

Harpsichord & fortepiano

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(MIRCat)

‘Queen Elizabeth’s Virginals’: from Venice to the Victoria & Albert Museum

Catherine Lorigan



Illus.1: ‘Queen Elizabeth’s Virginals’. © The Victoria and Albert Museum, London. V&A Images, Museum No.19-1887.

This article traces the journey of the instrument known as Queen Elizabeth’s Virginals (illus.1) from its construction in Venice in the 16th century to its acquisition by the Victoria & Albert Museum in London in the late 19th century, and outlines the lives of those who owned this instrument over those three hundred years.¹ Although the virginal is both undated and unsigned, its ornate decorative style, shape and cypress case have identified it as having been made in Venice in the late 16th century, probably c.1570. It was at first believed to have been made by Benedetto Floriani (fl.1568-1572), but on the basis of examination of its plan-view geometrical layout and mouldings, has now been re-attributed to the Venetian maker, Giovanni Antonio Baffo (fl.1570-1579).² The instrument was described by Edward Rimbault about 170 years ago as:

A splendid virginal, said to have been the Queen’s, ... the case is of cypress covered with crimson Genoa velvet, upon which there are three gilt locks finely engraved; the inside of the case is lined with strong yellow tabby silk. The front is covered entirely with gold, having a border round the inside two inches deep and a half broad. It is five feet in length, sixteen inches wide, and seven inches deep, and it is so lightly and delicately formed that the weight does not exceed twenty four pounds, there are fifty keys, thirty of ebony tipped with

gold, and the remaining twenty (ie the semitones) are inlaid with silver and ivory in a most elaborate manner.³

How the virginals was imported from Venice and when it arrived in England is not known, but a number of Englishmen visited Venice in the late 16th century. These included Roger Ascham, tutor to the Princess Elizabeth and later secretary to the Queen, Sir Edward Unton and Sir Philip Sidney who was ‘granted a passport by the Queen in May 1572 to travel abroad for two years for the purpose of attaining knowledge of foreign languages’, reaching Venice at the end of 1573.⁴ English travellers to Venice may have become familiar with the high-quality instruments being made there and, on returning to England, conveyed this information to the royal court.

Queen Elizabeth I (reigned 1558-1603), was known to play ‘excellently well’ on the virginals.⁵ Given her exalted position, it is unsurprising that she should own a high-quality instrument. Her name has long been associated with this virginal, and the association is confirmed by the decoration: to the left of the keyboard are the royal arms of England (illus.2a/b), decorated with carmine, lake and ultramarine on gold and to the right, a crowned falcon with a sceptre. This badge was used not only by the Queen but by her mother, Anne Boleyn. The decoration was probably applied in Venice (although the possibility that it was decorated in England by an immigrant craftsman should not be dismissed), but



Illus.2a/b: Royal arms and crowned falcon and sceptre.
© The author.

the artist remains unidentified and according to Nanke Schellmann:

it is unlikely that the spinet's maker and the artist of the decoration were the same person. The skills of making a high-quality keyboard instrument, and of executing such complex decoration draw on distinctly different training and trades. As the decoration has its roots in the panel painting tradition it was therefore most likely applied by a professional painter.⁶

Elizabeth died in 1603, and by 1619 the virginal had come into the possession of Cornishman Richard Connock (1554-1620), son of John Connock of Liskeard. As a younger son, Connock would have inherited only £100 and he chose to follow a career in the law, necessitating a move to London. At first he studied at New Inn, one of the Inns of Chancery, each of which was attached to an Inn of Court 'like Maids of Honour to a Princess'.⁷ The Inns provided training for those who sought to be called to the Bar and in 1583, Connock was admitted to Middle Temple. Richard's older brother, John, who was both an official of the Duchy of Cornwall and an officer in the Cornish tin stannaries, had formed connections with men of influence and through John

Connock, Richard was brought within the ambit of Sir William Killigrew, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Robert Cecil and Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst (1st Earl of Dorset, barrister, MP and Lord High Treasurer). In 1596 the latter took Connock into his service to act as his agent, thereby bringing Connock into the circle of the royal court.⁸

In November 1600, Connock, Raleigh and a Mr Brigance were sent into the far West of England to seek an agreement on tin prices with the Cornish tinners. Connock received high praise for his part in the way the negotiations had been conducted:

Mr Cunnock hym selfe hath taken great paynes herein, and furnisht mee with many good arguments and reasons. Your Honors could not have employed any man, as I thincke, both for his diligenc and knowledge, or more sufficienc ...⁹



Illus.3: Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales and Duke of Cornwall (1594-1612), by Isaac Oliver (c.1565-1617), painted c.1610. Royal Collection Trust, © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 2020, RCIN 420058.

In 1603 Elizabeth was succeeded by James VI of Scotland and I of England. During the reigns of Mary (1553-1558) and Elizabeth, in the absence of a male heir to the throne (who would take the title of Duke of Cornwall), the lands of the Duchy - the estate that provided an income for the heir - had reverted to the Crown. Government and Court officials now had to

adapt quickly to the requirements of a male heir, Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales (illus.3), the eldest son of the king, who automatically became Duke of Cornwall when his father acceded to the English throne. Some Duchy lands had been granted away, while others had been inextricably mixed with those of the Crown and, where they could be separated, it was apparent that the value of the Duchy lands had fallen substantially due to poor management. On 6 August 1603, Connock was appointed to the important role of auditor of the Duchy for life. A year later, he was appointed to 'conduct all business appertaining to the Prince's Revenue', and in 1607 he made a survey of all the Duchy's lands and revenues on Henry's behalf.¹⁰



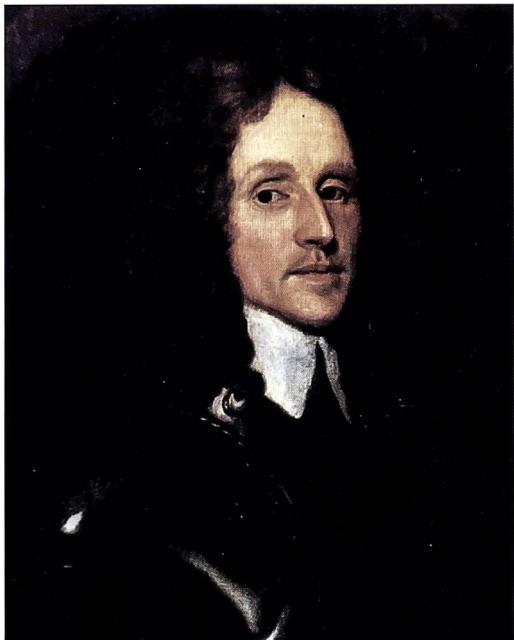
Illus.4: T. Allom, *Trelowarren, near Helston* (1831), engraved by W. Taylor. Antiqua Print Gallery/Alamy stock photo.

After being made a member of the Prince's Council in 1611, Connock leased a house at Charing Cross, close to Whitehall Palace, and while in Cornwall lived in the parsonage house in Calstock, dividing his time between London and the West, having become a high profile and leading servant to the heir to the throne. After Prince Henry's untimely death in 1612, aged only eighteen, Connock continued to act in a similar capacity for Henry's younger brother, Charles, later King Charles I.

Connock died in January 1620 and was buried on the 25th of that month at St Martin-in-the-Fields in London. His lengthy will had been drawn up on 11 December 1619, in which he left bequests to family members, including a full-length portrait of Prince Henry, a viol, an Irish harp, a wind instrument and 'my virginalls at Lillestone beinge a choise instrumente for sweetnesse'.¹¹ The virginal, once the property of Queen Elizabeth, was probably gifted to him as a perquisite for his work relating to the administration of the Duchy estates:

Item I bequeathe unto my God sone and younge Kinsman, Richarde Vyvyan the eldest sone of S^r Francis Vyvyan knighte my best virginalls covered with cymrson velvet being for a tyme the virginalls of the

late Queene Elizabeth of famous memory and made at Venise.



Illus.5: Portrait of Sir Richard Vyvyan (c.1613-1665). By kind permission of Sir Ferrers and Lady Vyvyan.

The legatee to whom the Queen's virginal was left was Richard Vyvyan (c.1613-1665), Connock's great-nephew, son of his niece Loveday (née Connock) and eldest son of Francis Vyvyan of Trelowarren, an estate situated on the Lizard Peninsula in Cornwall (illus.4). Richard Vyvyan (illus.5) would only have been about seven years of age when Connock died in 1619, and it is not known how or when the virginal was transported to Trelowarren. As heir to the estate and a member of one of the foremost families in Cornwall, Vyvyan was sent to Exeter College, Oxford to be educated. He was known by his contemporaries to be a man of serious temperament, interested in the arts, but with little interest in taking part in political affairs.

During the turbulent years of the English Civil War (1642-1651), the house and estate at Trelowarren were subjected to considerable changes, resulting in serious long-term effects on the Vyvyan family. In 1644, Charles I marched into Cornwall and Vyvyan, together with other Cornish gentlemen, raised regiments to support the king. The Parliamentarians under the command of the Earl of Essex were defeated by the forces led by the Cornish, the royalist army and that of Charles' nephew, Prince Maurice. Throughout the campaign the king made his headquarters at Boconnoc, the residence of

Warwick, Lord Mohun, another royalist supporter. Before Charles marched out of Cornwall, he made Richard Vyvyan a baronet, the warrant 'given at our Court at Boconnock the 3rd day of September 1644'.¹²

After the Parliamentary victory in 1646 Vyvyan, being on the losing side after the king's defeat, was dealt with with particular severity by the Cornish Committee. He was held in custody in Exeter from 13 April to 20 June 1646, receiving increasingly frantic letters from his Steward John Tubb about the deteriorating situation at Treloarren. On 31 March 1646, the Committee issued warrants for the sequestration of Vyvyan's estates. On 2 June, an appraisement and valuation of his livestock and household goods at Treloarren were made by William Rounsewall and Matthew Carnsew, accompanied by Samuel Heydon and John Osborne, constables of the parish of Mawgan in Meneage. The following day they seized and 'mayed away the stocke that speedily', taking over two hundred animals and in addition, wheels, ten silver spoons, eight muskets, one fowling piece, a drum, and rather strangely, a 'note boke of S^r Richard Vyvyan's rents', valued in all, at £503 13s 06d.¹³

The appraisement made of all the goods in the house listed furniture, linen, soft furnishings, carpets and such items as '6 peeces of Clouth of arras and 2 peeces of gilded cloth for to hang in a Roome'. In addition, there are the following entries:

It: in the Chamber over the Kitchin
A bedstead fur[nished] One great trunke I
greatt chest 1 paire of virginalls 1 litle
chest 1 trunke £04:13:04

It: in the litle Parlor
1 table board 2 formes 1 paire of virginalls
1 paire of hand irons £02:02:06¹⁴

It is unclear which of these instruments was that previously owned by the Queen, but the appraisers valued neither pair of virginalls highly in monetary terms, mixed in as they were with items of furniture in the inventory. Although John Tubb was concerned that the sequestrators were going to 'rifell the howse' as they had taken away the stock so quickly, there is no evidence to suggest that any of the household items listed in the inventory, including either of the virginals, were ultimately removed.¹⁵

At the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660, Vyvyan was rewarded with the Governorship of St Mawes castle, but he took little part in national affairs for the remainder of his life and died on 3 October 1665.

We now come to a frustrating and lengthy hiatus in the search for the next owner of the virginal. In his

will, Richard Vyvyan instructed that 'a true and perfect inventory' of his possessions should be taken by after his death. An inventory was indeed taken on 27 November 1665, but although this was seen by historian Mary Coate in the 1960s, it does not survive.¹⁶ Vyvyan's will bequeathed to his wife, Mary Vyvyan '... all his Householde stuff ... and furniture' with the proviso that 'noe part of my said goods shall at any tyme be removed from my said Mansion house of Treloarren ...'. In turn, Mary Vyvyan's nuncupative will left all her goods and chattels to her son, Vyell, the 2nd Baronet. No mention is made of the virginal in the wills of any of Richard Vyvyan's heirs: first, Vyell, his son; the 2nd Baronet. Vyell's nephew, Richard, the 3rd baronet, a prominent Jacobite, made no will. Similarly, there was no mention of the virginal in the will of Richard's son Francis, the 4th baronet (1698-1745), and it was not until the 18th century that the instrument can once again be traced.¹⁷



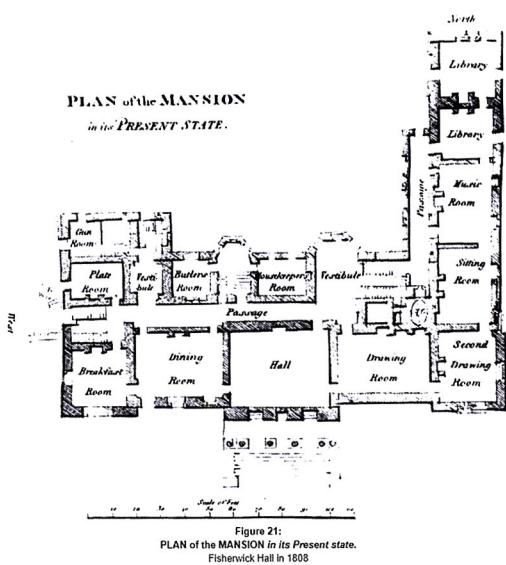
Illus.6: Thomas Gainsborough, *Portrait of the 1st Marquess of Donegall (1739-1799)* c.1780, BELUM U.35© National Museums NI, Collection Ulster Museum.

In 1758, Arthur Chichester, 5th Earl of Donegall (illus.6), who was advanced to a Marquessate in 1791, bought Fisherwick Hall, an Elizabethan manor house and its surrounding park in Staffordshire. Donegall instructed Lancelot 'Capability' Brown, the English landscape artist, to remodel the house and parkland.



Illus.7: John Spyers, *Fisherwick Hall: the NORTH and EAST FRONTS of FISHERWICK, with the Distant View of the MARQUEE* (1786). Water colour painting showing the large hall and stables across a lake, with swans. There are people in the gardens. © Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the William Salt Library, Stafford. Reference: SV IV.202.

The old hall was demolished and Brown's plans created a magnificent Palladian mansion together with a lake set in a natural parkland (illus.7).¹⁸



Illus.8: Plan of Fisherwick House (1808), Staffordshire Record Office: D661/19/10/8 and British History Online.

The newly designed house was described as 'a sumptuous edifice'.¹⁹ The hall, the largest of the nine

main rooms, had a floor inlaid with black marble, a richly moulded ceiling and walls hung with paintings by Gainsborough. The main dining-room was to the west and the principal drawing room to the east (illus.8). In the latter, the ceiling was decorated with frescos of Apollo and Ariadne painted by John Francis Rigaud, once employed by the French royal family. In another range, also to the east, there were two more drawing-rooms (one designated as the Music Room), a sitting room and two libraries. One of the rooms in the east range, opulently decorated and furnished, was known as the Pink Drawing Room or the Music Room:

23 feet by 26 feet, hung with Pannels with Fancy Silk Damask, rich gold mouldings, Ornamented Ceiling, superb Marble Chimney-Piece with Doors, Wainscot Floor and Windows to correspond.²⁰

In 1788, Lord Donegall bought the virginal in London, although there is no record as to why, from whom or how much he paid and the instrument was moved to Fisherwick, where it was placed in the Music Room:

which is elegantly fitted up contains an excellent collection of instruments, by the first makers and likewise of books. But

the great curiosity in this line is a virginal, which his Lordship purchased some years since in London, and which has lain somewhat in obscurity ... It is in shape and size much like a spinet, but opens on the opposite side ... The beauty and elegance of the ornaments, together with the arms and bridge, leave little room to doubt that it was, what tradition states it to have been, an instrument once belonging to the great queen.²¹

Lord Donegall died in 1799 and left much of his property to a younger son, Lord Spencer Stanley Chichester. His oldest son and heir, George Augustus (who became the 2nd Marquess on the death of his father), was a notorious gambler, frequently in financial difficulties and for a short period consigned to a debtors' prison. He was largely disinherited by the 1st Marquess, who in his will included the following:

I give and bequeath ... to my son Spencer Stanley Chichester ... all my Household Goods and Furniture Plate Books Pictures Watches Rings Trinketts and Musical Instruments ...²²

Due to the enormous sums of money the Marquess had expended on the rebuilding of Fisherwick Hall, having given 'Capability' Brown total freedom on expenditure, the estate was heavily mortgaged. In the early 19th century, Lord Spencer Chichester had no alternative but to put Fisherwick up for sale in order to clear the family's debts. In 1804, the estate failed to sell, was put back on the market and was eventually bought in 1808 by Richard Bagot Howard of Ashtead Park, Surrey.²³

At the sale of the Fisherwick property and the contents of the house, the purchaser of the virginal was an artist, Jonah Child of King Street, Dudley, Worcestershire.²⁴ Child described himself as a portrait painter ('specimens may be seen at his residence') and a modeller. He was active between 1815 and 1838, and his output encompassed not only portraits but watercolours of flowers and still life paintings. He exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1827 and at the Royal Society of Arts in the same year.²⁵ The instrument when bought by Child was 'in a state of perfect preservation' and he made it known that he 'would have no objection to transfer it to a more suitable possessor.'²⁶ (Why then did he buy it?) Yet, he was still owner of the virginal in 1828 when one 'SA' of Hampstead Road, although (as he put it) a stranger to Child, visited him (uninvited) to see the 'curiosity' that was still in Child's possession (and in playing order):

the instrument, the favourite property of that Queen [Elizabeth] is a very fine-toned old instrument, considering the many improvements which have been made since that date, and if put in good repair (which might easily be done, it being quite playable in its present state) it would not disgrace the name of Kirkman, or any of our latest and best Harpsichord makers; indeed, it is very far superior to any other instrument of the kind I ever heard. The case is good, particularly the inside which is of exquisite workmanship, and beautifully ornamented with (as far as I recollect) gilt scroll work; on the keys has been bestowed a great deal of labour and curious taste. Each of the sharps, or short keys, is composed of a number (perhaps thirty) of bits of pearl etc well wrought together. On the whole, it is an object well worthy of the attention of the antiquarian and the musician.²⁷

By 1835, Child had moved from Dudley to Tipton in Staffordshire. The only connection found between Child and the next owners, members of the Gresley family, is that the living of Tipton church was in the gift of the prebendaries of Lichfield Cathedral, where the Reverend William Gresley MA (1801-1896), divine, cleric, theologian and author of numerous books, was a prebendary of the same Cathedral. Child and Gresley may have met, but this suggestion is (at best) tenuous and highly speculative.²⁸

The Gresleys were a well-established family in Derbyshire. Their baronetcy was created in 1611 for George Gresley of Drakelow Hall. A subsidiary branch of the family had a seat at Netherseal and Overseal, on the Leicestershire/Derbyshire border. In 1842, the Reverend John Morewood Gresley bought the virginal from Child. Gresley had a full brother, Charles, one of the very few members of the family who was not a Church of England clergyman but a practising solicitor. Their older half-brother was Sir William Nigel Gresley (1806-1849), the 9th baronet. The living of Netherseal was in the gift of Sir William Nigel, who was both patron and incumbent, while his younger half-brother John Morewood was the curate, living at the rectory at Overseal. The three brothers, William, John and Charles, were first cousins to the above-mentioned divine, the Reverend William Gresley MA.

After John Morewood Gresley died in 1865, responsibility for the virginal was circulated among various members of the family. On 2 December 1867, it was William Gresley who offered to dispose of the

instrument to the Victoria & Albert Museum. No offer to purchase was made. In 1872, a special exhibition of ancient musical instruments was held at the Museum and the instrument was loaned by Charles Gresley, the solicitor. In July of that year, it was Charles who again offered the virginal for sale to the Museum, but no response was forthcoming.²⁹

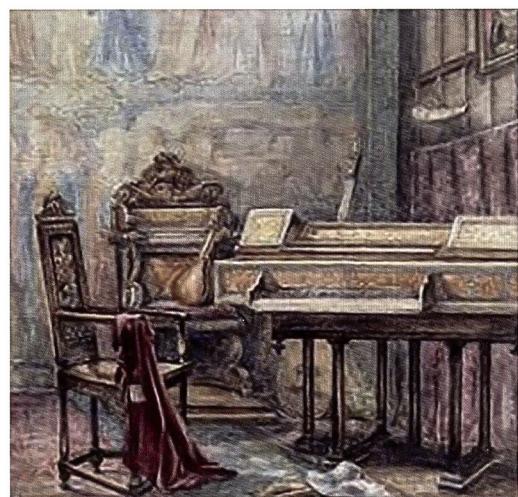
In 1885 a large exhibition was held in the Gallery and Lower Rooms of the Albert Hall. John Morewood Gresley had five sons, the oldest of whom was Reverend Nigel Walsingham Gresley, Rector of Milborne St Andrew of Blandford in Dorset. The five brothers lent the instrument to the exhibition and on 14 January 1887, Nigel Walsingham Gresley again offered to dispose of the virginal for the sum of £125.³⁰ The instrument was seen by staff of the V&A on 29 January 1887, 'much worn and damaged'. On 1 February 1887, Richard A. Thompson wrote 'this is a well known instrument, it was exhibited in the loan collection of Musical Instruments in 1872. The price asked £125 is, I think, reasonable' and Gresley was informed that the virginal would be purchased at the stated price.³¹

For a number of years, the instrument was in storage at the Museum, although restored to playing condition in 1961 by Andrew Douglas of Oxford. During the year 2000, while conservation was being undertaken, the number '1594' was found in the decoration situated above the soundboard. The inscription as discovered is minute, only 1.2 mm x 11 mm and from where the musician sits, positioned upside down. The number is so hidden that the intention may have been that it should remain invisible and initially, the marks appeared to be meaningless. However, being close to the date when it has been surmised that the virginal was constructed, that is about 1570, a suggestion has been made that '1594', may refer to the year that the decoration was applied – perhaps in Venice. If this assumption is correct, the Queen may only have owned the virginal for the last nine years of her life.³²

In 1998, the renovation of the British Galleries project was begun at the V&A and the new galleries opened at the end of 2001. The completion of the project allowed many of the Museum's illustrious objects to be put on display again, including the early 'spinet' known as Queen Elizabeth's Virginals.³³

Finally, there is a delightful painting of the virginal (illus.9) by Constance Lydia Fripp (1837-1918), an artist who painted primarily landscapes, this being a diversion from her usual output. She exhibited at the Royal Academy, at Suffolk Street at the Royal Society of British Artists and at the Society of Women Artists, where she was elected as an Associate Member in 1891. It is not clear where she saw the virginals or when she completed

the painting, although she was living in Hampstead in 1887, the year the V&A acquired the instrument. She used her imagination to put the virginals in its historical context and to recreate the atmosphere of the type of room in which the instrument would have been housed and prominent. 'The tapestry on the wall ... the red velvet coat with lace cuffs, a white hat with a blue ribbon and a pair of long gloves on the floor,' were intended to evoke an earlier era.³⁴



Illus.9: 'Queen Elizabeth's Virginal' by Constance Lydia Fripp. Private Collection.

In conclusion, there remain many unanswered questions and gaps in our knowledge: for example, where (and when) the decoration was applied, how much was paid for the virginals as it was transferred from owner to owner, why did each owner buy it, who played the instrument – if anyone – or was it bought only to be ornamental and prized solely because of its connection with Queen Elizabeth? And most of all – where was the instrument between 1646 and 1788? Further research often produces more information, sometimes in the most unexpected places, so all hope is not lost that the gaps might one day be bridged. In the meantime, it is pleasing that the virginals is now exhibited in the Victoria and Albert Museum in the British Galleries, Room 57, Case 9, where this beautiful instrument with its exquisite decoration can be enjoyed by all those who visit the V&A, remembering that it was once owned by one of the greatest of all English monarchs.

Dr Catherine Lorian studied history, local history and music at Birmingham, Oxford and Exeter universities. Her research interest is in the history of Cornwall and its music and she spends many hours in Kresen Kernow in Redruth. She particularly enjoys early music and is an amateur viol player and singer.

Notes

1. Much of the literature from the V&A refers to the instrument as a 'spinett'. My thanks to Lewis Jones for the following comments about terminology: 'we have to distinguish between historical usage and a more or less standardised instrument terminology that developed from the 'anglophone' literature in the 20c. According to the latter, instruments of the class in which the long bass strings are close and nearly parallel to the front of the case ... and the short treble strings are remote from the player, are VIRGINAL(S). The V&A instrument is of this type. The term SPINET is usually reserved for a small kind of harpsichord where the strings are at an acute angle. This kind emerged in the 2nd quarter of the 17c, significantly after the V&A instrument was made. However, English usage was not consistent with the standard 20c terminology, and the term VIRGINAL(S) at the end of the 16c could refer more inclusively to all kinds of plucked stringed keyboard instruments. Hence the V&A example is 'Queen Elizabeth's virginal'; it's likely that the Queen would have called it that. In Italy ... the term VIRGINAL was not widely used. The examples which flourished in the 16-17c were usually called SPINETTA. So, when the Venetian instrument in the V&A crossed the Alps, a SPINETTA became a VIRGINAL for its new owner' (email from Lewis Jones, 30 November 2020). For the purposes of this article, the instrument will be referred to as a virginals. Further information about the instrument can be found in Donald H. Boalch rev Charles Mould, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord, 1440-1840* (Oxford, 3/1995) and Howard Schott, *Victoria and Albert Museum: Catalogue of Musical Instruments*, Volume 1, Keyboard Instruments (London, 2/1985).
2. Gabriele Rossi Rognoni, 'The Virginals of Benedetto Floriani (Venice, fl 1568-1572) and a Proposal for a new Attribution,' *The Galpin Society Journal* lxviii (2015), p.7. It was once thought that the maker was Benedetto Floriani, but has now been re-attributed by Denzil Wright (on the basis of its mouldings) and Lewis Jones to Giovanni Antonio Baffo. My thanks to Lewis Jones who comments that 'In 1984 ... I made an independent observation that the plan-view geometrical layout (a distinctive feature) of the V&A instrument closely resembles that of an instrument signed by Giovanni Antonio Baffo at the Musée National de la Renaissance at the Château d'Écouen. Although the two instruments are not identical, they share features which strongly suggest they were set out by the same maker. Thus, we have large scale (layout) and small-scale (mouldings) as indications of authorship'.
3. Roger North, ed Edward F. Rimbault, *Memoirs of Musick* (London, 1846, r/2010), p.57.
4. Rachel Joan Hammerton, *English Impressions of Venice up to the early seventeenth century: a documentary survey*, PhD thesis (University of St Andrews, 1987), p.202.
5. Christa Jansohn (ed), *Queen Elizabeth I: Past and Present* (New Brunswick and London, 2004), p.111 and James Melville, *Memoirs of his own life* (Edinburgh, 2/1735).
6. Nanke Schellmann, 'Queen Elizabeth's Virginal: scribbles, scratches and sgraffito', *V&A Conservation Journal* xlii (Autumn 2002), p.2; 19-1887, provenance information from the V&A online database. See also Denzil Wright, *The Stringing of Italian keyboard instruments c1500-c1650*. PhD thesis (Queen's University of Belfast, 1997), part 2, pp.50-51, denzilwright.com.
7. Comment by Sir John Fortescue (c.1394-1479), judge and Chief Justice of the King's Bench.
8. *History of Parliament*, <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/connock-richard-1560-1620#offices-held>.
9. Edward Edwards, *The life of Sir Walter Ralegh: Based on Contemporary Documents; together with his letters*, vol.ii (London, 1868), pp. 209-210, letter CXIII, 4 November 1600.
10. M. A. E. Green (ed), *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, James I, 1603-1610* (London, 1857), 6 August 1603, p.28 and 6 February 1604, p.75.
11. The National Archives (TNA): PROB11/136/48 and Kresen Kernow (KK)/Cornwall Record Office (CRO): V/FW/5, Richard Connock's will. Lillesdon is in Somerset, where Connock held property in right of his wife.
12. CRO: V/BO/7/1.
13. KK/CRO: V/EC/2/11, letter to Sir Richard Vyvyan from his Steward, John Tubb, 3 June 1646; V/EC/3: 'A particular of Sir Richard Vyvyan's his goods taken away by the Comitee of Cornwall', 3 June 1646.
14. KK/CRO: V/EC/3: In addition, in the 'dyninge Roome' there was 'one paire of organs' valued at £05:00:00. The entire inventory of the household goods was valued at £136, one third of their actual value.

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15. KK/CRO: V/EC/2/11, letter to Sir Richard Vyvyan from his Steward, John Tubb, 3 June 1646.

16. Mary Coate, *Cornwall in the Great Civil War and Interregnum, 1642-1660* (Truro, 1963), p.229. KK/CRO: AD1044/8: An inventory of the goods and chattels of Sir Richard Vyvyan, taken after his death, 27 November 1665.

17. TNA: PROB11/322/197, Richard Vyvyan's will; KK: AP/V/226/1, Nuncupative will of Mary Vyvyan, 24 January 1675; TNA: PROB11/437/39, Vyell, 2nd Baronet's will (1639-1696/97); TNA: PROB11/990/331, Francis, 4th Baronet's will (1698-1745).

18. William Salt Library: M761/8/2, 1761-1810. Indenture dated 29 June 1776 between Lancelot Brown of Hampton Court and the Rt Honourable Arthur Earl of Donegall in the kingdom of Ireland. Agreement between Donegall and Brown for redecorating Fisherwick Hall and laying out the park, 1776.

19. *A Companion to the Leasowes, Hagley and Enville with a sketch of Fisherwick* (Birmingham, 1800), vol.3, p.114.

20. Staffs Record Office, Sale Catalogue, D661/19/10/18, Thursday November 15 1804, p.4. Plan of Fisherwick Hall with music room.

21. Rev Stebbing Shaw, *The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire*, 2 vols. (J. Nichols, 1798-1801), p.369.

22. William Salt Library, Stafford, M521/5: dated 7 August 1795, will of the 1st Marquess of Donegall, probate granted 1799.

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