmination of the increasing importance afforded to music in the Communion service since the introduction of Hewson's Sanctus and Gloria in 1908.

It is difficult to trace the liturgical developments in the Chapel Royal after this, however, since music lists appeared less frequently around 1920, and ceased to appear altogether by the middle of 1922. The backdrop to the festive liturgies of Christmas Day 1921 was an increasingly uncertain political situation. The Anglo-Irish Treaty, which had been signed on 6th December, caused a bitter split amongst Irish nationalists in early January 1922, which eventually led to civil war. Viscount FitzAlan handed Dublin Castle over to the Provisional Government of the Irish Free State on 16th January 1922. Although the Chapel Royal continued to function for the time being, its future looked increasingly uncertain. By the end of 1922 the Chapel was closed, and more than a century of musical and liturgical activity in this choral foundation came to an abrupt end.

¹⁴⁷ Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 332.

CONCLUSION

It is perhaps not generally understood that the services of the Chapel, held on Sunday mornings, which are of a high order of musical excellence, are open to the public.¹

This remark by Dean Mease, published shortly after his appointment as Dean in 1913, was not the first attempt made to draw the attention of the public to services at the Chapel Royal. Following the summer vacation in 1907, several notices appeared in the press announcing the recommencement of Sunday services and noting: 'The chapel is open to the public for these services, which are fully choral.'² Such efforts to promote the Chapel would suggest that the staff believed the general public to be ignorant of or apathetic to the existence of choral services there. This is no doubt one of the reasons that the choral foundation was so quickly forgotten after 1922.

The sudden disbandment of the Chapel Royal was part of a gradual process of disposal of aspects of the old regime as the new independent Irish state was established. In August 1922, a civil servant described the Castle as 'all but deserted...the life has gone from it'.³ The Chapel continued to operate during the period in which the Provisional Government was making preparations for the establishment of the Irish Free State (January to December 1922). The inception of the Free State effected the abolition of the Lord Lieutenancy on 6th December 1922, and just short of three weeks later the final service took place in the Chapel on Christmas Day 1922, with no indication that it was to be the last.⁴

The creation of the Irish Free State saw the most significant upheaval of established order in Ireland since the breaking down of the structures of church and state during the

¹ *DDE*, 30th December 1913, p. 2.

² *DDE*, 3rd October 1907, p. 7

³ 'Periscope' (George Chester Duggan), 'The Last Days of Dublin Castle', *Blackwood's Magazine* (August 1922), 137–90 (190).

⁴ *IT*, 27th December 1922, p. 6.

Commonwealth of 1649–60.⁵ (Though the Union of 1801 heralded a significant cultural and political shift, as discussed in 1.2.1 above, it had little immediate practical effect on government, since, although the Irish Parliament was abolished, its functions were transferred to the parliament in Westminster, and local government institutions remained largely unchanged.) As we have seen, there was no enthusiasm on the part of the government of the new Free State to continue to allow the Chapel to operate, and so it quickly succumbed to political vicissitude, along with the rest of the non-administrative appendages of the former viceregal establishment.

Because of its role within the viceregal court, the history of the Chapel Royal is inextricably linked with that of the government of Ireland as a part of the United Kingdom. As we have seen, the establishment of a new choral foundation for the Chapel on its opening in 1814 was one aspect of a project of image-making that aimed to refashion the role of the Lord Lieutenant and garner greater prestige and popular appeal for the viceregal court in the wake of the Union. The construction of a new Chapel in which choral service would replace the parochial mode of the old Castle chapel was first mooted by Chief Secretary Charles Abbot in 1801,⁶ and was realized through the efforts of the first Dean of the Chapel, Samuel Slade.

Slade's deliberate imitation of the Chapel Royal of St James's Palace led to the creation of a new choral foundation in the Dublin Chapel, and this was remarkable since no notable new choral foundations had been established since the Reformation. Although Slade and the Castle authorities were surely not consciously foreshadowing the spread of choral worship that occurred following the Ecclesiological movement of the 1840s onwards, these later developments make the Chapel all the more remarkable from an historical point of view.

⁵ Raymond Gillespie, 'An Age of Modernization', *St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin: A History*, 174–96 (185–86).

⁶ BL Add. MS 35733, p. 314: brief concerning new chapel for Dublin Castle from Charles Abbot, Chief Secretary to James Gandon, c. September 1801.

The most significant discovery of this research has been the breadth of previously unexplored archival material available concerning the choral foundation of the Chapel Royal. The account of the administration and music of the Chapel that this material has informed has demonstrated that the Chapel was an independent choral foundation, and has disproved beyond doubt the notion that it was a casual and inconsequential subset of the Dublin cathedral choirs. On the contrary, its own history is rich, distinctive and full of musical, liturgical and historical interest. Many aspects of the history of Anglican choral music in Ireland have still yet to be explored in detail. This study has touched on the relationships between the Chapel Royal, the two Dublin cathedrals, and Trinity College chapel, and so has laid foundations for a broader and more nuanced understanding of their personnel, repertoire and performance traditions.

We have seen that the Chapel Royal was somewhat musically and liturgically conservative in its early years, although the Gothic architecture of the building and the formal organization of the choral foundation unwittingly heralded trends that would later become widespread. Though the choir's repertoire for the first five or six decades was rooted in the music of the 'long eighteenth century', it included a significant number of original compositions by people directly associated with the Chapel, both members of the choir, and amateur composers with connexions to the viceregal household (Major Bagot, Captain Lindsay, Mrs Tighe and Mrs Pennant). Following the appointment of James Culwick as organist in 1881, the long-standing musical conservatism gave way to a wider and more modern repertoire. Culwick and his successor George Hewson both wrote original music for the Chapel choir, and developed reputations as composers in their own right.

Following his first brief viceroyalty in 1886, the Earl of Aberdeen was reappointed as Lord Lieutenant in 1905, and would go on to be the longest-serving holder of that office.

Aberdeen believed that he would be the last Lord Lieutenant before the introduction of Irish Home Rule,⁷ but by the time he left office in 1915, a year after the Home Rule Act had been suspended owing to the outbreak of war, the future government of Ireland was uncertain. No one then could have foreseen the radical shift in the political status quo effected by the events of 1916–21, which culminated in the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty in December 1921, and the establishment of an independent Irish state. With the exception of widespread abandonment of church services in Dublin during the Easter Rising in 1916, it seems that services at the Chapel continued as normal during this period of unrest, in spite of being at the epicentre of the embattled government headquarters.

After the appointment of W. E. Hopkins as organist in 1920, the Chapel saw an increase in musical activity with more frequent choral services, a broadening of the repertoire of the choir, and occasional organ recitals. In the context of the bleak political situation in Ireland and the growing hostility to the moribund Dublin Castle government, this late flourishing seems somewhat poignant. An eyewitness account from 1921 painted a grim picture of the Lower Castle Yard outside the Chapel, fortified with barbed wire and guarded by soldiers wielding machine guns.⁸ The perseverance of the clergy and the musicians in the continuation of choral worship in these circumstances is a remarkable testament to their loyalty to the Chapel.

As soon as Irish independence became a reality, Ireland's new rulers began to write the Dublin Castle administration out of history. In January 1922 the members of the Provisional Government were received by Viscount FitzAlan at the Castle to be formally appointed. These erstwhile revolutionaries had little regard for viceregal formalities, and cancelled their original engagement with the Lord Lieutenant at short notice.⁹ The meeting that eventually took place has become the stuff of legend, largely owing to the war-like

⁷ O'Connor, '(Ad)dressing Home Rule', 252.

⁸ 'Periscope', 'The Last Days of Dublin Castle', 166.

⁹ 'Periscope', 'The Last Days of Dublin Castle', 188.

rhetoric of the statement issued afterwards by the chairman of the Provisional Government, Michael Collins:

The members of Rialtas Sealadach na h'Eireann [sic.; Provisional Government of Ireland] received surrender of Dublin Castle at 1.45 p.m. today. It is now in the hands of the Irish Nation.¹⁰

A Unionist newspaper mocked Collins's 'theatrical announcement',¹¹ but although the notion of 'surrender' was rather overblown (since the Lord Lieutenant and his administration remained in place for almost a year subsequent), the symbolism of this occasion was epoch-making. The announcement of 'surrender' exemplified the feelings of nationalist pride that accompanied the establishment of the new Irish government and the overthrow of the old order. Having received surrender of what was to them the ultimate symbol of tyranny and subjugation, the nationalist victors were thus empowered to begin to shape the historical narrative according to their own ideology.

Such symbolic acts create history in the popular imagination, and the symbolism of 'surrender' of the Castle was an apposite conclusion to what was thereafter characterized as a revolutionary struggle. An erstwhile official of the pre-independence government commented in 1922 that the Provisional Government 'fears the taint that still clings to the name' of Dublin Castle, and so they chose to let the complex gather dust rather than put it to an immediate official use.¹² This disuse of the Castle, once the home of what William Thackeray memorably described as a 'sham court',¹³ was perhaps a more powerful symbol of triumph than any act of destructive retribution might have been.

The moulding of historic narrative through symbolism is the principal mechanism of the image-making of figures in authority, something at which the viceroyalty was well practised, as we have seen. The Chapel Royal was founded in order to develop the Lord

¹⁰ *FJ*, 17th January 1922, p. 5.

¹¹ *Northern Whig*, 17th January 1922, p. 5.

¹² 'Periscope', 'The Last Days of Dublin Castle', 166.

¹³ Thackeray, *The Irish Sketch Book of 1842*, 469.

Lieutenant's image as spiritual and temporal ruler of an Ireland that was Protestant and English, and so it is especially ironic that two later Irish authority figures, John Charles McQuaid and Éamon de Valera, put the Chapel building to a new purpose in the 1940s as part of their own project of image-making as respective spiritual and temporal rulers of an Ireland that was Catholic and Irish.

The political, religious and cultural partisanship typified by the Chapel Royal and the Dublin Castle government has long ceased to be apparent in everyday Irish life. Almost a century on from its closure, the Chapel's history is now a fossilized representation of aspects of an Irish identity that have since disappeared from living memory. The uncovering of the history of the Chapel Royal and its choral foundation illuminates hitherto forgotten aspects of the music and liturgy of the Church of Ireland and the history of pre-independent Ireland. This is timely, not least because of the approaching centenary of Irish independence and the closure of the Chapel, as well as the sesquicentenary of the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland. In this decade of commemoration, we have an opportunity to engage with the legacy of the Chapel Royal in an objective way, explore its influence on our sense of identity, and celebrate its contributions to our culture.

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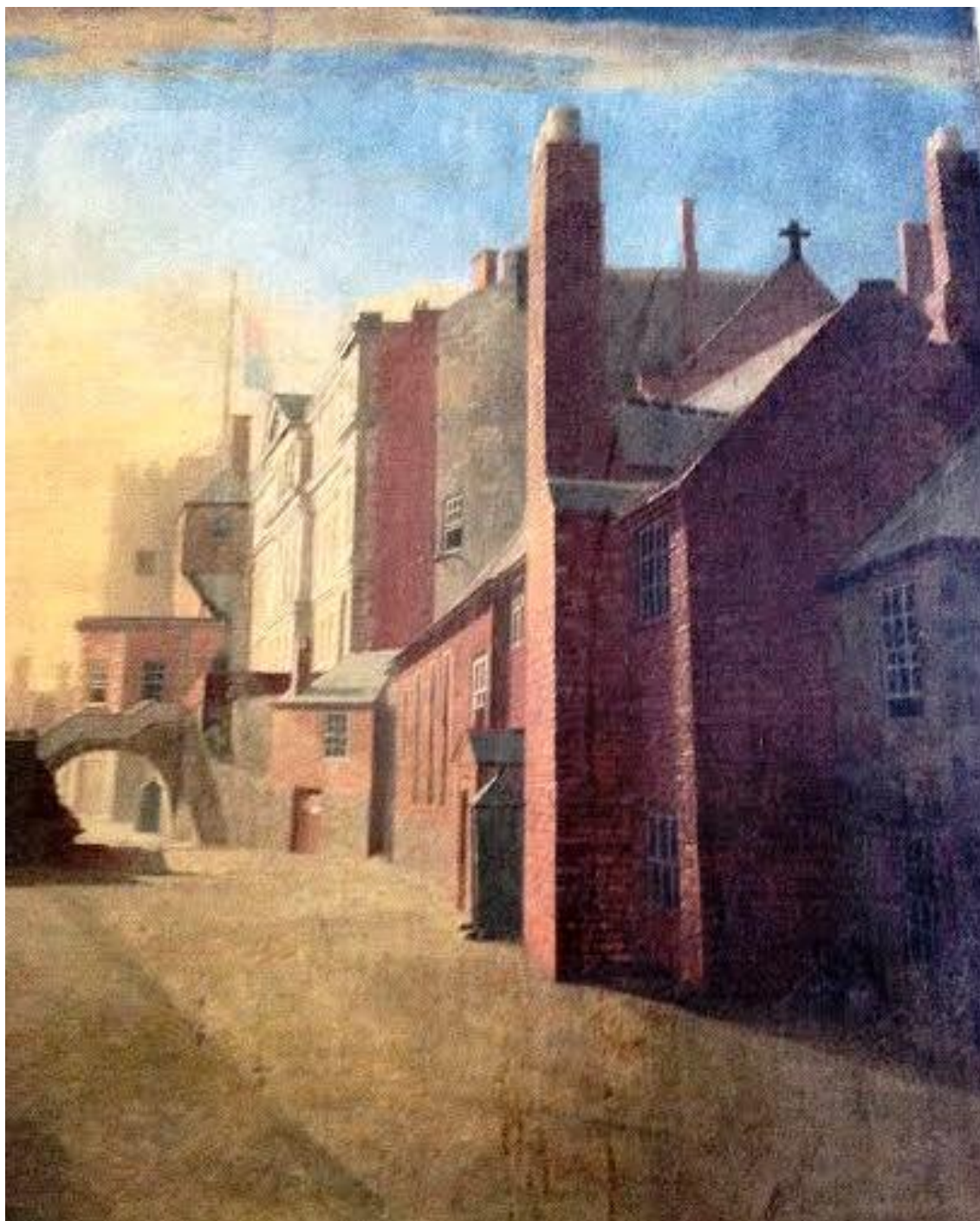


Plate 1: Anonymous painting of eighteenth-century Castle chapel (Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland)



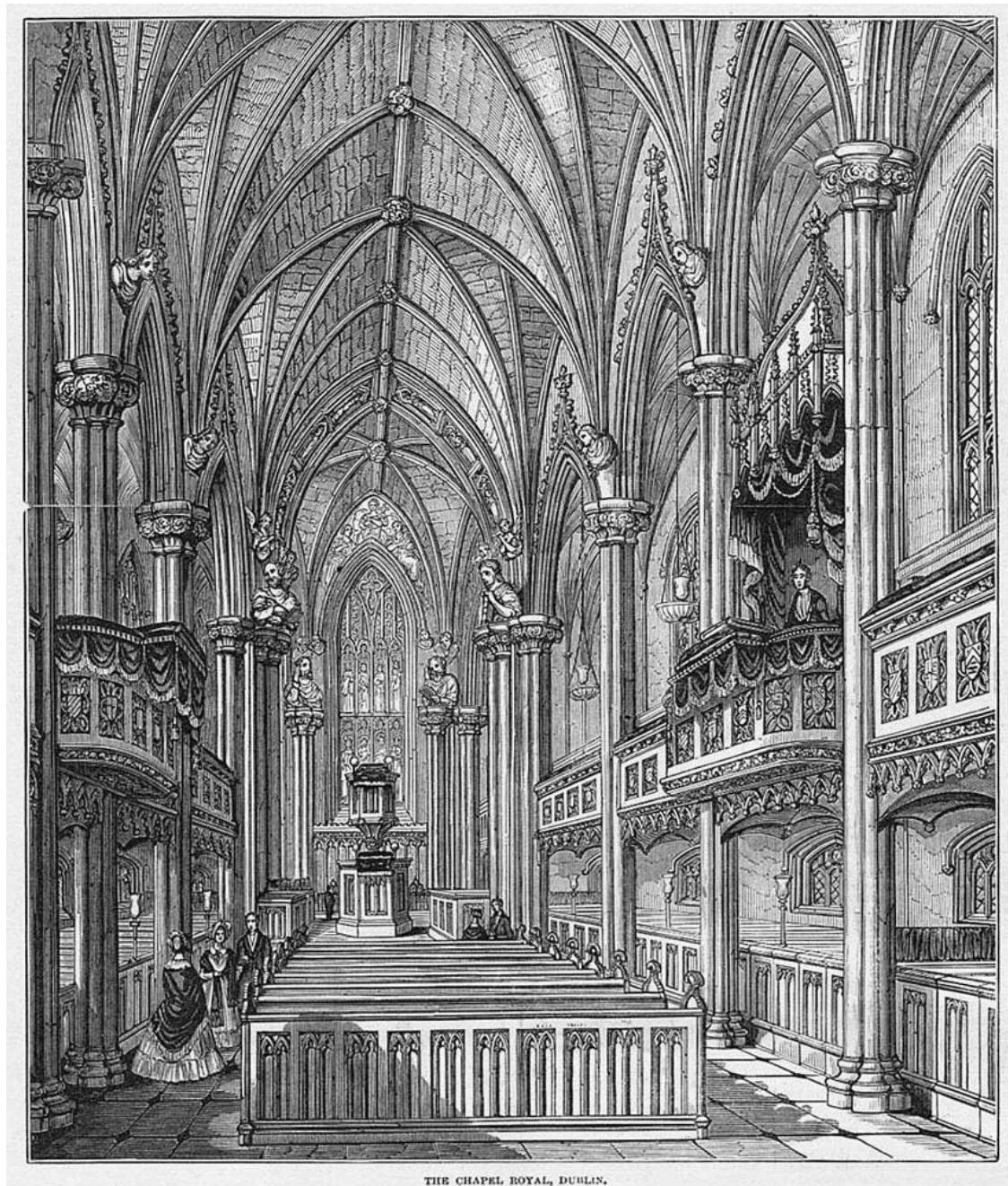
Plate 2: Castle of Dublin, 1816, by Thomas Sautelle Roberts



Plate 3: Chapel Royal, St James's Palace c. 1841, by William Radclyffe



Plate 4: Watercolour of the Chapel Royal, c. 1821, by George Petrie (photo: David Davison)



THE CHAPEL ROYAL, DUBLIN.

Plate 5: Anonymous engraving of the Chapel Royal, 1849 (*Illustrated London News*, 11th August 1849)



Plate 6: Watercolour of the Chapel Royal, 1854, by James Mahony



Plate 7: Chapel Royal looking east, c. 1860–63 (NLI)



Plate 8: Chapel Royal looking west, c. 1863–1900 (NLI)



Plate 9: View of the Chapel Royal looking west from altar steps



Plate 10: View of the Chapel Royal looking east from organ loft



Plate 11: Chapel Royal choir stalls and sanctuary



Plate 12: St Patrick's Cathedral looking west, c. 1820, by John Cruise



Plate 13: Christ Church Cathedral looking west, before the 1878 Street restoration (NLI)



Plate 14: Gray organ in St Mary's Church, Enniscorthy, formerly in Chapel Royal

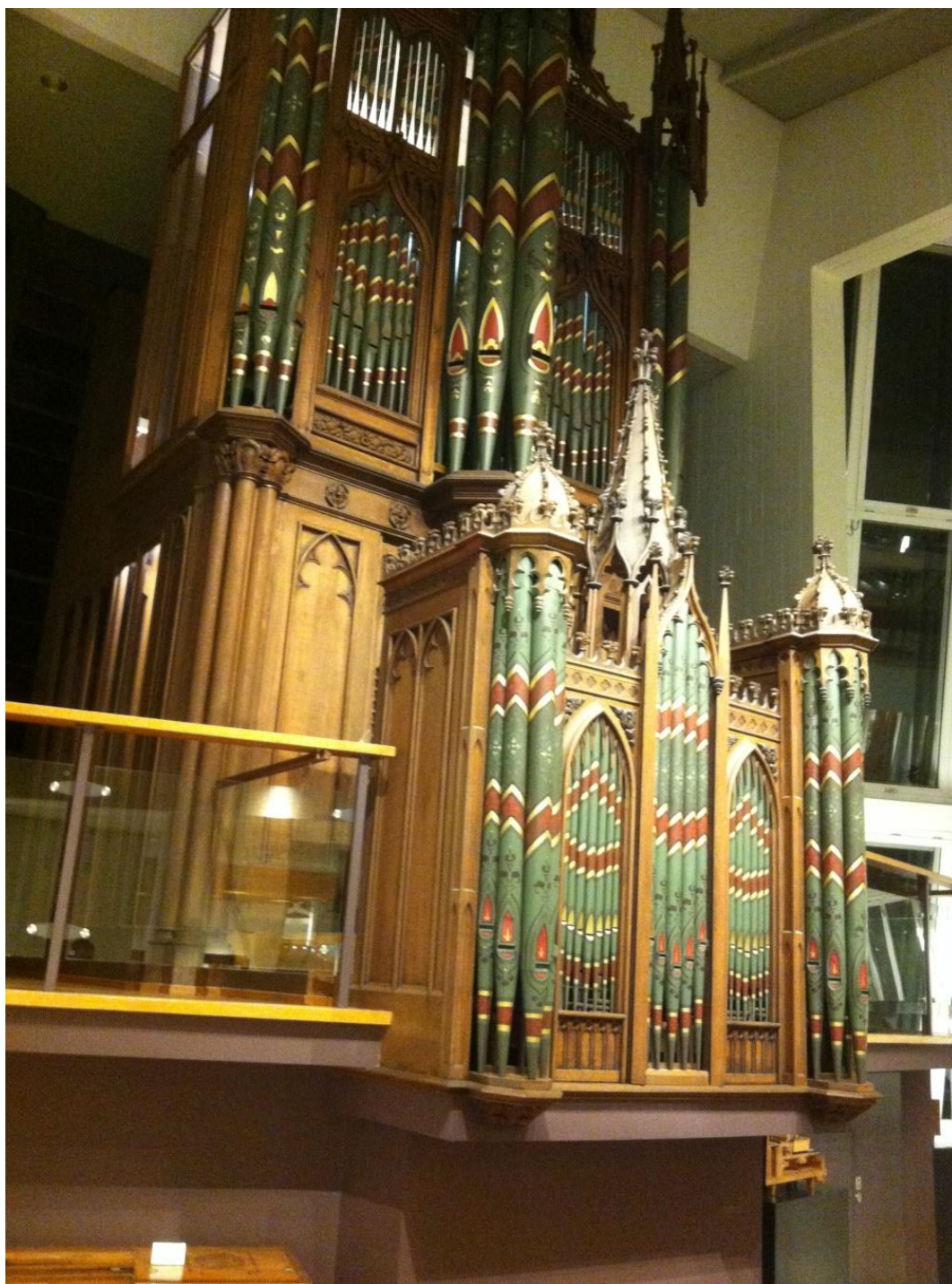


Plate 15: Gray organ in Musical Instrument Museum, Berlin

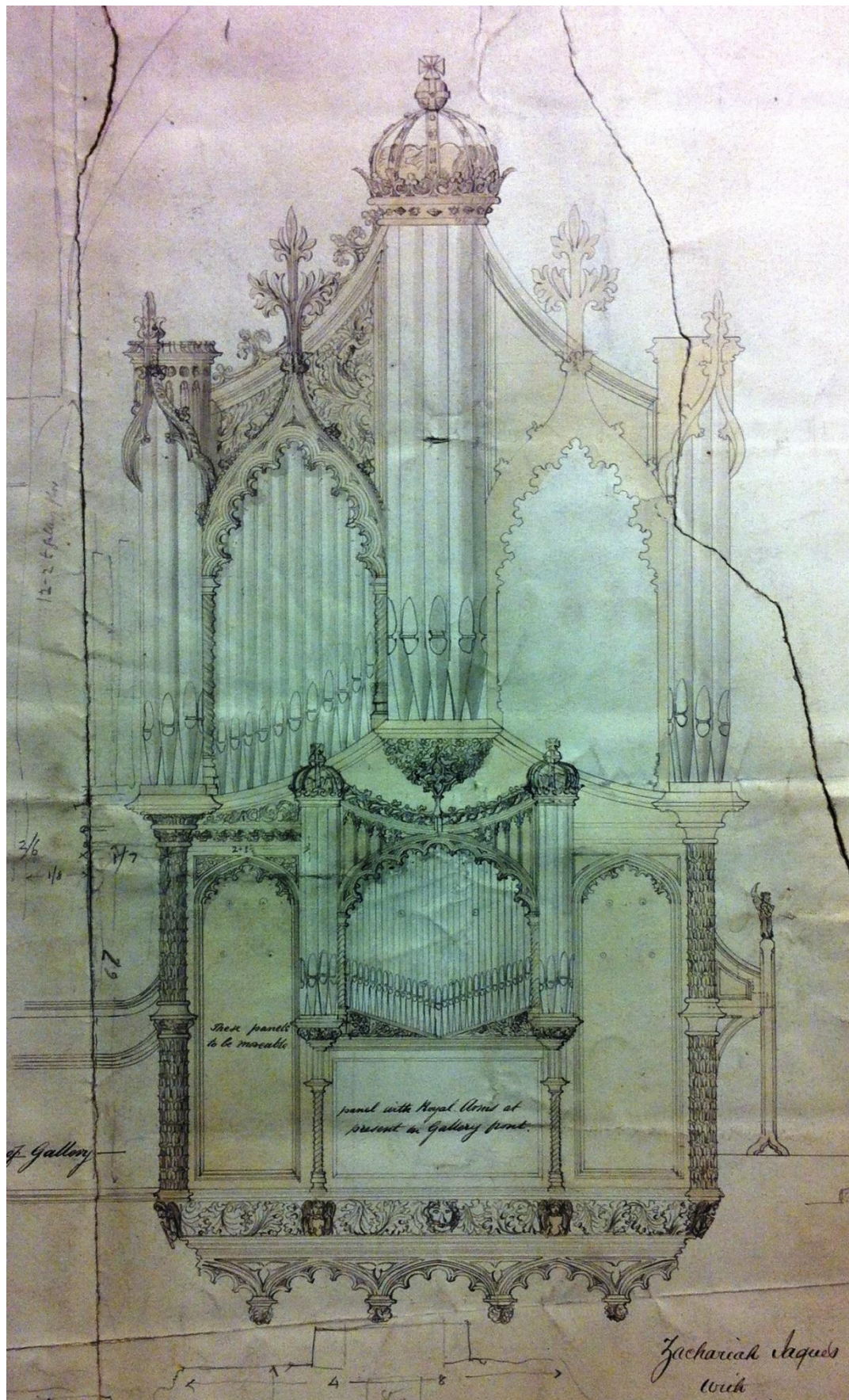


Plate 16: Architectural drawing of Chapel Royal organ case, 1857
(with thanks to Myles Campbell and William Derham, Office of Public Works)



Plate 17: Chapel Royal organ case



Plate 18: Organ of former Bristo Place Congregational Church, Edinburgh (www.edinburghhacklab.com)



Plate 19: Letters patent appointing W. E. Hopkins 'Director of the State Music in Ireland'
(TCD MS 3635, with kind permission of the Board of Trinity College, Dublin)

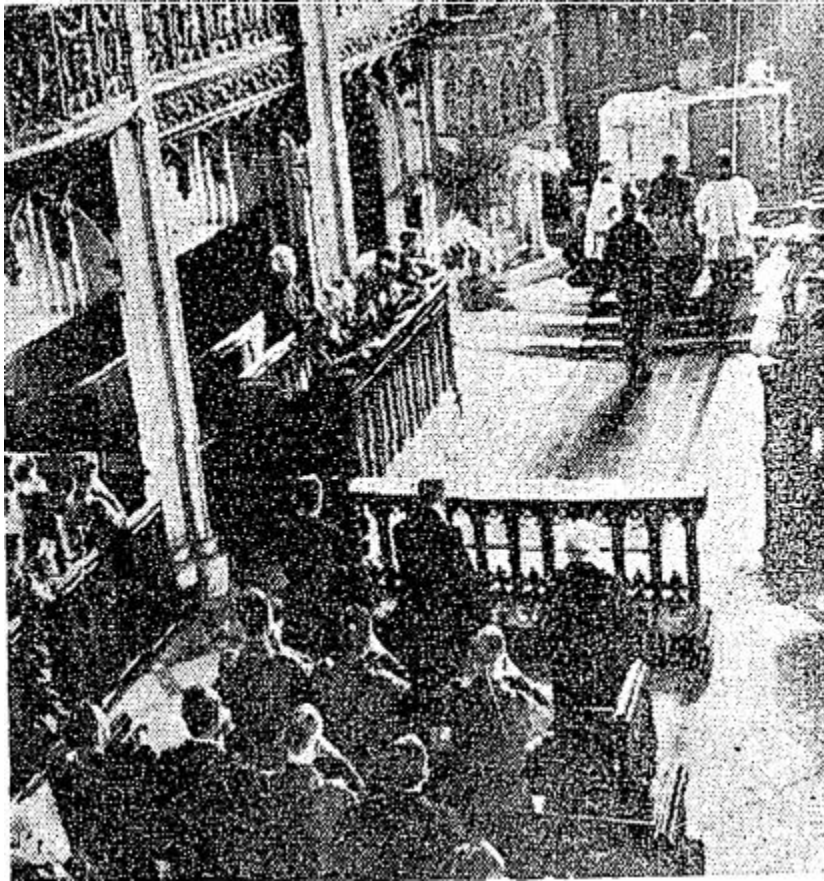


Plate 20: Consecration of the Chapel Royal as a Roman Catholic church (*Irish Times*, 14th June 1943)



Plate 21: John Charles McQuaid and Éamon de Valera outside the Chapel Royal (*Irish Press*, 14th June 1943)

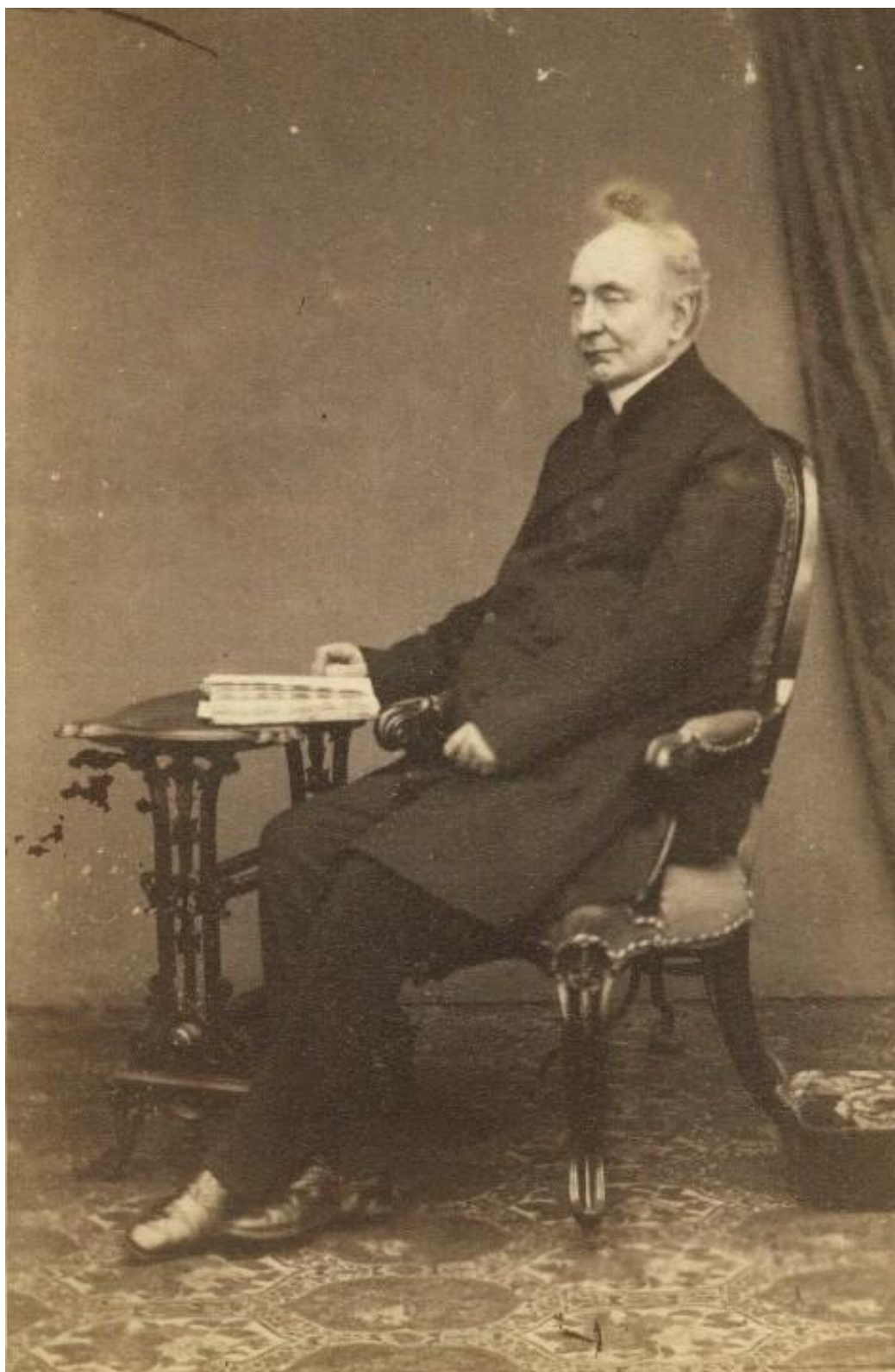


Plate 22: Hugh Usher Tighe, c. 1859 (National Portrait Gallery)



Plate 23: Charles Graves, c. 1874

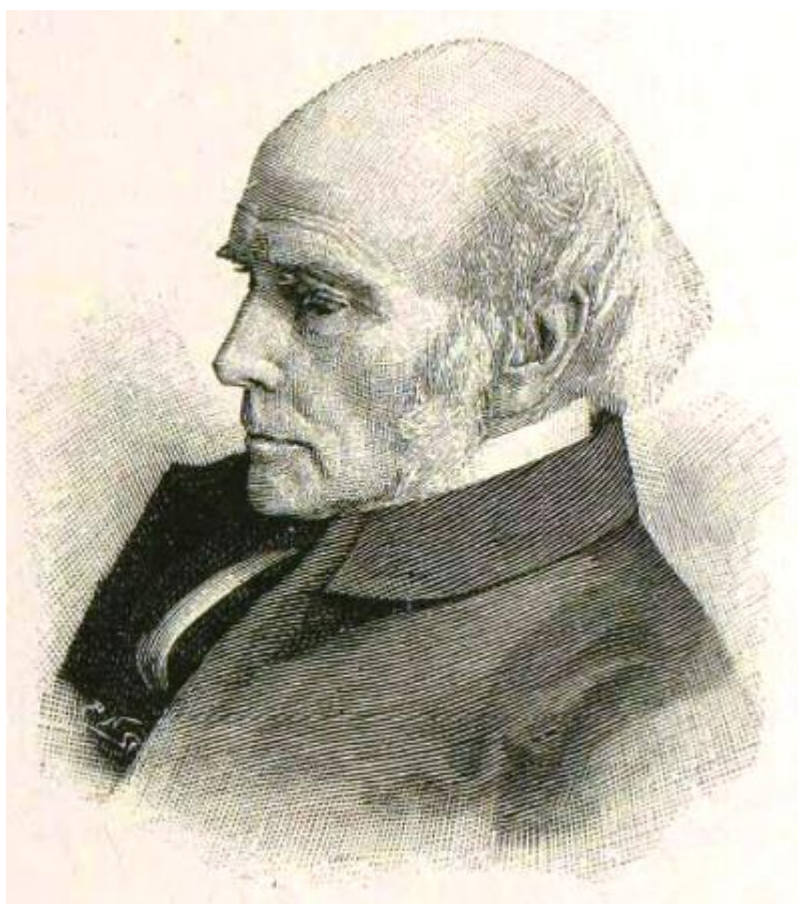


Plate 24: Robert Perceval Graves (*Illustrated London News*, 28th October 1893)

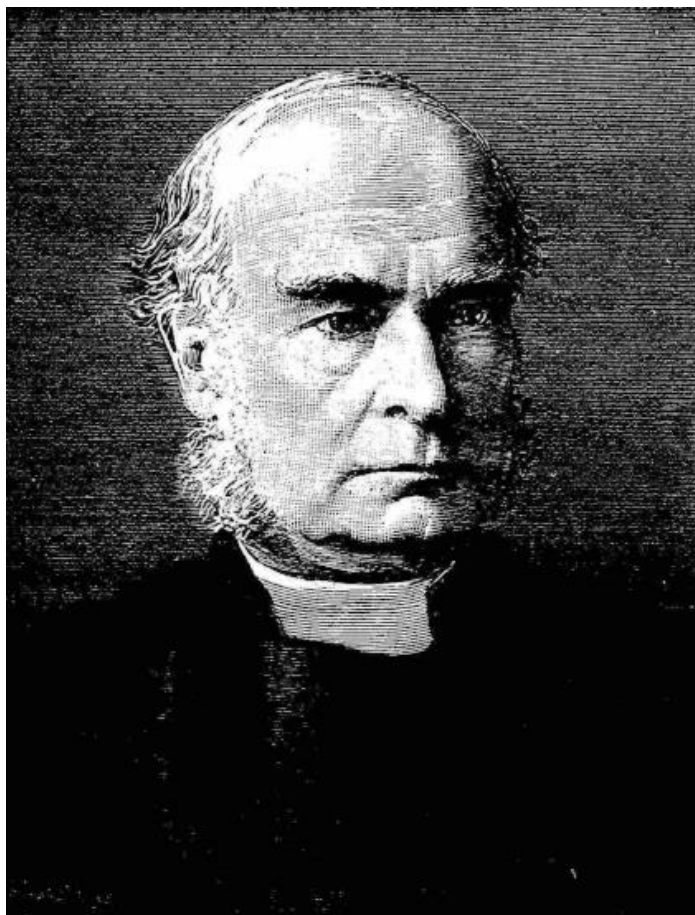


Plate 25: William Connor Magee (*The Graphic*, 17th January 1891)



Plate 26: Hercules Henry Dickinson, c. 1902



Plate 27: Reginald Godfrey Michael Webster (*Dublin Daily Express*, 20th May 1913)

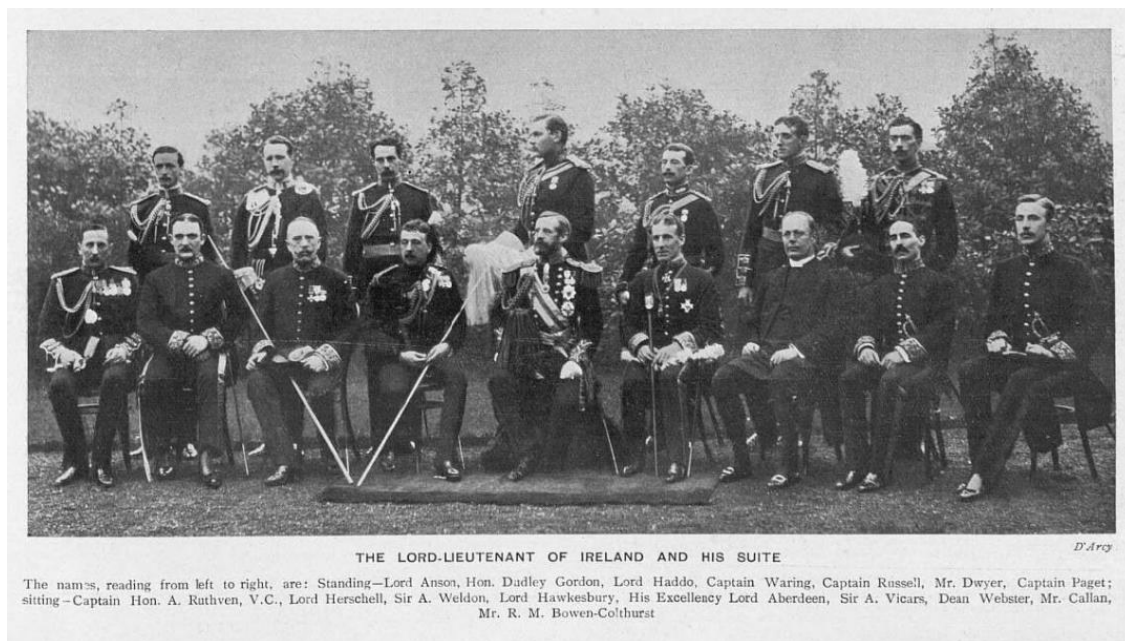


Plate 28: The Earl of Aberdeen and his viceregal household, with Dean Webster, front row, third from right (*The Tatler*, 14th February 1906)



Plate 29: Charles William O'Hara Mease (*Dublin Daily Express*, 26th May 1913)



Plate 30: Hugh Jackson Lawlor (*Larne Times*, 23rd August 1924)



Plate 31: Sketch of James Cooksey Culwick (*Irish Times*, 4th August 1900)



Plate 32: Thomas Henry Weaving (*Irish Times*, 8th March 1937)

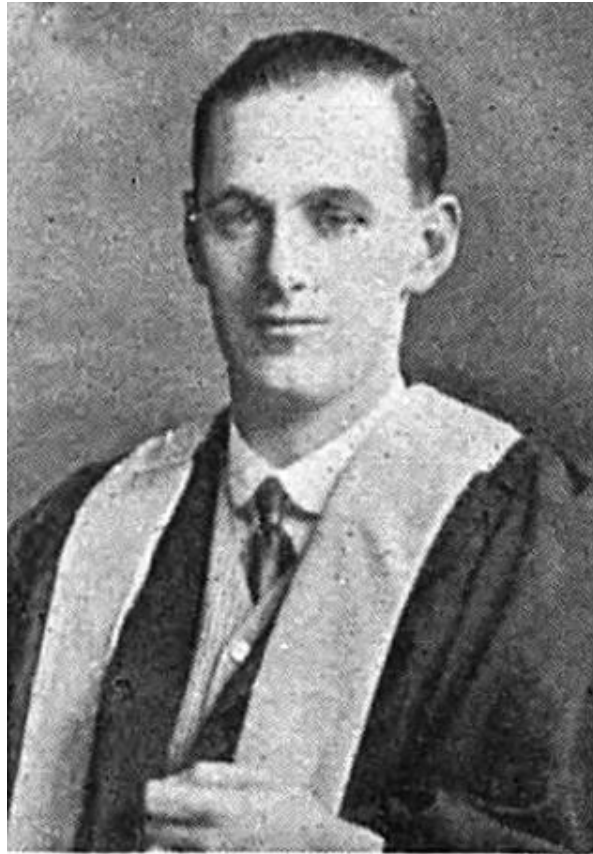


Plate 33: William Edmond Hopkins (*The Graphic*, 4th February 1922)



Plate 34: Sketch of Edmond Oldham by Willie North (*Evening Herald*, 18th May 1901)



Plate 35: Cupboard in Chapel Royal robing room



Plate 36: Graffiti in Chapel Royal robing room cupboard