

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

**The Anglican Organist in Victorian and Edwardian England (c. 1800 – c. 1910)**

being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of

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by

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## INTRODUCTION

During the writing of this thesis it was a surprise to discover how my own experience as a organist had followed a similar path to that of the Victorian church musician. Many of the themes covered in this research have been echoed in my own training and work as an organist, choirmaster and teacher. These include early experience with influential musicians during childhood within the Anglican church, instruction on the organ by eminent musicians, experience of outstanding educational environments, and the good fortune to benefit from scholarships within this country and abroad. I have also found the early grounding of working as a local parish organist invaluable, as well as teaching others individually and within music institutions. During the early part of my career, I came into direct contact with some eminent Victorian and Edwardian musicians, many of whom were outstanding organists in their own right. Their legacy lives on through second and third generation pupils, as well as through their music and the institutions and professional bodies that they helped to set up. Some of these personal Victorian and Edwardian musical connections are shared below.

My interest in “things Victorian” began when I was a young chorister. The organist, Arthur C. Bennett, A.R.C.O., a tetchy 72 year old was a strict disciplinarian, who used a long stick over the knuckles of any boy who sang a wrong note or lost his attention. He made fun of his choirboys by mimicking them in a high falsetto voice; we sang every syllable to “coo”, whatever the word. The choir sounded like the Hele organ’s Great Open Diapasons: all three of them drawn together! His legato playing and use of full diapason tone on the 1901 three-manual organ, and the occasional use of the Great Tuba have remained vividly in my mind ever since. Arthur Bennett’s elder brother, Dr George Bennett, had been organist of Lincoln Cathedral, and had studied with Rheinberger in Munich in 1887. George Bennett is mentioned in this thesis.

Lionel Ladbroke, another Victorian bachelor, took over as parish organist at Andover Parish Church in 1942 in his late 60s. After Sunday Matins and Evensong, he

included in his fine performances, the major preludes and fugues of Bach, Reubke's 94<sup>th</sup> Psalm and works by W.T. Best. This "new" organist and choirmaster had been a pupil (possibly articled) of Prendergast at Winchester Cathedral, and knew Best, whom he'd heard playing many times as a young man. The name and music of this great organist featured regularly in conversations, and the organ music of Bach, Best and Henry Smart was very much a part of our weekly fare. Music by Handel and Stainer was banned: "with Handel you always know what was coming" and Stainer's music was "too sentimental" Ladbrooke thought.

Conversations between interested choirboys and their choirmaster frequently centred around Sir Walter Alcock at Salisbury (only 18 miles away); at the age of 12 (Mr) Ladbrooke took me to hear Alcock give a recital at Salisbury Cathedral. My memory of his performance of Bach's *A minor Prelude and Fugue* (the "Great") and Widor's *Toccata* remains with me to this day. Alcock and I, (as I discovered at a later date), shared an interest in steam locomotives. In 1944 he was guest speaker at the local railway club; the president of the club remarked to the members after Alcock's departure: "What a gentleman!"

At grammar school, my English and History teachers were enthusiasts about 19<sup>th</sup> century literature and history. Dr Harold Rhodes (a former pupil of Walter Parratt for the organ, and Tobias Matthay for the piano) was my organ teacher at Winchester Cathedral for one year before my time at the Royal College of Music. Rhodes was a well-read and cultured man, with his Victorian home in Winchester well stocked with books, especially works of literature. He frequently invited me to borrow a book or two. Looking back, I realise that Rhodes's performances on the organ and piano, and his service accompaniments, were refined; a reflection, I believe, on the quality of his mind. On his retirement, his pension was (reportedly) very small; his successor, Dr Alwyn Surplice, gave an organ recital, the proceeds of which were given to Rhodes, who was living in difficult circumstances.

The system of scholarships and exhibitions introduced at the National Training School for Music in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, provided me with the opportunity to study at the



R.C.M.. Whilst at the college, there were opportunities to listen to Ralph Downes playing the organ as well as “sit in” on his lessons. Here was a scholar at work! He played very little by way of demonstrating to his students, but he discussed in considerable depth, matters of interpretation and questions of registration. By way of contrast, Harold Darke and George Thalben-Ball played frequently to students and illustrated how passages should be performed.

My work after college was divided between the music department of a public school and a Victorian church in London. Many students from music institutions in the 19<sup>th</sup> century followed this route, or one similar, enjoying the involvement (and contrast) of school chapel, and church services.

An opportunity for me to study abroad continued this same “journey of discovery” that earlier church musicians took to “improve themselves.” Several summers spent under the tutelage of Flor Peeters in Antwerp, introduced me to a fine player, composer, teacher and friend. In 1962 he agreed to play the opening recital of a new organ at my London Church of St Mary the Boltons, Kensington, during his recital tour of this country. This instrument was built by John Compton to my specification and design; on reflection, after 45 years of musical experience there are certain aspects of the design I would not repeat! Peeters was able to trace his lineage of teachers to Lemmens (1823-1881), and referred to me in a heavy Belgian accent as his “disciple.” I was also fortunate to gain a Fulbright Scholarship to Washington University in the United States to study for a postgraduate degree; this enabled me to benefit from a different education system.

The contract agreed between St. Mary’s parish church and myself, (drawn up in 1954) followed the lines of *A Simple Contract* (shown later in the thesis in Appendix 17) and was used by the R.C.O.. These contracts were very dependent upon the goodwill of the employee, as the extra hours expected of church organists (even 100 years after the introduction of any legal document) could not be paid for from church funds.

The use of the organist and choirmaster in music institutions and colleges (originally named Diocesan Training Colleges) was well established by the 1880s. I felt that my work in the junior department of the R.C.M. held some links with the concept of

the articulated pupil: a one-to-one relationship, built up over a period of years in a stimulating environment, with an opportunity at the end of study to go on to further education. St John's College, York, (as it was called in 1971 when I joined the staff as head of the music department) is mentioned in the thesis under its original name. There was a strong sense of community at that time, with the College Chapel playing an important part within college life. There was a direct connection with York Minster, having a canon as its Principal. The College orchestra and choir became involved on a regular basis with services and concerts. An organ scholarship for the Minster was set up in the 1970s.

I was reminded by my son of yet another 19<sup>th</sup> century connection; he was a chorister at York Minster in the 1970s under the guidance of Dr Francis Jackson, organist and choirmaster. Jackson was a chorister himself under Sir Edward Bairstow, before becoming his assistant, and often spoke to the choristers of Bairstow and frequently performed his music in the Minster. Jackson's life beyond cathedral duties and recital-giving were mainly concerned with composition and his work with the R.C.O., where he was a member of the Council, and an examiner. My son informed me that he can remember Francis Jackson opening a large brown package in front of the choristers, and reading out a letter from Herbert Howells. "Please look after this music", he read, "it is the only copy of my composition." Howells had sent his one and only copy of his new York *Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis* Service through the post! It was later performed for the first time live on Radio Three choral evensong. Howells was an important Edwardian musician, and my interview with him forms a part of the chapter on articulated pupilage.

My interest in the 19<sup>th</sup> century has never waned. To have met, listened to, and been taught by, men at the end of a great lineage of church music, has been a privilege. This study is the result of that fascination.

This thesis will look at the growth of the organist's profession during the Victorian and Edwardian eras. It begins in Chapter One by setting the cultural background to the period through examination of the main musical and religious themes

that influenced Anglican music during the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. In Chapter Two the progression from church bands to keyboard instruments within Anglican churches as the 19<sup>th</sup> century unfolds is explored. The rise and gradual demise of articulated pupilage as a form of organ training is discussed in Chapter Three, whilst in Chapter Four the significant institutional developments in musical, and specifically organists' education are reviewed, whilst also considering the development of professional bodies relating to musicians and specifically organists. Aspects of the church musicians' work in cathedrals and churches are considered in detail in Chapter Five, whilst in Chapter Six the work of the Anglican organist in wider society is examined. The implications of all these themes are finally evaluated in Chapter Seven.

A range of sources has been used in writing this thesis. In addition to the use of social history and history of music books concerning this period, use has been made of encyclopaedias of music, biographies, autobiographies and diaries of some important Victorian musicians.

Regular reference has been made to influential musical journals of the period for contemporary comment and opinion; these include *The Musical Times*, *The Musical Standard*, and *The Quarterly Musical Review*. For as one commentator noted: "The intellectual history of an epoch is strikingly reflected in its periodicals." (1) Many of these journal articles have never been cited in research or published literature, and as such are an important source of Victorian and Edwardian opinion and comment, as well as demonstrating how organist vacancies were advertised.

Many unpublished documents have been examined in cathedral libraries, for example York, Exeter, Winchester and Hereford, as well as county libraries where most Anglican parish church records have been deposited since the second World War. These include Contracts, Indentures, Letters of Application and Wills. In addition, Church Warden and Parish records have provided some evidence about the musical history of many churches during this period. Most of these documents have never been published or cited in any other research known to the author, and as such are important primary sources.

Finally, a very personal insight into the organist's education and work has been provided by a number of musicians of the period, through their letters to the author from the 1960s onwards (eg. Ernest Bullock, Arthur Pritchard, Gordon Slater, James Blades, Donald Hunt, Herbert Sumsion, Wallace Ross) (2), and personal interviews by the author with Herbert Howells (3) and Thomas Armstrong. (4) These sources have provided unique insights into the training and work of some of the final surviving musicians of the period.

## NOTES FOR INTRODUCTION

1. Sadie, S., (ed.) *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Vol. xiv, pp. 408.
2. See Appendix 10: Correspondence to Author from Organists concerning Articled Pupilage.
3. See Appendix 8: Notes from Author's Interview with Herbert Howells at the R.C.M. on 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1969.
4. See Appendix 9: Transcript of Author's Interview with Sir Thomas Armstrong at his home on 26<sup>th</sup> October 1988, aged 90.

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE MUSICAL AND RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND TO THE PERIOD

#### Introduction

Historically, those who made their living from music were seldom considered to be on an equal footing with professional men in English society. During the 16th century, the amateur pursuit of music by the aristocracy was valued; when the prevailing view was to produce the “complete man”, music had an important role to play among the educated classes in achieving that ideal. Elizabethan monarchs - Charles I too - supported many of the finest musicians of their day, as did the Church of England, and private patrons. Most professional musicians, however, although at times respected for their gifts and skill, began and ended their life’s work as menials and were usually tolerated as long as they behaved with respect towards their masters. The 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Chesterfield (1694-1773), an influential figure within the aristocracy and the world of politics, believed only the Established Church provided an acceptable basis for a professional career in music. (1) In a letter to his son, travelling in Italy (dated 19<sup>th</sup> April 1749), Chesterfield who regarded music as an “illiberal pleasure”, nevertheless urged,

If you love music, hear it; go to operas, concerts, and pay fiddlers to play to you; but I insist upon you neither piping nor fiddling yourself. It puts a Gentleman in a very frivolous, contemptable light....

In contrast, Adam Smith (1723-90) regarded music as “not only a very sensual, but a very high intellectual pleasure.” (2)

Composers such as Maurice Greene (1676-1755) and William Boyce (1736-1799) remained under a shadow of the Handelian style, with little new religious music of note being written for the Anglican Church at this time. An important innovation introduced from the 1780s in cathedrals and some parish churches with choirs, was the performance of anthems using choruses and arias from Handel’s *Messiah* and choral works of the classical era. England by now had unjustly acquired the reputation of a “country without

music”, yet paradoxically it was considered to be a paradise for foreign musicians. (3) Sound music business practices, superior musical instruments and “munificent patronage” were mainly responsible for this continental incursion, which brought players and singers to the musical life of this country, but contributed little to music of the Established Church. (4)

Handel’s overwhelming influence on the listening public of the 18<sup>th</sup> century is usually blamed for society’s limited musical appreciation. However, towards the end of the century, increasing numbers of the middle classes must share some of the responsibility as they were protecting their new-found independence behind an insularity that extended throughout the arts. (5) It was a lacklustre time for English music and would remain so until the 19<sup>th</sup> century’s socio-cultural changes evolved.

#### Nineteenth Century English Society’s Attitudes to Music and Musicians

Attitudes to music in aristocratic and middle-class circles in the 19th century were ambivalent, with evidence suggesting that opinion amongst influential members of English society had changed little from the previous century. In response to Gladstone’s remark about “the marvel of music, the violin”, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Duke of Somerset, asked what good had the world gained by men “scraping on squealing strings for the past three hundred years.” (6) However, there were men of note and substance who loved and supported music as a worthwhile accomplishment. Garrett Colley Wellesley, Earl of Mornington (1735-81), father of the Duke of Wellington and Professor of Music at Dublin University, obtained notoriety because he, a member of the aristocracy, “dared to walk through the streets of London openly and unashamedly carrying a violin case”. (7) Major Gore Ouseley, a distinguished soldier and diplomat, created a Baronet before becoming Ambassador to the Court of Persia in 1810, was a cultured man of high and varied attainments who played several instruments, the violin being the most favoured. When his son Sir Frederick Gore Ouseley went up to Oxford in

1843, his wish to have a piano in his room astonished the authorities; the request was reluctantly granted under the strictest conditions.(8) Ouseley's desire to take the Oxford Mus. Bac. degree was frowned upon, for he had already taken the Master of Arts degree in 1849, and it was not acceptable to follow with a lower degree. Dr. Gainsford, Dean of Christ Church, thought it unbecoming for a man in his position, a knight, to present himself for music examinations in the University.(9) The learned Ouseley, (later Professor of Music at his old university), his successor John Stainer, and other like-minded men were determined to raise the status of the music profession. It was a sad reflection of English society that it took almost the whole century to achieve, with cathedral organists leading the way. (See Chapter 7).

Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill were two men of great distinction in the world of letters, who were proud amateur musicians. Bentham (1748-1832) possessed one of the most analytical minds, and his knowledge covered psychology, history, ethics, religion, education, politics and law. He was best known for his hypothesis that the proper objective of all conduct and legislation was " the greatest happiness of the greatest number". (10) As a boy he learned the violin and harpsichord and became an accomplished musician. Bentham was one of the first people in England to have an "improved" piano, and at his home in Queen Square Place in London there was an organ or piano in every room. (11) Hazlitt wrote that Bentham "relieves his mind sometimes after the fatigue of study by playing a fine old organ ....."(12)

Mill (1806-73), a major intellectual figure of the 19th century, took a very positive attitude towards the cultivation of feelings, with the result that music and the arts occupied an important place in his life, "The art of music is good, for the reason, among others, that it produces pleasure".(13) Noel Ponsonby, a noted writer on the British aristocracy was under no illusion about the relationship between "the sober, rather rigid" Victorian Court and Arts and Letters (a term used to describe literary pursuits). Contemporary aristocracy generally regarded any undue interest in the arts with suspicion.

As a class these gentlemen were very badly educated, and



though strides were being made in the world of Science and Letters, it was a rare exception for any of them to display any first-rate intellectual ability.(14)

Sir Hubert Parry (1848-1918), who was educated at Eton and Oxford and became a noted Victorian composer and director of the Royal College of Music, held Liberal political views that shocked members of the upper classes. He could hardly have been more damning when, in a letter to a friend, dated 15th April, 1909 he wrote:

The average young "gentleman" who forms the type of the Conservative party would almost be ashamed to confess that he had read any book but a novel; and it is considered "bad form" in such society to allude to a first-rate book on any subject except sport ..... As they have always treated as unnecessary any effort of thinking, they have all their views made for them by the authorized party exponents of the particular readings of particular situations which are to be adopted by the party at any given moment.(15)

A Broad Church minister of catholic musical tastes, the Revd. H.R.Haweis, author of *Music and Morals*, and *My Musical Life*, came to the sad conclusion that the English, although "improving and improvable, are not, as a nation, an artistic people, neither are they a musical people".(16) However, in the first of his books, published in 1879, he expressed the view that this country might be in " a creative period in the history of English music".(17) He believed the problem lay, on the whole, amongst the upper classes where it had been the fashion to regard the musician as "a kind of servile appendage" to polite society; the result was that by mid-century many musicians accepted what society assumed them to be: uncultivated. This would continue to be so :

until the people of this country felt music to be, as they did in Germany, a necessity, a thing without which the heart pines and the emotions wither - a need, as of light, and air, and fire.(18)

The middle classes, so keen to be accepted by the aristocracy, saw the Anglican liturgical renewal, with its robed choirs and organists, as symbols of a new status with which they could be associated. Towards the end of the century, the organist and choirmaster, with his cassock, surplice and academic hood had become an impressive figure, whose opinion

was taken seriously in musical matters. Temperley suggests that congregations grew where music flourished. (19)

In 1837, at the time of Queen Victoria's accession, one editor was so anxious about the state of music and musicians that he made use of the editorial to "solicit the gracious attention of your Majesty to the condition of one class of your Majesty's subjects". (20) He requested that she:

condescend specially to protect and patronize the British musician - promote and foster the cultivation of native musical science; the increase of which .....has doubtless contributed in no minor degree to concentrate the social tendencies and to soften the national character. (21)

Victoria, and especially Albert the Prince Consort, did much to further the cause of religious music. In the prosaic age of mid Victorian England, interest in music was largely confined to women and clergyman; to have royal patronage demonstrated in public attendance at both sacred and secular musical events, was a great enhancement to musicians' status. As a young man the Prince had attended lectures on law, the science of government, philosophy, history, literature, history of art and French literature at the University of Bonn. To complete his education, there followed a period of time in Italy where music occupied much of his time.(22) Known as an intelligent young man, keen on various sports, a man distinguished by his knowledge, diligence and amiability, Albert was fond of music, and was recognised as a composer of some talent and a competent keyboard player.

Music.....was to him not merely a delightful solace and recreation, but an art, in which the whole world of emotion and aspiration finds the most varied, and often the highest expression.(23)

To Lady Littleton the Prince described the organ, his favourite instrument, as "the only instrument for expressing one's feelings". (24)

Prince Albert was influential in the building and modification of organs for Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle. He also gave consideration to the Queen's Band, making it a string group rather than the wind band it had been. (25) In 1847, the

Chancellorship of Cambridge University became vacant, and the Prince Consort allowed his nomination to go forward. Blomfield, Bishop of London, thought Prince Albert's exalted rank, scientific and literary attainments and distinguished academic career made him particularly suitable for the highest honours which the University could bestow. (26) The Prince made it known that he was appalled by the narrowness of the curriculum. A plan for reform was introduced (with the help of advisers), to make the University the place of learning he believed it should be. (27)

Writing on "The State of Musical Art" 25 years after the death of the Prince Consort in *The Quarterly Musical Review* for 1886, Arthur F. Smith suggested:

That music is now making a great stride in public favour cannot be doubted, and there seems hardly to have been a time during the last three centuries when there was a better chance for its success than now. We have certainly a Monarch and Royal Family not only attached to the art, and favourable to its cultivation, but who have shown an earnest desire personally to assist in the good and great work of bringing its cause to the front.(28)

In 1837, there were only nineteen university music graduates living at the time, compared with 520 on the roll of the Union of Graduates in Music by 1897. (29) Victoria's pleasure-loving son, the Prince of Wales, following a meeting at St. James's Palace early in 1882 founded the National Training School for Music in South Kensington, later to become the Royal College of Music. (30) Chapter 4 has details of the musical qualifications available in the last quarter of the century, some of which were recognised with confidence amongst professionals in all English-speaking countries. These were not only an essential measure of a musician's ability and achievement, but helped secure his status in the eyes of the sceptic.

There were signs that attitudes to music and to musicians were changing for the better as the century advanced. We know that support for music came from an important Liberal Prime Minister of the period, William Ewart Gladstone (1809-98). Those, he said, who thought that music ranked amongst "the trifles of existence" were in gross error,

because music was "one of the most forcible instruments of training both to arousing and for governing the mind of man."(31)

Charles Kingsley (1819-75) canon of Westminster Abbey and Chaplain to Queen Victoria, exalted the practice of music, since it was "such a vent for the feelings", and he was going to learn music so that he could look after his church singers.(32) A year before he died he delivered an address paying special tribute to music. He trusted the art would reach the dignity of a science at Cambridge. (33) However, prejudice and ambiguity persisted amongst some of the upper and middle classes, and there remained a deep suspicion of the art, its effect on people, and its value generally. The author and feminist Vera Brittain (1893-1970) recalls her brother Edward's passion for music whilst at Uppingham, his gifts as a violinist, and as a tolerable performer on the organ and piano. His dream of becoming a famous conductor/composer was not part of his father's plan, which was either to succeed him as a director in the family paper mill business or enter the Indian Civil Service. Although Vera's father married the daughter of a "struggling musician" (an organist in Stoke-on-Trent), he regarded music as "one of life's non-essentials". (34) Frank Bates of Norwich Cathedral (1886-1928) recalls his father's attitude to a career in music; as an army man, he was opposed to making a living by anything so "effeminate" as music.(35) After many years as music scholar and editor, the Revd. E.H. Fellowes (1870-1951) was able to write in 1947 with conviction borne of experience in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century:

The prejudice against taking music seriously as a study, still more as a career, remained incredibly strong among the upper classes right down to the close of the nineteenth century.(36)

## The Religious Developments

The Anglican Church had as its head the reigning sovereign. A special relationship existed between the Established Church and the State, whose measures had the force of law. By the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Church of England no longer represented the majority of the population. This demographic change was reflected in changes within the legislature; in 1800 all Members of Parliament subscribed to the Christian faith and the majority belonged to the Church of England, but a century later the monopoly ended, with Roman Catholics, Nonconformists, Jews and atheists able to sit in Parliament. (37) Before 1871, only Anglicans could take degrees at Oxford and Cambridge, until Gladstone introduced his bill abolishing all religious tests. (38)

The first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was a time of great reform, the most active being in the Established Church due to the presence of a group of forward-thinking theologians, who realised that material change in the form of new places of worship was an essential beginning from which to carry out the modern concept of Anglican worship. This was to influence liturgical music in both cathedrals and parishes, causing the greatest changes in rural areas. The extent of church building that took place during this period is illustrated by statistics from the 1851 Census of Great Britain (xxxiii-xliii). By 1851 12,000 churches were in existence, with 500 having been built between 1801 and 1831, and 2,029 built between 1831 and 1851. These new churches, mainly in expanding urban areas, provided unprecedented opportunities for the construction of new organs. This in turn, created a market for organists and choirmasters, both professional and amateur, and stimulated the growth of new organ builders across the country. During the 30 years from 1801, and encouraged by the Church Building Act of 1818, £1.2 million from the public purse had been spent on these buildings, with £1.8 million coming from private endowments and subscriptions. Between 1831 and 1851 £500,000 came from public funds, whilst £5.6 million poured in from private sources. (39)

There was a desire amongst the aristocracy and growing middle classes to return to a more established social order, with the French Revolution (1789) and its aftermath

having created a fear of political radicalism. The Church of England became unpopular amongst a large number of the general populace when the bishops voted against the 1832 Reform Bill in the House of Lords. In addition, there were demands that the Established Church should put its own house in order. (40) There were too many absent priests who paid their curates a mere pittance; there were gross inequalities between stipends, neglected dioceses, neglected parishes, and church buildings in a poor state of repair. As a consequence, Robert Peel set up the *Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Commission* in 1835 with a view to remodelling the structure of the Church of England. (41) Wealthy cathedral chapters were reduced in size, and the money saved distributed to the funds of poorer parishes. Endowments were reallocated, the size and wealth of dioceses levelled, and new ones created for recently developed industrial areas. *The Pluralities Act* of 1838 greatly reduced the possibility of priests holding *in absentia* more than one living.

The Oxford or Tractarian Movement began as a protest against what its four leaders –John Keble, John Newman, Edward Pusey and Richard Hurrell Froude – saw as interference by the State in church affairs. It began as a result of Keble's *Assize Sermon* given at the University Church of St. Mary the Virgin on 14<sup>th</sup> July 1833, in which he attacked the Whig government's plan to reduce the number of bishops in the established Church of Ireland. (42) It was also in response to the government's programme of political and social reforms. So began the rallying call to high churchmen to defend the Anglican Church from further interference.

To disseminate their ideas, a series of 90 tracts known as *Tracts for the Times* were published between 1833 and 1841 by some of the leading Oxford scholars and theologians. (43) The tracts were read by many of the clergy, Gladstone (himself a high churchman), and by a number of Anglican bishops who gave their quiet support. As most clergymen were educated along with members of the aristocracy at Oxford and Cambridge, the influence of the Tractarians on young men was considerable, and would have a profound effect on the future direction of the Anglican Church. Oxbridge degrees at this time provided inadequate preparation for ordination into the priesthood. The Tractarian influence extended to the establishment of theological colleges at Chichester

(1839), Wells (1840), Cuddesden (1854) and Salisbury (1860). (44) In an era of expanding industrialisation and secularisation, the Movement gave clergy a new role in society. The priesthood was to be regarded as a vocation, a profession in which they must provide spiritual leadership.

The ensuing liturgical transformation, which revitalised the life of the Church and restored confidence in the clergy, was felt by the Oxford Movement to be achievable by re-introducing high church practices of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. (45) These changes came about through small groups of clergymen, together with ordinands from the new theological colleges, being sympathetic to the Movement and concerned with raising standards in all aspects of liturgical music. They placed emphasis on the daily saying or singing of Morning and Evening Prayer, and the regular celebration of the Eucharist on Sunday mornings and Holy Days; Baptism was re-instated as one of the sacraments. (46) The aesthetic dimension of Christianity through the use of ceremony, symbolism, music and architecture were considered important, but the main influence of the Oxford Movement was the restoration of the liturgy; the liturgical hymn transformed the status of the hymn within the Anglican Church. As the century progressed, and music became more disciplined in parish churches, it appeared that some of the early developments had settled comfortably into the worship of the Church.

One way in which the influence of Tractarianism continued was by the work of the Camden Society, founded in 1839 by the Revd. John Mason Neale (1818-66), theologian Benjamin Webb (1819-85), and a number of like-minded Cambridge undergraduates. (47) Its members were dedicated to the restoration of churches and the building of new ones in what they believed to be 14<sup>th</sup> century Gothic style. The Society's advice was sought on 98 churches between 1842 and 1843. (48) Amongst the advice given would have been the positioning of the choir and organ in the chancel, with the attendant problems.

From 1846 the Camden Society became known as *The Ecclesiological Society*, publishing its journal *The Ecclesiologist* between 1841 and 1868. The Society's early membership included two archbishops, sixteen bishops, twenty-one archdeacons and

rural deans, thirty-one peers and M.P.s, sixteen architects, and some hundred ordinary members. With such support amongst the clergy and laity, its influence was substantial. The Society's work was further enhanced by encouraging its members to study medieval church architecture. Augustus Welby Northmoor Pugin (1812-52) was an early member of the Camden Society and a leading authority on Gothic architecture; he wrote *The Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (1841).

Ecclesiologists set out to re-order the interiors of churches in accordance with the requirements of the liturgy. They disliked galleries and considered them damaging to the fabric of the building; they believed worshippers seated there felt detached from the service. John Mason Neale had a particular dislike of high box pews, describing them as "pens"; he saw them as demonstrating disparity between the rich and underprivileged, as only the wealthy could afford this form of seating. (49) The Society believed the font symbolised membership of the Body of Christ through baptism and therefore should occupy a position near the point of entry, usually the church's west door. The removal of the three-decker pulpit from a near-central position in the nave was considered essential if the altar was to be the focal point of worship. It should be visible from most parts of the building. There should be a raised chancel, ("the indispensable part of the church") (50), at least three steps above the nave, with the altar in the sanctuary, raised yet again by more steps. Ideally, the Society saw the ground plan of either a new or re-ordered church interior as having three main areas: a sanctuary, chancel and nave.

All of these proposed changes were to create problems for organ builders and organists, as designs and opinions changed during the early years of the Society. It offered advice in the form of pamphlets covering all aspects of church design and ornaments. In a publication of 1841, *A Few Words to Church Builders*, Neal and his associates believed that the proper place for an organ and choir should be in a small west gallery. (51) Two years later his opinion changed. When writing in *Church Enlargement and Church Arrangement*, he saw the ideal place for singers as being in choir stalls in the chancel. (52) As a result of this move, the organ should be positioned close to the choir for reasons of visual communication and good sound balance. In a typical late Victorian



church, the organ would be situated in or near the chancel, behind the choir stalls which faced each other across the chancel aisle. This favoured position for the instrument, particularly when placed in an “organ chamber” designed to contain it, hindered the egress of sound. Large pipe scales and raised wind pressures could affect the quality of tone.

Some of the earliest ideals of the Oxford Movement may be seen in Leeds Parish Church.(53) It was to become a beacon in the history of Anglican worship and church music, influencing and improving standards in the services of some cathedrals and Oxbridge colleges, and emulated by numerous urban and some rural parish churches across the country. It cannot be co-incidental that the Church of England established its first teacher training college, St. Mark’s, Chelsea, in the same year (1841) as the completion of Leeds Parish Church. The Choral Revival was gradually reforming the way in which church services and its music were presented in the lead up to the establishment of these two buildings. In 1848 a leading article in *The Parish Choir* acknowledged “There is perhaps no institution of modern times which has done so much for the choral music of the Church of England as St. Mark’s Training College”. (54) When Walter Farquar Hook had become vicar of Leeds Parish Church in 1837, he had found the spiritual life of the industrial town in a poor state. He began his work by commissioning architect R.D. Chantrill to design a new building. This had been made easier because planning, furnishing, liturgy and music could be considered together from the building’s inception. Although the architectural result was deemed to be of no great distinction, the interior design of the building, which seated 3,000 people, had a three-part groundplan. This was seen as the prototype of a new Anglican church; it was completed only two years after the Camden’s Society’s founding in 1839, and the Society’s ideals are apparent throughout the building. (55)

To ensure that his views on worship were interpreted in the best way, Dr Hook sought guidance on questions of music and liturgy from his friend, theologian and musician, John Jebb (1805-86). Both were high churchmen and wished to create the conditions appropriate for Anglo-Catholic worship. Daily choral Matins and Evensong

were established following the English cathedral tradition as recommended by Jebb. Hook appointed S.S. Wesley as organist of the Parish Church to ensure these recommendations were put into practice. Wesley's salary of £200 per annum, higher than paid by many cathedrals at that time, acted as a magnet to bring him to a new parish church; a considerable sum was spent annually on the choir and sacred music.

Parish and village churches throughout England were adopting the architectural setting of worship established by Leeds Parish Church; the success of this arrangement was dependent upon the clear view of the altar and adequate space to accommodate choir stalls. With the Victorian quest for reverence, some clergy were concerned about the choir's behaviour in full view of the congregation, whereas the gallery instrumentalists' concern was that new seating arrangements meant their services might not be required. The singers and instrumentalists faced the prospect of redundancy. (56)

### Summary

The end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century saw a strongly patriotic nation which had become uncompromising in its determination to protect its shores, its Christian faith and its conservative values. There was no platform for any aspect of reform until the second decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, by which time support for the Anglican Church was diminishing and political views were becoming more liberal. Many "thinking men" in the Established Church and Parliament were fired by earlier utilitarian philosophies and theological debate. Liberal politicians were ensuring their reforms were carried out through legislation.

During the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, music gradually acquired a more respectable and prominent role in the life of society. This was in no small part due to the support of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. Patronage of the Sovereign no doubt persuaded other members of the aristocracy and of the aspiring middle classes to show more interest in music, though changes in attitudes were slow.

The populace, distrustful and cynical of the hierarchy of the Anglican Church which had allowed widespread corruption to occur, demanded changes in its structure. The Oxford Movement, keen to avoid state interference in church affairs, promoted a return to the high church practices of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and encouraged the centrality of liturgical music and high church worship. This, along with the architectural changes the Cambridge Society proposed for churches, presented difficult challenges for organ builders and organists. It was not until new churches were designed with the musical aspects of worship in mind, that some of these problems were overcome. These changes led to the gradual demise of gallery musicians in rural parishes. There was promise of an exciting era for church organists, with cathedral organists leading the way through their influential position.

### Evaluation

This introductory chapter draws from a variety of secondary sources to provide an overview of the religious, political and social events that occurred during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, which were to have an influence on Anglican music and musicians during the unfolding Victorian and Edwardian eras. The literature reviewed to provide this historical overview consists of articles from journals and books of the time and more recent publications. Current literature provides the authoritative views of historians, formed through research and with the advantage of the passage of time, to allow us to view the period with more objectivity. Victorian and Edwardian books and particularly journals, on the other hand, give us an insight into the prevailing views of the day, which prove invaluable in setting the scene for what was to follow.

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER ONE

### THE MUSICAL AND RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND TO THE PERIOD

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6. *The Musical Standard*, 25<sup>th</sup> January 1873., p.46.
7. *The Musical World*, 1887, p.572.
8. Brewer, A.H., *Memories of Choirs and Choristers*, p.29. London, Bodley Head, 1931.
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12. *Ibid.*, p.20. Hazlitt mentions Bentham's playing the organ before beginning to write *Spirit of the Age or Contemporary Portraits*, p.13, London, Geo.Bell, 1894.
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14. Ponsonby, Noel, *The Decline of Aristocracy*, p. 92. London, Fisher Unwin, 1912.
15. Graves, Charles L., *Life of Sir Hubert Parry*, vol.2, p.142, London, Macmillan, 1926.
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17. *Ibid*, p.528.
18. *Ibid*, p. 485.
19. Temperley, N., *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. i, p. 277, Cambridge, C.U.P., 1979.

20. *The Musical World*, 23rd. June, 1837.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Fulford, Roger, *The Prince Consort*, p.30, London, Macmillan, 1949.
23. Martin, Theodore, *The Life of H.R.H. The Prince Consort*, vol.1, p.486, London, Smith Elder, 1875. Martin was chosen by Queen Victoria to be his official biographer, and five volumes were published in 1875.
24. *Ibid.*
25. Martin, T., *The Life of H.R.H. The Prince Consort*, vol.1, p.86.
26. Why Blomfield mentions Albert's "distinguished academic career" in support of his nomination is not clear, for the prince spent a comparatively short time (18 months) at the university. In the German system there was no prescribed study, each student "electing" certain subjects and to attend those lectures required in order to obtain a degree; he had the freedom to study whatever best suited his needs and capacities.
27. Fulford, R., *The Prince Consort* p.201.
28. *The Quarterly Musical Review*, 1886, p.75.
29. Lecture given by W.H.Cummings on June 8th, 1897 on "Music During the Queen's Reign" and published in *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 23rd Session, 1896-7, p.148. Thomas Lea Southgate, an editor of *The Musical News* at the time, chaired this meeting and he supplied the figures quoted here.
30. Hole, Revd. R., *The Memories of Dean Hole*, pp. 55-56, London, Arnold, 1893.
31. "Music During the Queen's Reign", in *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 1896-7.
32. Kingsley, F.E. (ed.) *Charles Kingsley: His Letters and Memories of his Life*, p. 33, London, Macmillan, 1892.
33. This has been taken from a larger two volume edition of the above work, also edited by his wife Fanny, pp.324-325, London, Henry S. King, 1877.
34. Vera Brittain, *Testament of Youth*, pp.57, 58, London, Virago, 1978. (First published 1933).
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45. *Ibid.*, p.16.
46. Temperley, N., *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. 1, p.269.
47. Yates, N. *The Oxford Movement and Anglican Ritualism*, p.16.
48. Lough, A.G. *The Influence of John Mason Neale*, p.37, London, SPCK, 1962.
49. *Ibid.* p.15.
50. *The Ecclesiologist*, vol iii, September 1844, p.161.
51. Neale, J.M., *A Few Words to Church Builders*, p.23, Cambridge CUP, 1841, cited in Addelshaw, G. and Etchells F., *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship*, London, Faber and Faber, 1958.
52. Neale, J.M., *Church Enlargement and Church Arrangement*, Cambridge, CUP, 1843, p. 16, cited in Lough, A.G. *The Influence of John Mason Neale*.
53. Temperley, N., *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol 1, p.236, p.276.
54. *The Parish Choir*, vol ii, 1848, p. 105.
55. Addleshaw and Etchells, *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship*, p.211.
56. Temperley, N., *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol 1, p.235.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE EMERGENCE OF THE ORGAN IN RURAL PARISHES

#### Part One: Review

##### Introduction

The beginning of the 19th century witnessed a time of gradual awakening within Anglican worship as a whole. This chapter will consider the provision of music in rural parish churches, large and small, which, because of financial restrictions and a reluctance to forego country traditions, were in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century less able or willing to follow the examples of more affluent, urban middle class congregations. By mid-century, these same congregations were seeking to emulate cathedral choral services. Since change was achievable at a far slower rate in rural parishes, the disparity between urban and rural churches increased and any changes in country livings were generally slower, with only the larger, well-situated amongst them having any prospect of installing an organ.

Part one will be an overview of important aspects of these changes, ultimately leading to the establishment of pipe organs in many rural churches. Part two is a study of 20 churches in the East and North Ridings of Yorkshire, showing through tabular form and selective comment, the progression towards acquiring a pipe organ.

##### Church Bands and Singers

According to Temperley, instrumentalists making up church bands were uncommon before 1770 (1), but an earlier example in 1750 of a musicians' gallery in Liversedge Church, near Halifax, was identified by the author in the West Yorkshire

Record Office (see Appendix 1a). This shows seating for singers and instrumentalists. There are three named musicians at the front of the extended overhang of the gallery, with the band consisting of a double bass, two violoncellos, 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> violins, viola, hautboys, drums and horns. This is an unusually large band of nine or more players, consisting of infrequently found instruments: the horn and drums. The document also illustrates the strategic placement of instruments to provide a good balance of sound, with the penetrating tone of the oboe positioned away from the front of the gallery, and the loud horns and drums at the back. This is an important early example of gallery musicians at a time when church bands were rare. Finding such a clear plan of gallery musicians and box pews in a document of this detail is important as evidence of this kind in other sources is scarce.

Between 1780 and 1830 church bands became established and were usually popular. They were sometimes known as “musicianers”. (2) Though mainly resident in the gallery, they occasionally led the singing from an assigned place at the back of the church. Thomas Hardy’s own plan and sketch of Stinsford Church’s west gallery (circa 1835) can be seen in Appendices 1b and 1c. The Hardy family had attended this church for several generations; the plan shows four of Hardy’s older relatives had allocated seats, with Thomas senior being the writer’s grandfather, “a lover of church music.” (3)

Canon K.H. Macdermott carried out studies of church bands in Sussex and later in other parts of England, resulting in the publication of two books in 1922 and 1948. (4) He covered 106 churches and parochial chapels, and listed over 200 different instruments. Although church records (often providing the minimum of information) list instruments bought, repaired and those in need of replacement strings or reeds, it is seldom noted which instruments played together at any one time. Bands usually consisted of two to six instruments, though there are examples of metrical psalm singing accompanied by a bassoon (Easton-in-Gordano, Somerset), or a bass viol (Blaxall, Suffolk). Where only treble instruments are noted, but no bass instrument mentioned (as at Eaton Socon, Bedfordshire), Temperley suggests that a bassoon or ‘cello was present, and that the



diarist (in this case Lord Torrington) omitted to state this. (5) Temperley does not, however, provide any evidence for this supposition.

The most frequently occurring instruments in church bands were the violin (sometimes recorded as a “fiddle”), the ‘cello (or “bass viol”), flute, clarinet, oboe and bassoon. Usually the ‘cello or bassoon were considered important for keeping singers and players together, assuming those concerned were sufficiently competent to keep the music moving. Sir Thomas Webster’s painting (1846) of the choir and band at Bow Bricknall, Buckinghamshire (see Appendix 1d) shows the cellist and bassoonist reading from the same copy (possibly manuscript sheets) with one or two singers looking over and singing the bass part. The leader (probably the parish clerk) is in the front beating time, singing, and holding open the pages of his bound score, placed on a simple desk. To his right and left are children, possibly charity children (6), singing from smaller copies containing only the words. Behind stands the clarinetist, his eyes on the clerk. The clarinet is probably a five keyed instrument in C. In this case, the players took the melody as no other instrument was available. Leader, players and singers appear relaxed and attentive; and the sound produced may have been musically acceptable to many ears at that time. However, in a letter to John Spencer Curwen, Sir Thomas’ wife stated that his painting “did not represent any particular choir, but was a representation of what Mr Webster had very often seen in many country churches at the time”. (7)

Compare this illustration with the curate’s impression of the church band of St. Andrew’s, Yetminster, Dorset (in 1835), as it plays during service (see Appendix 1e). Players and singers are crammed into the gallery with little room to move. With eyes bulging whilst looking heavenward, they sing “Take, oh Take me to thy care”. The inflated cheeks of the bassoonist and oboist giving it all they can, the violinist’s bow dangerously close to the eye of a singer sitting on the front left of the gallery, and the ‘cellist’s wild grimaces as he attempts to play, his spectacles upside down; all of which suggests a crude cacophony. Interpretations of humour in iconography after a passage of nearly two centuries is highly subjective, and it is unclear how the musicians concerned would have viewed the image at the time. Today this illustration might be considered the

equivalent of an early political cartoon, with the curate appearing to treat the singers and church band as an uncomfortable joke. It may be seen as a reflection of growing disparagement of country church music amongst the middle classes of the 1830s.

The names, occupations and ages of the musicians in this drawing are shown in an original church document that was produced in 1908 from recollections of a 77 year old local man given to the vicar of the time (see Appendix 1f). In the document this elderly parishioner is able to identify each musician in the picture, and he comments “the faces they were all wounerful [sic] like.” Their occupations comprise four artisans, one schoolteacher and one parish clerk who was in post for 22 years. They were aged between 35 and 55 and the young boy was the son of one of the musicians. It is rare to find any precise information about gallery musicians, and therefore this is a valuable account of the personal details of the musicians and their visual impact.

Although woodwind instruments were more common than strings, mixed bands were found in three nearby churches in Dorset. The market town of Beaminster’s church band in 1836 comprised two violins, one’cello, one flute and two oboes. At Winterbourne Steepleton in 1850, there were two clarinets, one flute, one ‘cello and one violin. Between 1840-65 Winterbourne St. Martin had one ‘cello, one oboe and four clarinets. (8) Writing in *The Strand Musical Magazine*, John Spencer Curwen noted that the mixed church band at Chadworth, Gloucestershire, numbered 12 players in the 1830s, although the instruments were not given. (9) William Millington discovered two separate instances of bands having violas, a rare instrument for a church band. At Eccles parish church, Lancashire, between 1792 and 1813, there was one viola, one violin, one ‘cello, one flute and two bassoons. At Ellenbrooke parish church also in Lancashire, between 1800 and 1820, there were four violas in the the band. (10)

Macdermott’s researches found some of the more unusual instruments used in church bands from the 1800s. He mentions the accordion, banjo, bombard (contrabass tuba), cornet, cornopean (bass cornet), flageolet, fife, flutina (a type of concertina), french horn, kettledrum, ophicleide (a brass instrument with keys down the side of the

tube instead of valves), tenor saxhorn, baritone saxhorn, serpent, triangle and finally, vamphorn (a type of megaphone used to amplify the singing or speaking voice).

There are, at present, two “skin drums” on display at the west end of St. Alkelda’s Church, in Giggleswick-in-Craven, North Yorkshire, used in the church band before an organ was installed in 1892. One drum measures 77cm. in diameter and 60cm. deep; the other, 51 cm. in diameter and 35 cm. deep. A bass-viol belonging to this church is now kept in the choirmen’s vestry. The gallery in which singers and instrumentalists once sat replaced an earlier example removed in 1793 because it was “decayed and dangerous”.  
(11)

By the late 1850s, church bands were fast disappearing as opinions across the classes showed a growing intolerance towards their efforts, whether in church or at local festivals. Novelists and diarists of the time had occasion to comment on their activities, and usually noted their passing with sadness. In George Eliot’s novel *Adam Bede* (1859), we read about a choir at Hayslope Church in 1799, in which Joshua Rann, the parish clerk, sang as principal bass, supported by key-bugles and a bassoon. Thomas Hardy, an ardent supporter of church bands, singers and their music-making expressed his sorrow at their demise in his 1872 novel *Under the Greenwood Tree*:

People don’t care much about us now! I’ve been thinking we must be almost the last left in the country of the old string players? Barrel-organs, and the things next door to ‘em that you blow wi’ your foot, have come in terribly of late years.....They should have stuck to strings as we did, and kept out clarinets, and done away with serpents. If you’d thrive in musical religion, stick to strings, says I. (12)

Samuel Butler’s novel *The Way of all Flesh* (1903), is a thinly disguised account of the author’s own childhood and youth; he recalls (through the words of his main character) worshipping at his local church:

The choir clamber up in the gallery with their instruments- a violincello, a clarinet and a trombone.....When I was last in Battersby church, there was a harmonium played by a sweet-looking girl with a choir of school children around her, and they sang hymns Ancient and Modern. Gone were the high pews and the gallery in which the old choir had sung. Gone too

were his very old friends who used to sing in the choir: the blacksmith, the carpenter and the shepherd. But later met them leaving the dissenting chapel. (13)

These sentimental reflections were at odds with the undercurrent of influences taking place at this time. Not only were there changing cultural tastes amongst the growing middle classes, but the manufacturing work provided many of this ambitious section of society with their wealth. This, and poor harvests, caused a movement of the poorly paid labourers and agricultural workers to the towns and cities for better wages. No doubt this created a decline in the numbers of those able to play instruments and lead the singing. The Revd. John Eden expressed his concerns in 1822 regarding standards of musical performance during services:

It frequently happens that the defects of a country choir are open to the ears of the better classes, and excite any inclination to laugh. It is on this account that there is sometimes a wish on the part of the clergymen to get rid of the singers altogether. (14)

### Sung Music for Parish Worship

Although the organ had become an essential part of the cathedral service since the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, it was not until the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century that its position in leading the singing became established in urban parishes, with some churches in rural areas making use of the opportunities the instrument offered. The main source of music in Anglican parish churches during the early part of this study were metrical psalms and hymns. By the 1820s there was a growing indifference towards psalmody, mainly due to the dismal failure of the versifiers both to lead the singing and convey the psalms' meaning. (15) By the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century it was custom in many parishes for the clerk to send the organist the name of the tune, and how many times it was to be repeated; as no words were given, the result was likely to be an insensitive interpretation of the psalm. In *The Christian Rembrancer* (1849), J.M. Neale referred to these verses as "perversions of the Psalms, of the Ten Commandments, of the Te Deum..." (16) In spite of the Tractarians'

influence, some churches continued the practice of psalmody, by using Tate and Brady's *New Version of the Psalms* (1696) late into the century. (17) Neale considered their use to be "a still lower abyss of wretchedness". (18)

"The Church of England had to wait for the coming of English hymnody" said A.G. Lough. (19) He was right. High Anglicans remained prejudiced against hymn-singing until both the liturgical changes and resurgence of the orthodox faith were eventually accepted. Differing traditions in hymnody were encouraged to merge; Anglican hymn-writing became less formal, conversely Methodist hymns were less idiosyncratic. Neale, regarded as a fine teacher within the Church, felt that by reviving ancient hymns (sometimes producing numbers of translations from Latin and Greek sources), he was not only improving hymnody but also reviving the essentials of the Anglo-Catholic faith. (20) The transformation of "psalmody" into "hymnody" was hastened by these translations of Neale and other Tractarians. Latin hymns of the Roman Breviary proved that hymns were Catholic as well as Evangelical. The status of the hymn changed to become an important and accepted part of public worship. (21)

However, "perversions" (as Neale called them) continued, even in new hymnals. Writing in *The Ecclesiologist*, he is critical of a new publication: "Is it not wonderful that of the three requisites to a Hymnal - theology, music and poetry - scarcely even two, much less all, should be found together." (22) Increasing numbers of hymnals and hymn collections were published, each reflecting its group's religious tendencies. (23) Neale encouraged the writing of new hymns and in 1863, three years before his death, *The Christian Remembrancer* published his up-to-date survey of English hymnody. (24) There were two particularly successful hymnals produced for High Anglicans. *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1861) was considered the most well-known and eclectic hymnal of its time. It was the product of a committee, with the Revd. Sir Henry W. Baker its secretary and Dr William Henry Monk as musical editor. The collection of hymns was comprehensive and included some from Latin and Greek sources as well as Lutheran chorales, and examples of plainsong and folk melodies. (25) According to Wilfred Douglas, by 1895 10,340 churches in England were using this hymnal. (26) *The English Hymnal* (1906) was the

product of the Tractarian and Anglo-Catholic wing of the Church of England. It set out to improve the quality of hymnody by the removal of inferior words and music. In the preface to *The English Hymnal*, we read “a collection of the best hymns in the English language”, and it was offered as a “companion to the *Book of Common Prayer*”.

English hymnody was a well-established part of the Choral Revival by the 1860s. The cradle of this Revival, as suggested by Bernarr Rainbow (27) was St. Mark's College, Chelsea, where John Hullah (28) established a daily choral service in the College Chapel:

More than any other single event, the adoption of daily choral services at St. Mark's College was to be responsible for the consistent growth of the Choral Revival throughout the whole country. By means of systematic musical training and daily participation in those choral services, teachers trained at St Mark's were deliberately equipped to take with them into the towns and villages of the land the musical competence and the specialised knowledge of church music previously lacking in most parishes. (29)

The Revd. Thomas Helmore (born in 1811), former master of the choristers at the Chapel Royal, became Vice Principal at St. Mark's College in 1842, teaching students (and boys at the “Model School”) (30) to sing the Choral Service together with John Hullah. Music used included the psalms sung to Anglican and Gregorian chants and an eclectic selection of anthems. The students' musical experience at College was important in the future dissemination of the Tractarian choral service. Helmore produced his *Psalter Noted* in 1849 which he first used with his students at St. Mark's College and then at Holy Trinity, Brompton, London. A year later it was re-issued in an enlarged form as *A Manual of Plainsong*, containing the canticles and instructions for use. Helmore pointed the whole psalter according to rules laid down by William Dyce, an amateur musician but nevertheless acknowledged as the country's leading authority on liturgical music. There were several rival publications during the second half of the century, but Helmore's *Manual* remained the most used. During the 1850s some congregations were encouraged to use it, but found it too difficult to sing without rehearsal. However, Helmore was successful in introducing both *Psalter Noted* and *Hymnal Noted* to the congregation at St. Barnabas', Pimlico, London, an important centre for Tractarian worship. This time he was more successful in teaching plainsong to the worshippers. Rioting at the church

(Pimlico Riots of 1850, due to what some observers considered extreme ritualistic practices during services), caused damage to the church and the disbanding of the robed choir. Helmore's two collections, mentioned above, culminated in the *Accompanying Harmonies to the Hymnal Noted* (1855-58). Thomas Helmore's brother, Frederick (1820-c.1900) spent much of his working life as a "musical missionary", travelling around towns and villages forming and training church choirs. (31) He helped establish robed choirs and devoted his life to furthering the Choral Revival.

*The Parish Choir*, the journal of the Society for Promoting Church Music, regularly reported during the 1840s instances where individual places of worship throughout the country reformed their own church music. In the village church at Elsworth near Cambridge in 1846, the Rector with the help of his schoolmaster and a young farmer set about training a choir of men and boys. Music printed in the music issue of *The Parish Choir* was sung at each Sunday Evensong and Holy Day. (32) The Pimlico Riots, mentioned above, caused the demise of this journal after ten years of publication.

As parish choirs improved, Victorian and Edwardian organists and choirmasters were in need of more sophisticated music, so creating new markets for composers and publishers. Contemporary anthems were also sought, in which consideration was given to the limitations of the average parish and village choir and organist. (33) Three anthems are discussed from the author's collection of Victorian compositions (see Appendix 2 for details of these pieces). These anthems are undated, but their Victorian vintage is confirmed by the dates of two of the composers (George Elvey 1816-1893 and John Stainer 1840-1901). The dates of the third composer, W.H. Gill, are unknown, although his composition was specifically written with village choirs in mind.

The first anthem by W.H. Gill, *How dear are Thy counsels*, is a slow, gentle, expressive piece for S.A.T.B., with the melody taken all the way through by the sopranos, with supporting harmonies provided by the altos, tenors and bases (Appendix 2a). In two main sections, the first of which is repeated, with the longer second section calling for a *forte* dynamic lasting 8 bars. Following these two phrases, the opening phrase returns (*piano* dynamic) with a half sequence leading to the main climax centred on the

sopranos' high F sharp (supported by subdominant harmony). To be fully effective, the build-up to the climax from a point some five bars earlier requires a crescendo through the half sequence, but it is not suggested in the music. This would be for a choirmaster to initiate. The melody is both singable and memorable, whilst each of the lower three parts moves simply, stepwise, with an occasional leap. The infrequent use of a chromatic chord (applied or secondary dominant) provides additional colour to this simple and effective piece. This composition is particularly useful for inexperienced rural choirs because of its simplicity, tunefulness and appropriate length. Although an organ accompaniment is specified, perhaps with the intention of keeping the choir on pitch and in time, it would be more satisfactory if sung accompanied; so there is a choice.

The second piece is *Arise, shine, for thy light is come*, by George Elvey (see Appendix 2b). This composition requires singers and an organist who can perform rhythmically and carry out the composer's instructions as regards strong dynamic contrasts (*forte* and *piano*). Again the anthem is not difficult, notewise, and the organ duplicates the S.A.T.B. parts throughout. Special attention to the shaping of phrases by the choir is called for if a wooden performance is to be avoided. Elvey's use of rests in the vocal parts, filled in with punctuated chords on the organ, and the suggestion of imitative treatment at the bottom of page 3, are particularly effective. "Arise" is suitable as a Christmas anthem for a choir of average accomplishment.

An anthem, probably of a later date than the previous two, and more demanding in its musical requirements, is John Stainer's *What are these that are arrayed in white robes* (see Appendix 2c). Built up in a number of contrasting sections, this anthem calls for singing covering a wide dynamic range, changes in tempi between one section and the next, and expressive singing. The ability to approach points of climax with a sustained crescendo calls for musicianship, breath control and musical imagination. Although not beyond the capabilities of the average choir of the time, Stainer's anthem is demanding because of its length and musical requirements.

Decani and cantoris singing and other compositional devices were used in choral performance. J.F. Forster's *Parochial Choir Book* (c. 1850) provided choirs with musical



material which contained psalm tunes, responses, chants and 12 simple anthems, old and new. (34) *Parochial Anthems by the Cathedral Composers of 1863* was the result of a commission for 24 anthems from Thomas Fowle. Other collections became available with ambitious new choirs in mind. Novello produced choral music by Farrant, Tallis, Croft, Greene, Nares, Clark-Whitfield, and adaptations from Handel, Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven. In 1866 Novello published *Parish Choir Book*, the first collection containing 46 new settings of the Te Deum for choir and organ, and 4 settings of other canticles. Between 1864-73, choral music by such contemporary English composers as Elvey, Ouseley, S.S. Wesley, Barnby, Sullivan and W.T. Best, and choral items by Berthold Tours and Gounod were published in response to increasing demand.

An examination of a number of anthems by these composers and others shows that organ accompaniment often closely shadowed the voices. However, a growing number of church compositions provided an accompaniment which was conceived independently. Thomas Attwood Walmisley's *Evening Service in D minor* (1855) was one of the first pieces in this genre to have an independent organ part. Samuel Sebastian Wesley's anthems *Blessed be the God and Father*, and *The Wilderness* are examples in which considerable stretches of independent organ accompaniment were employed. Particular stops were called for, and passages in which pedals are required were indicated by the composer. The composition of these works and others, whether containing independent accompaniments or not, were possible by the 1850s because organ design and construction had advanced considerably. Earlier, many organists could not, or would not, play the pedals; the pedal parts required by Walmisley, S.S. Wesley and others were more demanding. Moreover, the swell pedal became a useful adjunct when accompanying voices. These composers' service music had accompaniments which were difficult at the time, but became accessible to many organists during the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This was due to an increasingly methodical and structured form of organ teaching, involving the utilisation of organ manuals (known as tutors).

For churches in which psalms and canticles were chanted at Sunday and weekday services (for example at St. Michael's, Coventry, St. John's, Torquay, and Ludlow Parish

Church), single and double chants could easily be acquired from cathedral collections, often without any alterations. Collections of chants were compiled by John Goss of St. Paul's Cathedral, London (1841) and Thomas Attwood Walmisley of King's, Trinity and St. John's Colleges, Cambridge (1845). However, many of these chants were pitched too high for ordinary parish choirs and congregations, limiting the choice. With these collections came a stream of pointed psalters in which attempts were made, with varying degrees of success, to fit the words to the chant, known as "pointing". The Choral Revival stimulated the publication of further psalters in the 1860s, notably Ouseley and Monk's *Psalter with the Canticles* in 1862, authorised by the Archbishop of York, and Turle's *Psalter* issued in 1863 by SPCK. (35) The most successful was *The Cathedral Psalter* (1875), edited by Stainer, Turle and Barnby, a publication that became widely used in cathedrals, and urban and rural parishes. (36)

### Developments in Organ Building

In English organ building, the period between 1800 and 1840 has been described as "the insular years". (37) The tonal palette of instruments was narrow when compared with continental examples which were described as being "of new and beautiful tone". (38) With the increase in church building that took place during much of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, (39) together with the influence of the Oxford and Camden Movements and the Choral Revival, many places of worship both in town and country, saw the installation of an organ as an important contribution to worship.

At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the few organs that existed in churches in rural parishes were usually of the chamber variety. They had one or two manuals, a small number of stops, and where pedals were found, they were of the "toe-pedal" type, connected to the keys of the manual by "pull-downs". Numbers of these organs, originally housed in private residences of the gentry (40), eventually found their way into churches either as a gift or as a result of a sale. (41)

As might be anticipated in rural areas, barrel organs were more commonly in use at this time, as they were relatively cheap, compact, easy to move and simple to maintain. (see example in Appendix 3). (42) These instruments usually had a single barrel on which were sets of pins or staples made to operate a mechanism which opened pallets, admitting wind to the pipes. Little skill was required in its operation, as at the turn of a handle, the barrel revolved and also moved the bellows to create a wind supply. Some organs contained three barrels in a revolving frame, which allowed one barrel at a time to slot into place; each barrel offered a selection of psalm or hymn tunes, as well as some secular pieces. Langwill and Boston, in *Church and Chamber Barrel-Organs*, state that one of the leading makers of barrel organs, Bryceson Bros., foresaw an expanding and lucrative market for the instrument, large numbers of which were to take the place of church bands. According to printed directions stuck on his instruments, he predicted “Barrel Organs....will entirely supercede [sic] the use of other instruments.” (43) It will be seen that Bryceson’s prediction proved to be an over-confident piece of sales talk.

Another development, known as a “dumb organist”, consisted of a barrel organ with a keyboard which was covered by an open-bottomed box; inside the box was a pinned barrel. From the box came a number of rods operated by these pins which depressed the manual keys on contact. Again, this was activated by turning a handle; A.T. Robinson, in *Remembrance of an Old Organist*, describes the action:

There were two barrels with various hymns and chants and the mechanism was so arranged that the keys pressed down just as if someone were playing it with his fingers....About 1855, however, an organist became available and the mechanical substitute was discarded. (44)

The next progression was a barrel mechanism which could be incorporated into an existing manual organ, then known as a “barrel and finger organ”. It offered immediate cover for times when the usual keyboard player was unavailable.

By the late 1860s, numbers of barrel organs were sold off cheaply to be replaced by an instrument of French design, the harmonium, which became commercially available in this country from the 1850s. It was used as either a main or reserve

instrument for those churches unable to afford a larger and more sophisticated pipe organ. It was used for musical entertainment in the home, and could be purchased at a reasonable price. In the *Directory of York and East Riding, 1855*, an advertisement by the York organ builder and harmonium manufacturer, H. Whitehead, offered 5 octave harmoniums with expression stops for 10 guineas.

Opinions about harmoniums and their value differed. Curwen, one time President of the Tonic sol-fa College in London, thought that “any instrument used as an aid to worship was worthy of study”. (45) However, he believed the harmonium could never be a substitute for the organ; his main criticism being that it was “over-pumped” by many players. (46) Frederick Gore Ouseley referred to it as “that wretched substitute for an organ”. (47) From a singer’s viewpoint, it was difficult to pick out a melodic line, as the tonal balance was weighted towards the bass. When instruction books for the harmonium appeared, two of the best known were Scotson Clarke’s *Method for the Harmonium* (1858) and King Hall’s *The Harmonium* (n.d.). With improvements, suggested in *The Monthly Musical Record* of September 1880, the prejudice which existed against the instrument would gradually fade. (48)

By the middle of the century, demand for organs grew: for churches of most denominations, homes of the wealthy, public schools, and civic buildings. Bicknell suggests there may have been more organs per head of population than any other country in the world. (49) As a result of this significant growth, there was a dramatic increase in the number of organ builders, and competition became fierce. This burgeoning demand encouraged innovations in organ design: the compass of the keyboard grew in range, pedal pipes were added and couplers fitted. The firm of Bishop introduced composition pedals, enabling the player to operate predetermined sets of stops. With several of these pedals it was possible to use a larger number of stop combinations. Bishop also overcame the problem of maintaining an ample wind supply when demand was suddenly increased. His invention of the Clarabella stop heralded an era of experimentation along with the introduction of other new stops to provide additional tone colours. (50) The firms of Bishop, William Hill, “Father” Willis, J.W. Walker and Gray and Davison were some of

the leading organ builders of the time, and many fine Victorian instruments were produced.

However, there remained dissatisfaction with English instruments amongst many organists who had travelled or studied on the continent. This feeling of discontent was exacerbated by the 1851 Great Exhibition, which enabled organ builders and organists in this country to see and hear new designs from Europe. Church musicians who visited the continent to experience French and German instruments included John Camidge and John Gray (both of York), E.J. Hopkins, Jeremiah Rogers (Doncaster Parish Church), Henry Gauntlett, Samuel Wesley, Henry Smart and the much-travelled Ouseley. Urban parish church organists are well-represented amongst these names; their influence together with that of an innovative generation of organ builders had an effect on new and re-built instruments in many rural parishes. The inclusion of a string stop (Gamba) on the Great or Swell division and a Flûte Harmonique on the Great division as a way of providing additional tone colour shows a willingness to embrace German and French influences. The stop lists of the Hull firm of Forster and Andrews reveal these influences in organs built from the 1870s. (51) The general opinion among many English organists was that German instruments were superior because they provided sufficient power to fill large buildings, their tone was firm and powerful, materials and workmanship were of a higher standard, and the C (rather than the G) compass was used on manuals and pedals. (52)

Schulze's organs were a fine example of these qualities and he was able to fulfil a number of contracts in England, where he introduced new styles of voicing (see Chapter 7 for more details). However, throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century the way in which many contracts were drawn up by English organ builders was at fault. Requests were made for estimates, and such was the competition that there was a temptation to provide the most pipes for the least money. In the late 1830s, some builders were gradually being persuaded to turn to the "German System" of design, but there remained complaints in the 1850s about poor standards of workmanship and materials amongst English instruments. (53) William Hill (?-1870) introduced several German principles into his organs, setting a high standard which many leading builders were to follow. He was

known primarily for the very large instruments in York Minster and Birmingham Town Hall, and for his innovative scheme for George Street Chapel, Liverpool, (the latter built in 1841). (54) French influences were also welcomed by organists and leading builders in this country, and Cavaille-Coll (1811-99) fulfilled a number of contracts here. (55) His designs demonstrated a new richness of tone colour, the introduction of a number of new stops, increased wind pressure for reeds, and the use of the Barker pneumatic lever action.

In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century Thomas Casson (1842-1910) and Robert Hope-Jones (1859-1914) were two of this country's innovators in organ building. They were unhappy with continental practices and produced their own designs. Some continue in use today, such as Casson's "extension" system and his use of borrowing manual doubles, making them available on the pedal division. These ideas created some anxiety amongst traditionalists, as organ builders were unable to block the patenting of his designs. Robert Hope-Jones, a telephone engineer, and later, organ builder, organist and choirmaster, built a successful electro-pneumatic action and designed a "double-touch" system. (56) These were two successful designs of many. In 1894, he rebuilt the two Hill organs in Worcester Cathedral to his own design, receiving high praise from a number of organists and condemnation from many organ builders. Some of his designs were adopted by manufacturers of cinema organs, both here and in America.

The Romantic trend in music, which dominated the 19<sup>th</sup> century led to a strong sense of colour being sought by composers and performers, making new demands on instruments which organ builders responded to with ingenuity. As a result of continental influences, new stops designed to increase colour properties of the organ were developed, together with new ways of producing greater variety in dynamics.

## Financial Considerations

By the 1860s and later, it was usual for a majority of churches to have an organ and choir to lead congregational praise. The position of the instrument and choir stalls would ideally follow the principles of The Camden Society.

Once a decision had been reached by the Vestry to purchase an organ, a specification would be drawn up and an estimate obtained from several organ builders. When an estimate was accepted, an application was made to the diocesan authorities for a faculty. This was a process within Ecclesiastical Law through which all physical changes to a church had to pass for scrutiny. (57) Following a lengthy assessment, and once permission had been granted, the next concern was finance.

Church rates, levied on all holders of property over a certain value, were to be removed by Gladstone's bill for *Abolition of Church Rates* in 1868. (58) They had been used to purchase organs and pay organists' salaries in many corporation churches; there had been years of objections from other religious affiliations, prior to the rates' removal. The usual way to raise funds following this Act of Parliament was by subscription, by which members of the community guaranteed a certain sum of money, with a list kept (sometimes by the parish clerk), showing how much each person agreed to give. (59). A less common way of obtaining an instrument was as a gift from an individual, family or patron (see this chapter's section *Funding and Acquisition of Pipe Organs*).

The payment of the church organist's salary was more complex, particularly after the removal of church rates (see this chapter's section *Payment of Organists* and Chapter Five's section *Payment and Sources of Church Organists' Salaries*). Supply and demand of an increasingly active and popular occupation attracted numbers of musicians, varying in ability, who often remained dependent upon the unreliable offerings of the congregation. Remuneration was therefore unpredictable for many church organists, and a professional organist supplemented his small salary by undertaking other paid work.

## Organists in Rural Parishes

Although Chapter 5 covers in greater detail the appointing of organists of cathedrals and urban parishes, this section will consider the work of those amateur musicians who played the harmonium or pipe organ in rural parishes across the country.

Whilst organs were established in numbers of city and large town churches well before the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the situation in country churches was very different. Large rural communities were often wealthier than their smaller counterparts, due to their geographical position and possible sources of wealth. For these reasons, only the larger rural parish churches were likely to have an organ, depending on the attitude of incumbent and vestry towards the instrument and music in worship.

Organists of large urban churches such as Ludlow (Shropshire), Boston (Lincolnshire), Andover (Hampshire) and Tiverton (Devon), were usually professional musicians, having undergone training either as articled pupils under a cathedral organist, or sat alongside an able and experienced player at a church with a good musical tradition (See Chapter 3). The professional's salary provided the mainstay of his income, supplemented by fees from teaching the piano and organ. However, the organist of a rural parish church was usually an amateur who was dependent upon another source for his main income. Until the 1880s, when enthusiasm for organ playing was flourishing, it was often difficult to fill rural posts with a competent amateur let alone a qualified organist. With such paucity of possible applicants, members of clergy families would sometimes prove useful, playing the harmonium or pipe organ despite sometimes only elementary keyboard skills and limited musical knowledge.

Diaries of the time provide some valuable insights into the background of early country organists. Entries in *Kilvert's Diary* of the 1870s describe the Revd. Kilvert's sister Fanny playing the newly acquired harmonium in Langley Burrell Church, Wiltshire. "It is a beautiful instrument with a soft sweet tone and Fanny managed it very well". (60) The incumbent had purchased the harmonium "to the delight of the congregation", following the squire's dismissal of the leader of the singers. The instrument had been



paid for by subscription, to which the squire declined to contribute. His actions, which created ill feeling amongst parishioners, show that he exercised influence over church matters. (61) This same instrument was also played by the wife of the “chief farmer”, James of Monnington Court, (possibly a “gentleman farmer”). There is no mention of her standard of playing. (62)

In 1886, at a parish meeting of St. Michael’s Malton, North Yorkshire, the Revd. G.A. Firth observed that his wife had undertaken unpaid work as organist and choirmaster for 30 years. Her work had been “a large contribution to the Funds of the church, and had given material aid in lessening expenses.....” (63)

As Curwen suggested in 1880 at the time of writing *Studies in Worship Music* (64), “there is generally some one to be found who can play - after a fashion at least”. This observation followed the gradual removal of barrel organs from country churches throughout the previous 30 years; it coincided with, as Curwen noted “the removal of barrel organs and their replacement with pianists transferring their skills to the organ”. He added that: “barrel-organs do not play wrong notes and when they played the tune over it was always possible to recognise it”. The editor of the *The Musical Standard* in 1878 sounded a more conciliatory note for the future:

Fortunately, the days of the barrel organ in churches is [sic] over: but sometimes the church organist is only one degree better than the barrel. However, people in general are much more appreciative, likewise more critical, than they were ten years ago; as they improve in taste, they will require organists should improve also. (65)

For aspiring organists “to improve” during the early years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century it was necessary to look beyond formal schooling, as it was severely limited until the introduction of the Education Acts of 1870 and 1902, when a structured (though basic) school system was introduced for the nation’s children. Numbers of young people from the working classes (from whom a substantial number of Victorian organists emerged) were introduced to music through association with their local parish church, singing in the choir or attending Sunday schools; all of which could offer musical experiences. As Jonathan Rose points out in his book on the British working classes, some Sunday

schools provided opportunities for serious musical education, performance and composition, via hymns and oratorios. (66) Further exposure to music came through the Brass Band Movement, dating from the early 1800s. The industrialisation of some areas of the country drew in many young people to the towns seeking work. For some, these places provided opportunities to join brass bands, many of which had the support of their employers, the more enlightened of whom gave funds for purchasing instruments. (67)

The thirst for self-improvement in the changing times of the 1800s (68) created a demand for instruction books covering many interests, including a number of piano tutors. J.B. Cramer's *Instructions for the Piano Forte*, published early in the century and Jasse's *Pianoforte Tutor* (n.d.) were used by William Chard (assistant organist at Winchester Cathedral) when teaching Jane Austen. Both Anne Rothwell's *The Juvenile Pianist* (1835, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition 1843), and William Smallwood's *Pianoforte Tutor* (n.d. author born 1831) had large circulations. A later publication which became widely used was *Mrs Curwen's Pianoforte Method* (1886), in which principles of the Tonic Sol-fa method were applied when teaching children the piano. It was from such an instruction book (described as "cheap") that John Shinn (born in 1837) learnt the basics of piano playing. From the age of ten, he worked for his father, a cabinet maker, from seven in the morning to eight o'clock in the evening, six days a week. He practised by candlelight after working hours on an old piano in his father's workshop. Whether he was self-taught at this stage is unknown, as his formal music education began at Sunday school where he practised once a week on an organ of four stops, eventually playing for evening services. He gained experience singing in the London Harmonic Society and other choral groups, and was later appointed organist of St. Jude's parish church, Whitechapel at a salary of £25 per year. He supplemented his church income by teaching and managing a music shop on the Holloway Road. At the age of 52 he gained the Cambridge Mus. Bac. degree. (69) There were others like Shinn with a similar artisan or working class background who, with hard work, determination and talent achieved success in their musical ambitions. His case is not atypical. (70) His own son Frederick George Shinn (born 1867), however, followed a more conventional route by attending the RCM before

becoming a well-respected professional organist at a number of parish churches. (71) The 1880s, and after, saw a proliferation of young aspiring organists, some of whom took up posts in rural parishes. (72)

Growing awareness and enthusiasm for the instrument, and its music, galvanized a group of professionals to establish *The College of Organists* in London in 1864. This examining body set out to improve standards of playing and provide incentives to raise the levels of general musicianship amongst amateurs and professionals alike. In the last quarter of the century, after the College received its Royal Charter in 1893, there was a marked increase in the number of candidates sitting for their diplomas. This, and later examining bodies, did much for church organists, giving them a sense of purpose and improving their status within the community. For the amateur player, not of diploma standard, there was the option of becoming a paid up member of the College, whilst for the more able and ambitious amateur, the opportunity of gaining a diploma and letters after his name, was an incentive to improve himself, his playing and his status in the parish. All these factors were important within incipient Victorian values. The decision in 1889 by the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music and Trinity College, London, to include the organ in its examination syllabus from Grade IV level was a further encouragement to young ambitious musicians to study the organ (see Chapter 4 for more details of examining bodies).

Although John Frederick Bridge eventually became the organist of Westminster Abbey in 1882, his first post at the age of 17 years was in the village church of Shorne, near Rochester, in Kent, followed by two rural appointments: Strood (again near Rochester) and Holy Trinity, Windsor. Bridge was the son of a poorly paid lay clerk at Rochester Cathedral and at 14 he became an articled pupil there. It was not an unusual route for young, able men who had completed their articled pupilships, to gain experience in rural and urban parishes before taking on more responsible posts. Haydn Keeton (of Peterborough Cathedral) and Willie Luttmann (of St. Albans) are two further examples of this progression. Both congregation and organist may very well have benefited from this

arrangement by which the church experienced the changing patterns of music for worship in the Victorian period, whilst the newly qualified organist gained in confidence.

The training for an amateur parish musician during the second half of the century epitomised the meaning of the word “parochial”. As a young boy he would join the church choir and be expected to attend choir practices and sing Sunday services. He might have received piano lessons during these early years from a local teacher, or the organist; following puberty he was expected to join the male singers. If by this time, he showed interest in the organ, and his keyboard skills were sufficiently advanced, he could make use of one of the several published organ tutors popular at the time, for example John Stainer’s *The Organ* (1877). (See Chapter 3 for more details). Finances permitting, the would-be player might well have sought more advanced instruction from a professional organist, or acted as assistant to his own organist in exchange for free tuition and practice. Advertisements appeared regularly in the musical periodicals from the 1870s. (73)

Social and economic changes of the time meant that by the end of the century most churches had pipe organs or harmoniums and many congregations were able to appreciate a competent church musician. His competence was often measured by the singing of increasingly ambitious hymns and anthems by the church choir. With changing musical taste amongst increasing numbers of the middle classes, expectations of both professional and amateur musicians were high. It was important that parish organists acquired the ability to train choirs, hence the title “organist and choirmaster”, in general use by the 1870s. Well-established choir-trainers wrote books and pamphlets on the subject for their less experienced colleagues. A detailed approach was found in Revd. J. Troutbeck’s book *Church Choir Training* (1878). This became one of the most influential training manuals and was published in the same series as Stainer’s *The Organ*. Nicholas Temperley notes that between 1870-1910, 20 books dealing with training choirboys were published, some of which were written by cathedral choirmasters, parish clergy and organists seeking to pass on their knowledge and expertise to their parochial colleagues. (74)

Some of these texts dealt with the question of women choristers. One writer, the Revd. R.B. Daniel believed that an important means of improving the standard of singing in country churches was to admit women and girls into the choir. (75) J. Kendrick Pyne in a lecture in Manchester Town Hall, 28<sup>th</sup> November 1884, points out that “women whose voices were flexible and easily trained, were tabooed and boys substituted, with an indifferent result”. (76)

Younger Anglican clergy emerging from theological college with a greater awareness of the importance of music for congregational participation, were more open to the concept of girls and women singing in robed chancel choirs. For curates who began their ministry in rural areas, their recent musical training could prove supportive to the amateur organist, particularly if the incumbent was unmusical and unsympathetic to change. Occasionally support could become interference; the musical press of the day contained lively correspondence between clergy and organist over this question. (77)

The middle of the century had witnessed the influence of the Tractarian Movement on attitudes towards a Choral Revival, and the appointment of men such as John Pyke Hullah as Professor of Vocal Music at King’s College, London, strengthened the resolve of the Movement to bring about improvement throughout the Anglican communion. In 1874 at the Church Congress in Brighton, Frederick Gore Ouseley gave a paper on “*The Management and Training of Parochial Choirs and the Organisation of Diocesan Choral Festivals*”. He believed music to be “a most valuable element of the religious culture of the day”. In 1881 James Swinburne, discussing the importance of church music, expressed his concern in a pamphlet regarding those clergy who did not “float with the tide”; he felt they would “lose their considerable influence for good”. (78) This particularly applied to villages. By the latter part of the century “as the village became more secularised and the economic hold of the landowners lessened, the parson’s position shrank in importance”, (79) whilst the organist’s responsibilities increased with the activities of the choir. Introducing new music, preparation for diocesan festivals (occasionally in conjunction with other churches), and choir outings, could be an important part of the organist’s work.

The problem which existed in country parish churches was not in finding a reliable, competent organist, even of amateur or honorary status, nor of paying an appropriate salary, but in the pressure to provide a cathedral-type service, now much in evidence in numbers of urban parish churches. Some amateur organists were proficient, and some were good choir-masters, but the time available to them to devote to these duties was limited as they were dependent upon other sources for their income.

Part one of this chapter has given some indication of the influences which contributed towards the emergence of the harmonium and organ in rural England. Part two is a study of 20 churches in country areas, covering several parishes which served farming communities. It provides examples showing the advent of these instruments in a specific context, challenging the broader survey where appropriate.

## Part Two: Study of Twenty Churches in North and East Ridings of Yorkshire

### Introduction

Parish and churchwardens' accounts, faculty books, archdeacons' visitation books and reports of vestry meetings give only a limited insight into the musical life of any one church (sometimes due to inadequate record keeping). This section will examine the musical activity that took place in 20 churches in the East and North Ridings of Yorkshire, from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century until an organ (or harmonium) became firmly established in the service music of each of these churches. They have been variously selected across the two Yorkshire Ridings (within Victorian boundaries), to show the development of church music in busy market towns and large and small villages during this period. Churches used in the study are given in Table One (see Appendix 4a).

The size of the church band, the number of singers performing in the west gallery and the dimensions of the building were not a reflection of the local population, nor the musical standards achieved. Although documents varied considerably in the way financial transactions were recorded, the presence of musicians was usually indicated through payment of bills as set down by the parish clerk or priest. These payments also covered purchase of instruments and their repair, and the replacement of strings and reeds. Not all players claimed maintenance for their instruments and as a result their number and variety cannot always be ascertained, nor can length of service be assumed. However, payments to a church's own singers as well as visiting singers are recorded with some accuracy.

When attempting to date the installation of an organ, information given in parish and church accounts is often either lacking or vague. In many instances where a faculty might have been granted, official permission in writing has not been found. Absence of a faculty may be accounted for as follows:-

i) when undertaking the “reorganisation” of a church (re-seating the congregation and choir and other alterations) the organ may have been included in work to be done, but not listed separately.

ii) the church authorities may have gone ahead with the installation of an organ without applying for a faculty.

iii) particular documents may have been lost (a common reason).

iv) the Archdeacon, in his visitation, had the authority to order any changes within the building; in which case a faculty was not required. (80)

The 20 churches studied are presented in two forms. The first of these is shown in tabular statements (see Table Two in Appendix 4b), and provides examples for each of the twenty churches: a) the instruments used in church bands, b) when replacement reeds and strings were purchased, c) when repairs were carried out to various instruments, and their costs, and d) when different forms of keyboard instruments were introduced to these churches, including barrel organs, harmoniums, and at a later date, pipe organs. Table Three (Appendix 4c) provides examples of singers who had participated in the services.

The second form of presentation involves discussion of musical developments that occurred across particular churches, using illustrative examples. These include: a) singers, b) church bands and the instruments used, c) the acquisition of barrel organs, harmoniums, pipe organs, organists and blowers.

### Singers

Of the 20 churches studied, all but one, Holme-on-the Wolds, received occasional visits by singers from the locality. They came either to support a church’s Singers or sing during their absence. The former was usually a social occasion, especially on Christmas Day, Easter Day and 5<sup>th</sup> November. Resident Singers usually received an annual payment, which was shared amongst them, whilst visitors received an agreed sum. Examples of



Singer's payments, visiting arrangements, annual treats and singing instruction are shown in Table Three (see Appendix 4c).

St. Edith's, Bishop Wilton received and paid visiting Singers as early as 1772 (Table Three, part 2). St. Botolph's, Bossall had no resident Singers, and between 1800 and 1809 and between 1817 and 1824 relied on visits from no fewer than six different groups from surrounding villages (Table Three, parts 1 and 2).

To show appreciation of a choir's work during the year, a few churches gave a specific amount of money to be spent on a supper. In 1791 the parishioners of St. Michael's, Coxwold decided that "the Singers should have a yearly treat at Christmas, at the expense of the Parish, to the value of a Guinea and half" (Table Three, part 3). St. John the Baptist and All Saints, Easingwold provided both an annual supper and ale on Easter Day 1810 (Table Three, part 4). In 1827 the Church gave its 14 boy and girl Singers a Christmas Box of three shillings. How it was distributed is not mentioned. The congregation of St. Mary's, Etton gave its singers a "Singing Supper" at Christmas time (Table Three, part 5). By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, these reward systems were replaced by the organised "choir trip" or "choir excursion". Improved transportation meant large groups had greater accessibility to places of interest. All Saints', Huntington opened an account in 1897 for what was to become an annual choir trip (Table Three, part 7). Easingwold spent £7.6s.2d. on "choir expenses to Scarborough", a reference to an annual outing (Table Three, part 4). The rector of St. Nicholas, Hollym paid the expenses of a choir trip for several years in the early 1900s, a maximum of £1.0s.0d. being spent annually (Table Three, part 5). All Saints', Market Weighton paid for two generous choir excursions in 1900 and 1902 (Table Three, part 9).

St. Peter's, Holme-on-the-Wolds was a small rural parish (amalgamated with Dalton Holme Church in 1885). Without a band or its own Singers, mention in the Parish Accounts in 1789 of a "Pitch Pipe 5s." is relevant, as it gave a starting note to the parish clerk, who led the singing (Table Three, part 11).

In some parishes, formal instruction was arranged in the singing of psalms. In 1807, at St. Edith's, Bishop Wilton, it was given by Robert Wilkinson (the parish clerk),

who received a salary for “Larning [sic] the Singers” of two guineas (Table Three, part 2). At All Saints’, Lund in 1816, payment of £2.17s.0d. was made “for Instruction for Pasm [sic]” (Table Three, parts 8 and 9). For this sum, the person engaged may well have been an itinerant musician (similar to the “musical missionary” Frederick Helmore, mentioned earlier in the chapter), who travelled between parishes organising choirs and giving instruction in aspects of singing. Further examples can be seen at Wheldrake (Table Three, part 11) and Home-on-Spalding Moor (Table Three, part 7).

The year 1835 was the beginning of a long period of singing for Thomas Boggatt of Huntington Parish Church (Table Three, part 7). For 36 years he was paid £2.0s.0d. per annum “for Singing in the church”. As no mention is made of other singers or instrumentalists in Parish Accounts during this time, it can be assumed that Boggatt led the congregation until 1872 when the church was restored and enlarged. Hereafter he received an annuity of £2.0s.0d. per annum for three years, and as one of the deserving poor of Huntington, he received seven shillings from the will of a former worshipper.

Church records occasionally show when music for worship was purchased: psalm, hymn and chant books, as well as anthems. Few details emerge, however. A “Book to prick Psalms into” was bought by a musician of St. Edith’s, Bishop Wilton in 1808 for six shillings (Table Three, part 2). A now obsolete verb “to prick” referred to committing musical notes to paper. Voice parts of psalm tunes were written in this book, as printed music was expensive. In 1811, one Quire (24 sheets) of “musick paper” was bought for St. Helen’s, Wheldrake at a cost of three shillings for making copies of music (Table Three, part 11). It was not until the 1860s, through the publishing policies of Vincent and Alfred Novello, and the abolition of paper and advertisement taxes in Gladstone’s Budget of 1860, that sheet music became more accessible. (81)

*The Musical Standard* in 1864 suggested “Every little church now has, or wants to have, its choir.” (82) At the beginning of the century gallery singers in outlying rural parishes throughout England were deeply entrenched in country traditions, and so it is not surprising that many of the 20 churches in the study appeared slow to change. As their church records show, it was the 1870s before the title “Choir” was first introduced, and a

full 15 years later before it was mentioned again, this time in greater numbers. Appreciation of the Singers appears to vary between churches, as Table Three (Appendix 4c) shows, but it was dependent upon the wealth of the area. More sophisticated “treats” were offered as choirs became established, with local pride encouraging an element of competitiveness when music festivals were initiated, and public transport improved. As many entries in church documents are incomplete, it is difficult to reach accurate conclusions. However, where choirs were encouraged through signs of appreciation and social activities, it reflected a busy parish life.

### Church Bands and the Instruments Used

The most commonly played instruments in the church bands of this study before organs were installed were the ‘cello and violin. The ‘cello (otherwise called “violincello”, “bass-viol”, “base vile” or “Base violin”) was used in over half the churches, and the violin (sometimes referred to as “the fiddle”) was found in approximately one third. Only three varieties of wind instruments were recorded: bassoon, clarinet and oboe. Their numbers are difficult to assess, as records often lack detail (a typical example being “purchase of reeds for musical instruments”), but certainly two bassoons, two clarinets and one oboe are confirmed. The usual sources of information used are: church accounts, church warden’s book, parish registers and vestry meetings’ minute book. These frequently record payment to individuals for purchasing and repairs needed for their instrument. There is no indication of instrumentalists visiting neighbouring churches or of any annual social events offered by church officials (as occurred for the Singers and shown in Table Three in Appendix 4c). However, as the word “band” was loosely used to include both Singers and Players, this may not present an accurate picture. More detailed reference to instrumentalists are shown in Table Two (Appendix 4b).

All Saints' Lund was fortunate in having both a violin and 'cello at the same time for the first half of the century. In about 1832 the parishioners agreed to purchase a clarinet, with the church wardens imposing certain conditions on its use. Inside the bound cover of *Parish Accounts* is a handwritten notice:

It is to be remembered that the Clarionett commonly used in the church during divine Service on the Lord's day were purchased by subscription and it shall be kept for that purpose entirely.

George Witty and John Wilson, 1832. (83)

The early introduction of an organ gallery at All Saints', Market Weighton in 1796 meant the recorded entries concerning instrumentalists were few (Table Two, parts 15 and 16). *Church Warden's Accounts* began in 1784 with the purchase of a bassoon "by parish order"; this suggests the instrument was bought by public subscription or with church monies, and that it was not the property of the player. Possibly more than one wind instrument was in use in the 1780s as "reeds for musical instruments in ye church" is recorded. An entry in 1790 provides the first mention of "strings" alongside payment for reeds, suggesting a small mixed band in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Market Weighton was situated at a busy crossroads, and, as its name indicates, was a market town, both of which may account for some of the church's wealth.

St. Helen's, Wheldrake was the only church of the twenty studied to possess an oboe (Table Two, part 18). In the 1770s, its owner, the village schoolmaster, procured a music book and reeds for his "hoboy" (paid for by St. Helen's). Records indicate there were also "bassoons", and Singers who played wind instruments; there were probably more bassoons, as reeds were always entered in accounts as pairs. The Church was supported by a wealthy benefactor, Lord Wenlock; and its situation six miles south east of York, contributed to an active musical life within the parish, as indicated by the detailed *Church Accounts*. (84)

St. Edith's, Bishop Wilton was another wealthy church due to the interest and generosity of its benefactor, the Sykes family of Sledmere. (85) From 1787-95 the *Churchwardens' Book* records the 'cello being well used, as strings are frequently purchased and 3s. was spent on its repair. From then until 1814 a band emerged

consisting of a clarinet, 'cello and violin. Lack of records after 1825 means no further information regarding the band is available.

*The Churchwardens' Accounts* of St. Michael's, Coxwold provide little information about which instruments were played (Table Two, part 5). Although accounts began in 1718, the first entry concerning bands is not specific about the repairs carried out. There are two entries in 1892 mentioning a 'cello, the remainder are of "repairs to instruments" and "purchase of reeds". As five reeds are listed, this suggests various permutations of woodwind instruments in use in the 1790s.

There are four churches in the study which do not appear to have any players prior to possessing a keyboard instrument. These are Hollym, Huntington, Kilnick and Northallerton; all musically active churches, with Singers who may have become members of the newly formed Choir once the harmonium or organ was installed. There is no evidence in church records that these Singers played any instruments.

It is difficult to make any accurate comparison between church bands in other known areas (for example those mentioned by Macdermott, Temperley, Millington et al.) and those in this study, as the two Yorkshire Ridings contain limited and occasionally unclear entries in their church documents. Where gallery bands are recorded elsewhere, the numbers of players are similar to the 20 churches examined, usually between two and six. This study shows a predominance of stringed instruments, with only one church recording solely woodwind instruments. However, describing the combination of a church band at any one time from unclear and possibly unreliable sources prevents confident estimation of band numbers. Where there are regular entries regarding instruments, it suggests that the church was musically active; where records are limited, this may simply suggest poor record-keeping.

## The Transition towards Keyboard Instruments

As the 19<sup>th</sup> century unfolded, the provision of church music by instrumentalists and singers within the 20 parishes across two rural Ridings gradually subsided, and was replaced by a transition to keyboard instruments. As Table Four shows (see Appendix 4d), there was a variation in the timing and type of keyboard instrument across each of the 20 churches. It has been difficult to identify details about many of the organs because church records lack the necessary information. Nevertheless, certain features can be ascertained. Between 1790 and 1910 17 of the churches eventually acquired a pipe organ and one possessed only an harmonium. Six churches made use of an harmonium in a reserve capacity during this time. The 17 churches that possessed pipe organs were Coxwold (1798), Kilnwick (1832), Barmby Moor (1866), Bishop Wilton (1866), Pocklington (1867), Wheldrake (1874), Birdsall (1875), Market Weighton (1880), Lund (1881), Northallerton (1886), Hollym (1889), Etton (1891), Holme-on-Spalding Moor (1897), Huntington (1897), Easingwold (1903), Bossall (1906), Harpham (1910). The greatest activity in organ provision took place between the years 1860 and 1889, although the 1890s and early 1900s saw a significant development in the installation of organs with manuals and pedals, with six of the churches cited above purchasing organs of this type at that time.

Differences in the timing of the transition to keyboard instruments were partly a function of variations in financial support across the parishes as well as different attitudes to the organ within each parish. From the 1830s there were also external socio-economic pressures. This was a decade of reform, covering both secular and religious life; it also witnessed severe agricultural depression, which went into the “hungry forties”, straitened circumstances returning again in the last quarter of the century. (86) Brenda Colloms states in *Victorian Country Parsons* that political changes led to both pressure and opportunities for the second half of the century, creating changes in social attitudes and technological progress. (87) The introduction of machinery in agricultural areas led to loss of work for farm labourers, when sometimes whole families were forced to leave the

countryside and seek work in the towns. Village populations began to dwindle at the same time that public transport improved. The latter part of the Victorian era saw a change in moral and cultural standards; the landed aristocracy's influence was being eroded by a "thrusting, educated, ambitious middle-class", and the village priest was no longer independent from his archdeacon regarding the care he offered his parishioners. (88)

The records of the churches studied frequently mention "organ" with no further description given as to which type of instrument it was. Langwill and Boston suggest that country churches nationwide were more likely to purchase a less expensive barrel variety, the highest number of which would have been in existence between 1840 and 1850. (89)

As Table Two shows in Appendix 4b, there were nine churches in the study that needed some aspect of restoration which directly led to the incumbent and Vestry introducing a keyboard instrument. These churches were *St. Edith's*, Bishop Wilton in 1859;; *St. Catharine's*, Barmby Moor in 1866;; *St. Mary's*, Etton in 1868; *All Saints'*, Pocklington in 1868; *All Saints'*, Market Weighton in 1869; *All Saints'*, Huntington in 1872;; *St. Helen's* Wheldrake in 1874; *All Saints'*, Lund in 1881; and *All Saints'*, Aughton in 1890.

St Helen's, Wheldrake deserves detailed consideration amongst this group, as the organ ordered for the church provides an example of continental influence in its stop list, producing distinctive tone colours (see Appendix 5b for a description of the organ specification). On the Great Organ there is a 4 ft. *Flute Harmonica* (anglicised version of *Flute Harmonique*) and a *Viol de Gamba*. The specification speaks of "German Pedals"; it also indicates the thickness of the timber used for the swell box: at 2 inches thick this ensured an effective pianissimo when the box was closed. It was unusual at this time in a rural church to include a two-rank Mixture on the seven stop Swell division. It was also rare to find included in this specification the provision for a spare stop, which suggests that there may have been a lack of money at the time for completing the full range of stops. This example of organ building demonstrates a willingness on the part of the local community to invest in an imaginative and rather unusual organ, and is perhaps a

reflection of the wealth of the local landowner Lord Wenlock. *All Saints*, Lund also justifies further comment, as it appears to have been a particularly musically active church. Although Table Three in Appendix 4c lists only a limited number of entries for both instrumentalists and singers taken from parish accounts, *All Saints* kept more detailed and regular musical records than most other churches. The population of this small village during the 19<sup>th</sup> century was between 310 and 505 (the latter figure reached by 1861). The first mention of an organ was in 1881 and a blower paid in 1882. The building of a vestry and organ chamber suggests the organ was moved to the east end of the church (near the choir stalls), and would very likely have been of a keyboard variety.

The *Church Accounts* for *All Saints*, Market Weighton has an entry in 1797 “Paid at York for Ornamenting the Organ, £2.5s.0d.”, which involved gilding the front wooden dumb pipes. This and all following entries concerned with tuning, playing and blowing the organ do not offer any significant information about the instrument itself. Nevertheless, the details of *All Saints*’ reorganisation is clearly recorded: from 1859 when “re-pewing” took place, followed in 1869 by the organ being repositioned in the north transept, and finally in 1897, retiling the chancel floor. Some details of the Victorian organ in Market Weighton have recently emerged following contact with the current tuner of the present organ, who has records confirming that a small pipe organ with 12 stops was built and installed by Henry Jones in 1880. (90) His instrument shows a French influence, with its *Gamba*, *Voix Céleste* and *Flûte Harmonique* stops.

The extent of reorganisation, restoration and re-seating (terms used in faculty books and church records) in these nine churches, reflect the influence of the Camden Society’s views on architectural settings for worship. As stated in Chapter One, Leeds Parish Church and St. Mark’s College, Chelsea, both established in 1841 and sharing the ethos of the Revd. John Jebb and John Hullah, were the main influences in the coming decades on Anglican worship and church music. Trained teachers leaving the College were taking up posts in towns and villages, with towns such as Leeds, not too distant from the East and West Ridings, having a church with a musical reputation which became a national example. There can be little doubt that the nine churches would have wished to



follow the fashion of installing an organ. Further encouragement came from York choral festivals which were attended by the choirs of Market Weighton and Wheldrake in the 1870s. (91) The influence of both York and Beverley Minster's choral services and festivals would have provided inspirational examples to surrounding parishes of the use of an organ.

According to church records, none of the organs was purchased from church rates; with strong pockets of Methodism and, to a lesser extent, Roman Catholicism in the Ridings, such provision would have been undesirable. Three instruments were paid for by subscription, mainly from within the parish; *All Saints'*, Pocklington in 1867, *St. Helen's*, Wheldrake in 1874 and *St. Nicholas'*, Hollym in 1889.

Churches obtaining a keyboard instrument as a gift from a patron, incumbent, or benefactor are shown in Table Two (see Appendix 4b), and in greater detail in the next section. *St. Michael's*, Coxwold obtained what was probably a "dumb organist" in 1798; *All Saints'*, Kilnwick was donated a one-manual chamber organ in 1832; both *All Saints'*, Huntington and *St. John the Baptist and All Saints'*, Easingwold acquired a two-manual organ with pedals in 1897 and 1903 respectively; and *St. Botolph's*, Bossall acquired a one-manual organ with pedals in 1906;

The organ at *All Saints'*, Northallerton was unusual because the barrel organ, which was installed in 1820 (92), was the first of its kind to play three or more barrels. The early accounts of church records are unavailable (93); the first mention of an organ is c. 1844 when "Pipe Organ" is recorded alongside a payment for "Blowing Billows". Organists, tuners and blowers are listed over the following 50 years, with restorations in 1886 and 1905 by Wordsworth of Leeds. The 1905 restoration costs of £200 were raised through bazaars and dances; a musically active church is reflected throughout parish papers. (94)

Of the remaining churches, *St Martin's*, Burton Agnes is an example of limited record-keeping. The entry in 1877 refers to "tuning organ" at a cost of £1.0s.0d., which suggests that the instrument was a barrel and finger organ. There being no mention of blower or organist offers further confirmation of this. (95) As the church was restored in

1840, when the population was just over 600, it is probable that the instrument was purchased soon after that date, at a time when churches were beginning to sell their barrel organs. This may be one of the twenty churches which did not have a keyboard instrument in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The present Willis organ built in 1880, with 2 manuals, pedals and 10 stops, was not installed in *St. Martins* until 1925. No details are available of its first owner. (96)

*St. Peter's*, Holme-on-the-Wolds needs only a brief explanation, as this small, isolated village achieved no more than a pitch-pipe, purchased in 1789 for 5 shillings. The church amalgamated with Dalton Holme church in 1861, suggesting the parish clerk led the singing during these years, without instruments. (97)

There are three remaining parishes whose records about details of the organ are ambiguous, and so defy accurate interpretation. *St. Mary's*, Birdsall parish accounts indicate an organ in the loft as early as 1754; Langwill and Bolton suggest that "a number of English parish churches may well have possessed barrel-organs by 1700, but we know nothing about them." (98) *St. Mary's* organ may therefore have been of the barrel variety, or a small chamber organ. Organ tuning and organ playing are recorded until 1853, when repairs to an organ barrel are mentioned. It was not until 1875 that donations for a new organ came "from every single house in the parish....the new organ had made people very satisfied and had improved the singing in church". (99) These two positive reactions, (unusual since they do not appear elsewhere in this study), suggest that the interest and support for the church's music at Birdsall was lively and taken seriously. Records of *St. John of Beverley*, Harpham mention an organ from 1843, whilst 1869 entries record an organ blower as being paid. In 1897 a faculty for "rebuilding organ in gallery" is entered. (100) This shows *St. John's* did not follow the general trend of the time by removing the west end gallery. The "rebuilding" may suggest an enlargement of the instrument, possibly to a one-manual and pedals variety. Langwill and Boston give several examples of such conversions having been carried out. (101)

*All Saints'*, Holme-on-Spalding-Moor is a larger than average rural parish church. Langwill and Boston describe a "barrel and finger organ: three barrels in vestry. Organ

dismantled.” (102) There is no direct reference in church records to this instrument, other than entries in the 1860s for “repair and tuning to organ” with organists “salaried from 1875 to mid 1880s.” (103) This may suggest the continued use of the barrel and finger organ as described above. As only an harmonium is mentioned for the next five years, it is likely that the organ may have been dismantled. The present organ was bought from a chapel in Dewsbury in 1897. No details were given in *Vestry Meetings Minutes Book*, but contact with former vicar of All Saints’ in 2002 confirmed that a 2-manual Denman instrument is still in use. (104)

Most rural areas, because of their geographical position, limited resources and traditional attitude were slower than surrounding conurbations in their transition to keyboard instruments; the East and North Ridings were no exception. The satisfactory outcome of the changeover in this study is that the large majority of churches were successful in the installation of an organ by the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Once again, limited church records do not always convey the attitude of congregations towards the realisation of these new changes, including the re-organisation of their church interiors.

### The Funding and Purchase of Pipe Organs

Once agreement had been reached to install a pipe organ, estimates would be obtained from one or more builders: not difficult, bearing in mind that competent firms were at work in nearby Hull (Forster and Andrews), York (Ward, Postill, Denman), Huddersfield (Conacher), Leeds (Wordsworth and Maskell, Abbott and Smith), Sheffield (Brindley) and Rochdale (Harrison, later moving to Durham). It was from these centres that the churches in this study made their choice.

By the 1860s, every city and sizeable town in England could lay claim to a firm of organ builders. For example, the success of Forster and Andrews of Hull, founded in

1843, was reflected in their growing workforce in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 1859 they employed between 20 and 30 men, and upwards of 120 by 1888. (105)

As mentioned in the previous section, there were a number of ways in which funding was obtained to pay for the organs mentioned hereafter. They included subscription, a gift from a wealthy benefactor or from a priest, or a donation from a commercial enterprise.

Three examples of acquiring a pipe organ by subscription are found in *All Saints'*, Pocklington, *St. Helen's Wheldrake*, and *St. Nicholas'*, Hollym: all three churches are situated in the East Riding, with the first church at a busy crossroads, *St Helens*, a few miles south east of York, and Hollym a small village near the coast. There are few details concerning the instrument for Pocklington, other than the estimate for £350 in a contract (dated 1867) drawn up between the organ committee and Forster and Andrews. (106) A clause in the contract states:

...providing that the whole of the money is not subscribed by the time of opening, the sum of £100 may stand over for 12 months by interest being paid at the rate of 5% per annum.

At *St. Nicholas'*, Hollym, the building was restored in 1884, and five years later, a pipe organ was installed at a cost of £92.10s.0d.. But as the organ builder agreed to take the old instrument (most likely a barrel organ) in part exchange, the remaining sum of £72.10s. 0d. was raised by the parishioners themselves. (107) In Appendix 4a, *Wheldrake Church's* subscription list shows the names and amounts promised by parishioners, in addition to an Edinburgh company's generous promise of £25: "the Parishioners are anxious to avail themselves of their liberty and their Subscription having been opened for that purpose, the donations of those who may be pleased to contribute towards this desirable object, will be most thankfully received."

Another way by which a church gained an organ was through the generosity of its priest. Such was the case at *St. Botolph's, Bossall*, a building dating from the 12<sup>th</sup> century. It was not until 1906 that an organ was put in place, the gift of its rector, the Revd. G.D. Trotter. A one-manual instrument with pedals, it was built by Harrison and Harrison of Durham and is still in use today. (108)

Detailed written records of agreeing the purchase of an organ are scarce during this period. One example is of a benefactor (in this case Lord Fauconberg of Newburgh Priory, the patron of the living) offering to purchase a pipe organ for his village church of St. Michael's Coxwold, in North Yorkshire. The original consideration for raising funds (in this case £50) was by public subscription: a decision reached following a vestry meeting in 1798. (109) Although a significant minority of parishioners were resistant to the idea, £39.19s.6d. was promised. However, in a letter to the minister, Fauconberg writes of his wish to make a gift of the organ to the church:

Sir,

At a meeting held the 26<sup>th</sup> June 1798 of the Parishioners of the parish of Coxwold it appears to be resolved that an organ shall be purchased for the use of the Church.

I request Sir that you will inform the Parishioners of Coxwold that I beg their acceptance of the Organ as a proof of my respect for them.

The letter is signed by Fauconberg and dated 10<sup>th</sup> August, 1798. (110) No indication is given in *Churchwardens' Accounts* of the final cost of the organ, nor the type of organ. It is significant that from this time, no mention is made of individual instruments, their repair, or the purchase of replacement strings and reeds. Furthermore, no more is said regarding payment to the organ builder. It may be assumed that Fauconberg took care of the financial side of the transaction.

All Saints', Kilnwick received a gift of a chamber organ of one manual and five stops from the church's patron, the Grimston family of Grimston Garth, Holderness. (111) The organ was moved from the family home to Kilnwick Church in 1832, and continues to support congregational singing to this day. Another example occurred at All Saints', Huntingdon. On 16<sup>th</sup> December 1897, a new organ was opened, the gift of Mrs Driffield. It was built by Forster and Andrews of Hull. (112) At the annual Easter Vestry on 21<sup>st</sup> April 1897, a resolution was passed unanimously:

That this Vestry meeting wishes to place on record its sense of the deep obligation of the Parish to Mrs W. Driffield for the noble and magnificent gift of a most beautiful organ to the Church of All Saints' Huntingdon.

(113)

An example of funding for an organ from a commercial enterprise occurred in 1864 at St. Helen's, Wheldrake. This church was offered a substantial sum of money by a firm in Edinburgh. Their reasons for donating £25 to the organ fund are unknown, but as Lord Wenlock, the local squire and landowner, headed the list of subscribers with £20, he may have had some connection with the company. 46 parishioners pledged an additional £102.6s.0d. towards the new instrument, with Lady Wenlock promising £5 and Dowager Lady Wenlock a further £5 (114) Others who agreed to subscribe to the fund were Captain Anthony Cooper and General Eyre of the 73<sup>rd</sup> Regiment. Support for an organ came from the nobility and gentry of this wealthy village. It is known that the organ was installed in 1855 in the west gallery. (115)

Some 20 years later, between 1873 and 1875, St Helen's underwent extensive interior restoration and re-ordering. A subscription was set up to raise £140, the cost of a new two-manual and pedal organ of 14 speaking stops and the usual couplers, to be built by Robert Postill of York (see organ specification, Appendix 5b). Realising a short-fall of £20 6s. 0d. in the sum of money needed, the rector sent out further requests to parishioners for financial help, including one to Lord Wenlock. In his reply, Wenlock stated that he himself did not admit any but a limited responsibility; he believed that the musical provision for worship was the responsibility of those who frequent the church. However, "he would gladly give £25 towards the organ". (116) The remaining sums were raised, in part, from readings and concerts held in the School Room. It was during the early part of restoration work that the church hired a piano from the York piano manufacturer W.A. Waddington for £1.19s.0d.; presumably an interim arrangement whilst building work was completed. (117) Three years after the organ was built in 1877, a trumpet stop was added at a cost of £18. (118) This, together with tangible evidence of growing choral activity by the church choir (119), points to both the ability and willingness by the church authorities to devote funds to music for worship.

Of the 20 churches studied, 17 possessed pipe organs of one sort or another by 1910, with the majority of these instruments being in place during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. (120) (See Table Four in Appendix 4d) John Spencer Curwen's statement

that “it is far easier to make an organ than an organist” (121) provides an appropriate link to the next sub-section.

### Payment of Church Organists and Blowers

When the title “organist” became associated with a given salary by church authorities, the instrument was usually a pipe organ of a chamber type or larger, having one or more manuals and perhaps a pedalboard. Confirmation of a pipe organ came with the mention in church accounts of “the blower”, (supplier of an adequate amount of wind to the instrument through working the bellows). To be assured of attendance when the organ was required the blower received annual payments.

Parish and church accounts usually name the organist responsible for playing services and state the salary the authorities were prepared to pay. Payments were usually from church funds, and a “salary” could be paid annually, six-monthly, quarterly, or less commonly, monthly. It was paid retrospectively, and only for work done. There were, however, exceptions to the usual sourcing of salaries, which are mentioned in this section.

Church accounts show salaries remaining at one level for a period of several years, which did not necessarily reflect the growing responsibilities within the organist’s role or increases in inflation, as recorded at Easingwold Parish Church, where Mr Bensley received £12 per annum for 24 years between 1874-1898. (122) At Kilnwick Church, Robert Dalton “attending as organist” received £1.9s.0d. in March 1858; in May of that year he received £1.12s.0d. The next recorded amount was in October 1860 for £1.10s.0d., and in 1861 he received only 15s., suggesting that these payments were not made at regular intervals and were dependent upon the number of services played. The *Kilnwick Parish Accounts* of 1869 show Dalton receiving £4.13s.0d. “for altering the Pulpit and Reading Desk”, and a further 5s. that year “for waiting upon the Architect half day and Repairing the channel”. It appears from these accounts that he was a carpenter by

trade, who did a variety of jobs within the church to provide extra income. This was not uncommon in rural areas.

A similar financial situation existed at All Saints', Market Weighton, the first of the 20 churches studied to install an organ. Here the organists's salary for 1813, paid in January was £11.0s.0d. for the year, calculated for "55 weeks at 4s. per week". [Could this mean 55 services?] The following year his salary was for 53 weeks at the same rate, realising £10.12s.0d. Blackburn Law, organist at the same church from 1859-72, received £10.0s.0d. per annum in two six-monthly instalments during these years; these entries suggest an unchanged salary over 13 years, but which was not tied to the number of services played. A music teacher by profession (123) his salary from the church was supplemented by occasional Sunday service collections between 1862 and 1872; this was an unusual occurrence in a rural area. (124) He also received payments for tuning the organ; this would have proved cheaper than a visit from the organ builders. On the one occasion recorded when Law tuned the instrument at All Saints', Holme-on-Spalding Moor, he received £1.10s.0d. (125)

A Mr Meredith succeeded Law as organist at Market Weighton church in 1872 as announced at the Easter Vestry Meeting. Under terms of appointment, Meredith's salary was to be £10.0s.0d. a year, "the engagement to be terminable at any time by three months notice on either side." The announcement was noted in the *Churchwardens' Accounts* and confirmed by the incumbent, the Revd. Joseph Foxley. This particular appointment was the only one containing a clause in which notice could be given in this way. No other church in the study where organists were appointed included such a clause, and it was unusual at this time. In Chapter 5, where Agreements and Contracts are dealt with in greater detail, the first of the three attempts at drawing up such documents (that by Jory) did not appear until three years after Meredith's appointment. In 1892, at Market Weighton, a relative of the incumbent, the Revd. R.D. French, was paid 10 shillings for playing the organ; no further details are given. (126) The regular organist received no salary for 1891, suggesting an absence from duty for a year. This relative (probably a



male, due to the lack of title), provided a temporary (and it would seem cheaper) replacement.

Inadequate funding from which to pay an organist was a real issue at All Saints', Holme-on-Spalding Moor. The church was some distance from the village centre; there were strong associations with both Methodism and Roman Catholicism in the immediate locality, and no doubt this affected the financial support for the parish church. Minutes of the 1873 Easter Vestry Meeting state "the amount collected over the year [is] not sufficient to meet expenses." One such expense was the organist's salary, set at five guineas in 1878, rising to £5.10s.0d. two years later. (127) This could not be paid from church funds, and the vicar undertook to pay the salary annually from his own pocket from 1876 to 1896. On the appointment of a new organist in 1897 (officially described in the *Minutes of the Easter Vestry Meeting* as "Organist and Choirmaster"), the new organist's salary began at five guineas. It would appear that the new appointee was to be paid from church funds, as all mention of "paid by vicar" in *Accounts* ceased hereafter. (128)

The church of All Saints', Huntington acquired its first pipe organ relatively late, in 1897, the gift of a wealthy benefactor. At this time the organist was paid a quarterly salary of £3.15s.0d., whilst the organ blower (who was also Sexton) was paid £1.12s.6d. for these combined duties. (129) It was during this year that:

The Organist (Mr Porteus) applied for an increase in salary from £15 to £20. This was agreed to. (130)

The Vicar promised to bear half the increase if funds were not forthcoming.

Another source of financing a player's salary was found at Northallerton Church in 1899, when W.Charlton Esq. gave a grant of £15.0s.0d. "towards the Organist's Salary." This may have been a private arrangement, though the entry in the *Churchwardens' Accounts* gives no further details. Records at the time do not indicate a shortage of funds. Six years later, however, the organ was restored at a cost of £200. No mention is made of an organist's salary, or a blower being paid. The restored organ of 1906 may have been blown by a gas engine or by means of an electric motor, but there

remains no record of an organist's salary, adding to the possibility of further private funding by Charlton.

Payment of organ blowers varied from 5 shillings to £5 per annum between the 1860s and 1910. In most instances it was made once a year, but at Northallerton payment was made quarterly. (131) Until 1898 the blower received £1.5s.0d. (equal to £5 per annum), which was a generous payment for the time. The organ at Northallerton was known to be one of the larger instruments of this study, which therefore warranted a higher payment.

At St. Nicholas' Hollym, following the restoration of the church building in 1889, *Church Accounts* indicate that the organ was regularly tuned and repaired (almost on an annual basis), and that between 1895-1910 a "blower" (sometimes a boy) was given 5s., and later 10s. as payment for his work during the course of a year. No mention is made of a church organist's salary until 1911, from then only irregular entries both in date and amount are recorded, whilst the blower received an annual income of between 5 shillings and £1 from 1895 to 1911. (132) The paucity of named organists in Hollym's records suggest a reliance upon voluntary players both before and after any mention of "organist" in the accounts. (133)

In 1879 Wheldrake Church paid its organist £2.10s.0d. quarterly, and its blower £1.0s.0d. annually. (134) Both Pocklington Church and All Saints', Lund also allowed their organ blowers £1.0s.0d. annually during the same decade. It would appear that within the area studied, blowers were mainly within a similar band of payment.

It is interesting to note that of the 17 rural, town and village churches in the study which had acquired organs, all were fortunate to find someone to play the instruments. Most of these keyboard players were amateur musicians who received a salary that church authorities believed they could afford; sometimes additional financial help was needed from other sources, as has been described earlier in the chapter. The similarities between this study and the rest of the country will be examined in the evaluation.

## Summary

The first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw many influences which caused impressive and long-lasting changes in parochial music. Chapter 2 has set the scene for this new pattern of worship music in rural parishes that was to become established in the Victorian period, and which continued in its progression through the Edwardian era. The religious climate in England during the first two decades of the century was dismal, with the Anglican Church generally lacking warmth, colour and spiritual leadership. At the same time in country parishes, gallery musicians' behaviour and the sounds they produced were becoming unacceptable to the "educated" classes. However, innate conservatism, particularly within the farming community, and a love of traditional psalmody, delayed what was to become inevitable transformation. This resulted in a growing disparity between urban and rural churches, causing pressure on rural congregations to embrace change more quickly.

Churches started to employ "bands", often meaning both instrumentalists and singers, during the latter half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. A large variety of instruments might comprise the band, the most common being violin, 'cello, flute, clarinet, oboe and bassoon; each would usually contain between two and six players. In the 20 Yorkshire churches studied by the author, the most commonly played instruments were the 'cello and violin. The expenses for the purchase and repair of instruments were paid by the church, but this gave the church warden some control over the instrument's use and meant that the instruments were the property of the church. Many singers doubled up as instrumentalists but in a number of churches there was no record of instruments having been used prior to a keyboard instrument being installed.

The use of bands diminished through the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, occasioned by the migration of available musicians from country to town, and by the gradually increasing expectations of the congregation towards music of a higher standard. Sung worship in 19<sup>th</sup> century rural churches was often led by the church's own singers. The author's study of 20 Yorkshire churches revealed that where a church had resident

singers, they normally received an annual payment, with additional gifts in kind in appreciation of their services. Visiting singers might supplement or deputise for the church's resident group. Some churches had no resident singers and might have had to rely on the parish clerk to lead the singing.

At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, sung music as part of Anglican services was mainly in the form of psalmody. The author's study revealed that as early as 1807 formal introduction was given in the singing of psalms, quite possibly by an itinerant musician serving a number of parishes. Furthermore, church records show that at around the same time, rural musicians wrote out their own manuscripts to record the voice parts of psalm tunes. The general unmusical performance of these offerings, and the influence of the Tractarians, led to a gradual move away from this form of worship in favour of hymn singing, until hymnody became a much more central part of the church service. Hymnals were compiled which, to a greater or lesser extent, could be used by congregations relatively unversed in musical terminology. The gradual improvement in parish choirs fired enthusiasm for new compositions. Anthems frequently had an organ part which closely shadowed the voices, but compositions also began to emerge with more adventurous writing for the organ.

It was during the 19<sup>th</sup> century that many churches had an organ installed. As the author's study revealed, it was often the need for renovation of the church which prompted the installation of a keyboard instrument. However, it is also clear from this study that the financial means available to a church would greatly affect the timing of purchase, and quite possibly, the choice of instrument. They were generally paid for by subscription, although some examples were found of instruments being bought for the church by a benefactor or priest. Other ways of gaining funds included fund raising activities, and donations from commercial organisations; some churches reduced the cost of their new organ by offering their redundant instrument in part exchange.

Rural churches often had a barrel organ or a "dumb organist". As organists became more available, these might be replaced by a "barrel and finger organ" which could be played either manually or by use of the barrel. Later in the century many

churches replaced their barrel organs with harmoniums, although opinions varied as to the acceptability of this instrument, and demand for manual organs continued to grow. Indeed, the author's study records an instance of the positive views of the congregation towards the installation of a new organ. English organ design began to improve and, exposed to European influences, organ builders incorporated French and German tonal colours and gained confidence in producing their own adaptations. An instance was found in the author's study of a stop being added to an organ at a later date, possibly due to financial limitation at the time of installation.

Where a harmonium or pipe organ was installed, the church required a musician to play it. Whilst in large urban churches it was possible to appoint properly trained professional organists, this was far from the case in most rural areas. As a consequence it was not always seen as an improvement to remove the barrel organ in favour of a manual instrument. The prevailing view that the standard of organ playing should improve led to the establishment of the College of Organists, and other examining bodies, who helped to set standards and improve the status of organists. The author's study showed when a pipe organ of chamber size or larger was installed, an organist and blower would be employed at a fixed salary from church funds. These were normally paid retrospectively for work done, but accounts show that often salaries remained unchanged for many years and probably did not reflect the changing role of the organist. The study revealed some unusual findings such as the supplementation of an organist's income by Sunday service collections. On occasions churches raised insufficient funds to pay their organist, or the money was provided by a generous vicar. Some churches had to rely on voluntary organists.

It was not until the latter part of the century that the term "choir" begins to be used in church records, as found in the author's study. As the position of the singers became more formalised, the organist's job would also include training the choir. The role of the "organist and choirmaster" would become increasingly important as music became more central to the church service.

## Evaluation

The review provided in part one of this chapter was researched from contemporaneous and recent literature. Temperley has been extensively quoted as his book is an authoritative source and his research highly relevant to the subject of the chapter. His findings will be compared with the author's own study later in the evaluation.

The discovery of a document relating to a musician's gallery from as early as 1750 is exciting as Temperley asserts that before 1770 instrumentalists in church bands were uncommon. In the light of this, the information that can be gleaned from such a document is rare and important. The specification as to placement of the instruments, the size of the band, and the unusual instruments contained within it provide exceptional information from a hitherto unquoted source, as far as the author is aware.

Other primary sources include the curate's sketch of the church band of St. Andrews, Yetminster, which provides a fascinating and humorous view of the musicians. Whilst interpretation of one man's satirical view of his band must be limited, this drawing is an interesting addition to the already existing artwork drawn from secondary sources.

To the author's knowledge, the study undertaken of 20 Yorkshire churches is the first to be done in the area, although similar studies have been carried out by other researchers in different regions and reviewed by Temperley. Comparisons are difficult due to unclear or incomplete information from church documents, but where possible comparisons are made.

Other studies of church records have been made by a small number of researchers. Canon K.H. Macdermott, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century examined church records first in Sussex and then elsewhere. He also interviewed and corresponded with proponents of gallery church music. Observations were made by other workers of the period. Temperley compiled and reviewed all of the information gleaned from these investigations. Though praising Macdermott's tireless research, he is critical of his unmethodical techniques of collecting information and his concentration on unusual findings, rather than drawing out

common patterns. It is therefore difficult to draw comparisons with Macdermott's findings. The very different methodology of contemporaneous gathering of information compared to retrospective examination of incomplete church documents also makes comparison problematic, but as far as possible comparison is made between Temperley's compilation and the current author's findings.

The author's study corroborates Temperley's findings that two to six players was the norm in church bands. For this reason, Liversedge church's larger band of players is noteworthy. The composition of bands in the author's study differs in some respects from those found in Temperley's review. A sample of compiled results shows that 16 out of 24 churches had flautists, whereas in the author's study no flutes were mentioned in any of the church documents. No violas were found in the author's churches; however, oboes and clarinets were noted in lower numbers than in Temperley's sample. It is not, however, clear in Temperley's account how he chose his "sample" bands from the many hundreds of churches studied, or whether this sample is in any way representative of the whole picture.

The author's findings seem to corroborate other researchers' reports of the gradual changes from gallery music to the choirstalls, with the placing of the organ at the east end of the church. The timing of these changes varied for local reasons. In the author's study, over a third of the keyboard instruments had been installed by the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The author's other findings relating to singers' payments, the installation of keyboard instruments, the funding and purchase of instruments and the payment of organists and blowers are new evidence and contribute original work which adds to our understanding of the area. The findings of the research also suggest that only one organist in the 20 churches studied was a professional, and he received extra payments from time to time in the form of Sunday collection money and occasional fees for tuning organs. This evidence, suggesting extra payments to organists in rural parishes, is rare in the general literature. Another important finding concerned two organs in the study that benefited from continental influences: St. Helen's, Wheldrake and All Saints', Market Weighton. The former church's *Gamba*, *Harmonic Flute* stops, and the latter's *Gambe*,

*Voix Céleste* and *Flûte Harmonique* demonstrated a high degree of French influence by these small rural churches in their organ construction, and is a significant finding .

What is clear from the study is the degree to which the demographics of each church's area affected its purchases; the situation of the churches in terms of their proximity to towns, the local industries, and the religious persuasion of the local population had an impact on each church's financial status. In addition, the patronage of a wealthy benefactor or the generosity of an incumbent allowed purchases which might normally have been beyond the means of the church.



## NOTES FOR CHAPTER TWO

### THE EMERGENCE OF THE ORGAN IN RURAL PARISHES

1. Temperley, N., *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. 1, p.197, Cambridge, CUP, 1979.
2. Morris, Revd. M.C.F., Rector of Nunburnholme, *Nunburnholme, its History and Antiquities*, p.102, London, Froude, 1907.
3. Seymour-Smith, M., *Hardy*, p. 3, London, Bloomsbury, 1994.
4. Macdermott, Revd. K.H. *Sussex Church Music in the Past* (1922), p. 102, Chichester, 1922; Macdermott, Revd. K.H., *The Old Church Gallery Minstrels*, London, SPCK, 1948.
5. Temperley, N., *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. 1, p.197.
6. Rainbow, B., *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church, 1839-72*, p.102, London, Barrie and Jenkins, 1970.
7. Curwen, John Spencer, *Studies in Worship Music, 1st series*, p. 40, London, Curwen, 1880.
8. Temperley, N., *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. 1, p.197.
9. John Curwen's article on "Old Village Musicians" in *The Strand Musical Magazine*, vol. 1, p. 138, 1897.
10. Millington, W., *Sketches of Local Musicians and Musical Societies*, Pendlebury, 1884 Eccles Parish Church, p.11, Ellenbrook Parish Church, p.23.
11. The present writer recently visited the church, saw the "skin drums" and obtained information from church literature.
12. Hardy, Thomas, *Under the Greenwood Tree*, p. 30, London, Macmillan, reprint 1949 (original publication 1872).
13. Butler, S., *The Way of All Flesh*, pp. 93-4, Harmsworth, Penguin Classics, 1903.
14. A sermon preached at the opening of the new organ in the parish church of St Nicholas, Bristol, by Revd. John Eden, B.D. (1822)
15. Benson, L.F. *The English Hymn*. p.44, Richmond (Virginia), John Knox Press, 1956.
16. *The Christian Remembrancer*, vol. xviii, (July to December 1849) p.304.
17. Temperley, N., *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. (i), p.123. The churches he mentions are: All Saint's, Knightsbridge, London (until

- 1870), Fulbourne, Cambridgeshire (until 1870) and St. Thomas', Southwark, London (until 1879).
18. Lough, A.G. *The Influence of John Mason Neale*, p.76, London, SPCK. 1962.
  19. *Ibid.*
  20. Amongst Neil's translations from Latin sources are: "All Glory, Laud and Honour." (AMNS 60); "Jerusalem the Golden" (AMNS 184); from the Greek, "Christian Dost Thou See Them?" (AMNS 55); "Come, Ye Faithful, Raise the Strain (AMNS 76), and "The Day of Resurrection" (AMNS 75).
  21. Temperley, N., *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. 1, p.262.
  22. Lough, A.G. *The Influence of John Mason Neale*, p.76.
  23. Douglas, W. *Church Music in History and Practice*, p.209, New York, Scribner, 1962. By the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century the number of hymnals published for use in the Church of England has been put at over 150.
  24. *The Christian Remembrancer*, vol. XVI, (July 1863), p.105.
  25. Numerous examples of folk (or traditional) melodies from Britain and Europe, and examples of plainsong, were included in the two hymnals mentioned.
  26. Douglas, W. *Church Music in History and Practice*, p.210.
  27. St. Mark's College, Chelsea, was the Church of England's first national training college for teachers and opened in 1841.
  28. John Hullah (1812-84) taught large singing classes at Exeter Hall, London, and later became a government inspector of music in training colleges.
  29. Rainbow, B., *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church 1839-72*, p.48.
  30. *Ibid.* p.49.
  31. *Ibid.* p.115.
  32. Temperley, N., *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. 1, p.286.
  33. A large collection of single copies of anthems and services left to the present writer by Arthur C. Bennett, for many years organist and choirmaster of Andover Parish Church (Hampshire) until 1941, will attest to this. Much of this music has long been forgotten, but it fulfilled a need in its day.
  34. Temperley, N., *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. 1, p.289.
  35. *Ibid.*, p.290.
  36. Scholes, P., *The Mirror of Music*, vol. II, p. 551, London, Novello and OUP, 1947. In 1897, replies to a questionnaire sent to churches in the

- Diocese of Peterborough showed that of 356 churches, 219 used *The Cathedral Psalter*.
37. Bicknell, S., *The History of the English Organ*, p.211, Cambridge, CUP, 1996.
  38. Quoted in Thistlethwaite, N. *The Making of the Victorian Organ*, p.303. Cambridge, CUP, 1990
  39. 42 churches were consecrated between 1867-71. Chadwick, O., *The Victorian Church*, Part II, p.239, London, A and C Black, 1970.
  40. The chamber-type organ in Kilnick Church (originally in Grimston Garth, Holderness, East Yorkshire, was presented to the church in 1832 by its patron Lord Grimston. Michael Wilson does not list it in *The English Chamber Organ, History and Development*, Oxford, Cassirer, 1968.
  41. In 1962 St. Michael's, Crambe (near Malton, N. Yorks) installed a one manual chamber organ, built c. 1780-1800. From 1952 it had been played in Norwich Training College; no previous history available. It has 5 stops: Open Diapason, [middle C], stopped Diapason, Principal [tenor C], Twelfth, Fifteenth.
  42. Langwill and Boston, *Church Chamber Barrel-Organs*, p. 94, Edinburgh, Langwill, 1970. Illustration shown in Appendix 2. The barrel organ has six Stops, with three barrels each of 12 tunes, and was built by Brycson Bros. 1810. It was still in use in 1970 in Shelland Church, Suffolk. The instrument appears to be standing inside a boxed pew at the west end of the church behind the font.
  43. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
  44. *The Musical Times*, August 1937, pp.733-734.
  45. Curwen, J., *Studies in Worship Music* (1st series), p.220.
  46. *Ibid.*
  47. Lecture to the 1872 Church Congress in Leeds, 10<sup>th</sup> October. In *The Musical Times*, November 1898, for list of Church Congresses between 1863 and 1898.
  48. *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* (ed. Sadie), pp. 240-241 London, Macmillan, 1980. The following entries contain references to the harmonium: a) Kilvert, Revd. Francis, *Kilvert's Diary (1870-1879)*, p. 269, ed. Plomer, London, Pimlico, 1999. b) Hardy, Thomas, *Under the Greenwood Tree*, p. 32, referred to as "harmonions" [sic].
  49. Bicknell, S., *The History of the English Organ*, p. 208.

50. Thistlethwaite, N., *The Making of the Victorian Organ*, p.53.
51. Elvin, L., *Forster and Andrews, Organ Builders, 1843-1956*, p. 46, Lincoln, Elvin, 1968.
52. Thistlethwaite, N., *The Making of the Victorian Organ*, pp. 383-384.
53. *The Musical World* vol. (XLII) 1864, pp. 136-138.
54. Bicknell, S., *The History of the English Organ*, p.237. George Street Chapel was built on the German System, in which the manual and pedal division began at C, and was complete in itself.
55. Thistlethwaite, N., *The Making of the Victorian Organ*, p.525. Three examples include: Carmelite Church, Kensington (1866), Albert Hall, Sheffield (1873), and Blackburn Parish Church (1875).
56. Bicknell, S., *The History of the English Organ*, p.293.
57. Cross, F., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, p. 490, Oxford, OUP, 1958. Faculty is a licence issued by the Bishop's Chancellor or the Archdeacon for the addition or removal of a particular item (i.e. an organ) from a church. In every diocese the consecrated buildings, lands and their contents are in the guardianship of the Bishop.
58. Apjohn, Lewis, *William Ewart Gladstone; His Life and Times*, p. 306, London, Tyne, 1880.
59. Temperley, N., *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. 1, p. 281.
60. Kilvert, Revd. Francis, *Kilvert's Diary 1870-1879*, 22<sup>nd</sup> Nov. 1874, p. 270.
61. *Ibid.* 29<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1874, p. 264.
62. *Ibid.* 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1876, p. 306.
63. St. Michael's, Malton, *Parish Accounts*, 1886. The Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York University.
64. Curwen, J. *Studies in Worship Music*, 1st Series, p.182.
65. *The Musical Standard*, 25<sup>th</sup> May 1878, p.325.
66. Rose, Jonathan, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, p.196, New Haven, Yale University Press, 200s. Cross (ed.) *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, p. 1305, London, OUP, 1958. The Sunday school movement was founded by Robert Raikes (1735-1811), with the first school meeting in Gloucester in 1780.
67. Weir, Christopher, *Village and Town Bands*, p.31, Aylesbury, Shire Publications, (n.d.).
68. Smiles, Samuel, *Self-help*, London, John Murray, 1907.
69. Rose, Jonathan, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*,

- p. 196. In this text the author refers to Shinn as John, although all other musical sources (such as *British Musical Biography*) call him George.
70. Shaw, Watkins, *The Succession of Organists*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991. Thomas Attwood (1765-1838), father a coal merchant, p. 177; Zechariah Buck, (1798-1879), “born of humble parents”, p. 205; Thomas Garland, (?1731-1808), father a taylor, p. 204. *Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., vol I, p. 1034, London, Macmillan, 1954. Thomas Busby, (1755-1838), father a coach painter.
71. Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, p. 371, Birmingham, Stratton, 1897.
72. Thorsby, F.W., *Dictionary of Organs and Organists*, Bournemouth, Logan, 1912. 16 year old Haydon Hare, born in 1869, articled to Keeton at Peterborough Cathedral, became organist at Stamford, Lincs., in 1885, whilst still in pupilship (p. 284); 19 year old Louise Marsden, born 1867, organist at St. Peter’s, Arkley, Herts. in 1886 (p. 306); 19 year old J. Hathaway, born 1870, organist of Wincanton Parish Church from 1889. These organists are only a small sample to be found in Thornsby.
73. *The Musical Standard*, Aug. 31<sup>st</sup> 1872. Advertisement: “Wanted, an Assistant Pupil, one who could take a semi-choral service in return for Board, lodging and lessons on the organ or harmonium. (Mansfield, Nottinghamshire).” *The Musical Times*, June 1893. Advertisement: “Sub Organist required for South Hackney Church. Good accompanist able to take fully Choral Service if required. Practice on 3-manual organ and preparation for C.O. exams in return for services”. C.O. was a familiar term of the period, and referred to the College of Organists exams.
74. Temperley, Nicholas, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. 1, p. 283.
75. Daniel, Revd. R.B., *Chapters on Church Music*, pp. 147-159, London, Elliot Stock, 1894.
76. Curwen, John Spencer, *Studies in Worship Music*, 1<sup>st</sup> Series, p.330.
77. *The Musical Standard*, May 26<sup>th</sup> 1877, pp.325, 327 and 328. An example.
78. Swinburne, J., *Clergy and Church Music* (pamphlet) London, Masters, 1881.
79. Colloms, Brenda, *Victorian Country Parsons*, p. 29, London, Constable, 1977.

80. Information given to the writer by the archivist at the Borthwick Institute, University of York, September 2003.
81. Article on Novello and Co. in *Grove* Vol. 6 (1954), p. 133.
82. *The Musical Standard*, 1864, p. 57.
83. All Saints' Lund *Parish Accounts 1808-67*, located in Borthwick Institute, University of York.
84. St. Helen's Wheldrake, *Church Accounts 1740-1881*, located in Borthwick Institute, University of York.
85. St. Edith's, Bishop Wilton, *Churchwarden's Book 1772-1825*, located in Borthwick Institute, University of York.
86. Colloms, Brenda, *Victorian Country Parsons*, p. 27.
87. *Ibid.*
88. *Ibid.*
89. Langwill and Boston, *Church and Chamber Barrel-Organs*, p.13, Edinburgh, Lyndesay G. Langwill, 1970.
90. Personal Communication to the author by the current organ tuner Mr Jonathan Smails of Rushworth and Draper organ builders of Liverpool. Details of these records are kept by this organ builder in a card index.
91. Market Weighton *Church Warden Accounts*; Wheldrake *Church Accounts*, Borthwick Institute, University of York.
92. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. Vol. I, p.457, article by E.J. Hopkins.
93. Microfiche of *Churchwardens' Accounts* prior to 1819 unreadable.
94. All Saints', Northallerton, *Churchwardens' Accounts 1831-57, 1857-69, 1890-1903*, located in Northallerton County Archives.
95. St. Martin's, Burton Agnes, *Parish Accounts, 1804-77*, located in Borthwick Institute, University of York.
96. Personal Communication to the author by Jonathan Smails of Rushworth and Draper, (see endnote 75).
97. St. Peters', Holme-on-the-Wolds, *Parish Accounts 1748-1861*, located in Borthwick Institute, University of York.
98. Langwill and Boston, *Church and Chamber Barrel-Organs*, p. 2
99. St. Mary's, Birdsall, *Parish Accounts 1754-1867, Vestry Book, 1869-1917*, located in Borthwick Institute, University of York.
100. St. John of Beverley, Harpham, *Parish Account, 1789-1869*, located in Borthwick Institute, University of York.

101. Langwill and Boston, *Church and Chamber Barrel-Organs*, p. 70, 74, 83.
102. All Saints', Holme-on-Spalding-Moor *Vestry Meetings Minute Book 1869-1917*, located in Borthwick Institute, University of York.
103. *Ibid.*
104. Personal communication by author with Revd. David Cook, former vicar of *All Saints'*, Holme-on-Spalding Moor on 12th February 2002.
105. Elvin, L., *Forster and Andrews Organ Builders, 1843-1956*, p.25, 1968.
106. All Saints, Pocklington, *The Accounts of the Churchwardens, 1816-71*, located in Borthwick Institute, University of York.
107. Hollym *Church Accounts, 1815*, located in Beverley County Library.
108. Bossall *Accounts Book 1738-1833*, located in Borthwick Institute, University of York.
109. Coxwold's *Churchwarden's Accounts 1778-1913*, located in Borthwick Institute, University of York
110. *Ibid.*
111. Kilnwick *Parish Accounts, 1869-1870*, located in Beverley County Library.
112. Huntington *Parish Accounts 1897*, located in Borthwick Institute, University of York
113. *Ibid.*
114. *St. Helen's Church Fabric*: Subscription list for organ 1854, written on a piece of paper, 33cm. x 21cm., loosely inserted inside *Churchwardens' Accounts 1740-1879*, located in Borthwick Institute, University of York.
115. *Ibid.*
116. *Ibid.*
117. *Ibid.*
118. Wheldrake *Church Accounts*, October 1877, located in Borthwick Institute, University of York.
119. Wheldrake *Church Accounts*, 3<sup>rd</sup> May 1877: "Pd. the choir", located in located in Borthwick Institute, University of York.
120. See Table 2 in Appendix 4b.
121. Curwen, J., *Studies in Church Music*, 1st series, p.181.
122. Easingwold *Churchwardens' Accounts, 1874-98*, located in Borthwick Institute, University of York.
123. Blackburn Law is listed in *Kelly's Directory of East and North Ridings*, London, Kelly, 1867.

124. Market Weighton *Churchwardens' Accounts*, 28<sup>th</sup> March 1862, located in Borthwick Institute, University of York.
125. Holme-on-Spalding Moor *Churchwardens' Accounts* 1866, located in Borthwick Institute, University of York.
126. Market Weighton *Churchwardens' Accounts*, located in Borthwick Institute, University of York.
127. Holme-on-Spalding Moor *Churchwardens' Accounts*, located in Borthwick Institute, University of York.
128. *Ibid.*
129. Huntington *Parish Accounts 1897*, located in Borthwick Institute, University of York
130. *Ibid.*
131. All Saints', Northallerton, *Churchwardens' Accounts 1831-57, 1857-69, 1890-1903*, located in Northallerton County Archives.
132. St. Nicholas, Hollym *Church Accounts 1786-1922*, located in Borthwick Institute, University of York.
133. *Ibid.*
134. Wheldrake *Church Accounts 1879*, located in Borthwick Institute, University of York.



## CHAPTER THREE

### THE ARTICLED PUPIL SYSTEM

#### Introduction

*The Oxford English Dictionary* describes the apprentice as :

A learner of a craft; one who is bound by legal agreement to serve an employer in the exercise of some handicraft, art, trade, or profession, for a certain number of years, with a view to learn its details and duties, in which the employer is reciprocally bound to instruct him.(1)

Merchant and craft guilds became a part of medieval life, with the purpose of forming associations among persons sharing common interests and desirous of mutual protection and welfare in order to discourage inferior workmen, shoddy workmanship and low prices. Working hours and conditions, quality of goods, wages and prices were rigidly regulated, as were requirements for membership of guilds.(2)

Three stages of training formed the plan on which apprenticeship was based: those of apprentice, journeyman, and master. The apprentice boy would be assigned to a master craftsman for a period of several years, for which an *indenture* or written contract bound both parties to uphold certain obligations. Apprenticeship might begin at seven or eight years of age, and last for at least a further seven. The next stage of training was that of journeyman, when the young man could travel about the country working for different masters, all for a wage set by the guild. The final stage came when he must submit a piece of work to show mastery of his trade. If this were acceptable, he would be admitted as a fully-fledged member of the guild. As a master craftsman, he could set up his own shop, take on apprentices and hire journeymen.

With threats to public order posed by vagabonds (3) the government of Elizabeth I set about containing the problem with the *Statute of Artificers* of 1563, (*Statute 5 Eliz. c. 4* (4)) which made it compulsory for all young men of the realm to serve a seven-year apprenticeship. No one could exercise a trade unless the apprenticeship had first been

served under a contract with a master. The training for the professional musician was no exception, though as we shall see, this became established under the title of *Articled Pupilship* in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Part one is an overview of important aspects of the articled pupil system until its ultimate demise. Part two is a study by the author on articled pupilship, using correspondence and personal interviews with a group of distinguished musicians of the Victorian and Edwardian periods.

### Part One: Review

#### The Concept of Articled Pupilship

Following the Dissolution of the Monasteries (1539), the duties of training, directing the singers and playing the organ ceased to be a function of the clergy; instead their duties were taken over by laymen. The majority of cathedral organists began their musical training as cathedral choirboys or as choristers in one of the Chapels Royal. As detailed information regarding training procedures adopted during the 17th century is lacking, W.L. Woodfill can only surmise that a period of seven years was the minimum time spent learning “the secrets of the musician's art and craft.” (5)

Apprenticeship, then, was a contractual relationship between master and apprentice involving reciprocal obligations on the part of both parties. During the time of an apprenticeship, the master exercised the same rights and was liable to the same obligations as a father. The young male or female apprentice became a member of the master's household, the master supplying board and lodging, clothes, washing, as well as medical treatment.(6) When increasing numbers of apprentices lived in lodgings, *indentures* placed more responsibilities on their fathers to provide these items. Such conditions of service were set out in an *indenture* signed by the apprentice, his father, and the master. Payment of a sum of money to the master, called a *premium*, formed part of

the transaction. Whatever the merits of this particular system of training for a trade or profession, some writers considered apprenticeship demeaning and too long. (7, 8)

It was not until the 18th century that we read about musicians being "articled" or "prenticed" to certain masters. William Boyce (c.1710-79), a chorister at St. Paul's Cathedral became articled to Maurice Greene once his voice had broken. (9) Jonathan Battishill (1738-1801), composer of music for the stage and church, and organist of several London churches, began his musical education as a chorister under William Savage at St Paul's Cathedral, finally becoming his articled pupil. (10) Although details of training in the 18th century are limited, the picture develops greater clarity when an early *Indenture* of Richard Stevens, also articled to Savage, is examined (see Appendix 6a). He was to be instructed in "the Science of Musick in general and particularly in the several Acts and Methods of singing, playing or performing on the Harpsichord and in all things incidental thereto for and during the Term of space of seven years from the Day of the Date." The *Indenture* was dated 15<sup>th</sup> December 1768. (11) This title was not limited to ecclesiastical establishments. The soprano Ann Catley (1745-89), born of humble parents in London's Tower Hill and endowed with a charming voice, was apprenticed at the age of 15 to the stage composer William Bates.(12) Many other musicians, church and secular, followed this method of preparing for the profession, a system which lasted well into the 20th century.

A comprehensive examination of the articled pupil system can now be undertaken and a critical assessment made of its strengths and weaknesses.

An opportunity of exceedingly rare occurrence now presents itself to any young man of acknowledged respectability and talent, of receiving a complete Musical Education under the most eligible circumstances. For the sum of £120 per annum, the daily and unremitting attention of a Musical Instructor of well-known reputation is offered towards the desirable attainment of excellence in every branch of musical study, together with what would be more than equivalent, and at the same time doubly favourable and [sic] advancement, - a residence under the Advertiser's roof, and a free participation in every domestic comfort during the period of Articleship.

So ran an advertisement in *The Musical World*, 20th October, 1837; the advertiser remained anonymous and any interested person was expected to enquire through the editor. Advertisements for articed pupils were seldom as long and flowery in their language as this. Emphasis was often placed on the advantages to be gained by becoming articed to the advertiser, whilst mention of the *premium* was not always made, details of which would either have been sent to the enquirer upon request or have been the subject of negotiation. Despite the length of the advertisement, important questions remain unanswered. What constitutes "a complete Musical Education"? Which instruments are offered for study? And how long is the apprenticeship to last? Whatever the answers, the *premium* asked was usually high. *The Dean and Chapter Minutes* of Durham Cathedral for 1834 record that the organist William Henshaw took on an apprentice who paid £20 per annum for his training; a sizeable *premium* at that time. The length of apprenticeship depended upon the wishes of the master and the needs of the pupil.

For example, parents might put a notice in a music periodical:

Wanted to place a Youth with some knowledge of music  
with an Organist and Choirmaster. Premium must be moderate.(13)

Furthermore, a young person might make known through the musical press his wish to become an articed pupil:

to enter the family of an Organist and Professor of Music.... in  
order to qualify himself for the Profession.(14)

As the end of the nineteenth century approached, fewer mentions of "resident" and "residential" articed pupils appear in advertisements. (15) Some pupils found it convenient to live at home when articed to a cathedral organist nearby, as happened to William Spark in 1840 during his articleship to Samuel Sebastian Wesley at Exeter. (16) Nearly 50 years later, the *Indenture* of John William Render of Ripon (in north Yorkshire), dated 1888 (see Appendix 6b), clearly states it was the responsibility of his father Richard to provide lodgings. Whether this was a decision based on the pupil's family considerations (his father was a "Saddler") or whether the master Dr Edwin Crow, organist of the cathedral, did not wish to take on this responsibility, is not known. With

the development of a reliable transport system, others were prepared to travel some distance, as did young Malcolm Sargent travelling between Stamford and Peterborough five days a week for two years (17). Thomas Collinson of Alnwick, however, took lodgings in Durham whilst articulated to cathedral organist Philip Armes.(18)

Some organists and choirmasters wishing to attract articulated pupils stated advantages of studying with them. After a review of musical journals of the period (19), the following are some of the benefits offered: a fine, magnificent organ; experience in organ playing and choir training; thorough musical education (a frequent claim); preparation for diplomas and university degrees; the experience of a full cathedral type of service with plainsong in a parish church setting; use of a grand piano and music library; daily choral service and careful instruction in the theory and practice of music, with a promise that the pupil's happiness would be studied. Other promises include giving attention to the pupil's general education, and that he would be treated as kindly as if he were the master's own child. Added to instruction on the organ, pianoforte, singing, thorough bass, and composition would be the comforts of home at a fashionable watering place. It is possible that these promises could not always be fulfilled; there was no equivalent of the Trades Description Act in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. For "a Youth of Talent" who could take Plain Services, John Warriner, the organist and choirmaster of three churches in Dunster and Minehead, Somerset, promised magnificent and healthy country, fine churches, good organs, choral and orchestral societies, frequent services, surpliced choirs, and every musical advantage; in addition the pupil would be thoroughly taught his profession: an exceptional opportunity with a most comfortable home.(20) Manby Sergison, organist and Director of the Choir of St. Peter's, Eaton Square, London, confidently offered the church musician that which "was not attainable at any London Academy".(21) Occasionally, a successful applicant received the privilege of attending a good local school; for example either Trinity College or the Grammar School in Stratford-on-Avon for the pupil of the town's parish church organist.(22) Were a suitable candidate articulated to the organist of Priory and Trinity churches, Malvern, he would gain

experience in training for the musical profession, and also become acquainted with the Retail Pianoforte and Music Trade.(23)

Public school directors of music, the majority of whom were organists, often took one or two articed pupils who received the usual formal training for which they paid a *premium*. Eton, Cheltenham and Wellington College were amongst several schools which advertised for articed pupils between the ages of 14 and 20, in the pages of *The Musical Times* and *The Musical Standard* in the late 1860s. Occasionally the organist of an Oxbridge college sought an apprentice or two, as happened at Queen's College, Oxford. (24)

An organist's *Indenture* in the 19th century also stated the reason(s) for taking on an articed pupil. Armes of Durham Cathedral agreed to take Thomas Henry Collinson in 1871 :

to be taught the profession of a Cathedral Organist Pianist and Composer of Music including the Art of Writing for an Orchestra and also in the highest branches of the Musical Art.....(25)

In the case of John William Render, placed under the tutelage of Dr.Crow at Ripon Cathedral (1874-1902), the document states that the youth was :

to be instructed in the Profession of an Organist Choirmaster and Teacher of the Pianoforte including the science of Harmony Counterpoint and Fugue.... (26)

During the 17th and through to the 19th century, in the absence of a statutory school-leaving age and with the onset of puberty later than it is now by several years (27), a boy could become an articed pupil at the age of fourteen or fifteen. There were exceptions, however. In the case of young Edward Bunnett (1834-1923), articleship began before his voice had broken.(28) Ten year old William Rea (1827-93) of Newcastle left for London in 1837 to be articed to organist Josiah Pittman (1816-86). (29) James Kendrick Pyne (1852-1938) became articed to Wesley at Winchester Cathedral at twelve, (30) the age at which Cuthbert Edward Osmond (1904-37) became articed to Walter Alcock at Salisbury.(31) It cannot be ascertained whether the voices of these boys

had broken by the time they began their apprenticeship, but we do know that in the 1880s one of Crow's choirboys at Ripon Cathedral received organ lessons from the assistant organist, and showed such promise that Crow gave him a free scholarship for five years.(32) Armes and Sir Frederick Bridge were articled pupils at the age of 14 with Hopkins at Rochester Cathedral.(33) Thomas Parratt at Doncaster Parish Church (34) and Alfred Gaul at Norwich Cathedral also began their apprenticeships at 14.(35) Bunnett and Thomas Armstrong were both fifteen when they became articled pupils at Norwich and Peterborough cathedrals respectively.(36) On leaving the choir of Gloucester Cathedral in 1906 at the age of 16, Ivor Gurney became one of several articled pupils of Herbert Brewer.(37) Herbert Howells first received his organ lessons as a private pupil of Brewer and then as his articled pupil from the age of 17. (38) Robert Jones (?-?), the first of Zechariah Buck's many articled pupils at Norwich came from Dulwich College at the age of eighteen.(39) Edward Bairstow began his training under Bridge at Westminster Abbey aged 19, having been a music master in a private school for two years.(40)

In most instances so far discussed, articleship was less than seven years during the 18th and 19th centuries, but exceptions can be found with Armes spending seven years under Hopkins at Rochester (41) and James Fitzgerald of Kidderminster articled to John Corfe of Bristol Cathedral for the same length of time (42), Bairstow spent six years as an articled pupil (43) whilst Wesley's apprentices usually remained with him for five years. (44) Rarely did an advertiser requiring an articled pupil mention the length of service expected, but it would have been an issue for discussion by the master, pupil and parent once an assessment of the youth's abilities and needs had been made. Shorter periods of articled pupilship lasting two or three years became more common by the late 1880s. Young musicians such as Charles Swinnerton Heap (1847-1900), Myles Birkett Foster (1851-1922), Gurney (1890-1937) and Herbert Howells (1892-1983) left the confines of church and cathedral to continue their studies at colleges of music here or abroad. Foster studied with Arthur Sullivan at the Royal Academy of Music. Heap, who had spent two years with Monk at York Minster, won the Mendelssohn Scholarship for composition in 1865, and went to Leipzig for two-and-a-half years, returning to study

organ with William Thomas Best (further reference to this Scholarship in Chapter Four). Gurney and Howells won scholarships to study composition at the Royal College of Music. (45) This gradually became an increasingly common route of study, indicating a breakdown of the previously well-established system of instruction, to be superseded by other forms of education and training.

### The Cost of Articled Pupilship

The amount of money (*premium*) that changed hands when an *indenture* was signed, is unclear from the literature. The money involved varied from one teacher to another, depending upon the needs of the pupil and length of apprenticeship. It is known from a minute of August 1835 in Exeter Cathedral *Chapter Act Book* that the organist and *informator choristarum*, James Paddon (1768-1835) received one hundred guineas [£105] premium for an apprentice, the same as the salary he was paid as organist. An advertisement in *The Musical Standard* for 27th September 1873 for a resident articled pupil quoted a *premium* of £60 per annum. Another advertisement which appeared, this time, in *The Musical Times* for July 1884 read: "Splendid opportunity for any one to enter musical profession. Every possible advantage. Premium £100." Frequently advertisers stated that their *premiums* were "moderate" or "low", without specifying a figure.

The *Indenture* of 1882 between Render and Crow is beautifully scripted and in considerable detail. It states that should the Dean and Chapter award Render a scholarship at any time during his three year apprenticeship, the money would be given to Crow as a *premium*. There is no other mention a *premium* being required by Crow. (46) Wesley, in a letter to Theodore Edward Aylward's father, offered to accept the young man at an (unspecified) reduced *premium* "from your being connected with musical affairs. Moreover, the son might ease the financial burden by taking a few young pupils".(47) In this instance, terms appear more reasonable than is usual for Wesley; perhaps because the pupil's father was a fellow organist.



For articulated pupils able to accompany "plain" or "ordinary" services, *premiums* were sometimes reduced.(48) The organist and master of the choristers at Weybridge Parish Church suggested there might be special consideration, too, for the talented pupil, "Premium light for youth with talent". (49) Depending on qualifications, the successful articulated pupil studying with Walter Sangster of St. Michael's, Paddington, would be taken on for either a small premium or no premium at all. (50)

Details regarding the scale of fees or *indenture* monies paid during the Victorian era and up to 1910 are difficult to come by. Until the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was understood by all parties that the terms laid out in a signed *Indenture* and duly signed by the parties concerned were legally binding. Default on the part of either side usually incurred a penalty, as in the case of Charles Burney (1726-1814) who became articulated to Thomas Arne without *premium*. He failed to complete the agreed course of study, whereupon connoisseur Fulke Greville paid the sum of £300 to secure Burney's release from the articleship.(51) Anne Catley's father agreed to a hefty penalty of £200 should she not fulfil conditions laid down in the *indenture*.(52) In Render's *Indenture*, only the death of the articulated pupil or Crow during the specified term of three years would make the agreement "absolutely void to all intents and purposes". (53) Henry Fisher's *The Musical Profession* (1888) comments on the fact that when musicians were asked what fees were usually paid by articulated pupils, only a small number replied to this question. As noted earlier, articulated pupilship deemed itself to be an effective way of teaching and passing on skills and knowledge to successive generations. Fisher believed that as a rule, professional musicians were pleased to have promising pupils at a nominal fee in preference to receiving a high fee for "a dull and careless youth." Furthermore, he suggests that no *premium* be paid if the articulated pupil assisted in the master's teaching. Other fees mentioned included one of £100 for five years for the "out-of-door" pupil, that is, a youth who lived in the vicinity, but not with his master. Further examples include one hundred guineas [£105] for three years with the option of staying on a further two years as assistant; from £25 per annum exclusive of board; £100 premium for three years; £50 per annum if not living in the home of the master, more if living in. One master

charged on a graduated scale for the articulated pupil training for four years: £80 for the first year, £60 for the second, £40 for the third, and for the final year £20. (54)

At some cathedrals, monies in addition to *premiums* were required. At Winchester, pupils of Dr George Arnold were allowed to practise, but had to provide their own blowers, as had Render at Ripon (see Appendix 6b). (55) At Durham articulated pupils were required to pay a fee of two shillings per year "for use of Practice Organ." (56) In some instances, cathedral organists were paid by the Dean and Chapter to teach chosen choristers to play the organ. This happened at Norwich where, according to Precentor Symonds, Buck refused to take the apprentice fee allowed, giving it instead to the parents of the articulated pupil provided the boy had been a chorister there.(57) Once their voices had broken, choristers of Leeds Parish Church could receive financial assistance towards their apprenticeship premiums, a sum of £4000 having been left by Miss Carr of Knostrop Hall near Leeds in 1846 for this purpose.(58) Similarly, Miss Agnes Emma Done, daughter of William Done (organist of Worcester Cathedral between 1844 and 1895) bequeathed £2000, the interest to be:

put towards the training of a boy or boys who are or have been Worcester Cathedral choristers...(and whose parents are not of sufficient means.....to properly bring them up in the Musical Profession) by articling such boys to the Worcester Cathedral Organist.....(59) (See Appendix 7)

Having examined the financial implications of the articulated pupilship by means of *Indentures, Premiums*, and seen signs of some enlightened attitudes, we now consider their effects on the pupil's training and work.

### The Work of the Articled Pupil

Musicians who chose to become articulated pupils often remained with their masters for the length of their apprenticeship. Many of these young people had been choirboys from cathedrals and parish churches, but there were exceptions. Collinson had not been a

cathedral choirboy before becoming articled to Armes at Durham. Songwriter and dramatist Ivor Novello (1893-1951) joined Howells and Gurney as an articled pupil under Brewer at Gloucester, having attended Magdalen College School, Oxford.(60) James Stimpson (1820-86), from 1842 organist of Birmingham Town Hall, was originally a chorister at Durham Cathedral, before moving to Carlisle to be articled to Ingham, the cathedral organist.(61) What would happen to a pupil should his master move to a new post? William Spark had two years remaining of his apprenticeship at Exeter when Wesley was appointed to Leeds Parish Church; Wesley took his pupil with him.(62) Pyne, also a pupil of Wesley, moved with his master from Winchester to Gloucester. However, when a master retired, his pupil's *indenture* could be transferred to the new organist, subject to the approval of both parties. This happened when Hubert Hunt, Sir George Elvey's pupil at St. George's, Windsor, transferred his articles to Walter Parratt, Elvey's successor in 1882. (63)

The articled pupil's organisation of his time throughout the week is crucial to an understanding of the system itself. Matins and Evensong were sung daily in cathedrals, for which choristers and organist were required. Articled pupils were expected to be at most services and choirpractices, listening, observing and, when asked, to participate actively. This was considered to be an important ingredient of their training.

Working conditions for articled pupils varied. For many the working day began early. Spark, Wesley's pupil at Exeter, started his day with choir practice at 6.30 a.m.(64) Collinson at Durham attended choir practice at 8.30 prior to the 10 o'clock sung service. (65) At Peterborough, the organist Haydn Keeton held a "musical workshop" before Matins for his boys, beginning at 9 o'clock rehearsing music to be sung that day. Following his daily train journey, Malcolm Sargent (articled to Keeton) began the routine task of accompanying the choir boys on a two-manual organ in the choirpractice room. Before doing so, however, harmony and counterpoint exercises given the day before were handed to Keeton to be marked and corrected by him during the reading of lessons and at other times when the organ was silent.(66) Following the service there would be time to have a piano lesson at the master's house, or an organ lesson in the choirpractice room.

The afternoon until Evensong would be spent practising the organ, the piano and working on harmony and counterpoint exercises. At services there were the in-going and out-going voluntaries to be played, psalms, canticles, anthems and hymns to accompany, any of which the articed pupils could be asked to play at short notice. After Evensong there might be a rehearsal of the local choral society to attend, or to accompany; if not, keyboard practice and written exercises were to be completed for the next day. (67)

The life of an articed pupil could be gruelling. Filson Young, when 16, became articed to Pyne at Manchester Cathedral for three years. Pyne became known for his service-playing which followed the old Wesley tradition, a style fast dying out. But as a concert organist performing at the Town Hall, his style became radically different: technically brilliant and colourful. He also introduced some modern examples of organ literature, such as Liszt's *Fantasia and Fugue on "Ad nos, ad salutarem undam"* and Widor's organ symphonies. (68) Whilst realising that Pyne was an exceptional master, Young describes what he experienced as a "very severe" day, inadequately supported by "material nourishment" for a youth hardly finished growing.

On a Saturday,.....there would probably be one's own private practice in the morning, the cathedral service at eleven, choir rehearsal at twelve, which might last an hour, a dive into some German restaurant for a meal, a walk to some curiosity shop or other where an old print or piece of furniture was to be examined, the return to the cathedral at half-past three, and adjournment from there to the town hall; the remainder of the afternoon till about six o'clock being spent in practice on his [Pyne's] part and listening and smoking on mine; from six to seven conversation and smoking in his room; from seven to a quarter past eight organ recital in the town hall; and at last, famished and exhausted, home to his house for supper. (69)

The literature reveals many variations in the types of tuition delivered. Frederick Bridge complained that lessons with John Hopkins at Rochester Cathedral were not regular and, along with many articed pupils in our cathedrals, he was only permitted to practise on a small instrument in the choir school, or more likely, in one of the city churches. Bridge had one lesson per week of about an hour, devoted to harmony, counterpoint or "paperwork". (70)

In the *Diary of An Organist's Apprentice at Durham Cathedral*, Collinson regularly recalls his harmony and counterpoint tuition. He had paperwork lessons at Armes's house, occasionally supervised by the senior articled pupil, John Whitehead; it seems that some senior pupils were expected to assume teaching responsibilities as part of their training. Collinson's *Indenture* states that he was to be taught "the profession of a Cathedral Organist Pianist and Composer of Music including the Art of Writing for an Orchestra". (71) "The Art of Writing for an Orchestra" does not appear in other *indentures* examined, nor is it mentioned in the large number of advertisements published. Aged 16 and in his third year of apprenticeship, Collinson began his study of the required text, that of Berlioz' *A Treatise on Modern Instrumentation and Orchestration*.(1843). How thoroughly this was studied cannot be ascertained, for the subject receives only two mentions: on 2nd June and 6th November 1874.(72) However, we read in some detail of the stages through which he progressed in harmony and counterpoint. Having completed exercises adding parts to given basses, he proceeded with the harmonisation of melodies from Goss's *An Introduction to Harmony and Thorough Bass* (1883). This was followed by "Ouseley's harmony" (73) - by which he meant *A Treatise on Harmony* (1868). Studies in counterpoint consisted of writing in the five "orders" or species in two and three parts, followed by examples of imitative work, double counterpoint, and circular canons.

Collinson had to compose four - part canons, and found them difficult. Wishing to be a good contrapuntist, he was reminded of Sir Frederick Gore Ouseley's rule to write one canon every day.(74) At the end of his first year at Durham he studied Cherubini's *Cours de contrepoint et de la fugue* (1835) in translation. (75) In addition to acquiring these written skills, Collinson was expected to do two hours practice at the piano and one at the organ each day. Service playing and choir training were learnt by observing and listening to the master at work. Choirs and organists at this time were well used to performing from Boyce's *Cathedral Music*, and from other collections of anthems such as the two volumes of *Forty Select Anthems* by Maurice Greene. The voice parts were printed using C clefs, and for the accompaniment the organist had to realise a figured

bass. The articled pupil was not spared the anguish of having to master this skill, for Collinson noted in his diary for 25th September 1872: "Played Rogers in D from the large Boyce score"; and for 6<sup>th</sup> May the same year: "Can manage King in F pretty quick time from score". We learn that "the Doctor" would make sure from time to time that the accompaniments to the anthems were satisfactory "Played our Monday and Tuesday's anthems to the Doctor on the piano tonight". (76) Some instruction in score reading appeared as part of Collinson's training, for which Beethoven's string trios, quartets and quintets were "an extremely handsome and useful gift" from his master. (77)

Evidence from articled pupils at Norwich Cathedral show that Zechariah Buck was very much involved in the training of choristers. Boy probationers, or "Triers", were instructed by his "young men" in singing music, with Buck providing the finishing touches. (78) Articled pupils were prepared for the Associate and Fellowship diplomas of the Royal College of Organists and, if sufficiently advanced, the Bachelor of Music degree. (79)

Attendance at concerts, at choral and orchestral society rehearsals conducted by the master must be considered the *sine qua non* of the apprentice system, for it enabled pupils to escape the ceaseless round of church or cathedral services, and exposed them to new musical experiences. Pupils at Gloucester, Hereford and Worcester Cathedrals had the advantage of being involved in the activities of the Three Choirs Festivals and hearing new choral and orchestral works. Pupils elsewhere were not so fortunate, although at Norwich, prior to the completion of their apprenticeships they were taken to London to hear "the best music then in vogue". (80) Collinson writes in his diary that he and fellow articled pupils attended Durham Musical Society concerts in which they occasionally performed and played for rehearsals of the Factory Choral Society and the Castle Choral Union.

In 1890 Armes instituted examinations for music degrees at Durham University and seven years later became its first Professor of Music. He was keen to encourage amongst his pupils and candidates an appreciation of a wide variety of music. In his diary Collinson makes a number of references to regular visits to Armes' house with other

pupils to play duets on the piano or piano and harmonium. He and the master played the "Nocturne" and "Scherzo" from Mendelssohn's *Midsummer Night`s Dream*, three of Brahms' *Hungarian Dances*, and Hummel's sonatas for flute and piano. They also played duet arrangements of Mozart's symphonies, Mendelssohn's *Reformation Symphony*, a Beethoven string trio arranged as a duet; one of Hummel's piano duets was read through with a fellow apprentice.

Information regarding teaching materials used by master and pupils is scarce, but from Collinson we learn that for organ instruction at Durham, Rinck's *Practical Organ School* was used.(81) Some pieces from it he used as voluntaries. He also learnt organ fugues by J.S.Bach and Hesse, and Best's transcriptions of Handel's choruses. Filson Young tells us that pupils of Pyne began their "austere" technical training on the organ with Best's *Pedal Exercises* followed by Merkel's *Pedal Studies*, before attempting Bach's *Eight Short Preludes and Fugues* and the *Six Trio Sonatas*. These were followed with Rheinberger's sonatas or a sonata of Guilmant before studying the more difficult works of Bach. Pupils were then encouraged to learn music of their own choice.(82) For the study of the piano, Armes's pupils used Cramer's *Studies*, Clementi's *Gradus ad Parnassum*, Bach's *Wohltemperierte Klavier*, the piano sonatas of Beethoven, Haydn, Mozart, Schubert and Weber, and miscellaneous pieces by Beethoven.(83) Pyne "drilled" his pupils in playing Bach chorales from open score written out by themselves in the soprano, alto, tenor and bass clefs, insisting that notes be played with absolute precision and with "splendid rhythm". (84)

One or more of a city's churches might well have as its organist one of the cathedral articulated pupils. The church would be guaranteed a young competent musician, who, in turn would gain valuable experience playing the organ, training and accompanying the choir and learning to work with singers and church officials. A small salary usually accompanied the appointment. An advertisement for an articulated pupil which included the possibility of a paid organist's post nearby, would have been a useful incentive for a competent young man. This system was occasionally abused by the tutor. In an appreciation of Buck of Norwich, a former articulated pupil, Frederick Cambridge,

pointed out that during his time, twelve pupils played at different churches in the city, Buck being the nominal organist who received all the salaries! Cambridge was successively organist of three nearby churches and occasionally played services at some eight or ten others.(85) Whitehead, Armes' senior articulated pupil when Collinson went to Durham, regularly played services and took choir practices at St Cuthbert's in the city. Later the two young men played services at Revd. J. B. Dykes' church of St. Oswald during his absence. (86)

It was useful for an organist to become skilled in tuning his own instrument and correcting simple mechanical faults. This proved necessary for the efficient everyday running of services:

7th September [1872] Was with John in the organ loft from 11 a.m. to 1.30 p.m. putting some notes right.

26th April. [1873] The Doctor tuned the new reeds at 8p.m.

John [the senior a.p.] blew and I put the keys down.

12th September. [1874] Went with John to St. Cuthbert's tonight.

He let me try my hand at tuning the hautboy. (87)

Work undertaken by articulated pupils included copying chants for the choir, and generally being of help to the master. An entry in Collinson's *Diary* for 1st September 1873 records that after morning service he visited the Doctor's house "to help lay sods in his lawn". There were visits to Harrison's organ factory where new instruments were tried.

Render's *Indenture* at Ripon Cathedral shows the extent to which an articulated pupil could be limited in what he was allowed to do professionally and socially (see Appendix 6b). (88) He was not to take pupils, smoke, play billiards or cards. No such restrictions were placed on Collinson or Young at Manchester. Young and his master enjoyed a smoke together from time to time. (89) Collinson took pupils as long as private teaching did not interfere with his duties. In all three *indentures* there is the requirement that the pupil would serve his master faithfully, obey his commands, and be diligent in all he did. That he shall not marry during the period of apprenticeship appears only in Render's *Indenture*, an assurance that study and duties would not be affected by marital considerations.



Uppermost in the minds of masters and music teachers generally would be the possibility of reduced income when an articulated pupil took on their own pupils. There existed until well into the 20th century the idea that once an articulated pupil had "served his time" he found work in new pastures, ensuring he did not poach on another organist's territory. A similar restriction was placed on Crow by the Dean and Chapter on his resignation in 1902. Crow received £200 on leaving Ripon, and had to undertake that he would not:

at any time within ten years [of the date of resigning]  
carry on the profession of a teacher of music or any other  
business or profession within 10 miles of the Ripon Market  
Place. (90)

Armes, however, seemed happy for Collinson to have pupils, and S.S. Wesley allowed Pyne to take pupils to help his father financially. Wesley did not mind whether a pupil of his gave lessons provided he, the master, received the assistance he felt was due. His own attitude towards articulated pupils was that the opportunities afforded them in the cathedral were for their benefit and not for the Master. This munificent attitude did not extend towards teaching. Judging from a letter of October 1832, written whilst at Hereford Cathedral, Wesley found private teaching irksome. Having been informed that this work was available within fifteen miles of Hereford, he commented "I should, of course, have been better pleased to have lived quietly without this tiresome and somewhat degrading occupation..." (91). It is likely that others felt the same way, but had to teach to make a living. If teaching were tiresome to some masters, even when working with talented people, the quality of instruction could well be affected. According to Young, the teaching he received was not didactic. For him, learning by example proved to be the most lasting influence amidst "a misty confusion" of services and instruction. (92)

Looking back at it, I do not remember any of us being actually and deliberately taught anything..... We were led to the water and given free access to it; no attempt was made to force us to drink, and each of us imbibed and, according to his capacity, took away something different. (93)

On completing his apprenticeship with Savage at St Paul's Cathedral, Stevens was told:

"Stevens, you are now out of your time and you must henceforward endeavour to get your living. I give you Five Guineas [£5.25] to begin the World with; I hope you will be industrious and successful. I meant to give you twenty Guineas but find that I cannot afford that sum."

Stevens thanked Savage for all his kindness, shook hands and departed.(94) A sound piece of advice for all organists and choirmasters came as the parting words from Buck to Arthur J. Page:

.....remember never to quarrel with anyone if you can possibly avoid it - unless you have got him under your thumb. Make the ladies your friends, and then it will not matter much about the men. (95)

On leaving Durham after almost four seemingly happy years, Collinson received £5 from the master for doing his work for him whilst on holiday. What was said on this occasion is not known, but it is assumed that the pupil was given "an introduction" to a parish priest who had asked the Doctor to recommend an organist. This method of approach was common at the time and appears to have proved more satisfactory than the old system of holding competitions. Advertisers for articed pupils would promise "a good introduction on the completion of his studies."

The Organist of Ripon Cathedral strongly recommends a former Articed Pupil, [Mr X] for the Post of Organist and Choirmaster. Town or Country. Excellent testimonials.(96)

Whilst articed pupils beginning their career in the musical world may have welcomed the openings provided by a caring master, there remained a danger that in an effort to secure a position for his pupil, the positive qualities may have been overemphasised whilst not fully addressing possible weaknesses. There was no penalty at this time for giving a false reference, but a master's long term reputation would have been jeopardized. The system's greatest strength lay in the knowledge that the organist's and choirmaster's art, and the skills necessary to practise that art, were taught by example. Conversely, if the paradigm was unsatisfactory, the system's main weakness was exposed.

## The Demise of the Articled Pupil System

As early as 1761 Joseph Collyer registered a dislike for the apprenticeship system in his *The Parent's and Guardian's Directory*, and the *Youth's Guide in the Choice of a Profession or Trade*. When learning the science of music (supposing the youngster to be in possession of a very delicate ear and light slender fingers) he was not to be "put apprentice", but to attend different masters, until he had acquired skill in theory and practice. Moreover it was important to choose a good master:

as the grossest errors are frequently committed, and it is too often seen, that for want of sufficient care in this particular, the unhappy youth is inevitably ruined. (97)

By the early years of the 20th century some rumblings of discontent were discernible within the music profession. Cyril Ehrlich believes that, except for church musicians, apprenticeship as an educational system "was degenerating into a repository of obsolescent skills". (98)

Bridge, organist of Westminster Abbey for over forty years and Professor of Music at London University, described his time as an apprentice at Rochester Cathedral under John Hopkins as a happy one; as a chorister there, he would have prepared over four hundred anthems, learned to read music perfectly and become saturated with vocal counterpoint. Sadly, hearing good instrumental music was often denied him. (99) He pointed out there were very few opportunities to attend a college of music when he was young, nevertheless he felt there was more to be gained by a pupil having two years experience in the organ loft before attending a reputable college. (100)

In the narrow world of church and cathedral, there was a danger of the musician becoming resistant to many contemporary developments in musical art; of initiative and originality being stifled. Bairstow recalls that whilst an articled pupil under Bridge at the Abbey, he and other pupils had the opportunity to hear works by Elizabethan composers, Purcell, and occasional work of Croft, Greene and Boyce. In contrast to this, they spent most of their time:

doing harmony and counterpoint exercises, and in practising the organ. Deadly figured basses and lifeless melodies were given us to harmonize; academic counterpoint on rigid lines dulled our inspiration and cramped our invention..... (101)

Bairstow found most of the Abbey services "dull and uninspired". Nevertheless, choir practices, organ playing, and the rigid discipline of seemingly never-ending paperwork laid the foundation for his subsequent success as organist, choir-trainer, composer, and teacher.(102) When Spark left Leeds Parish Church to take up the post at Tiverton Church, Devon, he took his young brother Frederick with him as his articled pupil. His studies were not a success and there the arrangement ended.(103)

Henry Hiles (1826-1904), himself an organist, writing in the *Quarterly Musical Review* of which he was editor, expressed his anxiety lest choirboys intending to become members of the music profession allowed their organ playing to dominate their musical life, preventing their giving time to "more elevated styles of music".(104) It was this "narrow provincial training," as music critic Dyneley Hussey called it, that exposed some of the serious weaknesses inherent in a system closely bound by custom and tradition. (105) Detailed comparison between the articled pupils' training and the wider opportunities afforded by music colleges and universities, at home and abroad, brought changes in attitudes to training. Not so with Brewer at Gloucester. He was certainly a fine all-round musician, a brilliant organist and choir-trainer, but there was little enthusiasm for instructing Gurney, his unpredictable articled pupil. Brewer did not approve of this young man going to the R.C.M. to study composition, believing he himself could offer his pupils a complete musical education.(106) It seems that Brewer, like Wesley and Joseph Bridge, sometimes found the incessant round of services, choir practices and the responsibility for articled pupils, not only tiresome but likely to dampen inspiration. (107)

Few cathedral organists during this period were composers of the front rank; many produced serviceable, competently crafted compositions, mostly for use in Anglican worship, but much of it forgotten today. Students gained much by studying composition with Stanford or Hubert Parry at the R.C.M. or Alexander Mackenzie or John McEwen at

the R.A.M. Many of our greatest organists of the late 19th and early 20th centuries had the good fortune to study organ with Parratt at the R.C.M.

Evidence is limited regarding the quality of pianoforte teaching. The heavy tracker actions which organs then possessed may have resulted in piano playing which was not of the most sensitive nor technically accomplished.(108) Discussing his own piano playing when agreeing to take Aylward, Wesley said that his style and teaching followed that of Clementi, Cramer, Kalkbrenner and Moscheles.(109) In using the "Finger School," of which these four pianists were representatives, Wesley was continuing an already outdated style of playing.

....my hand is small and modern mechanism demands such incessant practice that.....out of London... one is inclined to neglect the subject.(110)

Keeton was another organist who taught the old style of piano playing, emphasising fluent finger technique and deprecating wrist-play and brandishing of the forearm. Like Clementi, Keeton put pennies on the back of pupils' hands; if the coins fell off, then the playing was "impure".(111) By comparison, tuition on the piano given by professional pianists would have been part of a college student's education.

With the mushrooming of music schools across the country from the 1880s, the music teaching scene slowly evolved. In the early days of colleges few scholarships were available; gradually more were introduced for gifted young musicians. Further evidence of this is provided in section two of this chapter. The young Henry Wood was placed under what was later described by his father as the "farcical" tuition of Dr Lott. On the advice of Ebenezer Prout, the 16 year-old was sent to the R.A.M. so that he could "study all subjects under one roof and benefit from rubbing shoulders with other students." (112)

Time-honoured legal ties indicated by the very title "articled" gradually gave way to a more relaxed and privately funded arrangement between pupil and teacher in which no *premium* or *indenture* was involved. Instead fees were paid, often termly by arrangement, as in the case of Bairstow and his pupils during the latter part of his career.

He had many articled pupils over the years, but by the time of his appointment at York Minster in 1913, he realised the weaknesses of the system. At this time fewer young men were seeking this type of training, as other choices were now available which were more attractive musically and socially. A similar version of the old system remained, which was a private but less formal arrangement, and which included many of the articled pupil's training practices. Anyone receiving this kind of instruction was known as a "professional pupil". (113) Occasionally an organist would advertise for a "Residential Professional Pupil", as did Dr John Warriner of St Matthias, Denmark Hill in *The Musical Times* for June 1896. If the pupil were able to assist by playing parts of the service, only nominal fees were charged, and the parties were not legally bound; instead "a gentleman's agreement" existed. Another category of pupil during the last quarter of the century was the "Pupil Assistant," - sometimes inappropriately advertised as "Assistant Pupil". In return for instruction, he assisted with parts of the service, or sometimes was given board, lodging and lessons in return for increased responsibilities.(114) Those not destined for a career in music but who wished to play for pleasure, often became organists and choirmasters of smaller parish and village churches. They did sterling work for the cause of church music for little or no financial reward. As an example, Lady Acland, a member of an old influential Devonshire family, was a non- articled pupil of Wesley when he held the appointment at Exeter.

These were the other methods of training available during the period under consideration. By the 1880s the apprenticeship system was seriously challenged across the country by the wide variety of musical opportunities offered. It was the prospect of choice that eventually sealed the fate of the apprenticeship system. Changing social and economic conditions no longer allowed young people intent on making a career in music to spend several years working under one master when a broader musical education was available for a definite period at a conservatory. A legal document which placed constraints particularly upon the pupil was the first to go; drawing up a contract cost money.

By 1895, the Royal Commission on Secondary Education suggested the apprenticeship system was dead or dying in certain trades.(115) However, the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century continued to hear from influential supporters of the articulated pupil system. In an R.C.O. lecture given in Glasgow on 21st March 1908, "The Position, Work, and Influence of a Church Organist", Dr Joseph Bridge, organist at Chester Cathedral between 1877 and 1925, described the training as being the best source of supply for organists, but admitted that the new training produced a better-educated music profession as a whole. (116) He was speaking from a position of personal experience of both forms of training, as he had been an articulated pupil under John Hopkins at Rochester Cathedral and later completed arts and music degrees at Oxford in 1874 and 1875. Dr Bridge was a noted scholar and teacher whose opinion regarding music studies should be valued. Alcock, Bridge's assistant at Westminster Abbey and professor of organ at the R.C.M., questioned whether our musical institutions could replace the system of articulated pupils who:

living in the organ-loft and becoming imbued with the true spirit of the best Church music, took with them into the parish churches of the country the authentic traditions of a great school.(117)

Frank Bates, formerly of Norwich Cathedral, wrote after his retirement in 1928 with considerable regret and nostalgia at the passing of an era. (118) Similar sentiments were expressed as late as 1947 by Ernest Bullock in his Presidential Address to the London Congress of Organists in September 1947.(119)

The implementation of the *1944 Education Act* sounded the final death knell for the centuries old, well-tryed system of music education, though the decline of articulated pupil training had been gathering momentum throughout the previous three decades. County education authorities, empowered to award grants to suitably qualified candidates, covering tuition fees and maintenance for higher education, ceased to recognise the cathedral organ loft as a teaching institution.

The system clearly could not be revived in its old form, other than on a small scale by private arrangement. Most young musicians of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century were not

willing to defer to their “masters” as had their earlier cousins, nor were they prepared to accept the hardship and long hours expected of many articed pupils. Other methods of training had been introduced with the object of producing educated, proficient and all-round musicians.

Part two which follows, is a study which extends the literature review through the experiences and opinions of a group of retired, distinguished musicians who were contacted over a period of 20 years by the author.



## Part Two

### A Study of Selected Articled and Professional Pupil Organists

#### Introduction

Between the 1960s and the 1980s, the author approached a number of eminent musicians by letter, requesting information relating to their experience as articled pupils in the late 19<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The letter was not standard, as the communication was individually tailored to each recipient. The questions were phrased to suit the time span and training of organists who were articled during the declining years of the pupilship system. A number of replies was received, including invitations to interview Herbert Howells and Sir Thomas Armstrong. Notes relating to the interview with Howells are shown in Appendix 8, and a transcription of the interview with Armstrong is found in Appendix 9. In addition, transcripts of the letters of seven other eminent musicians are shown in Appendix 10. Four of these musicians were articled pupils (Herbert Sumsion, Ernest Bullock, Arthur Pritchard and Donald Hunt) whilst two others (Gordon Slater and William Ross) were “professional pupils.” Their training followed the pattern of an articled pupil in most ways, but in this latter development of the system it did not involve any legal contract in the form of an *indenture*, relying instead on the payment of regular fees. The final letter included in the study comes from James Blades who was a virtuoso percussionist with the Melos Ensemble and professor at the Royal Academy. His correspondence is included here because it contains some reminiscences relating to his own father and Thomas Armstrong’s father (both eminent musicians themselves). It also includes pertinent and humorous remarks about Dr Keeton, and offers some insight into music-making of that time. The details of each musician’s place and dates of pupilship and their master is shown in Appendix 11.

Although the period of this study is up to circa 1910, some of the correspondents were, in fact, articled after this date. At the time of the correspondence and interviews,

these musicians were an elderly, and dwindling group, and most of those who had been articulated before 1910 were no longer alive. It is argued that it is reasonable to include this information from those articulated after this date as a proxy guide to the nature of articulated pupilship during the Victorian and Edwardian eras. As has been discussed, the nature of the training rested on a type of apprenticeship in which skills and traditions were passed from one generation of musicians to the next; it was conservative in its approach and it is argued that in time it was unlikely to change greatly in substance.

In analysing this original data, a number of themes have been drawn upon relating to the articulated pupil system, namely: the nature of the training, duties and responsibilities of the pupil, financial and legal arrangements, qualifications, relationship with the master, advantages and disadvantages of the system, and its ultimate demise.

### The Nature of the Training

As Sir Thomas Armstrong commented, the articulated pupil system was a method of training rooted in “the very foundation of European music.” Herbert Howells remarked that “Articled pupils were taken at a time when the cathedral organist was the leader in music in the community.” Although the articulated pupil system would appear to be a somewhat *ad hoc* training, in that there was no specified curriculum as would be expected today, there is a surprising correlation in the reports from all correspondents about the training received. Herbert Sumsion described attending “all services in the organ loft, chorister rehearsals in the Song School, and we had one piano and one organ lesson each week, and shewed our paperwork for correction more or less when we had some ready.” Gordon Slater remembered sitting “through all rehearsals and at times he turned on me to play, and [I] sat with him in the organ loft.....for lessons he taught me piano, organ all sorts of paperwork for my B.Mus. and free composition.” Arthur Pritchard recalled “lessons...of one hour piano, one hour organ, about two hours harmony and counterpoint, and I was expected to attend the Choral Services, choir practices,

rehearsals of the local church and orchestral societies.” Dr Donald Hunt was articled to Herbert Sumsion for seven years, and was taught “organ, piano, harmony and counterpoint, composition, and conducting, plus much more about the professional in general.” He states: “in addition to the lessons I was expected to attend rehearsals of the Cathedral Choir, Choral Society, Orchestral Society etc....and was in attendance for concerts, organ recitals and the like.”

Sir Thomas Armstrong, in his detailed interview with the author, described a typical day: “You went to the choir practice at 9 o’clock in the morning and in Peterborough there was a small organ and you played while the Master conducted the rehearsal or practice and then at 10 o’clock we went over to the Cathedral and Matins was sung....during Matins one’s counterpoint and harmony exercises would be corrected during the Lessons and during the times when the organ was not being played. After that, Dr Keeton would go home and you would go to his house and have your lesson on the piano or go to...practice organ and have your lesson on the organ and then at about 12 o’clock you would go home. You would spend the afternoon either doing your work or practising or...doing what you wanted to do. And then at 4 or 5 o’clock you would go to Evensong or part of it and after Evensong or at about 6 o’clock, there might be a rehearsal of the local music society or you would get on with your private practice, and that was how your day was passed.”

The period of training appears not to have been set in stone. Armstrong stated that “it was quite indefinite. It depended...on whether the boy was very young or whether he was after school age.” As can be seen from Appendix 10, amongst the six articled pupils (with one set of dates unavailable) the shortest pupilship was two years (Howells) and the longest seven years (Hunt). As Howell’s relationship with Brewer appears to have been uneasy, this may account for the brevity of his time at Gloucester. Two of Hunt’s seven years with Sumsion included his national service duties, and his letter suggests irregular lessons, therefore requiring a lengthier apprenticeship. Because Bairstow appeared to act *in loco parentis* to Bullock (who was an orphan), his time of five years is understandable as this would take him to his coming of age at 21 years. Armstrong and Pritchard both

served three years before moving on. As all of these articulated pupilships were around the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century or later, the legal arrangements were more flexible than an *indenture*. The two “professional pupils” had a private arrangement with their tutor; in Ross’ case, he spent an apparently unconventional year at Chichester with Horace Hawkins, whilst Slater studied an unspecified, but full, time with Bairstow at York.

### Duties and Responsibilities

As is typical of an apprenticeship, certain responsibilities and duties went along with the training. As Gordon Slater remarked, “We all helped in all sorts of ways.” Likewise, Bullock eloquently illustrated the degree of flexibility required of an articulated pupil: “I was asked to do work for him in any way he wished.” These duties, in his experience, included “helping at the Parish Church, taking probationers, choirboys’ rehearsals.” Sir Thomas Armstrong recalled having “played the organ while the master conducted the rehearsal or practice.” In the letters of Sumsion, Slater, Bullock, Pritchard and Hunt, it is not always clear which parts of their routine day constituted part of their formal education and which were duties designed to be of help to the master. It seems likely from their comments that they were not strictly supernumerary, and that their help must have been greatly appreciated by hard-pushed and overworked cathedral and church organists.

It is probably characteristic of this type of apprenticeship that learning should come as much from practical experience gained during the course of the pupil’s duties, as from designated lessons. Certainly the pupils seemed to feel that the system worked well, Bullock stating that “it was an admirable arrangement; I gained much benefit in all sorts of ways.” There is always a danger with apprenticeships of this nature that the duties and responsibilities of the pupil might override their educational needs, but this does not seem to have been the case in the opinions of those musicians who corresponded with the author.

## Financial and Legal Arrangements

It would seem, from the information given by the correspondents, that the legal and financial arrangements made between pupil and teacher were very varied and, possibly, somewhat *ad hoc*. As the pupils were often young (Howells was 13, Armstrong was 15, Pritchard and Sumsion were articled immediately after having been choristers, Hunt was under 17), the practicalities of the arrangement were often agreed between the teacher and the pupil's father; Slater, Bullock, Howells and Armstrong all reported this. They appeared not to have been made party to these arrangements; Armstrong recalled: "My father signed a document...I'm not sure it was a legal document, but it was a personal agreement between the two musicians...I imagine a premium was paid, but I don't know what it was." Bullock stated: "there was a legal document drawn up I understand, but I do not remember ever having seen it."

It is understandable that young minds would not be aware of the financial details of their pupilship. Most of the correspondents had no memory of the amount of money paid for their pupilship, but Sumsion remembered a fee of around £30 a year. Flexibility may have been shown by some masters in setting the fees; Sir Herbert Brewer helped Pritchard by "generously offer[ing] to take me at a reduced fee." Pritchard was not prepared to discuss financial matters with the author, and thought the question "irrelevant." Hunt was awarded a Parry scholarship which contributed towards his tuition fees: "my parents paid the rest, although the Cathedral also handed over some money when I became his assistant at the age of 17."

Some musicians seem to have been employed under a legal contract, as Bullock recalled; others were not, as remembered by Pritchard: "There was no legal contract, a mere exchange of letters." Certainly, the taking on of pupils helped the organist by boosting his lowly income, as reported by Howells. Once again, we see that the articled pupil system seems to have proved mutually satisfactory. Two of the correspondents, Ross and Slater, underwent a training similar to that of an articled pupil, but without the imposition of an *indenture*. It was in fact a gentleman's agreement in which the

“professional pupil”, as he was known, paid a pre-arranged fee. Ross remembers paying a quarterly premium, with no suggestion of parental involvement. Slater’s father received an account each term.

### Qualifications

Many of the correspondents did not comment on the qualifications they obtained during their time as articled pupils. Bullock recalls that “matriculation [was] necessary in those days”, for which he had a private tutor. On the musical side, he was allowed to take a quicker route to qualifications: “working with ECB [Bairstow] at music, I was able to take the B. Mus. at 18, and also FRCO about 8 months after. I never took the ARCO, for if a candidate had a B. Mus. degree, he or she could take the FRCO playing with extra tests at the organ and was excused the paper work.” Pritchard was “expected to gain the ARCO and FRCO diplomas and begin to prepare for a University degree (external).” In Sumsion’s experience articled pupils “automatically studied for ARCO and FRCO and the B.Mus. (external) if good enough.” Armstrong went on to gain an organ scholarship at Oxford, where, he recalled, the organ scholar was not allowed to read music: “The Mus. Bac. degree was an external degree you took after taking a general degree; and the organ scholar had to take either a Pass degree or an Honours School in some other subject. And after that when you were already a graduate you took the B. Mus. I read History and after that I spent another year doing a Bachelor of Music degree. But that was a postgraduate degree.”

## Relationship with the Master

As many correspondents commented, their masters usually offered far more than just a musical training. They consistently reported on the special nature of the relationship between pupil and teacher, which appeared to be at the centre of this type of apprenticeship. Armstrong's understanding of the history of this relationship was that pupils often lived in the house of the master: "In the law in older times, they were adopted almost as sons and they were expected to marry the daughter in some cases.... In the 18<sup>th</sup> century it was a much more formal arrangement. It was almost like adoption, but by the time that I was an articled pupil, it wasn't so formal as that, but it was understood that Dr Keeton would train you and would look after your welfare and would, when the time came, help you to get a job. He did this for Malcolm Sergeant and for me."

Most of the correspondents seemed to have had a tremendous respect for their masters, both as musicians and as teachers. Pritchard was highly complementary about Sir Herbert Brewer and felt that he had the skills to bring out the pupil's full potential: "whilst he was a strict disciplinarian, he was kind and went out of his way to help his choristers and pupils. In fact, I should not have become a professional musician, if he had not convinced my parents that I should become successful." Similarly, Armstrong spoke with obvious affection about his tutor: "Dr Keeton was a rather irascible man... He had the reputation of being a rather severe and, I would say, hard man, but he was always a very good friend to me and he had a very big reputation as a teacher." Slater had the highest regard for Bairstow, saying "I owe him everything in the wonderful way in which he trained me... Now I have tried to hand on as much as possible the same sort of training." Ernest Bullock shared Slater's regard for Bairstow. Recognising Bullock's early talent and difficult family circumstances, he took him on as an articled pupil, assuming responsibility for an apprenticeship that was "severe but enlightened." (120)

It is, however, Hunt's comments about Herbert Sumsion that typify the extent to which articled pupils could become involved in the tutor's life: "In the course of time I spent a lot of time with the Sumsions; they were almost like second parents to me."

Armstrong also expressed this sentiment: “If your master was a great man, a really good man, the relationship was something even more remarkable than a good father-son relationship. For as you know father-son relationships are all bedevilled by all sorts of psychological problems; the relationships between master and pupil are often free from these troubles and are often disciplined by very rigorous professional standards.”

When interviewing Howells, the author was left with the impression that although happy with the work at Gloucester, he was not entirely at ease in the company of Brewer. This was later confirmed in a letter to his friend Harold Darke when informing him of his appointment as assistant to Walter Alcock at Salisbury Cathedral. Howells commented that he was looking forward to having “the companionship of a man like Dr Alcock, so very different from the inhumanity of Brewer.” (121) The relationship between Howells and Brewer had affected the former’s attitude to religious music. Working with Alcock would restore his “mental peace with church music.” Again returning to his time at Gloucester, Howells reminded the author that Ivor Novello (1893-1951), a fellow articulated pupil had difficulties with his harmony and counterpoint exercises. Novello was dismissed by Brewer after a brief period, with the assertion that he would have no career in music. And yet Novello made more money from the first World War song (written by the age of 21 years) “Keep the Home Fires Burning” than he (Howells) had earned in the years he was Professor of Music at London University. This was said with some ruefulness. (122)

### Advantages and Disadvantages of the Articled Pupil System

Most of the correspondents seemed well-disposed towards the training they had received. Armstrong appreciated the very practical nature of the training: “It was very thorough, very stringent and it was entirely practical....an articulated pupil learned to play continuo by being put on the organ stool to play Boyce in C from the Boyce score and there he had the figured bases and the voice parts with their clefs and he had to do the job



just as it was done in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, not as a theoretical study but as a practical job. That was the strength of it.” He also was grateful for the “high standards of technical equipment” at the pupil’s disposal, albeit of “a rather, perhaps, old fashioned kind.” As shown in part one of this chapter, these same skills formed part of Collinson’s studies, undertaken when he was at Durham Cathedral with Armes (between 1871 and 1875).

Other correspondents gave similarly positive accounts of their experience. Pritchard was unequivocal in his praise: “It was a very full life and I cannot speak too highly of the tuition and general musical experience gained from a distinguished musician under these conditions.” Slater and Bullock’s positive comments have already been noted, and Hunt stated: “In my case I think the system worked well”.

Both Slater and Armstrong highlighted the fact that it was a training that could be passed on through generations. In Armstrong’s case, this led to a rather remarkable (though for articed pupils not necessarily unusual) connection. His tutor, Dr Keeton “had been a chorister at St. George’s, Windsor, and he had been articed to Elvey and Elvey had been articed to Attwood and Attwood had been articed to Mozart in Vienna and so I can look back as an articed pupil of a fourth generation back to Mozart.” These were the reflections of an elderly gentleman, but to the author’s knowledge the articed pupil system did not operate on the continent. Nevertheless, Sir Thomas carried a proud lineage. Slater wished to perpetuate these traditions by seeking to emulate his tutor in his future dealings with his own pupils.

Hunt valued the fact that he was “able to achieve professional status at a very tender age, which would not have been possible if I had undertaken a university course.” Several musicians (Armstrong, Hunt, Bullock and Pritchard) mentioned their connections with the local community through music society rehearsals. From the correspondence received, it seemed to be advantageous that pupils were involved in musical life outside the church.

The special relationship with the master, as discussed already in some detail, would seem to be the main advantage of the system, although as pointed out in part one of the chapter, the relationship did not always prove harmonious. In the case of those

involved in this study, however, all but one had established good working relationships with their masters. They were, of course, a self-selected group of those who had made a success of the system. Indeed, Hunt expressed the view that articulated pupilship did not suit all musicians: "My fellow articulated pupils- there were three at one time- fell by the wayside; lack of commitment was their failing I suspect." He further expressed concerns about the training from a theoretical point of view: "I have come to regret the lack of academic background inherent in the articulated pupil system and certainly in the early days I regretted not being able to accept a University place because my parents could not really afford it."

As one of the children of the Chapel Royal, Armstrong had the good fortune to have piano lessons at the Matthay School, where he was introduced to Debussy's *Children's Corner*. On arrival at Peterborough, Dr Keeton expressed his anger at the boy's familiarity with such music, "Don't play that anymore - or anything like it!" (123) Armstrong informed the author that he "had a good deal to learn and unlearn" when he went on to the RCM. He also regretted the limitations of the musical repertoire to which he and other articulated pupils were typically exposed: "The possible weak points were that it was limited largely to Cathedral music and the repertoire of the local orchestra and choral society, so that many promising musicians decided to go to Germany to study in order to get into the mainstream of classical European music and, of course, we didn't do that, I didn't do that until I went later on to be a pupil of Vaughan Williams at the Royal College and this was another world." It was not only Keeton who was intolerant of contemporary music; Brewer, according to Howells, referred to Vaughan Williams' "Fantasia on a Theme of Thomas Tallis as a "queer, mad work by an odd fellow from Chelsea." (124)

It is perhaps to be expected that the recipients of this training would be relatively uncritical of it, for a variety of reasons. First, that because the articulated pupil system involved a close and often very special relationship between pupil and teacher, any criticism of the system might be difficult to recognise and express as it might imply censure of a much-respected tutor. Second, criticism of the system might force the pupil

to acknowledge shortcomings in their training; shortcomings which potentially rendered them less competent than they might have been under a more regulated system. Third, it is a natural human tendency to eschew change and to cling to the things of our youth, harking back to a perceived “golden era” which perhaps never, in reality, existed. Nevertheless, the articulated pupil system clearly had many positive features associated with it which, for these correspondents, resulted in an enduring positive memory of a close and fruitful musical experience.

### Demise of the Articled Pupil System

The decline of articulated pupilship has already been discussed in some detail in part one of the chapter. What is added here is the opinions of the correspondents as to how and why this occurred. Certainly the musicians had very varied opinions about *when* the practice died out. Slater recalled Bairstow saying it was “a thing of the past”, and Ross contended that in his experience it “was more or less a figure of speech.” Hunt had experience of some articulated pupils into the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century: “I know of no one who followed the articulated pupil system after the late [19]50s, certainly Sumsion had one in 56/57.” Pritchard felt that there might still be some articulated pupils when he wrote to the author in 1978: “Articled pupils are not recognised by the ‘Educational powers that be’ in this country, so, unfortunately there are very few now.”

Armstrong’s comments regarding the demise of articulated pupilship were perhaps the most enlightening: “I think it went out of favour because young musicians who had ambitions and aspirations were much more inclined to get a scholarship to the Royal College or to the Royal Academy or to go the University. You see, a boy who came from a good grammar school or a public school who was 17, would probably be told, well try and get an organ scholarship to go and study with Walter Parratt or with Trevor at the Royal Academy, so that there were more, as it were, up-to-date avenues of training than there had been in the previous century. You see, if you can imagine that a boy who was a

good musician..... his father might say, well the best thing I can do is to send you to Dr Wesley at Exeter .....and he will give you the necessary qualifications. Then that boy might become organist to one of the local towns and if a good musician might be a very valuable and enterprising practical musician in those areas. Alternatively, he might say, well, I've got a bit of money, I can go and study music in Leipzig or I can go to Paris, and so you see, you get a generation of talented young men like the Frankfurt group, Balfour Gardner and Cyril Scott and Norman O'Neil, who all went to study in Germany..."

The sadness of these musicians at the passing of an era was quite clear in their correspondence. It was a rare privilege to have access to the wealth of experience and knowledge of these artists belonging to a bygone age of musical training.

## Summary

Apprenticeship, which was in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries a commonly employed method of training in many trades, involved a contractual relationship between master and pupil. This contract would generally be in written form as an *indenture*, and would include a *premium* payable to the master by the pupil or his father.

The term articed pupil, a form of musical apprenticeship, began its use in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when advertisements began to appear widely in the musical press. There was a great variety in what was offered, with much advertised beyond the purely musical aspects of the apprenticeship. Pupils might be offered board and lodgings, material comforts of various sorts, and even being welcomed as a member of the master's family. As the pupils were often young, this no doubt provided some reassurance for the their parents.

Although the training was normally less than 7 years, this was not always the case. It appears that the length of the *indenture* was often open to negotiation depending on the age and abilities of the pupil. Usually, the decision as to whether an articed pupil was "out of his time" was the responsibility of one person, the master. The cost of pupilship is somewhat difficult to ascertain from the literature, as it is often not stated either in advertisements or in *indentures*. When asked, musicians either could not remember or were unwilling to disclose this information. However, what does emerge is that premiums were frequently reduced or even waived by enlightened masters under some circumstances. Pupils might also ease their own financial burden by teaching (though this was sometimes prohibited in the indenture), or by taking on a post as a local church organist (though sometimes any money earned was taken by their masters). Occasionally, scholarships helped the impoverished pupil, or bequests were left to aid an articed pupil.

The legal arrangements appear to have been somewhat *ad hoc*. Usually there was a written contract, often involving the pupil's father, though it seems that not all articed pupils were themselves party to a written document. It is likely that in some cases no such document existed, but that the arrangement was made by "gentleman's agreement". An

*indenture* was sometimes only legally soluble at the death of one of the parties, and a penalty would often be incurred if terms of the indenture were broken. Limitations could be placed on the private and social ties of the pupils, who were expected to be faithful and diligent; restrictive clauses, such as set boundaries for private teaching, were often applied when they left the pupilship.

The work of the articulated pupil was often very demanding, and the training rigorous. The conditions of work varied, but in broad terms involved attending many services and playing when asked. There were organ and piano lessons, instruction in counterpoint and harmony, attendance at local music society rehearsals and concerts, preparation for exams, and learning about minor repairs to the organ. Senior pupils were often expected to teach younger students, mainly by example, and a variety of different instruction manuals were used.

The demise of the articulated pupil system was gradual and occurred because this form of tuition was considered to have become obsolete. Pupils could see the advantages of a more academic, structured and varied course of study at schools of music, at university or abroad. Courses at these institutions were believed to provide a better all round musical training.

Variants of the articulated pupil system appeared in the musical press during the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in which the pupil, known as a “professional pupil” paid fees rather than a *premium*; fees could be reduced if the pupil assisted his teacher by playing for services. The system, by this time, was thought to have outlived its usefulness because the methods of teaching were not systematic and the relationship with the master was something of a lottery. Instruction from a number of specialists was thought preferable. Whilst articulated pupilship system demanded a large commitment from the pupil, it exposed him to a limited musical repertoire and offered an incomplete academic background. The quality of instruction could be affected by the master’s attitude towards teaching and the relationship with his pupil. When the relationship worked well, it could be productive and important to both parties, but particularly for the apprentice. There were useful connections with local music societies, which meant an introduction to new

experiences which helped ease his entry into the profession at an earlier age. It was a highly practical training, the skills of which could be passed on through the generations.

The passing of this era was clearly grieved by many, but the security offered by the “old” system was to be succeeded by a new-found independence and a growing confidence in the benefits of institutionalised education. It promised to broaden organists’ horizons, avoid provincialism and produce a more rounded individual, who would feel comfortable with the society in which he earned his living; a process which did not happen quickly, nor was the path smooth.

### Evaluation

The information contained in this chapter is drawn from a number of sources, namely: recent authoritative literature, contemporaneous books and diaries, journal articles of the period, and church and library documents. In addition, this chapter draws extensively on correspondence with musicians who were themselves articulated pupils during, or shortly after, the study period. These impressions of men who had lived through the system in their younger days provide invaluable insight into what it was like to be an articulated pupil, and give useful additional information about certain aspects of pupilship. What this information adds is the retrospective views of the last few organists still alive who had experienced Anglican articulated pupilship. Whilst documents of the Victorian and Edwardian periods, such as journal articles and diaries, can be presumed to give accurate contemporaneous information, the value of the letters and interviews are that they represent the memories and perceptions of musicians who could view their training with the eye of experience and wisdom. As has been discussed, they might have been tempted to see their pupilship through somewhat rose-tinted spectacles, and yet they were also in many instances able to cite its shortcomings. In this chapter the history of the birth, life and death of the articulated pupil system has been drawn into a coherent picture by

use of the evidence from the sources mentioned above. The quality of this evidence, and its implications, will now be discussed.

Much information was gleaned from *indentures* regarding the legal position of pupils. Documents, sourced from churches and libraries, were primary sources and are legal documents. It is therefore reasonable to assume that they were worded with consummate care, and represent an accurate picture of the legal situation between teacher and pupil. It is from these *indentures* that we see the first mention of the term “articled pupil”, and that we find details regarding what was expected both of pupil and tutor. *Indentures* specified much about the behaviour required of a pupil, in terms of probity and avoidance of perceived vices. These exhortation were not found elsewhere in the literature and are believed to provide new evidence relating to the behaviour expected of articled pupils. Information regarding the length of service, the commitments made by both parties regarding the material needs of the pupil, and the teaching duties of the master, corroborate information from other sources, namely recent literature, Victorian publications and journals, the published diary of Collinson, and the letters to, and interviews undertaken by, the author.

Advertisements from Victorian journals also provided a very useful source of information regarding what was offered by masters. These documents indicated the extent to which those advertising for pupils needed to boast special amenities or privileges beyond merely a thorough musical education, in order to encourage applications. This was not found elsewhere in the literature, and drawing such information together provides new insights into the environment in which pupils were recruited. Information from advertisements also corroborated statements in an interview conducted by the author with Sir Thomas Armstrong, and in recent literature, regarding the variable lengths and costs of apprenticeships.

Collinson’s diary proved a fascinating source of contemporaneous information, all the more refreshing because of the immediacy in the reporting of his experience. This, drawn together particularly with information from the author’s interview with Armstrong, provides a comprehensive and consistent account of the daily life of an articled pupil.



Both accounts make abundantly clear the heavy demands placed on the pupil. It is in these retrospective accounts by those musicians who corresponded with the author, or were interviewed by him, that a new perspective is gained. This information is likely to have been clouded to some extent by the passage of time. Armstrong's reflection on his articulated pupil days, some 75 years earlier, is different in form from a contemporaneous diary. The value of this information is in the overview that these distinguished musicians had on their careers. The way in which they had tried to emulate their teachers stands testament to their admiration for the fine musicians under whom they had studied. Whilst it is broadly accepted that the system relied on traditional teaching being passed down, this stated wish to reproduce teaching methods is not cited elsewhere in the literature. Sir Thomas Armstrong's connection with Mozart via several generations of musicians is fascinating and gives an apt example of the way in which, at its best, the system could help to disseminate the techniques and skills of a genius.

The letters and interviews also give touching personal accounts of the esteem in which the pupils held their masters. This is valuable because the success of an apprenticeship rests heavily on the relationship between pupil and master, and the affection that most of these distinguished men still held for their masters is clear in the accounts they gave. The lack of clarity relating to the legal arrangements of these appointments may have been due to the young age at which these pupils were taken on, and to the passage of time until they were approached for information. It is interesting, however, that several of them believed that they had never signed any document, suggesting that a gentleman's agreement may have been a common means of seeking an arrangement. This is not recorded in any other part of the literature. As was found elsewhere in the contemporaneous literature, some correspondents in the study were reluctant to discuss how much they had paid for their pupilship. This probably reflects the very private attitude held towards financial matters by many people of this generation, as well as a probable lack of knowledge of these details at the time.

The literature listed below are some of the important secondary sources that have proved informative when discussing biographical details, and describing the 19<sup>th</sup> century

background of reform and social change. Reliable historical analysis is found in the 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> editions of *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (with some Victorian and Edwardian organists now only appearing in the early edition), Brown and Stratton's *British Musical Biography*, Thornsby's *Dictionary of Organs and Organists* and the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Biographies have also been included which provide insights into the lifestyle of men who emerged from a unique training to become leaders in the musical world. They include works by Paul Spicer, Charles Reid, Jeremy Dribble, George Grove, Tovey and Parrot, and H.C. Colles. Autobiographical works discussed include those by Victorian organists Frederick Bridge and Herbert Brewer.

Nicholas Temperley's *Music of the English Parish Church* (2 vols) is an extensive and thorough study of parochial music, and has offered particularly relevant information concerning the areas of change taking place during the period studied. Social histories of particular value to the study include those written by Cyril Ehrlich, Percy Scholes, Vera Brittain, Ephraime Lipson, Nicholas Thistlethwaite, Owen Chadwick and John Curwen. These sources cover many socio-cultural and political developments which influenced Anglican music during the industrialisation of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER THREE

### THE ARTICLED PUPIL SYSTEM

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6. Erhlich, C., *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1985. In the chapter *Articles of Apprenticeship, 1860*, one articulated pupil's grandmother is described as providing "food, lodging and apparel under the said term." p. 239.
7. Grassby, Richard, *The English Gentleman in Trade: the Life and Work of Sir Dudley North, 1641-91*, p.19, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1994.
8. Smith, Adam, *The Wealth of Nations*, pp.224-226, Harmondsworth, Penguin 1986
9. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., vol. 1, p. 860, London, Macmillan, 1954.
10. Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, Birmingham, Stratton, 1897. *Brown's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*, p. 35, Birmingham, Stratton, 1886. Battishall was articulated to Savage "by whom he was ill-treated".
11. *Steven's Papers*. Copy of *Indenture* provided by Cudworth, Pendlebury Library, University of Cambridge. (See Appendix 6a). *The Musical Times*, Nov./Dec. 1962, pp. 602-604.
12. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., vol. 1, 1954, p. 497.

13. *Ibid.*, January 1871.
14. *The Musical Times*, February 1871.
15. After a thorough review of musical journals by the author, it would appear that neither the master nor the articled pupil were inclined to reside together after 1880, as advertisements seldom offered this after this date.
16. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., vol. VIII, 1954, p. 2.
17. Reid, C. *Malcolm Sargent*, p.52, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1968.
18. Collinson, T., *The Diary of An Organist's Apprentice at Durham Cathedral 1871-1875*, Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Press, 1982. Entry for 5<sup>th</sup> October 1871.
19. A sample of advertisements found in the main musical journals of the time is listed here: *The Musical World*, 20<sup>th</sup> Oct., 1837, "complete Musical Education.... For the sum of £120 p.a."; *The Musical Times*, 1<sup>st</sup> April, 1861, "comforts of home at a fashionable watering place."; *The Musical Times*, 1<sup>st</sup> March, 1865, "good opening at the end of his studies."; *The Musical Standard*, 27<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1873, "Pupils prepared for the University of College of Organists examinations."; *The Musical Standard*, 29<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1883, "Opportunities for acquiring experience in full Cathedral Service and Gregorian music."; *The Musical Times*, 1<sup>st</sup> April 1907, "Streatham Parish Church: 'preparation for FRCO and Mus. Bach. degree. Exceptional opportunities for experience in choir-training, choral services and orchestra.'"
20. *The Musical Standard*, 22 December 1883.
21. *Ibid.*, 8 June 1889.
22. *The Musical Times*, December 1876
23. *Ibid.*, September 1861
24. *Ibid.*, December 1867.
25. Collinson, T., *The Diary of An Organist's Apprentice, 1871-1875. Indenture given in full.*

26. *Archives of the Dean and Chapter, Ripon Cathedral*, in Brotherton Library, Leeds University.
27. *The Observer*, 18th June 1995, Sarah Lonsdale: "Sexism that starts in the Nursery." The average age of puberty in Western societies has fallen during the 20th century from 16 to 12.5 years.
28. *The Musical Standard*, 12th October 1895, p.240.
29. *The Musical Times*, April 1903, p.238.
30. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., vol. V1, 1954, p. 1025.
31. *The Musical Times*, obituary, February 1937.
32. *Archives of Dean and Chapter, Ripon Cathedral*: Brotherton Library, Leeds University. Letter from Crow in support of John William Render's application for post at Anderston Church, Glasgow, dated 3rd March, 1887.
33. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., vol. 1, 1954, p. 203, p. 935.
34. Tovey, D. and Parratt, G. *Walter Parratt, Master of the Music*, p.11, London, O.U.P., 1941.
35. Kitton, F., *Dr Zechariah Buck, (1798-1879) A Centenary Memoir*. p.61, London, Jarrold, 1899.
36. Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, p. 69, 1897.  
*Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., vol. 1, 1954, p. 207.
37. Hurd, M., *The Ordeal of Ivor Gurney*, p.23, London, O.U.P., 1978.
38. *Ibid.*
39. Kitton, *Dr Zechariah Buck, (1798-1879) A Centenary Memoir*, p.54.
40. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 6th edn., 1980 vol.ii, pp. 498-499, London, Macmillan. Article by Francis Jackson.
41. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 6th edn., 1980, vol.i, p.203.
42. *The Musical Standard*, 10th March 1877, "Register of Musical Professors."
43. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 6th edn.(1980) vol. ii, pp. 498-499. Article by Francis Jackson on Bairstow; also vol.xvi, article by Stephen Banfield on E.G.Monk. p. 940.

44. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., vol. VIII, 1954, p. 2. Entry relating to William Spark, article 1840-1845. Shaw, Watkins, *The Succession of Organists*, p. 167, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991. Information about Francis Edward Galdstone, article 1859-1864.
45. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., 1954. Articles on Swinnerton Heap, vol. 4, p.212; Miles B. Foster, vol. 3, p. 456; Ivor Gurney, Vol. 3, p. 855; Herbert Howells, vol. 4, p. 389.
46. Copy of J.W.Render's *Indenture* is given in Appendix 6b
47. *The Musical Times*, May 1937, p.432. One of S.S. Wesley's letters quoted in Gerald Spink's article on the musician.
48. Such a consideration occurred frequently in musical press advertisements and might well have been an incentive to a prospective pupil to seek further details.
49. *The Musical Times*, April 1883; "Premium light for Youth with Talent,"; *The Musical Standard*, 20th January 1883.
50. *The Musical Times*, July 1876.
51. *The New Grove History of Music and Musicians*, 6th edn., vol. iii, article by Scholes, P.A. and Watkins Shaw, pp. 639-640.
52. *The New Grove History of Music and Musicians*, vol. v. Sir Francis Delaval, Anne Catley's lover, paid Bates £200 (the agreed Indenture penalty) to release her because of lost commission when she did not perform.
53. Copy of J.W.Render's *Indenture* is given in Appendix 6b.
54. Fisher, H., *The Musical Profession*, p.161, London, J. Curwen, 1988.
55. *Winchester Cathedral Chapter Book 1850-1876*, March 25th 1868, p.289.
56. Collinson, T., *Diary of an Organist's Apprentice*, 5th November 1872.
57. Hiles, Henry, *The Quarterly Music Review*, August 1886. p. 34. Confirmation of this happening at Norwich is stated in Kitton's *Dr Zachariah Buck*, p.57. If Buck intended entering the music profession, he would take him on as an apprentice. To each boy leaving the choir the Dean and Chapter gave the sum of £10, as "apprentice-money."

58. *The Musical Standard*, 10th July 1886, p.18.
59. *Worcester Cathedral Chapter Minutes* which contained a copy of part of Miss Done's will setting out details of the Trust to benefit worthy choristers. (see Appendix 7). *The Musical Times*, Dec. 1913, stated that money to apprentice City of London choir boys to musical instrument traders became available in 1913 when Miss Alice Prendergast gave £500 in memory of her late brother, a Freeman of the Musicians' Company.
60. *Chambers Biographical Dictionary*, p. 1090, Cambridge, CUP, 1990.  
Spicer, Paul, *Herbert Howells*, p. 19, Bridgend, Seren, 1999.
61. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., p. 89, vol. VIII, 1954.
62. *Yorkshire Post*, 8th June 1876, and *Leeds Remembrancer* 8th June 1876.
63. Shaw, Watkins, *The Succession of Organists*, p. 41, pp. 189-190., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991.
64. *Leeds Remembrancer*, 8th June 1876.
65. Collinson, T (ed.) *The Diary of an Organist's Apprentice at Durham Cathedral*,
66. Reid, C., *Malcolm Sargent*, p.51.
67. Collinson, T., (ed.) *The Diary of An Organist 's Apprentice at Durham Cathedral*. Entries show daily programmes.
68. Filson Young, "Memories of a Cathedral" in *More Mastersingers*, p. 35, London, Grant Richards, 1913.
69. *Ibid.*, pp.36, 37.
70. Bridge, F. *A Westminster Pilgrim*, p.340, London, Novello/Hutchinson, 1918.
71. Collinson T., (ed.) *The Diary of An Organist 's Apprentice at Durham Cathedral*. Entries show daily programmes.
72. *Ibid.* 2<sup>nd</sup> June and 6<sup>th</sup> November 1874.
73. *Ibid.*, 9th April, 20th August, 1872.
74. *Ibid.*, 7th January 1875.
75. *Ibid.*, 23rd October 1872.
76. *Ibid.*, 28<sup>th</sup> August, 1873.

77. *Ibid.*, 20th August 1874.
78. Appreciations of Buck by former articulated pupils Frederick Cambridge and Arthur Henry Mann in Kitton, *Zechariah Buck, Centenary Memoir*, pp.65 and 72.
79. Advertisers in the musical press would occasionally state that preparation for diplomas and a degree would be a part of their training, hoping to attract the ambitious youth. *The Musical Times*, 1<sup>st</sup> October, 1877. Mr Humphrey Stark of Norwood, London, advertised for “resident articulated pupil”; he would be prepared “for degrees at either university (Oxon., Cantab.), Trinity College, and College of Organists.”
80. Kitton, F., *Zechariah Buck: A Centenary Memoir*, p.57.
81. Collinson T., (ed.) *The Diary of An Organist 's Apprentice at Durham Cathedral*. Diary entry for 29th January 1872. Johann Christian Heinrich Rinck (1770-1846) is best known for his *Orgelschule Praktisch*, published in this country by Novello and edited by W .T .Best.
82. Young, F., *More Mastersingers: "Memories of a Cathedral"*, pp. 38-39. The author is referring to Best's *The Art of Organ-Playing* (1869) of which the second volume (Part 2) is devoted to pedal studies. Gustav Merkel (1827-1885), an organist, teacher and composer, wrote an *Orgelschule*, but the work to which Young refers is his *Thirty Studies for Pedal Technique*.
83. Collinson, T. *The Diary of An Organist 's Apprentice at Durham Cathedral*. Some examples of music studied over the period of indenture.
84. Young, F. *More Mastersingers*, p. 39.
85. Kitton, F., *Zechariah Buck: A Centenary Memoir*, p.65.
86. Collinson, T. *The Diary of An Organist 's Apprentice at Durham Cathedral*; diary entries for 19th and 21st April 1872. Dykes is one interesting example of a nineteenth century parish priest who acted as his own organist and choirmaster.
87. *Ibid.*
88. Copy of J.W.Render's *indenture* is given in Appendix 6b



89. Young, F., *More Mastersingers*, pp.37-38.
90. *Archives of the Dean and Chapter of Ripon Cathedral*, Brotherton Library, Leeds University, M.S. Dept. 1980/I. According to an interviewee in Fisher's *The Music Profession* (p.161) it was customary in earlier times to insert a clause into an articulated pupil's *Indenture* to the effect that he must not practise his art within a radius of five, ten, fifteen or more miles in opposition to his master. There were penalties for doing so. In some cases where a pupil was allowed to teach, a 25% levy would be imposed on his earnings from fees.
91. Letter bequeathed to the British Museum by his daughter, Miss E. Wesley, 4th May 1895, B.M. MS 35019. Sir Frederick Bridge referred to the "unremitting drudgery" of teaching and the "dull and cramping influences of monotonous work and unresponsive pupils" which many organists experienced in order to survive, *A Westminster Pilgrim*, p.339.
92. Young, F. *More Mastersingers*, p.20.
93. *Ibid.*, p.20.
94. *The Musical Times*, Nov./Dec. 1962, p. 755. Article by Cudworth on R.J.S. Stevens, 1757-1837.
95. Kitton., F., *Zechariah Buck: A Centenary Memoir*, p. 67.
96. *The Musical Times*, January 1907.
97. Collyer, J. *The Parent's and Guardian's Directory, and the Youth's Guide in the Choice of a Profession or Trade*, pp.199, 202, London, 1761. The city of York provides an example of obvious dissatisfaction with the type and amount of provision of "solid musical instruction" available at the time. John Robinson wrote to the York Philharmonic Society (Y.P.S.) suggesting setting up a school for not less than forty boys between nine and sixteen years who would be apprenticed for seven years and taught two instruments. Y .P .S. pledged support, but nothing came of the idea. (Griffiths, David, *Music in York*, D.Phil. thesis, University of York, 1990.)
98. Ehrlich, Cyril, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century*,

pp.37-38, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1985. The 1543 Statute was repealed in 1814, (54 Geo.III c.96) causing considerable resentment amongst guilds and trade organizations because standards would be compromised and the standard of living of the workers lowered. Opinions differ as to when the older apprenticeship system went into decline. Both Dorothy Marshall (*The English Poor in the Eighteenth Century*, and Dunlop and Denman (*English Apprenticeship and Child Labour*) suggest 1720 as the beginning of the decline; J .L.and B.Hammond (*The Town Labourer*) suggest the late 18th and early 19th centuries. All three authors cited in Snell, K. *Annals of the Labouring Poor, 1660-1900*, p. 229, London, CUP, 1985.

99. Bridge, *A Westminster Pilgrim*, p.340. 121.
100. *Ibid.*, p. 341.
101. Article by Bairstow on "S.S. Wesley" in *The Musical Times*, April 1926.
102. Bairstow's obituary: *The Musical Times*, June 1946.
103. Spark, Fred. R., *Memories of my Life*, p.10, Leeds, Spark, 1913.
104. "Educational Plans in Music Teaching" in *The Quarterly Musical Review*, 1886, p.34
105. *The Musical Times*, January 1954, p.38. Obituary: The "narrow provincial training" received by Ivor Atkins when he was an articulated pupil of Sinclair at Truro caused, according to Hussey, a lack of command in his conducting technique, despite the man's wide musical sympathies, enquiring mind and administrative ability.
106. Hurd, M., *The Ordeal of Ivor Gurney*, p. 28, London, O.U.P. 1978. G.A. Emily Hunt reminiscences.
107. *Musical Times* , May 1937, p.432, S.S. Wesley's letter to Thomas Aylward's father, cited in article by Gerald Spink.
108. The author, as a choirboy in his local parish church, remembers being told by the organist and choirmaster that his friend, Sir Walter Alcock of Salisbury Cathedral, was "a dreadful pianist" who "thumped and banged"

when he played. This is surprising because his organ playing was memorable for its incisive rhythm, beautiful phrasing and registration. This evidence, concerning a fine organ recitalist, appears to prove the premise. Gerig, R.R., *Famous Pianists and their Technique*, pp. 83-84, N.Y., Luce, 1974. Beethoven's pianoforte playing was, according to Moscheles' biography of the composer, "hard and heavy, owing, not to his want of feeling, but to his practising a great deal upon the organ, of which he was very fond."

109. Wesley Letters, quoted by Spink in *The Musical Times*, May 1937, p.432.
110. *Ibid.*
111. Reid, C., *Malcolm Sargent*, p.56.
112. Wood, Henry, *My Life in Music*, p.29, London, Gollancz, 1938.
113. This was confirmed by Dr Francis Jackson, organist and master of the choristers between 1946 and 1982, in a discussion with the author in 1974. Jackson, born 1917, was a paying pupil (known then as a "professional pupil") of Bairstow, in which many articleship practices remained. He succeeded Bairstow as Minster Organist in 1946.
114. Advertisement placed in *The Musical Standard*, 31st August 1872, by an organist in Mansfield, Nottinghamshire.
115. *British Parliamentary Papers*, vol.i, 1895, Section 88, p.178, London, H.M.S.O.
116. Bridge's lecture printed in the R.C.O *Calendar*, 1908- 1909, pp.152-153.
117. *The Musical Times*, February 1914, pp.91-93. In reply to a range of opinions expressed in *The Morning Post* the previous month, on the reform of church music, Sir Walter Alcock noted the need for greater co-operation between organists and clergy. With the abundance of schools of music in this country, there was little likelihood that a school of church music would materialise. *The Organist and Choirmaster*, 15<sup>th</sup> March, p. 174. It was suggested at the I.S.M. in 1896 that a Training College of Organists and Choirmasters be formed with a choristers' school attached. No more was

heard of this proposal, which may account (18 years later) for Alcock's realistic approach.

118. Bates, Frank, *Reminiscences and Autobiography of a Musician in Retirement*, p. 98, Norwich, Jarrold, 1930.
119. *The Musical Times*, October 1947. Bullock described himself on this occasion as one of the last of the race of articulated pupils, suggesting that the cessation of the custom had not been without loss to the profession of cathedral organist.
120. *Dictionary of National Biography 1971-1980*. Entry on Sir Ernest Bullock by Sir Thomas Armstrong, pp. 105-106.
121. Spicer, Paul, *Herbert Howells*, pp. 50-51, Bridgend, Seren, 1998.
122. *The New Groves Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, p. 217, vol. xviii, 6<sup>th</sup> ed., London, Macmillan, 1980.
123. Reid, Charles, *Malcolm Sargent*, p. 55, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1968.
124. Spicer, Paul, *Herbert Howells*, p.22, Bridgend, Seren, 1998.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### INSTITUTIONAL TRAINING

#### Introduction

By the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the church musician sought recognition and status by means of a qualification that could be gained by means of a verifiable examination. It also became important that this should be accessible to both professional and amateur musician.

Influences from Europe were reaching this country from increasing numbers of musicians travelling abroad, through new tonal qualities and new technology in organ building witnessed at exhibitions and expositions, and through the increasing popularity of both opera and operatic-style sacred music. All of these factors were present in the second half of the century, at a time in which the county was becoming “positively self-confident”. (1) These were to prove an inspirational force for some organists to study abroad.

There remained a reluctance amongst a number of old “masters” of the organ loft to accept new trends in training being initiated. However, the majority recognised it was necessary to raise standards, as well as seeking funds for scholarships. This would encourage the musically talented from all social backgrounds to avail themselves of the various forms of institutional training that were about to begin.

#### Music and the Universities

The degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Music at the universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Dublin had not been highly regarded in terms of academic respectability. They were given on the basis of compositions submitted to the professor of music, and

purported to demonstrate facility in harmony and contrapuntal writing and orchestration, which, once approved, were then performed in public at considerable expense to the candidate. He had only to satisfy the authorities that he was worthy of a degree, and provide two references from Oxford and Cambridge M.A.s. No formal education qualifications were needed; neither was residence in the university required.

Dublin's professor of music, Dr. Robert Prescott Stewart, a man of wide culture and literary skill, introduced the "arts test" in 1862 for all prospective Mus. Bac. candidates, so providing some assurance that no illiterate, uneducated person could take his university's music degree. The concept of an examination giving proof of possessing a general education was taken up by Cambridge in 1876, and then by Oxford in 1878. (2)

Frederick Gore Ouseley, appointed as professor of music at Oxford in 1855, was instrumental in instigating reforms aimed at producing a better music graduate. It was no longer acceptable to submit only an "Exercise" for the Mus. Bac. and Mus. Doc. degrees. Candidates were to demonstrate critical and historical knowledge of full scores, to sit papers in harmony, counterpoint, canon, fugue, form, and the history of music. (3) Cambridge and Dublin requirements followed a similar pattern. A perusal of past papers from the Mus.D. at Trinity College, Dublin shows that they required a series of brief answers, with shallow coverage over a wide variety of music history (see Appendix 12a for an example of an examination paper). These papers were published in *The Musical Standard* in 1874, and the level of simplicity of the questions is striking (a contemporary A level student would be expected to know such information.) This is only one of several papers required for the doctoral degree, and the length of the examination is not stated. The weakness of rote learning allowed little scope for developing a critical faculty or for using the imagination. The same applied to harmony and counterpoint exercises, where "correct" technique was encouraged at the expense of musical imagination.

In 1891 Parry, when professor of music at Oxford, abolished the public performance of the D.Mus. "Exercise", and went on to press for a three year period of study in residence for the first degree (as Cambridge was to introduce in 1893). He was

against the idea of getting a degree merely by taking a series of examinations and tests.

(4)

The universities of Dublin, Durham and London offered external degrees in music at bachelor and doctoral levels, which could be taken without going into residence. This was the route followed by large numbers of musicians (some of them articled pupils) unable to fund a three year full-time course, but eager to pursue studies in their own time whilst earning a living. Degrees from these three universities gained a high reputation in the musical world. (5)

### *Scholarships and Exhibitions*

With scholarships and exhibitions came honour, prestige and some monetary reward. Certain Oxbridge colleges such as King's, St John's and Trinity at Cambridge, and Christ Church, New College, and Magdalen at Oxford, appointed their organists in accordance with college statutes. From 1870 several smaller Oxbridge colleges offered organ scholarships and exhibitions to those of good academic and musical standing who satisfied individual college entrance requirements. Elected scholars were required to reside in college, rehearse the chapel choir and play for services, for which they received annual remuneration. In this way, chapel music, choir training and fostering musical activity amongst students became the responsibility of the scholar for a three year duration, during which he read for a music or arts degree, or both. Details regarding the value of the awards and conditions of service were advertised in *The Musical Standard* and *The Musical Times*. (6)

Church and cathedral organists realised during the second half of the century that if church musicians wished to be treated as professionals by the clergy, they must show themselves to be men of some education and sensitivity. Difficulties between two such people with differing backgrounds might arise regarding the place of music in worship, the choice of music and its performance. To take advantage of the opportunities offered at evening classes and correspondence courses to gain a qualification that

satisfied university entrance requirements, there were Oxford Responsions, Cambridge Previous, London Matriculation, etc.

For young men wishing to profit from the openings afforded by an Oxbridge organ scholarship, there were various routes available, depending on background and experience. An articulated pupil at a cathedral, having received a good musical training with a sound education at the local grammar, cathedral or collegiate school, provided one approach. Several examples of this route are to be found. In 1876 Keble College, Oxford instigated the award of an organ scholarship, with C.J.Parsons its first scholar to take up duties lasting three years. Thomas Armstrong, (1898-1994) became organ scholar at the same College in 1916. Other colleges followed Keble's example. Norman Cocker, a chorister at Magdalen College, Oxford, won the organ scholarship at Merton in 1907, but was sent down for not working. Frederick Wadeley (1882- 1970), after attending Kidderminster King Charles I Grammar School, went up to Selwyn Hall, Cambridge as organ scholar in 1900, following this with a period of further study at the R.C.M. Another approach - the more usual one - (which has already been covered in Chapter 3) was for an articulated pupil to enter a college of music, pursue a course of study, and then enter for an Oxbridge organ scholarship. In this way, scholars had the advantage of gaining greater technical and musical skills at conservatory level in readiness for duties at university; and it became the favoured route followed by Heathcote Statham (Norwich Cathedral), Willie Lewis Luttman (St Alban's Cathedral) and many others. (7)

Another route for would-be Oxbridge organ scholars emanated from public schools, each with its own chapel, organ, choir and daily service. From this unique arrangement, led by the school's director of music and supporting music staff, came a steady stream of Oxbridge organ (and choral) scholars. The system became self-perpetuating, producing music graduates, many of whom later joined the staff of independent schools, or eventually became cathedral organists.



## Teaching Institutions

### *Royal Academy of Music*

A significant development in the growth of music education in this country during the 19<sup>th</sup> century came with the founding of several music colleges in London. The oldest major teaching institution in the city was the Royal Academy of Music (R.A.M.), opened in 1822. (8) Amongst its distinguished organ professors during the century were Thomas Attwood, Thomas Greatorex, Samuel Sebastian Wesley, Henry Smart, Charles and Reginald Steggall, Edwin Lemare and George Martin. The Academy's reputation regarding organ playing during its early years, according to *The Musical World* for 1837, was poor. The organ was described as "useless for all real purposes of instruction" and when students played for organists' situations (that is, competitions) they were generally well beaten. Financial problems continued for many years; poor pay for its professors, a series of scandals, and a lack of response by the general public to appeals for funds kept the institution weak and ineffective. It was not until Alexander Mackenzie was appointed as Principal in 1888 that the institution experienced prosperity. (9)

### *Trinity College of Music*

By the mid 1870s more institutions were needed to provide for increasing numbers of young musicians eager for first class instruction in solo performance and general musicianship. From 1872 Trinity College, London was set up as a school for the study and practice of music for the church. (It did not officially receive its name until 1875). In 1877 it set up a scheme of examinations in theory in some 400 local centres in the British Isles, as well as in a number of countries abroad. This was followed in 1879 by practical examinations. (See example papers in Appendix 12f). These examination papers for the College's *Diploma* are a strange mixture. The section on Choral Management asks questions that in most cases require thought and imagination in addition to factual knowledge. The History section reverts to an earlier idea of reporting dates and facts, but few ideas. The melodies to be harmonised are wooden in character, with little rhythmic

variety and little or no chance of dealing with a range of harmony notes, such as passing notes, appoggiaturas (upper and lower) and changing notes. Unless warned by the teacher, realizing a figured bass on paper and not at the keyboard could become a dull mechanical exercise. Instruction in organ playing was given by William Hoyte and William Pinney, extemporaneous playing by Edward Silas, and a church service class by the college Warden, the Revd. H.G. Bonavia Hunt. The college endowed the King Edward VII Chair of Music at the University of London in 1902 when Frederick Bridge became its first professor. The institution was renamed Trinity College of Music in 1904. (10)

*National Training School for Music/The Royal College of Music*

In 1876 the National Training School for Music (N.T.S.M.) opened in South Kensington, with Arthur Sullivan its first Principal. At a time when entry to many professions was still dependent upon family background, wealth and education, members of the N.T.S.M.'s Council had sufficient insight to realise that "The gift of musical ability is found in all grades of Society, frequently among the classes of very limited means".

(11) On the occasion of the laying of the first stone for this building in 1873, the Duke of Edinburgh pointed out that the fundamental principle of the school was free scholarships for all ranks of society. (12) Entrance to the N.T.S.M. would be by competition only. (13) Eighty-two free scholarships became available, provided by the Society of Arts, City Guilds, the Corporation of London, 33 private towns, and by numbers of private donors. Stainer was professor of organ at the N.T.S.M., and succeeded Sullivan as Principal until 1882 when the Royal College of Music (R.C.M.) superceded it.

The organ department at the College was by far the strongest and most distinguished in the country, led by Walter Parratt, of whom the Director Hubert Parry wrote:

....you are the first person to whom the responsibility of forming a large body of such representative musicians [organists] has been entrusted, and no one could be more worthy of that responsibility. You are turning out year by year young organists who are thoroughly well-trained, thoroughly infused with healthy enthusiasm for music of all sorts, and fit to exercise a healthy influence wherever they

go.....(14)

Parry noted there was no branch of the College's work which was more thoroughly first rate than Parratt's department; no group of students brought greater renown to the College. (15) History has borne out Parry's words, as shown by the positions of influence held by Parratt's pupils. His colleagues in the department included George Martin, Frederick Bridge and his pupil Walter Alcock.

### *Other Institutions*

Other institutions also provided organ instruction. *The London Organ School* founded by Revd. Scotson Clark in 1865, was primarily for students of church music and organ. Term fees in 1868 were two guineas (£2.10p) per course. (16) For those only able to study on a part-time basis, *The Guildhall School of Music* opened its doors in 1879. (17) From the early 1880s Dr Spark's *Organ School and Academy of Music* functioned in Leeds, whilst the *Liverpool Organ School* under the directorship of Dr A. W. Pollitt advertised its work in the musical press prior to the first World War. Similar places of instruction throughout the country fulfilled a need to provide training for amateur organists and those unable to gain entrance to leading schools of music. Nothing is recorded as to the standards of playing achieved within these local centres. However, a letter to *The Times* on 20<sup>th</sup> June 1868 suggests that *The Guildhall School of Music* was intended for girls from middle class families who had no professional ambitions, apart from taking pupils. (18)

### *Diplomas*

Further qualification which became available to the solo instrumentalist from the 1880s (known generally as "the age of examinations") were diplomas. Narrower in scope than a degree, emphasising performance but underpinned by a theoretical base, diplomas were first offered at the London colleges of music and then by numbers of private institutions.

The qualification in solo performance offered by the R.C.M. in 1884 may be taken as a model, later used by the R.A.M. and other institutions offering practical experience. It was described in *Resolutions of the Council* of the R.C.M. for 28<sup>th</sup> May, 1884 as a “Certificate of Proficiency....given for excellence in particular branches of music”. The holder of the certificate became an Associate of the Royal College of Music, entitled to append A.R.C.M. to his/her name. (For details of the Certificate see Appendix 12b). Standards for this diploma were known to be demanding, and required proficiency, not only in performance on the candidate’s instrument, but in the ability to play at sight, harmonise a figured bass in four parts, and to modulate. Organists were required to transpose. The requirements for this diploma were similar to those of the A.R.C.O..

As there was serious concern at this time about the level of education amongst professional musicians, a literary proficiency test was introduced to ensure that candidates had the required general musical knowledge beyond their own specialised areas, and the ability to organise facts into a coherent whole. The aim of such qualifications was to provide an incentive to the performer and to reassure the general public of the organist’s abilities. With Parratt as the general examiner, high standards of playing and musicianship would have been demanded.

Other schools of music in this country offered associate, licentiate and fellowship diplomas for a large variety of instruments, as well as in singing and composition. Also available to the musician were university degrees, at the bachelor and doctorate levels in which academic studies and composition were required.

From the end of the 1880s, numbers of musicians, particularly organists, aimed to acquire a degree in music, with one or two diplomas. The possession of these qualifications was an important way for the organist to gain, what was increasingly sought, public recognition.

### *Scholarships and Exhibitions*

Further encouragement to young musicians came from the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (founded 1889) when, in 1897 in celebration of Queen

Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, it instituted Exhibitions (later to be known as Scholarships) to enable some of the most outstanding candidates in the local examinations to benefit from full time music education at the R.A.M. or the R.C.M.. Miss Edith Cooke from Swansea became the Board's first organ exhibitor in 1898, studying at the R.C.M. (19) Scholarships and exhibitions to music colleges, to Oxbridge and other places of higher education proved to be a successful means of encouraging men and women of ability who could not otherwise afford to enter these institutions. The Royal Academy of Music, for example, had two Organ Scholarships available annually. The *Henry Smart Scholarship* was founded in 1880, and was awarded to male and female candidates alternately. The *Maud Mary Gooch Scholarship* was founded in 1902, and was available for candidates of either sex. (20).

### Education Abroad

Increased prosperity amongst the middle classes after the 1850s enabled numbers of musicians from this country to spend time studying with noted teachers at European conservatories. A spell abroad sometimes followed completion of a musical training here. Continental conservatories, established from the 1840s, several of them in Germany, generally enjoyed good reputations. There were conservatories in Leipzig (founded 1843), Cologne (1850), Dresden (1856), Berlin (1869), and Frankfurt (1878). In contrast, music study at Oxford and Cambridge left much to be desired until reforms were put in place.

By mid-century, Leipzig Conservatory possessed an outstanding reputation; founded and directed by Mendelssohn, it had on its staff a number of distinguished musicians and teachers: Ignaz Moscheles, Ernst Richter, Karl Reinecke, Louis Plaidy, and Moritz Hauptman. The Mendelssohn Scholarship, a British award, was founded by his friends (two of whom were George Smart and Carl Klingeman), after his death in 1847. This award enabled the winner to study composition either in this country or abroad. Sullivan was the first holder in 1856, and in 1865 after further accumulation of funds into

the scholarship through charitable donation, concerts and sound investments, Swinnerton Heap (1847-1900) became the second. A dozen male and female scholars followed, with Dyson (1883-1964) the last to be listed in 1904. (21)

In 1874 Stanford studied at Leipzig where his composition teacher was Reinecke. Stanford described him as the “most dry and dessicated person” he had known.(22) His next move, to Berlin to study with Friderich Kiel for three months, proved fruitful, for he learnt more in three months from "this rare man and.....rare master" than from all other teachers. (23) Many postgraduates followed this path to the Leipzig Conservatory.

On completion of studies at Oxford, (B.A. 1853), organist and scholar Herbert Oakeley (1830-1903) studied with Plaidy, Moscheles and Papperitz in Leipzig, then with Johann Gottlob Schneider in Dresden, and Breidenstein in Bonn. Oakeley became Schneider's last organ pupil. A fine player and teacher, and only three generations removed from J.S.Bach, Schneider carried on the master's style of playing. John Farmer (1836-1901) Director of Music at Harrow, later organist of Balliol, Oxford, received his music education at Leipzig and in Coberg. Completing undergraduate work at Oxford, Basil Harwood (1859-1949) spent a brief period at Leipzig with Jadassohn for composition ("he taught me much"), and Papperitz for organ ("he taught me nothing").(24) Heap, as Mendelssohn Scholar, went to Leipzig in 1865 for two and a half years to study with Hauptmann, Moscheles, Reinecke and Richter. Although English by birth, organist and composer Bertram Luard-Selby (1853-1918) received his musical education at the Leipzig Conservatory under Reinecke and Jadassohn. He took up several church appointments, a post at Highgate School, followed by Salisbury and Rochester Cathedrals. As a boy George Bennett (1863-1930) sang in Winchester College Choir as a “quirister”. He gained the Balfe scholarship for composition at the R.A.M., and this was followed by three years of study in Germany, with financial support from the publishing firm of Novello. He spent only a short time at the Berlin *Hochschule für Musik* before moving on to Munich, studying composition and organ with Rheinberger. On his return to England, Bennett joined the staff of the R.A.M. as professor of harmony and

composition. In addition to his teaching work in London, he held several church posts before his last appointment at Lincoln Cathedral in 1895. (25)

Although the majority of organists from this country who studied in Europe went to Germany, a few made their way to Paris. John Hinton, lecturer at the R.C.O. from 1901 and author of *Organ Construction* (1902) studied at the Paris Conservatoire with Cesar Franck. (26) John Warriner, noted teacher, professor at Trinity College, London, member of the Faculty of Music and Board of Studies of London University, studied music in Brussels, whilst Frederick Crowe of Chichester Cathedral studied singing in Milan.

As the end of the 19th century approached, some optimism was expressed regarding the general standard of organ playing in England. Hoyte, of All Saints', Margaret Street and R.C.O. examiner, remarked that each year saw an improvement in the standard of organ playing. (27) Never before, suggested George Vincent in a paper read to the Northern Section of Incorporated Society of Musicians in January 1899, had organ playing been in such a healthy condition; never before were there so many brilliant and sterling organists. He also remarked on the increased attendance at organ recitals. (28)

Despite enthusiasm for study abroad, some doubts regarding its value were expressed by Stainer in 1899 when interviewed by *The Daily News*. (29) He thought it unnecessary to send music students to the Continent to complete their education, as our leading institutions had all the teachers, methods and systems of administration necessary for success. He believed our major colleges were well established, and staffed by many of the finest organ teachers. Albert Visetti (1846-1928) an Italian singing-master who settled in England and joined the staff of the R.C.M. and the Guildhall School of Music, wrote to *The Musical Standard*:

There is a deep-rooted conviction in the English mind that a successful training can only be obtained on the Continent..... I contend that a more satisfactory training can be obtained at home. (30)

## Examining Bodies

### *The Royal College of Organists*

Growing numbers of people in the 19th century who underwent specialised instruction for a particular type of work became known as *professionals*. Though musicians had considered themselves members of a profession for some time, many organists filling the ranks of the "unprivileged" saw the need to forge an independent identity and achieve high standards on their instrument. One such musician was Richard Limpus (1824-1875), organist of St Michael's, Cornhill. On 23rd November 1863, he convened a meeting at Mullen's Hotel, Ironmonger Lane in the City of London, with the idea of forming a Society for Organists. A Committee was appointed and a General Meeting took place in Exeter Hall in March the following year, at which Limpus presided. He made it clear in his proposal that his aim was to elevate and advance the organist's professional status, suggesting that the highest purpose to which music could be applied was in the service of the the Church. (31) *Rules* were adopted, and members of the first Council named.(32) The Association,"The College of Organists, London" came into being on 27th March 1864. Its objects and purposes were:

1. To provide a central organization in London of the profession of Organist :
2. To provide a system of examinations and certificates for the better definition and protection of the profession, and to secure competent Organists for the service of the Church :
3. To provide opportunities for intercourse amongst Members of the Profession, and the discussion of professional topics:
4. To encourage the composition and study of sacred music :
5. To do all other such lawful things as are incidental to the attainment of the above objects. (33)

Amongst those who were members of the Council at the College's inception were George Arnold, William Gilbert, James Higgs, Henry Hiles, Edward Hopkins, William Longhurst, Edwin Monk, Ebenezer Prout, William Spark, Charles Steggall and William Westbrook. The following year, 1865, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Charles Longley (1794-1868), became its first President. From 1886 the post of president was filled by



distinguished musicians, mostly organists. Government of the College was to be vested in a Council of not fewer than thirty fellows, fifteen of whom were elected from members living and working in London, the other fifteen representing those working outside London. Limpus became honorary secretary, a position he held with distinction until his death. Other responsibilities were vested in an honorary treasurer and a registrar, with a firm of auditors engaged to officially oversee the accounts and other financial arrangements. Once established, the College Council set up a number of committees, each of which would lead to the effective running of the institution.

To gain official recognition, the College of Organists became a limited liability company, and on 26th November 1877 it became incorporated under the 1862 and 1867 *Companies Act*. Property was rented initially at 41, Queen Square, and then at Great Russell Street, with a further move in 1889 to Bloomsbury Hall, Hart Street. A petition in 1903 to the Royal Commissioners of the 1851 Exhibition to occupy premises formerly used by the National Training School for Music (N.T.S.M.), and afterwards the Royal College of Music (R.C.M.), proved successful. Structural changes to the building provided for an Examination Hall, a Lecture Hall containing a three manual Norman and Beard organ, and on the first floor the Council Chamber and Committee Rooms, the Library, Officials' Rooms, offices, and dining halls. The College was officially opened by H.R.H. Prince Christian of Schleswig - Holstein on 5th July 1904. (34)

Candidates wishing to take the Associate and Fellowship diplomas had first to seek membership of the College by being proposed by two members, one of whom must know the candidate personally or by repute. Membership of the College required the payment of an annual fee. Examinations, held in January and July each year, began in 1866 when seven candidates entered. Until 1880 those candidates gaining a high standard of marks became Fellows; the remaining successful entries became Associates. From July 1881 separate examinations were devised for each diploma. Sample examination papers are to be found in Appendix 12c. Several prizes were given: two Lafontaine prizes and the Limpus prize were awarded to those candidates gaining the highest marks for "Tests

at the Organ". Other prizes came later (eg. the Sawyer, Read and Turpin prizes), with one or two guineas for the best essay on "Organ Fugue Playing." (35)

By the 1880s the work and influence of the College continued to expand. Hopkins, a member of the Council, examiner and organist of the Temple Church, London, gave a graphic description at a college dinner in 1884 regarding the state of organ playing half a century earlier, and how conditions and standards had improved due to the work of the College. (36) At the same gathering Edmund Turpin, the College Secretary, spoke of the influence of organists who were, to quote John Hullah, "the nation's teachers in music." Turpin gave credit to the College for the advancement of organists' skills and believed it stood unequalled as a national body of organ players.(37) At a similar event three years later Sir George Grove was even more eloquent concerning the role of the College:

You began at the outset with 40 members, you are now 550; and the same with examinations, you begin by passing 2 candidates out of 7, and you end by passing 61 out of 244.(38)

He believed the organist "was almost as necessary to the church as the clergyman; that all his responsibilities and privileges added to the serious nature of his employment. If the clergyman's business was with one's duty and moral sense, the organist dealt with the imagination." He noted, too, how the College's examinations had considerably advanced in importance and difficulty. (39)

In 1893, after nearly thirty years of successful operation and with increasing numbers taking its diplomas, the College decided to petition Her Majesty in Council to grant a Royal Charter of Incorporation to the "College of Organists". (40) Such a measure would give added status to the institution both here and abroad. In the words of the *Petition*, granting a Royal Charter would:

greatly promote the objects of the College, and still further increase the value and usefulness, by enabling it to continue and extend its work, the value of which has been universally recognised with that protected and assured position which can only be obtained by Royal Charter. (41)

Signatories to the petition included some of the country's most distinguished musicians: Sir Joseph Barnby, Bridge, Grove, Alexander C. Mackenzie, Martin, Parratt, William Pole, J.W. Sidebotham (the only Member of Parliament at that time possessing a music degree) and Stainer. As a result of this petition, the College of Organists received its Royal Charter on 8th June 1893. (42)

The College was primarily an examining institution, dedicated to "elevating the standard of education amongst Organists, and in supplying the continual public demand for trained and certificated Organists". (43) Lectures on topics of interest to its members were given regularly in London and occasionally in Glasgow and Manchester. (Some titles of lectures given are shown in Appendix 13). The college published an annual Calendar which included lectures, college regulations, the Proceedings for that particular year, a list of fellows, associates, and ordinary members, the previous year's examination papers, and examiners' reports. It also included the specification of the College organ. Diploma examinations were, as now, held twice a year: in January and July. They were, according to Turpin, "the most searching, all-round, complete, and widely accepted tests devoted to a department in the profession in the musical world today". (44)

At the January diploma distribution of 1918 Professor Percy Buck pointed out that "If you go into the world as an F.R.C.O., any vicar in the country ought to be able to think - and the College desires that he should be able to think - that in getting you for his organist he is getting a competent man".(45) R.C.O. examiners' attitudes towards their examinees had changed over the years. As Grove, President of the R.C.O. noted, examiners there had not lost all sympathy with candidates who came before them, "for even we are not so old and blasé as not to remember the time when we, ourselves, were on our trial...." (46) Concerning examiners, Parry (president of the R.C.O. 1897-1901), said, "they needed knowledge, common sense, and sympathy with one's fellow creatures; they required an understanding of human nature such as is obtained only by experience."(47) Not only did Parry (an examiner for degrees at Oxford and Cambridge) possess those psychological insights into what drew out the best in a candidate, he understood the limitations of the examination system. He believed that "examinations

which attempted to test the innermost qualities of the artist were generally failures. Therefore it was necessary to remind those who possessed music degrees or the F.R.C.O. that they had proved themselves only *masters of technicalities*. The mere grinding and grubbing for an examination did not complete the artistic being.”(48) Parry believed that the examiner should keep his mind alive to seek out those higher qualities which are not merely concerned with efficiency “It is only by keeping the mind awake, and having some kind of loophole in the examination through which it may be possible to discern what the real quality of the person is, that you can escape the fatal tendency of examinations to encourage cramming”. (49) Bairstow of York Minster, ever anxious to get beyond the mere mechanics of working examination papers, expressed this view “I suppose it is important that we should go on finding out what candidates know out of textbooks, but we also want to know what they like and think is good”.(50)

In his 1906-7 Presidential Address at the Distribution of Diplomas, Sir Walter Parratt reminded organists not to neglect their reading about things musical. They should read books “concerning the scientific basis of music, the history of music, musical biography and organ building”. (51)

On four occasions between 1908 and 1915 members of the College were reminded by Parratt of the importance of being able to play the piano well. When taking up positions and work in country towns, church organists would discover that organ pupils could be small in number compared with those requiring piano lessons; for this reason organists should make sure that piano playing was "as far removed from the organ as possible". (52) Hugh Allen reminded his R.C.O. audience that in order to eke out a living by piano teaching, an organist must be an "efficient" pianist, too, (53) whereas Joseph Bridge of Chester Cathedral stressed the importance of studying touch and style.(54) Henry Richards, in his report to the College in July 1915 on organ playing for the A.R.C.O. stated that the lack of clarity in performance came about because the majority of candidates were not good pianists. (55)

Passing examinations and attitudes toward them was the subject of Charles Harford Lloyd's presidential address in January, 1914, when he affirmed that having

obtained one or more diplomas was not an end in itself. Organists had the responsibility for keeping themselves up to date, by learning the skill of extemporisation and by improving their technique to ensure competence in performing contemporary compositions. A year later at the distribution of diplomas Mackenzie, Principal of the Royal Academy of Music, described the college's papers as "formidable", and mentioned "the appalling number of accomplishments which are expected of the organist in these days", (56) an echo of what Frederick Bridge said in January 1889 when reminding his listeners that each organist should be a master of every branch of the art. He suggested that the examinations of the College of Organists, which did not include an "arts test", were quite as thorough as those of the universities; consequently its diplomas were of value. (57) Graduates in music from British universities were excused paper work; they could take the Fellowship examinations without first becoming Associates, but were examined in transposition and playing from a figured bass. Special regulations were put in place for blind candidates. Regulations for each diploma are shown in Appendix 14a.

The structure and content of the syllabi, but for small refinements, were to remain much the same for several years. Sample associate and fellowship examination papers are in Appendix 12c. These sample papers give an idea of the wide range of skills expected of an organist to enable him to carry out his duties well. It includes written skills, practical musicianship tests at the keyboard, and performance on the organ of set pieces. Examiners for diploma examinations took cognisance of the fact that organists needed certain mental and physical skills which must be carried out fluently, flawlessly, and up to speed. They should be proficient on their instrument and therefore each diploma would require a performance under examination conditions: one work for the Associate or three works for Fellowship in different styles and from different periods. From January 1909 candidates no longer chose their own piece of organ music to play, but selected one composition from a list of ten (see Appendix 12c). This set out to test a candidate's ability to perform accurately and expressively, to demonstrate control of the organ, consider registration and to phrase musically. (58)

Reading at sight a piece of music of some ten or twelve bars in length, printed on three staves would demonstrate a candidate's ability in a skill frequently demanded of any organist during the course of his work. The piece included an independent pedal part, changes of manual, the use of couplers, the soloing of a melody, and accompanying it on another manual, with pedals. The judicious use of the swell pedal was called for. The test might consist of a trio for two independent manuals and pedal, allowing the candidate to choose stops and obtain a suitable balance between the parts. Although tempo indications and a metronome mark were provided, frequent criticism was made by examiners that markings were often ignored. (59) Associate candidates were required to transpose a hymn tune harmonised in four parts, to be played in any key named by the examiner, the pedals to be used. They were given an accompaniment to a vocal line, the organ part printed on two staves; directions for the use of the pedals were included. This was not only a sight reading test but a piece calling for musical sensitivity. Music graduates taking the Fellowship diploma had a more difficult transposition test in which there was greater use of chromaticism.

The extempore test demanded all the musicianship and artistry a candidate could muster. Walter Alcock maintained that in any form of extemporisation or improvisation, imagination was the most important factor. (60) It was a test which proved to be a stumbling block for many candidates. One examiner Dr Warwick Jordan believed a good extempore player was born, not made; he thought most music students had some latent talent which required long study, with few players rising above mediocrity. (61) In his lecture to the northern members of the College in Manchester in May 1908 Jordan gave useful advice on the question of extemporising and recommended as excellent examples the short movements of Mendelssohn's *Organ Sonatas*. (62) Further advice on extemporization came in Frank Sawyer's *Extemporization* of 1890. (63) Having this skill as a part of the fellowship examination continued the art as practised by the Wesleys, Smart, Edward Hopkins and Stainer. There were some doubts whether the art could be taught, but it was seen to have a useful place in Anglican and Catholic worship.

Parratt gave due notice in his Presidential Address in January 1908, that ear tests would be included in future examinations. For the A.R.C.O. two melodies were given for dictation, each one played three times. Candidates for Fellowship were played a progression of five chords in four-part harmony three times. The examples shown in Appendix 12c, give some idea of the standard expected.(64) Bairstow stressed the importance of developing aural perception when reporting on candidates' harmony and counterpoint examinations. (65)

The success of the R.C.O.'s commitment to high standards from the commencement of the diploma examinations in 1866 may be measured by the results. Two out of seven were awarded the Fellowship that year (29% pass rate). In 1914, 35 of 218 (16%) and 89 of 396 (23%) gained Fellowship and Associateship diplomas respectively. Numbers entering for diploma examinations fell substantially between 1915 and 1918 but began to pick up by July 1919. Between 1866 and 1918 the College had created by examination 1352 Fellows and 2833 Associates, an impressive result. For the years 1909 to 1915 when the Choir Training Examination was offered, a total of 23 organists passed. (66)

The College was also a place where members and friends could meet for lectures and recitals, use the library, and practise the organ. It was an institution in which, from its inception, women were made welcome, where they were treated as equals and encouraged to take its diplomas. Some Council members, namely Alcock, Lloyd, Turpin and Parratt gave particular encouragement to women members at a time when they were struggling to gain recognition in other professions. However, women members achieving the Associate and Fellowship Diplomas, and the Choir-training Certificates remained small. By the end of the period under consideration (1918 - 19) there were 24 women fellows, representing 0.05 % of the total, 51 associates (0.11%) and 83 non-diploma members (0.15%).(67) Of those who passed, some achieved the highest marks in particular sections of the examinations and gained prizes. After 20 years on the staff of the R.C.M. and considerable private teaching, Alcock found the women students were equal of men in the field of organ playing.(68)

The concern of Bridge and Honorary Secretary Henry Harding for their less fortunate colleagues, prompted the men to establish the Organists' Benevolent League, which was set up in 1910 to provide small pensions for a limited number of musicians who, in retirement, might otherwise have lived in penury. (69) (Pensions are discussed further in Chapter Five). Bridge urged R.C.O. members to give a recital once a year, the proceeds of which would go to the fund, adding "The authorities seem to let old organists play until they drop off the stool, but they do nothing for them in the way of pensions".(70) Bridge's plea for more money for the League came at a time when the cost of living had increased and organists' salaries had not risen to counter inflation; organists, like others, had little if any, money to spare.

Despite the considerable influence for good which the College had exercised over the organist's profession, criticism appeared during the 1880s from its members and the general public, complaining of the poor return for their annual subscription. One member said he had received only one or two anthems and some specimen examination papers with the Annual Report and lectures.(71) Another had paid his dues to an institution whose diplomas, he thought, favoured Anglican organists. "Of what practical use was score reading or figured bass?", he asked.(72) A writer in the periodical *Truth* for September, 1893, suggested that the College did not represent organists in the broadest sense; it held excellent examinations - at a handsome profit - but it would appear that not a single benefit was conveyed without sufficient fees being paid in advance. However, it should be noted that diplomas and college facilities were available to professionals and amateurs alike, and were easily reached in central London. Furthermore, amongst those who gained diplomas were numbers of gifted amateurs, without whom there would have been no music worthy of mention in many of our parish churches and other places of worship. A commendable feature of the College's work was not only the wide array of practical and theoretical tests, but the fact that examinations were administered in complete anonymity (the written papers carrying only a number). The editor of the *Musical Standard* was of the opinion that the profession of organist had benefited more from the R.C.O. than from any other body or movement during the 19th century. (73)



From the 1870s, there was criticism from influential musicians concerning poor standards of singing in many churches. A local writer on musical subjects complained to *The York Herald* (7th May, 1870) about this matter:

Of material for the formation of good choirs there is abundance, but the want of trainers causes the dirth, for there are few of our choirs in the hands of competent men.

In his paper to the 1873 Church Congress meeting in Bath, Joseph Barnby of St. Anne's, Soho and musical adviser to the firm of Novello, also stressed the need for more efficient choirmasters. He firmly believed that if future schoolmasters are trained for their work, then choirmasters should receive similar instruction. (74) Manby Sergison, organist of fashionable St. Peter's, Eaton Square, noted the shortage of competent choirmasters capable of imparting their specialised knowledge to train voices. He called for action on the part of clerical and lay officers to improve choirs, believing that "the organist should be the choir-trainer and thoroughly prepared for his duties".(75) John Spencer Curwen noted that "It is very rarely that an organist is found who is also a good choirmaster and trainer of the congregation. There are such men, but they are not common..." (76)

Writing in *The Musical Times*, January 1882, an "old organist and choirmaster" pointed out that "London abounded in good organists, whilst good choirmasters were scarce, and consequently good singing in church was the exception". That an organist should be an efficient voice-trainer came second on the list of four essential requirements noted in Madeley Richardson's paper on "The Profession and Position of the Modern Organist", read to the Dublin Conference of the Incorporated Society of Musicians in February 1903.(77) Whilst there were those who criticised the R.C.O. for not providing lectures and demonstrations on the art of choir-training and voice-production, Richardson believed that the R.C.O.'s reluctance to deal with this subject was justified:

No amount of examination will make a good choir-trainer, and indeed, it does not seem clear how anyone can be adequately examined in such a subject.(78)

Eighteen years after having discussed the subject of training choirs at the Bath Church Congress, Barnby was still unhappy about the apparent lack of response on the

part of the R.C.O., for he raised the issue again when invited to distribute diplomas at the R.C.O. in January, 1891. He wished it were possible for the College to do something more in the nature of choir-training (which he considered part of the organist's work) which was "one of the greatest requisites in this country". Martin, master of the choristers at St. Paul's Cathedral from 1874, deputy organist from 1876 and successor to Stainer in 1888, had decided views on the question of training choirmasters which he made known in a paper read to the Church Congress of 1899:

There is ever increasing demand for good choirmasters. In nineteen out of twenty cases when I am asked to recommend an organist and choirmaster, the qualification for choir-training is placed foremost.(79)

Martin thought that little was done to develop this important side of the organist's work at music-teaching institutions.(80) A similar but more forceful view was taken by William Prendergast (at Winchester Cathedral from 1902), when discussing the importance of a choirmaster's training, "students are turned out budding virtuosi on the organ, but with only the faintest smattering of what choir-training means".(81) He wrote that whilst there were many excellent guides to choir-training, there was nothing more practical than the work itself.(82) He believed that church music throughout the country would deteriorate unless the trend to "make" organists and choirmasters attend a secular "college" received a speedy check. Like Martin, Prendergast believed that the only satisfactory way to learn the art and craft of the choirmaster was to continue the time honoured tradition of learning with an organist of repute; and "becoming familiar with the works of the old masters in the sacred buildings for which they were written". Like Sergison, Martin emphasised the importance of studying voice production - something rarely done - , and suggested that music training schools should affiliate themselves to a number of churches near at hand.(83)

By refusing to include choir-training and voice production in its syllabi, the R.C.O. continued to draw criticism for several years. But at the 1903 Incorporated Society of Musicians' conference in Dublin, Frederick Shinn (a member of the R.C.O.'s council) assured members that the college was "grappling" with the question of an

appropriate examination. (84) The following year church music was discussed at the Liverpool Church Congress at which the Revd. Hylton Stewart, Precentor of Chester Cathedral, reiterated the belief that the R.C.O. should make accompaniment of services and a sound knowledge of choir-training an important part of their diplomas. Reporting on events the editor of *The Musical Times* commented that this was not the first time such a compulsory requirement had been urged, and "it is to be hoped that the Council of the Royal College of Organists will see their way indicated by Mr. Stewart and the Church Congress".(85) Some welcomed yet another paper qualification, and by 1905 Regulations and Syllabus were published for *The Examination in Choir Training*. It was open to Fellows of the college, and consisted of three main parts: a theoretical *viva voce*, a practical examination without a choir, and a practical, involving a small four part choir. For April 1906, candidates were to direct a rehearsal of all or any of the following:

Walmisley, "*Magnificat from Service in D minor* ;  
Purcell, "*Remember not Lord*";  
Wesley, "*Blessed be the God*";  
Goss, "*If we believe*".

The syllabus was indeed comprehensive in terms of the theoretical knowledge and practical experience needed to pass the examination. Non-conformist and Roman Catholic candidates may well have had grounds for complaining that the content showed a bias towards Anglican services. Surprisingly, no test in accompanying a choral group on the organ was included, but this was added several years later in the new Certificate and Diploma Choir-Training examinations. For the years 1909-1915 when the Choir-Training Examination was offered, 23 candidates passed. A paucity of candidates prompted the College Council to suspend the examination in 1919 until further notice. Official reaction placed the blame on general apathy and on clergy who did not demand such a qualification from their organists.(86) Another probable reason was the reduction in numbers of talented young men available following the 1914-1918 war.

The question remains: did the R.C.O. during a half century of activity achieve those objects set out for the proposed institution? There can be no doubt that in the main it did. By the outbreak of the first World War there were 1435 members, of whom 471

were Fellows, 434 Associates and 530 ordinary members. Soon after its inception there had been 200 college members; 20 years later in 1893 the college membership had risen to 1100. Grove believed it ought to have been ten times that number. (87) With its social activities and lectures, its diplomas open to all regardless of class, gender or religion, the R.C.O. was a prime mover in the improved status of organists. Following the extensive disruption caused by the first World War, the work of the College picked up with renewed vigour and effectiveness. According to Hugh Allen, the council of the R.C.O. was “the only body capable of leading its members through the winding pathway of change to a permanent way of wider opportunities, greater stability and more generous recognition”. (88)

### *The Guild of Organists*

That there was a demand for another organisation to care for the interests of organists became evident amongst a small group of like-minded people. The Guild of Organists was established in 1887 with premises in Wellington Street in the Strand. (89) Its objectives were published in *The Musical Times* for 1st July and in *The Musical Opinion and Musical Trade Review* for 1st November of that year.

The Guild of Organists is an association among members of the musical profession, - members of the Episcopal Church of England, Scotland, and Ireland, who desire, by mutual conference, and all legitimate means, to advance the cause of church music, and the truest interests of its professors. All that is practicable towards these ends will fall within the scope of the Guild, and the proceedings will include church gatherings, meetings, lectures, and musical performances when these can be provided, whilst examinations, as a test of proficiency, are included in the scheme of the Guild. It is hoped that the Guild will tend to foster and preserve a high sense of the sacredness and honour belonging to the vocation of organist, and that it will prove valuable as a means of intercommunication, and a bond of brotherhood between musicians of the church, and of elevating the status of their vocation.

Frederick Temple, Bishop of London, became the Guild's Patron, and Gore Ouseley, Oakeley and Sir Robert Stewart its Presidents. Dr. Charles Vincent, a former

choirboy and pupil of Armes at Durham Cathedral was its first Warden. Dr. James Henry Lewis, organist of St. Peter's, Staines and later Twickenham Parish Church, was appointed Secretary.

With its sights set high to improve the church organist's status, and to enhance his religious and artistic sensibilities, the Guild wasted no time in setting examinations for a Fellowship diploma [F.Gld.O.]. Choir-training and voice production, it was suggested, should be included in the examination scheme, but this did not materialise.(90) The syllabus for the Fellowship examination, as originally conceived, is given in Appendix 12d. For this *Diploma*, a candidate was expected to show a comprehensive knowledge of the organ, its design and construction. Questions in the *Fellowship* paper for January 1888 are precise and concise, but allow the candidate to show his knowledge and understanding of the instrument. Two papers on species counterpoint, free counterpoint and harmony up to 4 parts and figured bass are set. The syllabus for the *Fellowship* of the Guild of Organists was similar to the A.R.C.O. in its requirements, but little is known of its standards.

The officials who worked to set up the Guild believed that the duties and qualifications of the organist had changed with time. His position within the Church of England, the Episcopal Church of Scotland, and the Episcopal Church of Ireland had not been considered within ecclesiastical law, as had that of the parish clerk and sexton, and consequently the organist had no legal status. In London, at a public meeting of organists in 1887, Vincent hoped:

To advance the position of organist, and endeavour so to fit him for his responsible duties that he shall command respect, is one of the foremost aims and objects of our Guild. (91)

Concerned as the Guild was "to advance the cause of Church Music and the truest interests of its Professors", only members of the Episcopal Church were eligible for election. (92) "There was not the slightest doubt that the need exists for such a Guild," quoted Vincent from a clergyman's letter.(93) And from the same source: "I have seen

many an efficient organist insulted by my brother clergy entirely through the latter being unmusical and therefore callous towards music in church....."Another priest believed that:

The co-operation of thoroughly musical clergymen who understand an organist's work, and the organists themselves, is sure to be a benefit to all. The examinations which the Guild propose to hold will cultivate the amateurs and promote improvement in accompanying services.(94)

It was the concern of some clergy - certainly the more musical ones, including Frederick Temple (1821-1902 ), then Bishop of London, that a better understanding should exist between themselves and their organists to enable the latter to have certain discretionary powers in the choice of music for worship and how it should be performed.

Compared with the R.C.O., membership of the Guild was never large. In the first year of its existence there were 150 elected members, with just over 200 at its peak in 1888. (95) As early as 1889, when the Guild moved to Burlington Hall, Saville Row, it experienced problems within its administration. Both Vincent (96) and Lewis left in that year. Vincent's departure followed internal disagreements and Lewis was dismissed on the grounds that his actions " were not for the good of the Guild".(97) The year before leaving the Guild, Lewis had set up the Church Choir Guild. Once again he sought the position of Warden. (98). Lewis's successor as Secretary was Moreton Hand, author of *The Organist and his Relation with the Clergy*. In his talk before the Guild of Organists on 10th November, 1890 on "The Use of Non-Teaching Musical Institutions", Hand stated that "The Guild of Organists differs from every other body of musicians in that it is composed exclusively of Communicant Churchmen". (99) It was the exclusiveness of this body which prompted *The Daily Chronicle*, for the 31st July 1890 to accuse it of bigotry. This attitude may well have been a contributing factor to the Guild's eventual demise.

Comparing the Guild's Fellowship examination with that of the College of Organists was not considered helpful since the latter institution was founded on "a broader and more comprehensive basis of membership"; this was the guarded reply given to readers of *The Organist and Choirmaster*.(100) Examples of papers for the two Fellowships (given in Appendices 12d and 12c) should be studied more for interest than

for any assessment of standards. A letter from a reader of *The Musical Standard* for 7th April 1888 pointed out that one organist who had gained the Guild's Fellowship diploma had failed the Associateship of the Royal College of Organists' examination.(101) It is interesting to note that the examiners for the Guild of Organist's Fellowship diploma for May 1901, advertised in that month's issue of *The Musical Times* were "H.C. Perrin of Canterbury Cathedral, and Tertius Noble of York Cathedral".

Besides offering diplomas, the Guild of Organists made available free of charge to its members details of church appointments. Papers were read on special topics, and prizes were regularly offered for the best organ piece and the best full short anthem. (102) Sadly, what began as an active institution, full of promise and high hopes, with a clear vision of what was required to raise standards and the status of the profession, ended in eventual self-destruction created by ill-feeling, dissent and bigotry. One respected organist, John Warriner, thought that many of the Guild's aims were worthy of approval, but expressed concern over the constitution of its Council - no doubt an oblique reference to Lewis's presence there. The content of its examinations scheme he believed "should be modified, and the use of initials of membership removed before it could command the confidence of any substantial section of the profession or gain the goodwill of leading musicians".(103)

### *The Incorporated Guild of Church Musicians*

As Bernarr Rainbow has shown, during the early decades of the 19th century, surpliced choirs of men and boys were found only in our cathedrals, some Oxbridge college chapels, and a few parish churches.(104) With the Choral Revival, in part the outcome of the Oxford Movement, and the desire to improve the worship of the Church of England, many parish churches wished to emulate the choral traditions heard in our cathedrals. Numbers of churches were ill-equipped to follow this path. William Henry Gladstone (eldest son of the prime minister), M.P. for East Worcestershire and himself a keen amateur musician with a particular interest in church music, felt that parish churches should encourage congregational music and leave the more refined singing to

"quires and places where they sing." Several years later, speaking at the 1903 Church Congress in Bristol, Parratt thought it was not a good thing for every parish church to have a choir.

In the 1860s and 1870s low standards of choir singing and organ playing were evident almost everywhere.(105) *The Parish Choir* (106) described the choir of Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, as "the worst in England" and the singing at St. Mary's Church in that city (the University church) as "positively disgraceful". Speaking of the choir of Westminster Abbey, the Chapel Royal, St. George's Chapel, Windsor and St. Paul's Cathedral, and their singing at the festive service of the Sons of the Clergy in 1867, the *Pall Mall Gazette* described them as:

accustomed to shamble alone, shambled more than ever in company. Probably we shall be told there was no rehearsal; but that fact - if fact it be, is more a condemnation than an excuse, and illustrates the looseness and carelessness with which our musical services are conducted even on occasions of special solemnity.....All over England the music of our collegiate churches calls for an improvement which ought no longer to be delayed. (107)

One musician signing himself "A Devonian Organist" in *Musical Opinion and Music Trade Review* for October, 1886, (108) suggested forming a society for the improvement of church music in which each choir joining the league would pay a small subscription, and in return would obtain free use of the society's library of anthems, and the opportunity to compete for choir prizes, etc. Other correspondents supported a society for the improvement of church music in poorer country districts where the organist was in many cases the village schoolmaster; there was little energy after work to rehearse the choir. It was not long before decisive steps were taken to form an organisation which would do all the things suggested by the correspondent in *Musical Opinion* - and more. Two years later there appeared in *The Church Times* for 20th November, 1888 the following letter:

Many of your readers will be glad to know that a movement is on foot to establish a Church Choir Guild. The names of several eminent musicians figure on the Council and there are still a few vacancies to be filled. The Guild will have its centre in London,



and it is hoped that provincial choirs will avail themselves of the opportunity of enrolment with this institution.

The writer of the letter and founder of the Guild was none other than Lewis (late of the Guild of Organists) . Believing there to be plenty of scope for such a guild - since there was "a great lack of union and sympathy in church choirs" - he thought there should be some central association for the purpose of developing and carrying out his ideas. He had written to the Bishop of Lincoln about them and the reply was encouraging. He had the support, too, of several leading church musicians. Lewis invited friends to meet him in the Council Room of the English Church Union at 35 Wellington Street in the Strand on 30th April, 1888 to discuss the matter. A Council was formed *pro tem* until a conference could be held. To help choirs, rules were drawn up and published, and the highest rank of Fellow established by examination. (109)

A guide to the Guild's work, published in its *Calendar*, was set out as follows:

The advancement of church music by means of lectures, competitions, musical performances, services, festivals, organ recitals, conferences, etc.,  
The granting of certificates for good conduct and regularity of choristers.  
The conferring of diplomas of Associate and Fellow (after examination) upon members of the Guild.

To receive church choirs in union and provide a code of rules for their use.

To encourage meetings of combined choirs for festivals.

When possible to afford pecuniary assistance to members of the Guild.

To offer medals and prizes for competition.

To raise a fund for providing a Guild Hall, Reading Room, Library, etc., for the use of members.

To promote any other means by which the choral worship of the Church may be improved. (110)

Essays for prizes were submitted by members of the Guild, and successful work published in the official journal, *The Church Musician*. Considerable support for its ideals and its work came from the Anglican hierarchy and from musicians of differing backgrounds, including Stainer, Longhurst of Canterbury Cathedral, Mann of King's College, Cambridge, Garrett, organist to the University of Cambridge, Armes of Durham Cathedral, Bridge of Chester, Sinclair of Truro, Elvey of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, Spark of Leeds, and Moody of Bangor and Wells. The Archbishop of Canterbury became its Patron, the Dean of Bristol, Dr. Francis Pigout its first President, and many of the

Anglican bishops its patrons.(111) Lewis, a Freeman and Liveryman of the City of London became the Guild's Warden and Licenced Lay Chaplain, and Frederick Karn the Assistant Warden. (112)

The Guild's first annual meeting was held at its headquarters on 23rd January 1889, presided over by Arthur Huff.(113) Its aim was to unite choirs in a common bond of sympathy with those responsible for the musical portion of church services. Ten years later, by which time the Guild was in the process of becoming incorporated, Lewis provided more detailed aims of the group which had grown considerably in influence:

The two main aims of the (Incorporated) Guild have been to raise the status of musicians of the church and to train young men. It is necessary that these young men should prove themselves capable and qualified to carry on the profession of a church musician.  
(114)

Church choirs were encouraged to enrol with the Guild on payment of an annual subscription of ten shillings and sixpence (fifty-two and a half pence) in return for which they received a copy of the Constitution and membership rules. Members received free advice on any musical matter, and could attend lectures and conferences. Only communicant members of the Church of England could be members of the Guild and were entitled to vote on all matters discussed at the Annual Conference. As members, professional organists and choirmasters seeking appointments in the Church of England, and clergy too, were entitled to consult the *Register* in which posts were advertised. Members seeking appointments submitted their names for inclusion on the *Register*. Finding appointments for organists was described by Lewis as “a very useful part of the Guild's work, and in almost every case they were successful in securing men suited to the requirements of the church”.(115)

*The Church Musician* appeared in January 1891 as the official monthly bulletin of the Guild and the only paper devoted exclusively to church music. Its aim was:

to constantly bring before organists and clergy the imperative necessity of coming to a better understanding with each other to better the lot of that miserably underpaid but important church official and cultivated artist, the organist, upon whom really devolves the duty of maintaining a great part of the Church's

service.(116)

In 1891 the Guild became a recognised Order of the Church of England, registered with the Church Guilds' Union. Permission was given for a one manual and pedal organ to be installed in the Council Room in the English Church Union building, the gift of its builder, Messrs Norman and Beard of Norwich.(117)

By publishing a suggestion that the Guild was "affiliated" to a College of Church Musicians having supposed connections with a university chartered by the State of Kansas, it found itself in trouble with the powerful Union of Music Graduates. The College was, according to *The Organist and Choirmaster*, incorporated by Charter, in the State of Kansas, U.S.A. in 1890, with authority to grant degrees in music and to exercise a beneficial influence on church music in the United States and elsewhere. An approach to the Chancellor of the University of Kansas by the Union of Music Graduates established the fact that no connection existed between the two institutions, and moreover, no such institution had ever been opened in any city in that State. As a result of such disturbing findings, the Council of the English Church Union terminated the tenancy of the Guild of Church Musicians and demanded that they vacate the premises at once.(118)

In 1905 the Guild became incorporated by Act of Parliament, thus becoming a registered company by guarantee, and from then to be known as the Incorporated Guild of Church Musicians. Academic hoods, caps and gowns were allowed by licence granted by the Board of Trade. (119) Much useful work continued for music in the Anglican Church both here and abroad by the Incorporated Guild which had received the blessing and support of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Elvey, and the Revd. R. Tahourdin, priest-in-ordinary to Queen Victoria.

Candidates were examined for diplomas in London and at centres throughout the country. Branches were opened in the United States of America and in Melbourne, Australia to advance the cause of church music there. Graduates in music presenting themselves for the Guild's diplomas were exempted from those subjects in which proficiency had already been shown. (Examples of *Associate* and *Fellowship* examination

papers are shown in Appendix 12e). Some time was devoted in the *Fellowship* of the Guild to vocal technique, to the use of the voice, with sections of the exam paper devoted to the history of music, harmony, species counterpoint, elementary theory, and a little history of church music. However severe the marking of the Guild papers, the demands cannot match those of the Royal College of Organists. In its first thirteen years of existence, 508 ordinary members had been admitted, 122 had become life members, 42 choirs had been enrolled. "in union" (meaning entitlement to the privileges offered in the Guild's Constitution). Furthermore, 129 and 301 qualified for the Associate and Fellowship diplomas respectively, with 195 choristers gaining certificates.(120) A year later there were eight thousand members, including Fellows, Associates and choristers. There is some doubt about the accuracy of these numbers. (121) Some areas of concern were emerging after nearly a quarter of a century of the Guild's existence. Lectures were poorly attended, and a lack of commitment and shrinking membership marked the beginning of a temporary decline. Poor administration and internal wrangling over policy issues caused the Guild's influence to weaken.

It is significant that in Joyce's *The Life of Sir Frederick Gore Ouseley* (1896), Frederick Bridge's *A Westminster Pilgrim* (1918), Tovey and Parratt's *Walter Parratt* (1941), and Colles's *Walford Davies* (1942), no mention is made of the Guild of Organists, or the Incorporated Guild of Church Musicians or their officials. Founders of *The Musical News* (Turpin and Southgate) attacked the Guild and its examinations. Bridge, not always temperate in remarks delivered in public, joined in. The Guild countered the statements made by those it called "the clique" by pointing to the hearty support given for its examinations. This showed the institution was in demand, and moreover the R.C.M. now followed the example of the Guild in providing instruction in choir-training.(122) Encouragement, however, came from one notable person. Grove, Director of the R.C.M. wrote "I heartily wish success to such an attempt to benefit public worship".(123) A member of the Executive Council, S. Coles thought the Incorporated Guild of Church Musicians was "the only examining institution which did anything to encourage the proper training of choirmasters". (124) He thought this sufficient to justify

its existence. Spark, Leeds City Hall organist described the Guild as "a most excellent association" in a letter to the Warden published in *The Church Musician*. He thought it ought to receive the support of all organists and choirmasters who desire to improve the services of "our beloved Church of England". (125)

Looking after the interests and needs of church musicians, both amateur and professional, the Guild of Organists and the Incorporated Guild of Church Musicians were organisations inspired by men of dedication. Although criticised by the R.C.O., both bodies did much to give organists and choirmasters a sense of improved status within their profession and Victorian society.

Of particular concern to both Guilds were relations between the organist and choirmaster and his priest; they felt there was much room for improvement. The church musician was open to abuse, liable to dismissal without adequate redress. Believing himself threatened by clergy, often ignorant of the musician's art, the response of the organist was understandably defensive, at times aggressive. Fortunately, officials of the two Guilds and those of the College of Organists acted with patience and responsibility. They knew that clergy were not always to blame when disagreements arose; even Edward Elgar stated that musicians were supposed to be the most cantankerous people on earth! (126) There is a distressing history of poor working relations between clergy and their organists, sometimes due to clashes of personality, but more frequently to misunderstanding of the roles played by these two church officials. The priest knew precisely what were his duties and responsibilities, as laid down in ecclesiastical law; but not so the organist. His position was not recognised by law. (127)

It was not the intention of the Guild of Organists (or, for that matter, the Incorporated Guild of Church Musicians) to set organist against priest. As Vincent stated in a public lecture given in London on 26th September, 1887, the opposite was true.

We hope, with the co-operation of the clergy and existing musical bodies, to bring about a better state of things than at present exists.....but I know that discord does exist in many cases where harmony ought certainly to prevail.(128)

Similar sentiments were expressed by Richardson, of St. Saviour's Collegiate Church, Southwark (Southwark Cathedral), when he wrote that "the co-operation of thoroughly musical clergymen who understand the organist's work, and the organists themselves, is sure to be of benefit to all".(129) Other observers outside the orbit of the two Guilds were also concerned about these relationships. Addressing a meeting at the College of Organists on 4th June, 1889 on the subject of "Duties and Responsibilities of Church Organists", Lake stated that organists should consult with priests more, and in turn, "organists should be regarded more as colleagues than servants".

In addition to examining, the Guild offered instruction at their headquarters to clergy officiating at choral services. An end of course examination included monotoning, intoning, sight reading, and questions on the rudiments of music, plainsong notation, standard services and anthems.(130) Private lessons on intoning were advertised in the back of *The Musical Times* for 1906 to be given by a senior member of the Guild, John Bentley.

In spite of the temporary decline in the Guild's activities, it is clear that what Lewis brought into being in 1888 had become a positive influence in the field of church music.(131) He worked hard for the organisation he helped to found, and did much to improve the relationship between clergy, organists and choirmasters.

## Associations

### *The Union of Graduates in Music*

Mounting criticism regarding the acquisition of both foreign and bogus degrees by some of musicians in this country (132) prompted Stainer to set up the Union of Graduates in Music in 1893. The organisation drew attention to the trade in degrees, which were of doubtful validity and awarded *in absentia*. A constitution was formally drawn up, Stainer elected president, with Thomas Lea Southgate as honorary Secretary.

Membership was limited to those upon whom music degrees had been conferred by one of the universities of the United Kingdom and Ireland, or by virtue of a Royal Charter.

The Union's *Roll and Kalendar* published annually from 1893 by Novello contained an up-to-date list of all *bone fide* music graduates. Its annual conference was held at a British university. A notice in the musical press announced that:

The public generally, the clergy in particular, and the authorities of our education institutions would be very glad to know of the existence of a recognised body, who could give exact information as to the true worth of the many claims now made to graduateship.....(133 )

Membership in January 1898 had reached 550. (134)

As predicted, the proposal for a Union of Graduates in Music provoked criticism in one section of the musical press. *The Church Musician*, no doubt thinking of the R.C.O. and its officials, described the idea as “this latest scheme of a clique of monopolists...founded on the selfish and illiberal principles of exclusiveness, coercion, and oppression”. (135) Nevertheless, through its meetings, concerts and published notices in the press, the attention of the public and clergy was drawn to the dangers of recognising the legitimacy of some foreign degrees. These included: the Musical University of England (no provenance), the New England University, the University of the South (Tennessee), and Trinity University (Toronto), all of which awarded degrees *in absentia*. (136)

### *Organists' Associations*

The coming of age of the organist's profession stimulated an enthusiasm for Associations; members frequently viewed them as a club in which congeniality was often placed above competence in musical skills. As early as October 1853, *The Musical Times* suggested that an association was necessary to preserve the interests of the profession. Hull Society of Organists, founded on 4th December, 1875 may well take credit for being one of the first such associations. It was conceived with the object of bringing together amateur and professional organists of the town, interesting them in each others' work,

discussing details of organ construction, improving their knowledge of organ music, and being of assistance to each other. A small library was formed and harmony classes offered. (137)

Towards the end of 1889 half a dozen organists met in a singer's house in Wakefield, when it was suggested that they should meet for Christmas dinner and invite a distinguished guest. A successful meeting took place in January 1890, chaired by Mr. Hardy, organist of Wakefield Cathedral, with Dr. J.Naylor of York Minster the principal speaker. Later that year, the Wakefield and District Organists' Association was born, and Hardy became its first president. Amongst its aims were "the promotion of friendly intercourse among its members, and the interchange of opinion on matters musical.(138) The Wakefield and District Association was proud to point out that organists and their assistants were not "graded" when they joined, but boasted perfect equality of membership.(139) Its work was of two kinds: firstly educational, represented by organ recitals and the reading of papers on topics of importance to organists and choirmasters; secondly, social gatherings. At the end of ten years of useful work (1890-1900) the membership roll contained eighty-eight names representing seventy-four places of worship, forty-nine members being Anglicans. At the beginning of 1907 there were almost one hundred members.(140)

Several years were to elapse before similar associations came into being. Huddersfield and District Organists' Association was founded in 1903, and continued to thrive with one hundred and eight members on the occasion of its 4th Annual Dinner.(141) By 1913, arrangements were made to bring together all existing associations to form The National Union of Organists' Associations.(142) At a meeting convened in Southport on 31st May, 1913 it was unanimously agreed that associations should be affiliated and that delegates should meet in Manchester on 5th November to elect officers. An official journal, *The Quarterly Record*, appeared in October, 1915. Hampshire's association, with Prendergast of Winchester Cathedral its president, had a membership of seventy, (143) whilst Sheffield's association had seventy-four members present at its Inaugural Dinner on 17th May, 1913.(144) That year, Liverpool and District



Organists' and Choirmasters' Association engaged six speakers to read papers with titles such as:-"The Organ in the Making" (W.M.Rushworth), "Some aspects of the music of Brahms" (Dr.A.W.Pollitt), "Church Music" (C.W.Bridson), "Liverpool Cathedral" (Rev. C. Harris), "Accompaniments and Accompanist" (T. Halstall), "Practical Plainchant to British Words" (Royle Shore) and a discussion on "Voice Training for Children" by Mr. Bates.(145) Some speakers dealt with professional matters as, for instance, when J.F.Sykes delivered his paper on "Organists' Voluntaries" before Huddersfield's Association in October, 1907. (146) On 12 July 1913, the same Association heard a paper by its president, A.E.T. Hinchcliffe, on "The Position of Organists and Choirmasters under the Workmen's Compensation Act".(147)

The work of associations went some way towards satisfying the notions of Lake concerning the duties and responsibilities of church organists. (148) He believed that they had a duty to perform, namely, to educate fellow organists by meeting "for mutual improvement by social intercourse."

There is nothing so improving as the reunions which all other artists hold, where they exchange views. It is rather shoppy, perhaps, but at the same time very educational.(149)

From their inception during the final decade of the nineteenth century until the outbreak of the first World War, organists' associations throughout the country flourished. Shared interests, the perceived notion of improving knowledge and skills - and therefore status - provided unmistakable signs that the organists' profession was taking itself seriously. However, it was not enough for organists to come together "to talk shop", to which they were certainly prone, noted *The Musical Standard*, but if associations could:

produce the all-round man, that is to say, the man who can prove his possession of general knowledge of men and things, who can discuss politics, or literature, or science, or any other branch of art, besides his eternal organ loft, it will have done far more than merely justify its existence. (150)

In 1904, The Church Organists' Society announced its formation in the

February issue of *The Musical Times*. Calling on organists to join, the society promoted its aim as "proficiency in service". Organ tuition became available, and the following year associate and fellowship diplomas were on offer by examination, thereby adding to the existing profusion - and confusion - of paper qualifications. Under the wardenship of a Dr. Tindall, the society was directed by the Musical Reform Association, Lim. [Ltd.] and the Guild of St. Cecilia. Information regarding the Society's work appeared occasionally in subsequent issues of *The Musical Times*, in which readers were informed that it was a "Union of Organists", a "real brotherhood". The Society continued to advertise, offering lessons through its Organ School, a new Literary Department for clergy, and publishing facilities. Having set out with the best of intentions to improve aspects of organists' work, the Church Organists' Society eventually sank into oblivion after ten years competing against other groups.

The Organists' Prayer Union was a short-lived association. Its organisers, who included Dr. Charles Pearce as honorary treasurer, felt that such a union was important for Christian musicians. It came to public attention through an advertisement in *The Organist and Choirmaster* for 15th April, 1898. (151) According to the "Draft of Rules Proposed," its object was to place every branch of the organists' profession on the highest level (how this was to be achieved was never stated), to bring together members of the profession "in bonds of Christian brotherhood," and "to uphold each other at the Throne of Grace". Only professional musicians who were communicants of the Church of England were entitled to membership. Rules were laid down:

as befitting a Christian organist: that each member should pray on at least one day a week (certainly on Sundays); that there would be a quarterly meeting for united prayer in each branch or district; and that each member should consider it his duty as well as a privilege to do some Christian work, other than in a professional capacity. (152)

A month after the first notice to form the Organists' Prayer Union, seventeen members had enrolled.(153) No further mention was made of its activities, and not surprisingly, it can be assumed that the Union quietly expired.

Many of the above groups and organisations did valuable work in bringing together people with similar interests within the world of church music. They provided a simple but important sense of camaraderie. As to the question of qualifications, there were too many, so many in fact that the public - and some employers - became confused, doubtful, even suspicious of their value. And where there were too many qualifications all purporting to offer the same thing, standards became questionable.

### Summary

During the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, universities began to reform their systems for conferring degrees. Increasingly, graduates had to demonstrate a broader range of skills, although initially the standard required was not, by today's standard, high. Increasingly, scholarships and exhibitions became available to the prospective university student. Oxbridge scholarships could be obtained via an articulated pupilship or after a training in a public school.

A variety of musical training establishments sprung up during the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century; the Royal Academy of Music, which was slow to gain high status due to a reputation for poor organ playing and due to financial problems; the Trinity College of Music, set up to promote mastery of church music; the National Training School for Music (which later became the Royal College of Music), whose aim was to allow a strong musical training to become available to all ranks of society; and a number of other smaller organisations. Late in the century the RAM and RCM made diplomas available with a concentration on performance. Scholarships and exhibitions to these institutions were also created around this time.

Musical training institutions in Europe began to improve in reputation through the course of the century, making them attractive places to study. Germany, particularly Leipzig Conservatory, was a favourite destination, but some students also went to Paris,

Brussels and Milan. At the end of the century there was increasing optimism both about the training available in this country, and about the standard of organ playing in the nation.

The need to improve the professional status of organists became increasingly apparent during the course of the century. To this end the College of Organists (later named the Royal College) was created in 1863. It offered Associate and Fellowship diplomas and was instrumental in improving standards in organ playing, in the hope that the qualifications awarded might guarantee the abilities of organists being appointed to church posts. Other aspects of its work included the creation of the Organist's Benevolent League in 1910, and, after considerable campaigning by members, an examination in choir training, which was later discontinued.

Some 20 years after the creation of the RCO, the Guild of Organists came into being, its remit being to "advance the cause of church music." Again a Fellowship diploma was offered which, though attempting to improve the status of organists, was intended to aid relationships between clergymen and their organists. Sadly, the Guild foundered due to internal strife.

The low standards of church choirs in the latter half of the century prompted the creation of the Church Choir Guild (later the Incorporated Guild of Church Musicians) in 1888. As well as doing everything in its power to improve the standards of singing, it saw as its role the job of helping to improve relationships between clergy and organists. The Guild also offered diplomas, and moreover gave instruction to clergy officiating at choral services.

The plethora of degrees and qualifications available, some of which were of doubtful validity, gave rise to the Union of Graduates, a body which held information on the worth of various qualifications. A number of associations also sprang up in the last quarter of the century, with the aim of bringing organists together for friendship, support and an exchange of ideas, and culminating in the formation of the National Union of Organists' Associations.

The century saw something of an explosion in the number of organisations and qualifications available to the organist; an array which, whilst causing some confusion, did much to improve the status of the church musician.

### Evaluation

In researching this chapter, much information was found in authoritative histories and in contemporaneous publications regarding university qualifications and training, and relating to other major teaching institutions. However, much detail has been added to the existing knowledge of this subject, gleaned from contemporaneous journals. These add to our understanding of the period by indicating the areas under lively discussion in the periodicals and suggesting the nature of opinion at that time. Whilst the comments made in these articles must be taken as one person's point of view (and in the light of this have been assessed critically), they are likely to hold more weight where an opinion has been given by a number of different correspondents, and this will be brought out in the evaluation.

The detail found in the journals relating to the established institutions include the reforms proposed for Oxbridge degrees, which later came into being. Information such as termly fees to institutions provide interesting detail. Correspondence relating to the value of study abroad was clearly an area of lively debate and was entered into by such eminent musicians as Stainer. Another area of active discussion related to the value and limitations of exams and the skills which should be included in them. This debate offers us an insight into how the examination system evolved, and examination papers have also been studied to gain an understanding of what was required of the Victorian and Edwardian candidate. Pass levels also offer enlightening detail.

Interesting information was gleaned regarding the position of women. Personal communication regarding the Maud Mary Gooch scholarship showed that, in this instance, women appear to have been accepted on an equal footing, as corroborated by

the RCO's enlightened policy of marking unnamed examination papers, and Alcock's views expressed in the press of the day that women equalled men in organ playing. This progressive view, given the general attitudes of the day towards women, and the lack of female suffrage until 1911, is surprising. Many correspondents in the journals entered into debate regarding choir training. The fact that so many eminent musicians expressed the view that the inclusion in syllabi of such training was long overdue, suggests that choirs and their training had hitherto been abysmally neglected.

Minimal, if any, information was found either in Victorian or recent literature regarding the less well known organisations of the period; namely the Guild of Organists, the Church Choir Guild, the Union of Graduates in Music, organists associations and less well known institutions. The sources used for this part of the chapter were journals of the period (where speeches were often printed), Presidential addresses and conferring of diploma speeches. This may be, to the author's knowledge, the first time this has been drawn into a coherent history of such organisations, and as such is an important addition to our understanding of the subject.

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER FOUR

### INSTITUTIONAL TRAINING

1. Matthew, H., *The Oxford History of Britain*, ed. Morgan, K., p. 518, London, O.U.P., 1993.
2. Joyce, F.W., *Frederick Gore Ouseley*, p.140, London, Methuen, 1896. Robert Stewart's requirements regarding general education.
3. *The Musical Standard*, 21<sup>st</sup> Feb. 1874, "The process of obtaining an Oxford Degree in Music".
4. Dibble, J.C., *Hubert Parry, His Life and Music*, p.357, Oxford, Clarendon, 1992
5. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5th ed., vol.II, p. 636, p. 637, London, Macmillan, 1954.
6. Three of the scholarships advertised are given here. The organ scholar at Selwyn College, Cambridge, was "to play the organ at all the choral services in Chapel, and to practice with the choir as often as may be directed." A knowledge of Gregorian music was necessary. Salary £30 p.a. (*The Musical Standard*, 13<sup>th</sup> July, 1889). At Wadham College, Oxford, the organ exhibitioner received £45 p.a., for which he was to accompany the Chapel Services on Sundays and Saints' days in term (*The Musical Times*, May 1907). Duties varied between colleges. At Corpus Christie, the salary was £50 p.a., with rooms rent free (*The Musical Times*, November 1890). All scholars and exhibitioners were expected to read for an arts degree.
7. Shaw, W., *The Succession of Organists*, p.216, p.190, p.58, p.207, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991.
8. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. VII, p.268.
9. Ehrlich, C., *The Music Profession in Britain since the 18<sup>th</sup> Century*, pp. 79-83, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1985.
10. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. VIII, pp. 545-546. *The New Oxford Companion to Music*, (ed. Arnold), p. 1847, vol. II, Oxford, OUP, 1847.
11. *The Minute Book of the National Training School for Music*, Kensington, Insert p.18a.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.* At a meeting of the Committee of Management on 22<sup>nd</sup> June 1876, it was noted that there were 68 scholars: 18 males and 50 females, with 16 professors. (p.112.)
14. Tovey and Parrat, *Walter Parratt*, p. 87, London, OUP, 1941.

15. *Ibid.*
16. Advertisement in *The Musical Times*, 1<sup>st</sup> March 1868.
17. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. III, p.843.
18. Ehrlich, C., *The Music Profession in Britain since the 18<sup>th</sup> Century*, p.114.
19. *The Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music Handbook*, London, The Associated Board, n.d., p. 10.
20. Personal communication from the Royal Academy of Music in a letter dated 14<sup>th</sup> March 2000. (see Appendix 14b)
21. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Vol. III, p. 177, 1922.
22. Stanford, C.V., *Pages from an Unwritten Diary*, p.156, London, Edward Arnold, 1914.
23. *Ibid.* p.157.
24. Obituary in *The Musical Times*, May 1949.
25. Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, pp. 40-46, Birmingham, Stratton, 1897,
26. *Ibid.* p. 200
27. Hoyte, W.S. *The Musical Standard*, 13<sup>th</sup> February 1897, p.98.
28. *The Musical Standard*, 4<sup>th</sup> March 1899, p.130.
29. Stainer in the *Daily News*, quoted in *The Musical Standard*, 17<sup>th</sup> June, 1899, p.372.
30. *The Musical Standard*, 4<sup>th</sup> September, 1909, p.159.
31. "The Origin and History of The Royal College of Organists" in R.C.O. *Calendar*, 1905-6.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *British Sessional Papers, House of Commons 1893-4*, vol. lxxviii, p.445.
34. The R.C.O. moved to 7 St Andrew's St., Holborn in 1990.
35. *The Musical Standard*, 30th March 1878.
36. *The Musical Standard*, 26th April 1884.
37. *Ibid.*
38. Sir George Grove speaking at the 1887 Annual Dinner of the R.C.O., reported in *The Musical World*, 10th September 1887, pp. 715 - 716.
39. *Ibid.*
40. The Petition included the fact that since 1866, 3205 candidates had entered the College of Organists' examinations, of whom 231 held the Fellowship diploma, and 336 that of Associate.
41. Section 16 of the Petition, *British Sessional Papers, House of Commons, 1893-94*, vol. lxxviii, p.457.
42. Section 16 of the Petition.



43. Section 2 of the Petition, p.440.
44. *The Musical Standard*, 18<sup>th</sup> July 1885.
45. Royal College of Organist's Distribution of Diplomas, January 1916.
46. George Grove at R.C.O. Distribution of Diplomas, 18<sup>th</sup> July, 1890.
47. Parry's Presidential Address to R.C.O., 19<sup>th</sup> January 1918.
48. Parry's Presidential Address to R.C.O., 15<sup>th</sup> July 1918.
49. Parry's Presidential Address to R.C.O., 19<sup>th</sup> January 1918, *Calendar*, p. 20.
50. Distribution of Diplomas at R.C.O., 20<sup>th</sup> July 1918.
51. R.C.O. *Calendar*, 1906-1907, p. 95.
52. Parratt at R.C.O.'s Distribution of Diplomas, January 1916.
53. Lecture by Hugh Allen in Manchester: "The Scope of an Organist's Work", 11<sup>th</sup> May 1912.
54. Lecture in Glasgow, 21<sup>st</sup> March, 1908, "The Position, Work and Influence of a Church Organist."
55. R.C.O. *Calendar*, 1915-1916, pp 80-81.
56. Distribution of Diplomas, 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1915.
57. Distribution of Diplomas at R.C.O, January 1889.
58. Many candidates found it stressful performing on an instrument with which they were not familiar. The R.C.O. organ, installed in 1904 by Messrs Norman and Beard to a specification drawn up by an organ committee chaired by Sir George Martin, did not represent the last word in design, since organ - building "was still in a condition of constant development". Attempts in 1881 by the R.C.O. and various organ builders to attain some agreed measure of uniformity of external construction, a universal pedal centre under the keyboards, and the arrangement of stop divisions at the console, were abandoned by 1903 in consideration of the advances made in organ building. R.C.O. *Calendar*, 1910-1911, p. 78.
59. R.C.O. *Calendar*, 16<sup>th</sup> May, 1908, pp. 189.
60. Lecture in Huddersfield on 26<sup>th</sup> February 1910 on "Extemporisation and Improvisation." R.C.O. *Calendar*, p. 135.
61. Lecture at R.C.O. on "The Organ Examination for Fellowship." *Calendar*, 1908-1909, p. 189.
62. *Ibid.*
63. No. 33 in Novello's *Music Primer* Series.
64. See Appendix 12e.
65. Diploma Distribution, in R.C.O. *Calendar*, January 1918, pp. 27.
66. Numbers drawn by author from information given in R.C.O. Calendars, 1866-1919.
67. *Ibid.*

68. Speech given at the annual dinner of R.C.O., 6<sup>th</sup> June 1912. *Calendar*, p. 96
69. Bridge, Frederick, *Westminster Pilgrim*, pp.338-339, London, Novello/Hutchinson, 1918.
70. R.C.O. *Calendar*, 1916-1917, pp.75.
71. *Musical Opinion*, 1<sup>st</sup> April 1886, p.342.
72. *Musical Opinion*, 1<sup>st</sup> May 1886, p.389.
73. *The Musical Standard*, 12<sup>th</sup> September 1874, pp. 157.
74. Barnby held strong views on the subject of appointing organists and choirmasters.
75. "Choir Training"; a paper read to the College of Organists in March, 1884. Sergison also presented a paper to the 1899 Church Congress on "Choir Training based on Voice Production."
76. Curwen, J.Spencer: *Studies in Worship Music* (Second Series, 1880), p.326. London, Curwen, 1880.
77. Reported in *The Organist and Choirmaster*, 15<sup>th</sup> Feb.1903, pp.237--239.
78. *Ibid.*
79. *The Musical Times*, 1<sup>st</sup> November 1899, p.733.
80. Sir George Martin became President of the R.C.O., 1909 -1910.
81. Quoted from an article about Prendergast in *The Musical Star*, p.12 (undated), Winchester Cathedral Library, *Prendergast Papers* T3/2/6/26.
82. *The Scottish Standard Bearer*, 22<sup>nd</sup> June 1900, p.48.
83. *The Musical Times*, 1<sup>st</sup> November 1899, p.734.
84. Not until 1924 were annual examinations in choir-training instituted. The examination consisted of two parts: a written paper and a practical demonstration in which the candidate was required to train a four-part choir before an examiner.
85. *The Musical Times*, 1<sup>st</sup> November 1904, p.721. When in an interview with the newly appointed Honorary Secretary of the R.C.O., Frank Joseph Sawyer four years later (1908) he was asked by the *M.T.* interviewer if he thought choir-training should be a compulsory subject for the College's examinations, he was able to report that a complete and exhaustive choir-training examination was provided for Fellows only, but whether it would have been "wise or desirable" to allow Associates to sit this examination was a matter for consideration. Why an organist deemed worthy of the Associate diploma should be debarred from taking a qualification in choir-training hardly made sense. From January 1909 for the first time, Associate candidates were obliged to accompany on the organ

- the singing of a choir in canticles, psalms, etc. "A step in the right direction" thought Sawyer. (*The Musical Times*, 1st Sept. 1908, p.567).
86. R.C.O. *Calendar*, 1919-1920, pp. 66.
  87. Grove, in *The Musical Standard*, 15<sup>th</sup> May, 1893, pp. 358.
  88. Lecture reprinted in R.C.O. *Calendar*, 1912-1913, pp. 275.
  89. *The Musical Times* for 1st July 1887 contains the first advertisement of the Guild of Organists, followed by one in *The Musical Standard* for 17th September of the same year. Details of the Guild's Constitution first appeared in *Musical Opinion and Trade Review*, August 1887, p.510.
  90. *The Musical Standard*, 17<sup>th</sup> September, 1887.
  91. Quoted in Vincent's paper read at a public meeting of organists in London on 26th September 1887 and reprinted in *Musical Opinion*, 1st November 1887, p. 67, p. 68.
  92. "The Guild of Organists...is composed exclusively of communicant churchman." Morton Hand in a paper read before the Guild, 10<sup>th</sup> November, 1890.
  93. *Ibid.*
  94. *Ibid.*
  95. *The Musical Standard*, 7<sup>th</sup> May 1892, p.389.
  96. *Musical Opinion*, 1<sup>st</sup> August 1888, p.509.
  97. *The Musical Times*, 1<sup>st</sup> September 1889, p.556.
  98. This man certainly caused displeasure in some circles, for a letter to *The Musical Times* (1<sup>st</sup> September 1889, p.556) from Mr. Kingston speaks of Lewis' dismissal from the Guild of Organists for "insubordination" and in revenge "sprung on an unoffended profession an opposition shop called the 'Church Choir Guild' and elected himself (he must have done it himself) manager, or, as he calls it, 'Warden'." By 1893 Lewis was Vice Principal of The Musical International College; Edwin M. Lott was Principal.
  99. "The Use of Non--Teaching Musical Institutions" p.12. A Paper read before the Guild of Organists on 10th November 1890.
  100. *The Organist and Choirmaster*, October 1900, p.116.
  101. Of twenty-eight candidates who entered for the first Fellow of the Guild of Organist examination in 1887, seventeen passed. According to *The Musical Standard* for 29th October 1887, p.271, membership had reached one hundred and fifty by the end of that year.
  102. From "A Church Organist" writing in *The Organist and Choirmaster*, 15<sup>th</sup> January 1903, p.223.
  103. *Musical Opinion*, 1<sup>st</sup> February 1888, p. 220.
  104. *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church, 1839-1872*. Rainbow lists Christ

- Church Cathedral, New College and Magdalen College chapels, Oxford, King's and St. John's College chapels, Cambridge, and the parish churches of Leeds and St. James's, Ryde.
105. Referring to the time when he entered the R.A.M. in 1847, Charles Steggall reported that the majority of church organists were "...pianists of more or less ability who rarely touched the instrument to practice from one Sunday to the next. Not much was expected of them." As a special branch of musical study at the Academy or outside its walls, the organ was not recognized at all. ("The Organ" in *The New Quarterly Musical Review*, vol.3 1893, p.40.)
  106. *The Parish Choir*, vol. ii, p. 54.
  107. Reprinted in *The Musical Standard*, 1<sup>st</sup> June 1867, p. 339.
  108. *Musical Opinion and Music Trade*, October 1886, p.11.
  109. Address given by Lewis at the Guild's first Annual Conference on 23rd January, 1889.
  110. *The Church Musician*, 15th February, 1894, p.32.
  111. Dean of Chichester before going to Bristol, Pigou had been passionately fond of music from his childhood but had not been encouraged to study. (*Phases of my Life*, p.145.)
  112. Thornsby, F.W. *Dictionary of Organs and Organists*.
  113. *The Musical Times*, January 1889 carried the first advertisement announcing the Guild's activities.
  114. Report of the Annual General Meeting held on 25th January, 1909 at which Lewis stated the aims of the Guild of Church Musicians, and quoted in *The Musical Standard*, 6th February, p.94.
  115. Stated at the Annual Banquet, 30th January, 1911.
  116. *Ibid*.
  117. English Church Union, formed in 1860, incorporated various church societies. It championed High Church principles in the Church of England.
  118. *The Organist and Choirmaster*, 15th January, 1897, p.156.
  119. *The Musical Standard*, 6th February, 1909, p.94.
  120. Data given at the Annual Conference, 1902.
  121. According to Sir George Grove in his Address at the Annual Dinner of the College of Organists, 1887, there were about 12,000 organists in England. (*The Musical World*, 10th September, 1877.) The 8,000 membership claimed by the Guild seems to be very large indeed; a misprint no doubt. Unfortunately many of the Guild's papers and documents were destroyed during the second World War.
  122. *The Church Musician*, January 1891, editorial, p.2.
  123. *The Church Musician*, June 1892, p.117.

124. Lecture on choir-training given before the Guild in June, 1892, and reported in *The Church Musician*, June, 1892, p.113.
125. *The Church Musician*, January 1894, p. 18.
126. *The Musical Standard*, 19th October, 1907, p.250.
127. Dale, W. *The Law of the Parish Church*, p. 55., London, Butterworth, 1946
128. *The Musical Opinion*, 1st November, 1887, p.67.
129. *Ibid.*
130. *The Musical Standard*, 5th March, 1904, p.159.
131. Pinder, T., *Guild of Church Musicians; Historical Fragments*, p. 20.
132. John Henry Lewis, Mus. Doc., D.C.L. (an official of the Guild of Organists and the Incorporated Guild of Church Musicians). Degrees awarded *in absentia* by Trinity University, Toronto. Thomas Lloyd Fowle M.A., Mus. Doc. of Winchester, an example of a bogus degree.
133. *The Musical Times*, November 1892, p.654-655.
134. *Roll and Kalendar* for 1898.
135. *The Church Musician*, November 1892, p.215
136. *Ibid.*
137. Smith, G.H., *History of Hull Organs and Organists*, p.103.
138. Thornsby, F.W. *Dictionary of Organ and Organists*, p.136.
139. *The Organist and Choirmaster*, 15<sup>th</sup> January 1896, p.168.
140. Figures given at the Annual Dinner on 10th January, 1907, *The Musical Times*, 1<sup>st</sup> February 1907.
141. *The Musical Times*, 1<sup>st</sup> March 1907, p.171.
142. By 1928 when application was made for a Charter of Incorporation giving the Association legal status and the right to set up a Benevolent Fund, there were thirty-six Associations in Union with three thousand members. The Incorporated Association of Organists ("The Organists' Fellowship" as it became known) had by 1935 some fifty associations of organists affiliated to it, with a membership approaching four thousand. (*The Musical Times*, 1<sup>st</sup> January 1935, p.4.) Its objects were: (a) to improve and advance the knowledge of their art amongst organists and choirmasters individually and collectively, and to raise the general standard of efficiency amongst organists and choirmasters generally, and (b) to promote organists' associations in all parts of the Empire, and enable them to be affiliated to this Association to assist such affiliated associations in their work and objects, and to help in co-ordinating their aims and principles.
143. *The Musical Times*, 1<sup>st</sup> June 1913, p.385.
144. *Ibid.*
145. *The Musical Times*, 1<sup>st</sup> December 1913, p.799.

146. *The Musical Times*, 1<sup>st</sup> November 1907.
147. Minutes of the Huddersfield Organists' Association, Kirklees Archives, Yorkshire.
148. Lake, Ernest: "Duties and Responsibilities of Church Organists" in *Musical Opinion and Trade Review*, 1<sup>st</sup> September 1889, p. 575.
149. *Ibid.*
150. *The Musical Standard*, 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1890, p.155.
151. *The Organist and Choirmaster*, 15<sup>th</sup> April 1898, pp. 213-214.
152. *The Organist and Choirmaster*, 15<sup>th</sup> May 1898, p.224.
153. *Ibid.*

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE APPOINTING OF CHURCH AND CATHEDRAL ORGANISTS

#### Introduction

This chapter will examine the ways in which church and cathedral organists were appointed during the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, looking at how they were paid and the sources from which these funds were gained. It will also consider the difference in status between the two groups of organist, whilst also examining the personal qualities necessary in an organist within an increasingly demanding profession.

#### Methods of Appointing Church Organists

Procedures adopted for appointing organists in the Anglican parish churches between the 18<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries differed from those used in cathedrals. Although requirements regarding organists' duties and responsibilities were set out in cathedral statutes, this was not the case with the majority of churches. Conditions varied from one parish to another. Some of the ways in which appointments were made during this period will be examined.

As it was thought most suitable to select an organist by competition, names of applicants were brought before the Vestry for consideration, and a vote taken amongst its members. (1) The Vestry transacted the business of the parish; choosing the organist was very much the responsibility of members of the community, whether they attended worship or not. In some parishes, residents possessed votes according to the rates they paid.

Choosing the parish organist in the 18th century was taken seriously and often involved a large section of the populace. Some candidates indicated their intention to seek a post by advertising in the local press, as Maurice Greene did when wishing to secure an organistship:

Being a candidate for the Organists' Place of St Andrew's, Holborn, I hope my advertizing in [sic] may not be thought too singular; for were it in my Power it would be my duty to ask every Inhibitant for the Favour of his Vote and Interest; but the Parish being so large, and the Time so short, I presume this Notice, may be sufficient to recommend their humble Servant, Maurice Greene.(2)

Touting for support in this way sometimes led to abuse. Opponents could resort to defamation of character by spreading malicious statements amongst residents or through the press. Henry Purcell's son Edward, also seeking the post of St. Andrew's, tried to dispel rumours that he was a Papist through *The Daily Courant* of 11th December 1717. He was not chosen. When appointing the first organist of All Saints' Parish Church, Gainsborough in 1793, only those parishioners who paid "scot and lot" (membership dues and common charges associated with guild franchise dating back to the 12th and 13th centuries) were allowed to vote.(3)

Many municipal corporations inherited ecclesiastical patronage and with it the right to appoint schoolmasters and, in certain instances, incumbents. In a number of towns, corporations were responsible for appointing and paying their parish organists. William Weale (composer of the tune "Bedford") took up his appointment at St. Paul's, Bedford in 1715. A Corporation *Minute* dated 6th March 1712 / 1713 recorded that:

It is agreed unanimously that if there be subscrips. sufficient to purchase and set up an organ in St. Paul's Church between this and Mickes day next that then an organist shall be yearly provided and paid at the costs and charges of the said Corporation and to allow such a yearly sallary as the Mayore and Counsell shall think fitt payable quarterly.(4)

Should the organist neglect his duties, the Corporation would "dipute an other fitt person....." (5) At St. George's, Doncaster, Jeremiah Rogers was the last organist to hold the appointment direct from the town's corporation, he being described as a "servant of the Corporation".(6)



But things were to change. *The Municipal Corporations Act* of 1835 set out to abolish the old oligarchical and closed corporations, and instead provide local councils elected by ratepayers resident in the borough for three years or more. Corporations were to sell their church patronage with the result that other sources of finance had to be found in order to pay organists; the tradition of paying them passed from the civic authority to the church. There emerged the likelihood that church repairs, often paid for by corporations, would now become a burden on church rates. And church rates were unpopular amongst Dissenters and Roman Catholics. If churches were to be responsible for paying their organists, church officials and Vestries should have greater say not only in the choice of person but *how* candidates were selected. As standards in organ playing, choir-training and general musicianship improved throughout the 19th century, greater care was taken in selecting appropriate tests given to candidates. These tests were usually compiled by one or more organists occupying senior positions within the Anglican Church, on whom clergy could rely for sound professional advice. In this way the participation and influence of ratepayers was diminished. It was not until the close of the century that the *Local Government Act* of 1894 removed the power of the Vestry to transact the business of the parish.

The method often adopted when choosing an organist during the 19th century was variously known as "the competition", "public competition", "open competition", "selection by competition", "trial by skill", "contest", and "public exhibition." Occasionally an appointment would be "competed for", "played for", or they would "play for the place". Having advertised the post, each church arranged the competition in its own way. However, the usual approach was for applications and testimonials to be vetted first by the parish priest and his churchwardens or a small group of people from the Vestry. From the list of applicants, two to six players were selected to compete, often in public, before an independent "judge", "adjudicator", "umpire", or "adviser to the Committee" was called in to make a nomination. He would be seated in the church out of sight, whilst candidates waited in a room some distance away, unable to hear each other's performance; a procedure John Stainer insisted on when called in to adjudicate. (7)

Whichever method was used, appointing a church organist was a serious matter, recognised by Sidney and Beatrice Webb in the first of their seven volume *History of English Local Government* (1903 - 1930). (8) They recorded the election of the Woolwich Parish Church organist during the early years of the 19th century. The approach was very different as the adjudicators were the parishioners themselves:

When the several candidates shall be in the organ loft, and the curtain sewed together, the organ-blower to attend them, and no person whatever to be admitted into the gallery, or any person admitted into the church but those who are parishioners and have a right to ballot. The candidates had cast lots for precedence in playing, and then each in succession had to play a voluntary for about 15 minutes. When all had played, the assembled parishioners (their names being duly recorded) were to declare by secret ballot which playing they preferred, the votes being there and then counted and the successful performer being declared elected to the post.(9)

That an election of an organist could generate excitement in the 19th century, is borne out when John Greenwood was appointed to Leeds Parish Church in 1821. The meeting, originally planned to take place in the vestry under the chairmanship of the vicar, had to move to larger premises due to the large numbers of parish lay-payers [rate-payers]. A local newspaper estimated the assembled company “as being six to eight thousand people, and the scene of voters from neighbouring villages accompanied by music and carrying standards likened to a Parliamentary election”. Three candidates were chosen to compete, and a poll of 4089 people from Leeds and the surrounding villages recorded their votes over three days.(10)

Support for competing applicants usually came to prospective employers (the incumbent and churchwardens) in the form of testimonials written by those in authority who had personal knowledge of a candidate's abilities. When 14 year old Elizabeth Mounsey successfully competed for the post at St Peter's, Cornhill in 1834, letters of support came from Samuel Wesley, Thomas Adams and James Turle, the leading organists of their day. Of her, Wesley wrote:

I have heard Miss E. Mounsey perform on the Organ,

and consider her fully competent to undertake parochial duties at any church or chapel.(11)

Adams and Turle wrote in much the same vein. In her case, a vote was taken by the Vestry and then by poll of the parish, in which the Vestry cast 36 votes in her favour out of 52, and the parish 52 out of a total of 66 votes. It would seem that she was elected on the strength of testimonials from three professional organists (in which there was no mention of personal qualities or churchmanship), and the votes of supporters. (12)

For Dean Pigou (of Bristol), John Stainer and others, the best solution was to follow the route of Stainer's appointment to the newly created post at St. Michael's, College, Tenbury in 1856 at the age of nearly 17. Stainer describes how, during his playing for service in St. Paul's Cathedral (with John Goss and his assistant away):

Ouseley came quickly into the organ loft, and after greeting me, watched me closely as I accompanied the music from the old "scores". On the same evening I had a letter from him to say that the object of his visit ..... had been to find an organist for St. Michael's College, and he offered me the post.(13)

No advertising or competitions here! Through his excellent abilities, Henry Stonex, a pupil of Zechariah Buck at Norwich Cathedral, received his appointment at St. Nicholas, Great Yarmouth in 1850 without formal interview or competition. He remained there for 54 years.(14) Around 1867, young Frederick Bridge was sent for by the Revd. F.D. Maurice, vicar of St. Peter's, Vere Street, London, and offered the post of organist there. Bridge, however, declined the offer.(15)

What happened when the authorities of All Saint's Parish Church, Edmonton, Middlesex were to appoint an organist in 1858 is an example of procedures adopted by many Vestries. Every member of All Saints' congregation was summoned to a meeting in the vestry, presided over by the incumbent. Having decided the duties and salary, a committee was appointed to invite a competent musician to select three candidates for election. An advertisement was placed in *The Times* and *The Record*:

Organist wanted for the Parish Church of Edmonton: salary £40 per annum. Applications with testimonials to be sent prepaid to the Rev. T. Tate, Vicar of Edmonton, on or before Saturday next, the 30th of October. (16)

From 40 applications received, 13 people were selected to play before the umpire, Goss. In his letter to the vicar, Goss stated that his fee for umpiring would be five guineas. Instructions as to what he required of candidates were clear and the tests searching but fair. Each candidate was to play: (i) A Voluntary of his own choice; (ii) A Double Chant as if to the Magnificat or Venite, played several times through; (iii) A Psalm or Hymn Tune chosen by the umpire, played two or three times, including the "giving out", to be preceded by a few extemporary bars, and with an extemporary Interlude. (Goss considered this an important test of musicianship); (iv) Play at sight from a piece given by the umpire: he would stop them as soon as he was satisfied; and (v) A Tune without a bass or chords, leaving it to the candidate to fill up the harmony; he would then be allowed to select his own tune as well. Goss expected a printed copy of the requirements to be sent to each candidate, stating that the Voluntary should be of seven or eight minutes duration and one which would demonstrate "a personal taste in Church Music". If two psalms were offered, two verses of each would suffice. He insisted that on the day of the competition, candidates should play by the "lottery", and the incumbent should address them as to the style and character of the music desired in Divine Service. It was important, said Goss, that candidates have the opportunity to try the organ for half an hour, "as strange organs are generally very embarrassing". He was referring to an ordeal faced by organists having to manage instruments whose dimensions and layout varied.

(17)

Of the 13 candidates chosen to compete for the Edmonton post, eight agreed to take part; two eventually remained from whom Goss made his recommendation to the committee. In choosing Mrs Thomas Perry, one time organist of St. Paul's, Great Portland Street, Goss reported:

Gentlemen,  
I have paid great attention to the performances of the two candidates who presented themselves to play before me this day, and have the honour to report to you that I consider No. 1 to be tolerably competent to undertake the duties of a Parish organist. My preference is strongly in favour of the qualifications of the other candidate.(18)

Mrs Perry's election took place in December 1858; her opponent, a man, received only one vote.

Goss' reference to competitions played on unfamiliar instruments certainly applied to Elizabeth Stirling (1819-1895). A renowned performer of J.S. Bach's music, she applied for New Church, Chelsea at a time when few players in the 1830s used the pedals with any degree of efficiency. She was unsuccessful due to the organ stool being several inches too high; she was obliged to hold on to a manual board whilst playing the pedals, to prevent her falling off the seat. (19)

Canvassing voters continued on a lesser scale well into the 19th century, as Sir Frederick Bridge recalls. Competing for a London church post in the 1860s, he was advised to visit public-house keepers, ironmongers, bakers, and other tradesmen in the parish to secure as many votes as possible.(20) Applicants for London's wealthy St. George's, Hanover Square in 1877 were warned that personal canvassing was strictly forbidden.(21) However, when George Cooper tried for St. Sepulchre's, London, in 1880 he was encouraged to tout for votes by a member of the Vestry.(22)

Competitions for posts were not always held in churches for which candidates had applied. When, in 1874, 17 year old Charles Pearce from Salisbury applied for St. Luke's, Old Street, London, he and two other candidates were selected from nearly 80 applicants to play before Stainer in St. Paul's Cathedral on an instrument they had neither seen nor played before. Stainer received the three men in the Minor Canons' vestry to discuss requirements and procedures. Lots were cast, and Pearce played first. He began with J.S.Bach's *Prelude and Fugue in A minor* [the "Great," BWV 543] followed by a sight reading test, a proof-copy of *Fugue in C* from Stainer's *Organ Primer*, ensuring that no one had seen the composition before. The final test involved playing the hymn-tune "Melcombe" two or three times, as if accompanying a congregation singing in unison, and varying the harmonies for each verse. There followed an extemporaneous *Postlude* based on the same melody. Pearce was judged the best player, but members of the Vestry expressed their anxiety at appointing a young inexperienced organist. When Stainer made it known that were Pearce to be rejected, he would become one of his pupil-assistants at

St. Paul's, this promising young man was appointed to St. Luke's where he remained for 11 years.(23)

From the 1870s, there was mounting criticism of the competitive system in church organ appointments, largely the result of anger, frustration and resentment at the unpredictable results. Bernard Shaw ("Corno di Bassetto") found something witty to write about "the manipulator of this mechanical monster" as being generally selected "by a sort of open competition", one applicant after another playing before a few gentlemen:

who bring a trained judgement of horses, crops, groceries, or dry goods to the assistance of the clergyman, who may perhaps know the difference between the Greek *beta* and B flat, or perhaps may not.(24)

A more satisfactory result was achieved by allowing the umpire to receive applications, and select a few suitable musicians. This happened at St. Paul's, Paddington in 1876 when Bridge received applications and acted as adjudicator. Were a pupil also a candidate, the pupil should not be excluded. (25) However, criticisms that this system proved unreliable continued to appear in the musical press:

friend has to contest against friend, and master against pupil. A professional umpire, (who is probably personally acquainted with many of the candidates) is engaged to "advise", and he is expected to act with tact, impartiality and discrimination.(26)

Small wonder, suggested the writer, that the final decision usually failed to give satisfaction and caused disappointment. The qualities required of an organist – "those of being a good executant, a tasteful accompanist, an experienced and successful choirmaster and a musician of unimpeachable character and education - could not be ascertained by public competition".(27)

In 1880, following Stainer's selection of a candidate for St. Sepulchre's, Holborn, his choice was overturned by the Vestry, who voted for the candidate he had placed third: a decision described as "a farce". (28) How could Vestry members ignorant of musical matters generally behave in such a way towards a man of Stainer's ability and reputation? In this particular case, the Vestry took the view that they alone had the privilege of selecting the organist. (29) Decisions like these courted publicity and ridicule. When six

men played for the organist's position at St Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey on 4th April 1864, no outside adjudicator was engaged, and decisions were taken by the rector and members of the Vestry. According to one organist present, the worst player (a friend of the churchwarden) was chosen from a "disappointing bunch".(30) The danger of the system was that voters could be influenced by the showy player, and be "tickled by empty vulgarity of style". (31)

Occasionally two or more umpires took part, and even the most experienced applicants were not exempt from this procedure. When Henry Smart applied for the organist's situation at St. Luke's, Old Street, London in 1884, he played before Goss, Thomas Topliff of Holy Trinity, Southwark, and James Turle of Westminster Abbey. When the vicar of St. Clement's, Eastcheap, wrote to Charles Pearce inviting him to compete for the post, he felt obliged to offer an apology:

I know that in your case this arrangement is quite unnecessary,  
but I cannot help the action of my Vestry.(32)

In competitions of this kind, candidates were known by numbers and were called in order decided by "the lottery".

Other methods were suggested. The College of Organists might act as a tribunal and provide a suitable test for the examination of those particular duties necessary for a church post, whilst one organist thought the Church Choir Guild might select candidates.(33) Another suggestion was that organ patronage of the diocese be invested in the cathedral organist, but this raised all kinds of problems.(34) One source of annoyance for numbers of applicants, highlighted in the case of Kensington New Parish Church early in 1872, involved advertising the vacancy in *The Times* and *The Musical Standard* on 17th February. Interested persons had been invited to apply in writing, only to find that the post had already been filled.(35) Complainants pointed out that the appointment seemed to be a foregone conclusion, that such behaviour showed an "extreme want of courtesy". Were the authorities fearful that unless they advertised the appointment, it would be considered "jobbed away"? (36) The vicar of Wembley was considerate enough to place a notice in *The Musical Times* of October 1902, thanking those who had applied

for the organist and choirmaster's post at his church. "But as numbers were large, he could not reply to everyone, but on receipt of a stamped envelope original testimonials would be returned. Six names had been selected, the result to be made known the following month."

Supplying references to candidates became devalued over time. In his pamphlet *The Clergy and Church Music*, James Swinburne condemned the "testimonial system" as worthless and unreliable.(37) Stainer and others wished to be rid of a system whereby organists received testimonials from their colleagues and friends. By submitting to examinations and acquiring the diplomas of the Royal College of Organists, Stainer believed testimonials would no longer be needed.(38) Experience had taught Dean Francis Pigou of Bristol Cathedral (who had much practice in appointment church organists), that one could not be entirely guided by testimonials. "Who, in writing a testimonial, would 'black-ball' his friend?" he asked.(39) For him the situation became abundantly clear "A private enquiry is worth a bushel of testimonials".(40)

Making appointments in this way may have eased some of the problems clergy and lay officials encountered when selecting candidates. The able though less experienced church musician often found it difficult, sometimes impossible, to gain entry to senior posts. Moving in the right musical circles counted for much, and there remained those who were concerned with the unfairness by which many appointments were made.

It has been seen how the old method of selection by competition (involving parishioners), was questioned for its effectiveness. Employing an independent expert, a professional organist, to make recommendations was likely to have a more just and successful outcome. Making a cathedral appointment had its problems, too, as the following section will show.



## Methods of Appointing Cathedral Organists

The office of cathedral organist has perhaps the longest lineage of any branch of the musical profession in England and Wales, and its occupants, many of them among the leading musicians of their day, have done much to shape the character of our musical life. (41)

Until the Dissolution of the Monasteries under Henry VIII in 1539, cathedrals were of two kinds: secular and monastic. There were thirteen secular foundations, Bangor, Chichester, St David's, Exeter, Hereford, Lichfield, Lincoln, Llandaff, London (St. Paul's), St Asaph, Salisbury, Wells, and York, each governed by a corporation or chapter having its own rights and privileges. The eight monastic foundations were Canterbury, Carlisle, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Rochester, Winchester, and Worcester, of which Carlisle was run by Augustinian canons, the others by Benedictines. The old religious foundations came to an end with Henry VIII imposing new constitutions on what were to become known as the "New Foundations", whilst the secular cathedrals - the "Old Foundations" - retained their mediaeval statutes. From the monastic spoils of some of the wealthiest abbeys, Henry created six new bishoprics, Bristol, Chester, Gloucester, Oxford, Peterborough, and Westminster - the latter see being suppressed in 1550. From the 19th century into the 20th century, new dioceses came into existence, beginning with collegiate churches of Ripon (1836) and Southwell (1884), and parish churches of Newcastle, Wakefield, Manchester, Birmingham, Chelmsford, Southwark, the new cathedral of Truro, (1877) the abbey church of St Alban's, Bury St. Edmunds, Coventry, Liverpool, and Guildford. (42)

As for organists, the statutes of the old foundations made no provision for their office, although records of many cathedrals, secular and religious, indicate named individuals who undertook musical duties connected with playing the organ and training the choir. Henry VIII's Statutes did in most cases provide for the office of organist. In two instances, however, at Winchester and Ely, the organist was not recognised as a member of the Foundation until new statutes were laid down by Charles I and Charles II. Before

the Reformation, any organ playing that took place during Divine Service, as well as in training and rehearsing the choir, would have been in the hands of one or more clergy who possessed the skills necessary to undertake this work. An early record of the office of organist dates back to c.1240 when "Thomas the Organist" played at Worcester Cathedral. "Adam" is mentioned in the records of Norwich Cathedral as organist in 1333. In 1442 the name "Organer" appears in Lincoln Cathedral Statutes. William Horwode, Vicar, was appointed in 1447 to instruct Lincoln cathedral choristers in singing:

playnsonge, pryksonge, faburdon, diskant, and countor [counterpoint?]  
as well as in playing on the organ and especially those whom the  
master shall find apt to learn in the Clavycordes.(43)

First mention of an organist in this secular foundation appears in 1489 when John Ingleton was appointed.(44)

At Winchester Cathedral the earliest mention of an organist is that of John Dyes in 1402 whose responsibility it was to "sing and play daily at the Mass in the Lady Chapel, play the organ and teach the boys singing". (45) There is no mention in the early statutes of Chichester Cathedral of an organist in post until the reign of Henry VIII when a certain William Campyon "received 6s. 8d. for playing on the Organs in the Choir, and 3s. 4d. for playing on the Organs in the Lady Chapel". (46) Here is a situation in which over a period of time, paid lay clerks or singing men were introduced to perform the more complex polyphonic music then coming into favour. Where playing the organ and training the choir involved members of the cathedral clergy, the question of paying special monies seemed not to arise, such work being part of their duties. The situation at old St. Paul's Cathedral, London, destroyed by fire in 1666, can be taken as an example in which the organist's position was not a statutable one, unless he held a vicar-choralship. Those amongst the vicars-choral able to play the organ did so. The *Liber Niger Domus Regis* states that from the time of Edward IV (between 1442 and 1483) "Chaplenes and Gentlemen Clerkes of the Chapelle" were required to be:

endowed with virtues morrolle and specikatyve as of the Musicke,  
shewing in descante, clean voyced, well releshes and pronounsinge,  
Eloquente in reading, suffityente in organes playinge.....(47)

Statutes of each cathedral contained, in varying detail, a statement of duties each member of the staff was expected to undertake. The duties of cathedral organist and master of the choristers may be shown with reference to the *Statutes of Winchester Cathedral*, the first of which, granted by Henry VIII in 1544, provided for ten choristers and one organist who was also Master of the Children. New statutes were drawn up by Charles I. (48) and it is from *Canon 26* of these Statutes that a detailed picture of the organist's duties as defined by his agreement appears under six sections:-

- i) "To attend reverently and diligently to the instrumental accompaniment of Divine Service.
- ii) To show obedience and reverence to the Dean and Chapter.
- iii) To accompany on the Organ the Daily Morning and Evening Services and such other Services as the Dean and Chapter may appoint and to provide a competent deputy for such occasional absences as the Dean and Chapter may judge reasonable.
- iv) To give the Lay Vicars, Auxiliary Choirmen, and Choristers the benefit of his personal instruction and training in the preparation of music and singing and be responsible to the Dean and Chapter for their due progress and improvement.
- v) To preside twice a week at the Rehearsals of the choir and at such other Rehearsals as the Dean or Canon in Residence may appoint.
- vi) To prepare in conjunction with the Precentor the list of music for the Daily and other Services to be submitted by the Precentor on or before Wednesday in the preceding week to the Dean or Vice Dean for approval and signature".

Referring to the organist, *Canon 26* continues:-

"If he be found negligent or slothful in teaching, he must be deposed from his Office after three warnings by the same votes whereby he was chosen. He too shall be bound by an Oath to the faithful performance of his Office".(49)

“Were a vacancy for organist to arise, he shall be chosen by the Dean and Chapter, or if the Dean be away and assent thereto, by the Vice-Dean and Chapter.”(50)

In the old foundations, the person responsible to the dean for the direction of the choral services and with it the choice of music, was the precentor. He was a member of the chapter and ranked next in authority to the dean. In the new foundations the organist, as a non-statutable officer, held a lay clerkship for which he received a small stipend.

The ways into a cathedral appointment during the period of this study were several and varied. By far the greatest number of successful candidates for this work

began their musical training as cathedral choirboys, as choristers at the Chapel Royal, or at one of the Oxbridge colleges. The influence of the Chapel Royal on the history of English church music has been considerable. Among the outstanding musicians who began their careers there were: Tallis, Byrd, Gibbons, Tomkins, Blow, Henry Purcell, Greene, Boyce and Attwood.

For a chorister to become a professional musician, the usual way was to be articled to a cathedral organist; if not to the organist under whom he had sung for five or six years, then to another teacher (as discussed in Chapter Three). When seeking a cathedral appointment, a candidate without connections or influence would need to search through musical periodicals and the press. Advertisements for posts were few. In the *Musical Standard* for 31st March 1883 "Salisbury Cathedral: Organist and Choirmaster, £250 with House and Garden". No details were given. Interested persons would have written to the Dean and Chapter Clerk requesting further details.

On 13th June of that year *The Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Yorkshire Post*, and the July issue of *The Musical Times* printed the following:-

YORK MINSTER. The post of ORGANIST and CHOIRMASTER will be vacant on 31st October next. Stipend £300 per annum, to be raised to £400 on the expiration of a pension to the retiring organist. [E.G.Monk] Applications and Testimonials to be addressed on or before 20th August next, to C.W.Thiselton, Esq., Chapter Clerk, Minster - yard, York.

Three years later, a notice appeared in the press stating that from Christmas, Chichester Cathedral required "an organist, salary £132 , no house". (51) From these advertisements, public knowledge that cathedral positions were open to competition from a wider spectrum of church musicians would have produced more open-mindedness and, perhaps, some better appointments.

Exceptionally, a situation arose in which a final casting vote held by one person played a crucial part in deciding an appointment. When George Elvey put himself forward for St. George's Chapel, Windsor in 1835, he was considered the best candidate by the Dean and several of the Chapter, but nevertheless too young at 19. The King (William IV) insisted on the best man being organist and cast the vote in Elvey's

favour.(52) At Chester Cathedral neither advertising nor competition took place when its new Dean, Dr Anson, came from Southwell Cathedral in 1841, bringing with him his organist, Frederick Gunton.(53) It was at this very cathedral some 38 years earlier that Edward Bailey slipped into his brother's position as organist in 1803, the move not minuted in *Chapter Acts 4. The Musical Times* for May 1897 announced that Dr. Garrett had been elected organist of St. John's College, Cambridge without competition.

On the death of George Chard in 1849, S.S. Wesley took up the appointment as organist of Winchester Cathedral, and from 1850, of Winchester College: a move which pleased him as his son could then receive his education at the public school. This was the last of his four cathedral appointments. Wesley's letter of application, written in an uncharacteristically subservient manner, is shown in Appendix 14. (54) His application received the support of Charles Knyvett (1773 - 1859), organist of St. George's, Hanover Square. No testimonials from clergy in support of Wesley are to be found in the Cathedral's records, but his appointment is minuted in *Chapter Act Book 1849* on 21st August at an agreed salary of £150 per annum.

Truro Cathedral's first organist was 17 year old George Robertson Sinclair, assistant to Charles Lloyd at Gloucester and organist and choirmaster of St. Mary de Cript in that city. The Bishop of Truro had written to Gore Ouseley in 1881 seeking advice in choosing an organist. Ouseley wrote:

My dear Lord Bishop,  
I have delayed somewhat in replying to your letter in order to be able to look about me with a view to securing the best man for you. (55)

He knew of only two, the organist of Chippenham, a really good player and one who could teach a choir; the other, "full of musical talent", had only one drawback - his youth. His name was George Robertson Sinclair, the deputy Organist of Gloucester Cathedral. Ouseley continued:

He was brought up here [St Michael's College, Tenbury] and is a most excellent young fellow - good all round. His accompaniment of a good choral service is admirable, and he can teach boys right well. He is quite a gentleman by birth and training, and only took to the musical profession

when his father, Dr Sinclair, died in India, and left no money.

If you do not object to a youth of 18, I should say Sinclair is the very man for you..... If you offer him the post and he asks my advice (as he is almost sure to do), I shall decidedly recommend him to accept it. (56)

Although Sinclair was called for interview, no testimonial had been requested. (57) He took a letter of recommendation from his master, well worth quoting in full for its honest appraisal of the man's abilities and for the writer's lack of anxiety regarding the youth's experience:

PALACE YARD,  
GLOUCESTER.  
Oct: 7. 1881.

My dear Sir,

I write a few lines about my young friend Mr G.R. Sinclair for him to take with him. He has been with me two years and a half as my assistant at the Cathedral, and as he has been all that time an inmate of my house I can speak from personal knowledge of him. But as you have not written for a testimonial I will not offer one. I will merely say a few words about his ability. I know no better organist for his years. He frequently takes my place at the Cathedral organ and in the practice room, and, no matter what the difficulty of the music, he is perfectly safe. Where his youth might be supposed to make him wanting in authority and influence, his birth and education make good this defect - a defect, if it is one which time will soon mend. He has at the same time been organist and choir master of a church in the town, in that he is not wanting in experience. I could say much about him which I should like you to know, but time presses, as the train goes almost immediately. I will merely say, if he is appointed at Truro I shall be very glad for his sake and Truro's, but very sorry for my own. I shall not find it easy to replace him.

In haste  
Yours faithfully  
Charles H. Lloyd.(58)

In spite of his youth, Sinclair's musical experience was sound: before his move to Gloucester Cathedral he had received instruction from Sir Robert Stewart at the Royal Irish Academy of Music in Dublin. The Dean and Chapter's decision to appoint this exceptionally young man was indeed a bold step.

In a few instances earlier in the century, and before the influence of the R.C.O. to raise standards of playing and general musicianship, it was thought desirable by some to hold competitions, not only in the practical skills deemed necessary for a cathedral post

but also in the theoretical aspects of the art. There was no one process of reaching a decision on appointing the best candidate; deans and chapters adopted their own method of preference.

A vacancy having arisen at Peterborough following the death of John Speechly in 1869, the authorities decided to hold preliminary trials in the cathedral for ten candidates selected from the hundred who had applied. As the Dean and Chapter were anxious to make an appointment, regardless of local feeling, the final trials were held at the Temple Church, London, before the umpire Dr. Edward Hopkins, with Peterborough's Dean and Chapter in attendance. Each of the five finalists, known only by number, played for half an hour. Hopkins' report to the Dean and Chapter is of interest, and the concluding paragraph is quoted here:-

At your request I have just heard certain candidates, who presented themselves for competition for the appointment of organist of your cathedral, perform on the organ of the Temple Church. They have been subject to examination in accompanying, in playing from score, in improvising, in reading from sight, and in general organ playing. The candidate who has acquitted himself the best in all branches, indeed excellently in all, is he who holds No.1. He acquitted himself so well that I respectfully beg to recommend him to your favourable consideration, so far as these purely professional requirements may influence you.(59)

The person referred to was Haydn Keeton, of Datchet Parish Church and a former pupil of Elvey's at St. George's Chapel, Windsor. Criticism followed, not of the successful candidate but because such a limited number of candidates were heard; there were at least a dozen first class and experienced organists in the group, one of whom was Walter Parratt.(60) As far as the umpire was concerned, finding the most capable musician was only part of the selection process; the authorities also had to weigh-up the character of each candidate. No indication is given in Hopkins' report regarding each candidate's ability as a choir trainer, or whether this was put to the test. His recommendation was accepted and the Dean and Chapter duly appointed Keeton.

Frank Bates's candidature for the post at Norwich Cathedral in 1885 seemed a straightforward and friendly affair. Of 168 candidates, he was one of three in the final selection. He recalls: "At nine o' clock I took the choristers for rehearsal and also played the five o' clock Evensong". (61) There followed an official letter welcoming him to the post he wished for:

My Dear Dr. Bates,

It is with great pleasure that I take up my pen to inform you that our choice has fallen on you. I say our choice, because though our Statutes give the appointment of the organist exclusively to the Dean, I have thought it wise in a matter of so much importance to the Cathedral, to take council with my colleagues, and you may therefore regard your appointment as the result of our united deliberations .....

Sincerely congratulating you on your success, I remain,  
my dear Dr. Bates,

Yours very truly,

E. Meyrick Goulburn.(62)

In 1890 Stanford invited Tertius Noble (then a student at the R.C.M.) to be his assistant at Trinity, Cambridge. (63) He wished to know how much experience Noble (aged 23) had in training boys' voices, choir teaching and whether he understood tone production "If you are thoroughly up to this part of the work, I shall advise you to stand for the post". (64) Writing on his behalf, Parratt, (his organ teacher at the R.C.M.) said "I consider him to be now one of the soundest and most brilliant organists of the day". (65) After Cambridge, he became organist of Ely cathedral, where he remained for five years.

Following John Naylor's resignation in 1897 from York Minster due to ill health, an advertisement appeared in *The Musical Times* for November of that year, for the post of Organist and Choirmaster. This attracted 79 candidates. Amongst the strongest were Walter Alcock (aged 35), assistant to Bridge at Westminster Abbey; Hugh Allen (aged 27), of St Asaph Cathedral; John Camidge of Beverley Minster; the organists of Sherborne Abbey, Bangor and St David's Cathedrals, the Minster's assistant organist, and Noble himself. By far the largest number of applicants were parish church organists. The phalanx of referees supporting candidates was indeed impressive.



How the Dean and Chapter of York drew up a short list of candidates from the 79 applicants is shown on 15 sheets of paper. Each sheet was divided into three columns; the left hand column bore the candidates' names and musical qualifications; the middle column gave each organist's age and current position; the final column listed the referees. Following a meeting of the organists' committee, the suitability of the 79 candidates was decided by placing a cross in pencil against the names of those considered unsuitable. Those whose names were ticked (Alcock, Allen, Noble) went forward to the final round for further scrutiny. The *Report of the Organist Committee* was received on Wednesday 8th December at 2p.m. (the Committee having spent the whole morning deliberating), and was minuted as follows:-

The Report of the Organist Committee was presented and Mr Thomas Tertius Noble of Ely Cathedral was elected at a salary of £300 a year until such times as the Pension of £150 to Dr Monk ceases when the salary should be raised to £400. The engagement to be terminable at 3 months notice on either side. An agreement to be mutually signed and sealed.(66) (See Appendix 15)

On 9th December 1897, from The College, Ely, Tertius Noble wrote a short letter of acceptance to T.B. Whytehead the Chapter Clerk:

Dear Sir,

Thank you for your note which I received this morning, I am delighted to think I have had the good fortune to be appointed.

Yours faithfully  
T. Tertius Noble (67)

Noble had to move quickly in order to give the Dean and Chapter of Ely the required three months' notice and take up his York appointment without much delay. The following day he wrote to Whytehead:

I am obliged to give 3 months notice here, I sent in my resignation yesterday. The Dean tells me, they are advertizing at once and all testimonials have to be in by Jan. 14th. As soon as they can settle on a man and secure his services I shall be able to take up my new work at York.

I trust this will be by the end of Feby. at the latest.

Yours faithfully

T. Tertius Noble.(68)

He took up his duties on 25th February 1898 whilst Allen became Noble's successor at Ely.

The Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral offered only limited support for appointing by competition. Keen that Goss' successor in 1872 should be a man at the top of his profession, and that an appointment should be made without contest, *The Musical Standard* offered unqualified support for this position:

Competition is of very questionable use, even when it is desired to test the abilities of the unknown men; but in the case of filling the vacancy at St. Paul's it is entirely unnecessary. (69)

The man appointed was Stainer.

What is seen from Noble's appointment at York and Stainer's at St. Paul's is that there was no standard selection procedure. In these two examples no tests of musicianship were administered by an outside adjudicator because they were thought neither necessary nor appropriate. References and personal recommendations from distinguished musicians were enough to aid deans and chapters. They were within their rights not to advertise posts or become involved in the competitive process. This happened at Westminster Abbey in 1875 on the retirement of Turle. Bridge, who was Turle's assistant, became a candidate for the post due to the influence of Revd. Dr Troutbeck, minor canon of the Abbey and formerly precentor at Manchester Cathedral when Bridge was there. Troutbeck's brother-in-law, Canon Duckworth of the Abbey, invited Bridge to send the names of some referees, including Joseph Barnby, E J Hopkins, Herbert Oakeley, Henry Smart and John Skinner. Although other applicants were considered, no competition took place. When the time came, Dean Stanley informed Bridge of his appointment.

Two examples follow in which competitions were held for appointments involving tests set by visiting umpires. As a candidate for Rochester Cathedral in 1841, John Larkin Hopkins (1820-73) and between 40 and 50 others underwent "a strict theoretical and practical trial" conducted by Dr Walmisley. Only those who passed the theoretical examination were permitted to play the following days; five candidates

remained. They gave a practical demonstration before the Dean and Chapter, with Walmisley and a large congregation present. (70) There is no record of the tests involved. J.L. Hopkin's successor at Rochester between 1856 and 1900 was his cousin John (1822-1900). He, too, participated with a dozen or more candidates in a searching trial involving playing the organ, extemporising, working a paper containing a chorale to harmonise and a fugue to write on a given subject. Goss and the retiring organist, Ralph Banks, were the adjudicators. (71)

Few assistant cathedral organists stepped into their master's shoes when the time came for promotion. Such an advancement was seldom looked upon favourably, as when George Cooper, assistant to Goss at St. Paul's was passed over as his successor. Goss described him as the best cathedral organist he knew. (72) One writer thought it desirable to infuse new blood into an institution: (73)

To assume that a gentleman who holds a subordinate appointment, either in the musical or any other profession, for a certain number of years is necessarily to be promoted, on a vacancy, to the higher post, is.....unreasonable.

There were, however, some examples of assistant organists promoted internally. George Martin, master of choristers at St. Paul's Cathedral from 1874, became sub-organist two years later, and organist in 1888. George Riseley, a chorister at Bristol, became articled to John Corfe, then became his assistant and finally succeeded him in 1876. Percy Hull, a former chorister at Hereford, articled to Sinclair in 1894, and his assistant between 1896 and 1914, became cathedral organist after the first World War.

A number of cathedral choristers were to return at a later date as organist. Included amongst this number were James Paddon, a choirboy at Exeter, who succeeded the cathedral organist William Jackson in 1804 and remained until his death in 1835. Stainer began as a chorister at St Paul's, and after work at St. Michael's Tenbury and Magdalen College, Oxford, returned to the Cathedral as organist in 1872.

Several appointments went to organists from larger parish churches with a good choral tradition, such as those in Coventry, Ludlow, Brighton, Eastbourne and some London churches. Experience so gained prior to a cathedral post could be valuable when

dealing with limited financial resources and problems associated with maintaining choirs. Wesley went to Hereford Cathedral, the first of four such appointments, having worked in as many churches. George Townsend Smith held successive appointments at Eastbourne Parish Church and St Margarets, Kings Lynn prior to his move to Hereford Cathedral. Before going to Rochester in 1856, John Hopkins held no fewer than six church posts: Mitcham Parish Church; St. Stephen's Islington; Holy Trinity, Islington; St. Mark's, Jersey; St. Michael's, Chester Square; and Epsom Parish Church. (74)

Organists took the opportunity to move from their first cathedral appointment to another when it offered a position of greater prestige and usually a higher salary. Frederick Gunston moved to Chester from Southwell Cathedral in 1841. Armes left Chichester for Durham in 1862, and Francis Gladstone moved from Llandaff for Chichester at the same time. In 1876 Daniel Wood left Chichester for Exeter, and Sinclair from Truro to Hereford in 1889.

Before Stainer and Parratt became associated with Magdalen College, Oxford, posts carrying relatively high prestige in the musical world (although not always in the field of learning) were those of the Oxbridge colleges in which statutes made provision for an organist. Colleges coming within this category were: Christ Church, Magdalen, New, and St. Johns at Oxford; and King's, St. John's and Trinity at Cambridge. Some organists at these colleges were not only musicians, but men of ability and learning. Among their number were three men of Trinity, Cambridge: Thomas Attwood Walmisley (1814-56) who attained some distinction in literary and mathematical studies; Charles Villiers Stanford (1852-1924), and his successor Alan Gray (1855-1935) who gained a Master of Law degree as well as the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Music. In 1870, Stanford became choral scholar at Queen's; three years later he became organist at Trinity whilst studying for a Classics degree. (75) Two Magdalen (Oxford) organists, Stainer and Parratt, should also be acknowledged as leaders of their day in the music profession, constantly seeking to improve standards of performance and enhance the training of young organists.

Collegiate appointments were usually made from outside the university. At King's, Cambridge, Arthur H. Mann (1850-1929) came from Beverley Minster in 1876. With growth in the number of public schools from the 1850s, and increasing emphasis placed on music in the curriculum, some college appointments were drawn from amongst public school directors of music. Edward Thomas Sweeting (1863-1901) went to St. John's Cambridge in 1897 as its organist, having been master at Rossall School. Gray, mentioned above, was for nine years organist and music master of Wellington College before his appointment at Trinity, Cambridge in 1892.

Music teaching in the independent schools during the 19th century, and well into the 20th century, had been led by church musicians. Their involvement in the school chapel, with its choir and organ, made a significant contribution to the musical activities of the school. The responsibilities and experience gained in teaching young people, in training choirs, and in teaching the organ and piano, proved a suitable preparation for a cathedral position. Public schools supplied large numbers of able, well prepared candidates for organ and choral scholarships to Oxbridge colleges, which in turn fed the cathedral and public school systems and continues to do so. Edwin Monk (1819-1900), organist and music master of St. Peter's College, Radley, became York Minster's organist in 1859. Haydn Keeton (1847-1921) taught at Hawtry's School, Slough before his appointment to Peterborough, 1870. Percy Carter Buck (1871-1947), music master at Rugby School, became organist of Wells Cathedral in 1895. (76)

It has already been acknowledged that the majority of cathedral organists began their musical training at a young age in the cathedral tradition. There were, however, some notable exceptions. Sir George Martin of St. Paul's Cathedral had not been a cathedral choirboy. He had worked his way from being an organist and then choirmaster of Lambourne Parish Church to becoming the Duke of Buccleuch's private organist before his appointment as master of the choristers at the cathedral. Several other successful men found alternative routes: Charles Harford Lloyd (Gloucester), Bates (Norwich), Buck (Wells), Ivor Atkins (Worcester), Monk (York), and his successor Noble. Neither Parratt

nor Varley Roberts, successive organists of Magdalen, Oxford, were products of a cathedral choir.

The general guidelines in cathedral statutes regarding duties and responsibilities show that the organist is beholden to the Precentor and ultimately to the Dean and Chapter. During the period of this study we have seen the Chapter using its discretionary powers when choosing its organist and choirmaster, sometimes following no standard procedure when personal recommendations were used. The more usual methods of selection evolved through advertising, competitions, private enquiry and personal application. None of these methods guaranteed success. It was only when personal qualities were considered alongside musical abilities that a satisfactory outcome was likely.

“.....choosing an organist was more difficult than choosing a wife.” (77)

### Personal Qualities

To make a successful appointment in church or cathedral, when duties involved working with clergy and with a choir of differing temperaments, abilities and backgrounds, consideration need be given to personal qualities. Dean Pigou (of Bristol) admitted the bewilderment which clergy felt when assessing applicants of equal representation and talent, whether for a church or cathedral. He was convinced that great care should be taken to assess an organist's personal character, to ensure that he was likely "to get on" with the authorities and the choir.

Few consider how absolutely one is at the mercy of an organist. He should be good tempered and considerate. He should be devout as well as skilful, a communicant as well as organist, ever mindful of how he can make the service beautiful or otherwise. (78)

Bridge, too, emphasised the importance of "conciliatory habits." (79) Ouseley insisted on "*character* as being essential for admission to any cathedral office". (80)

From the 1870s clergy suggested that advertisements published in music periodicals should stipulate that organists be required to be of Christian character and efficiency. (81) One correspondent, writing in *The Musical Standard* stressed the importance of choosing organists of "good moral character, a religious disposition of mind." (82) Allen spoke of being prepared at all times. He suggested that an organist must be resourceful, a person to whom one would go for advice; he must have the ability to work with his colleagues for a closer understanding. (83) When Norwich Cathedral advertised in *The Musical Standard* for 15th January 1881, it suggested that testimonials to the precentor should give consideration to character, efficiency in training a choir, and "power" as an accompanist: in that order. William Cummings, organist and Principal of the Guildhall School of Music (1896-1911), and William Prendergast reminded church musicians to be diligent and conscientious, never to stand still in their art. (84). Their call further supported the idea which leaders of the organist's profession held as the 19th century progressed: that education and culture had considerable influence for good, not only on the standing which church musicians carried in society, but also the effect they had on artistic performance. Tom Westlake Morgan of Bangor Cathedral stressed the importance of the strictest discipline tempered with kindness. (85) Ernest Lake spoke in greater depth of the psychological aspects of the organist and choirmaster's work. He introduced the notion of "animal magnetism" when dealing with a choir: the way in which the organist's own moods affect and influence the choir's approach to the service and its music. When going to the organ, he should leave personal troubles or irritations behind. Lake believed that part of his work in educating the choir could be achieved by both parties meeting together more often, through the creation of social events. (86)

References from some of the most distinguished musicians in support of Tertius Noble's applications for posts at Ely Cathedral and York Minster give insights into the man's personal qualities. In his letter to the Dean of Ely, the Director of the R.C.M., Sir George Grove, described Noble as: "a well conducted and gentlemanlike young man - very desirable in this regard." (87) Martin described him as having a "bright happy disposition." (88)

Dean Purey-Cust of York knew well the qualities he looked for in a Minster organist, having Naylor's predecessor Monk in mind when he penned them in 1883. For him a Minster organist must be:

a musician in the highest sense of the word, one who was not only a performer but had a thorough knowledge of the service of music and well acquainted with the works of the great masters. Without such a man the organ would be in a measure wasted. On the other hand, the organist who was only a brilliant performer and nothing more, would not fill the post at York Minster. He had to deal with trained singers, people who were not always the easiest to manage with their self-conceits and jealousy. They were 'professionals', and their professional interests and qualifications had to be considered and borne in mind. (89)

A breadth of views containing ideal standards, held by both church and cathedral authorities, were typical of high (and often unattainable) Victorian expectations. As musical demands in worship grew and higher standards in choral and organ performances emerged, it became difficult to find musicians who possessed both the practical and personal qualities sought. But where they existed, quite exceptional individuals were to be found.

#### Agreements and Duties of Church Organists

Details of a church organist's duties during the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries were not always clarified in parish records which only occasionally yielded information, as did advertisements; since an "organist" in the Church of England was a person unknown in ecclesiastical law, his duties were not always stated in writing. During this period it was usual for appointments to be held for one year, with an annual review by the Vestry.

Some vestry minutes offer a few insights into what was expected of the organist.

The Vestry of Sherborne Abbey in Dorset held a meeting on 25th September 1823:

for the purpose of taking into consideration the supervision of the accustomed duties of the Organist and Choir and for adopting such resolutions thereon as may be considered advisable..... (90)



Instructions were:

.....That a Solemn Tune be played upon the Organ upon the entrance into the Church of the officiating Minister and upon the egress of the congregation.(91)

Because Mr Parsons, the priest, did not favour a choir and preferred the singing to be led by the congregation, it was decided:

That the Psalms be selected by the officiating Minister from those at the end of the *Book of Common Prayer* and that he also determines upon the quantity to be sung and also upon the Tunes.(92)

Should the organist not comply with these stipulations or not play the organ to the best of his abilities so as to promote congregational singing, then:

the Churchwardens call a Vestry upon the Sunday next immediately after such refusal or no compliance to take the same with consideration.(93)

As far as the organist was concerned, he was carefully observed and there was little room for those "conciliatory habits" mentioned by Bridge.

In 1831 the people of St Mary's Parish, Hull showed dissatisfaction with their organist and decided to take action by demanding a meeting to sort out an unsatisfactory situation.

We the undersigned Parishioners and Rate Payers of St. Mary's Parish Hull, request that you will convene a Meeting of the Parishioners in the Vestry of the Church, for the purpose of regulating the duties of the organist, more particularly with reference to his practising with and instructing the Choir, to consider also the amount of the organists' [sic] salary and reduce the same if needful [,] to declare the present organist's situation vacant and after due notice given to him, to take the necessary steps to appoint a Successor.

To the Churchwardens  
of St. Mary's, Kingston upon Hull.-----

[Seven signatures.] (94)

No reference to the organist's duties at St. Mary's could be found in church records, suggesting that there had been a verbal agreement.

An advertised post would not always give details of work to be undertaken. They would most likely be sent on request or discussed at interview. When information did appear in advertisements, as in 1867 when the parish of St. John's, Wapping, Middlesex was looking for an organist, it consisted of the following: performance of the musical parts of the services on all occasions, teaching parochial school children to sing, and assisting in the formation and instruction of a singing class; the appointment to be on an annual basis. (95) Bromley Parish Church required its organist to play three services on Sundays, one service during the week, services on Christmas Day, Good Friday, Ash Wednesday and Ascension Day, with not fewer than two hours each week devoted to teaching the choir.(96) Unlike Wapping, Bromley made no mention of a one year appointment.

To be organist of the Temple Church, London, was a plum position and was unique in a number of ways. When the restoration of the building was completed in 1842 and the organ removed from the west gallery and placed in its present position, the cathedral-type service was established. With E. J. Hopkins's appointment there in 1843, the music reached a very high standard, continued by Walford Davies and his successor George Thalben-Ball. These men served this church for a total length of 138 years. Walford Davies's duties, as set out in the *Agreement* of 1898 are quite specific. Moreover, it is clear that the organist was responsible not to a priest but to a Choir Committee of the Inner and Middle Temple, presided over in turn by their two Treasurers.(97) For Davies, his duties were:

To attend, and play the organ, and conduct the musical service on Sunday morning and afternoon whenever the church is open; also on Good Friday, Christmas Day and any other days when required by the Choir Committee of both Houses.

To conduct the practice of the choir, and to instruct the boys in music, and to attend for this purpose daily at such times as the Choir Committee may from time to time appoint.

Not to be absent from his Sunday Duties except by arrangement with the Choir Committee or the Treasurers of either Temple.

To prepare the monthly Scheme for the music, and to attend the monthly and other meetings of the Choir Committee if required.

To act generally under the direction of the Choir Committee.

To take charge of the organ and of the Music Books.

The salary began at £250 for ten months' work, comprising Sunday services and four weekday practices, the church being closed during the Long Vacation.(98) Conditions of work, with a salary equivalent to that offered by many cathedrals were quite exceptional, and must be put down to an enlightened organisation willing to reward outstanding ability. (99)

A simple statement of duties, signed by the rector and organist, dated 1st February 1909, appears on a sheet of paper attached inside *Bridport Church Accounts and Vestry Book, 1878 - 1924*. It states:

Mr A. Stone's duties as Organist

To play Mornings, Afternoons and Evenings on Sundays at Divine Service, on Wednesday Evenings at 8 o C.

To practise the Boys at 7 o C on Wednesdays and Fridays, and to take full Choir Practice on Fridays at 8 o C.

To play during Holy Week.

Pupils - Mr Stone to have the right to take Pupils, and teach them the organ, and it is absolutely responsible to the Churchwardens that no damage of any kind shall be done by his pupils.(100)

Duties are set down in a way that leaves no room for doubt. He was given no rights other than permission to teach organ pupils, thereby supplementing his paltry salary of £15 per annum. No mention is made of an annual holiday or length of appointment. Church authorities remained slow to realise that "short-termism" when engaging church musicians was detrimental to the provision of music to high standards. Choirs had to be trained and this took time; one-year appointments generally became less common.

Stating those duties in writing provided no guarantee that all would be well once the organist was "in place". Disputes did indeed occur, some of them bitter.(101) In order to place these duties alongside those of the incumbent within ecclesiastical law, the church musician's position should be clarified in writing. This was important in many old churches where the responsibility for governing rested with the Vestry, and the clergy had little or no control over musical engagements.(102)

Because the work of the organist and choirmaster in the Anglican Church intensified as the 19th century progressed - a fact reflected in the increasing number of

services, choir practices and outside commitments - it is surprising that his position remained vulnerable for so long. However, the days of being treated as an uneducated servant, often dismissed without redress by church authorities, were coming to an end; the organist's professional position deserved legal recognition. It is significant that in Chapter 2, when appointing the organist of a rural parish church in 1872, the only confirmation of this post was by entry in the Churchwarden's Accounts: "the engagement to be terminable at any time by three months notice on either side." (103) This form of agreement was unusual, as it offered equal (though limited) terms; a clear indication that employees were looking for some security.

One of the first attempts at producing a document that might carry legal weight was made by a solicitor, J.J. Jori, when he drafted a sketch of an *Organist's Agreement for the Post of Organist in a Church Belonging to the Establishment* in 1877. (104) The author dealt with the main areas of misunderstanding: days of the Church calendar when the organist would be needed, training the choir, the psalter and hymn book used, a list of music to be sung at services to be approved by the vicar, the number, if any, of organ pupils and the amount of organ practice, the organist's responsibilities to the vicar, and the subject of holidays and salary. Understandably, organists felt insecure without some form of legal protection. Whilst welcoming the document, *The Musical Standard* had certain reservations, believing that many incumbents would be horrified at having anything so formal when employing an organist; after all, they had been engaged and dismissed in the same way as vergers. (105)

One august body to whom organists might have turned for leadership, the College of Organists, seemed impassive, certainly ineffective. *The Musical Standard* much regretted the College's persistent neglect of the problem and its failure to agree upon a course of action. (106) Organists had a right to expect a "College of Organists" to look after their professional interests, and improve the status of the church musician. (107) In the 1880s, a correspondent in the musical press pointed out that "lack of tenure leaves them unprotected from the misrepresentations of the ignorant and the arrogance of those

who think themselves better informed". (108) And yet nearly 20 years later a senior member of the R.C.O.'s Council, Dr F.J.Shinn, expressed the view that:

Directly you introduce a legal agreement - saying exactly what shall be done and what shall not be done - you endanger very largely the confidence which should exist between an organist and his vicar.(109)

A further attempt to bring legal protection for the organist came early in the 20th century when author and editor Herbert Westerby drafted and copyrighted *The Organist's Simple Contract Form*, a single page document listing the duties of organist and choirmaster, his privileges and liabilities. He also produced a *Model Agreement for the Clergy and Organists of the Anglican Church*, a considerably longer document suggesting what could be expected of an organist in varying situations within the church, and which could be amended to suit different circumstances. The result of consultation between Westerby, clergy and organists showed the document to be complex and unworkable. The three agreements are shown in Appendices 17a 17b and 17c.

Under increasing pressure to take action regarding "the insecurity of tenure of the organist's position in the parish church," the R.C.O. presented a petition to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York on 4th July 1917. It coincided with the time when hindrances in the existing Church administration were to be discussed by a special committee (110) Later that year, on 9th November, the Archbishop of Canterbury invited a deputation consisting of Harding, Buck, Harford Lloyd, Macpherson, Richards, Shinn, and Pilling (who represented the National Union of Organists' Associations). (111) In his written summary of the discussion that took place, Archbishop Randall said he understood organists' anxieties regarding tenure and unfair dismissal, but pointed out that when a law is enacted, it was difficult to decide the limitation of its range. (112) The Archbishop drew attention to a recommendation in the *Report on Church and State* that more powers be given to each parish's Church Council and that proposals from the R.C.O. would receive "careful and respectful" consideration. Harding, in a letter to the Archbishop dated 1st February 1918 submitted a clause for insertion into the Bill soon to go before Parliament:

"That an organist, on being dismissed by the incumbent of a church, shall, before such dismissal can take effect, have a right of appeal to the Bishop of the diocese, or to an authority or tribunal constituted by the Bishop for the purpose." (113)

This approach proved unsuccessful, and it was thought that to follow along the same route again would be unwise. It was well into the 20th century before representative bodies such as the Royal College of Organists, the Guild of Church Musicians and the Anglican Church could come to some agreement regarding terms and conditions of service.

### Agreements and Duties of Cathedral Organists

Historically, many of the Agreements and Duties recorded in cathedral statutes changed little over the centuries. The 1693 Statutes of Lichfield Cathedral contained few amendments until a later Commission of 1881 suggested that Lichfield's organist should no longer be a lay vicar. (114) Henry VIII's statutes required the organist at Peterborough to serve a probationary period of one year or more (115), whilst at Chichester each of the five organists between 1720 and 1849 underwent a probationary period ranging from one to fourteen years before being "sworn in". (116)

Examination of cathedral statutes, organists' agreements, service sheets of the period and evidence drawn from autobiographical and biographical sources, show that there were Matins and Evensong each day, with settings of the Canticles, an anthem at each service, all of which required rehearsing at morning practices. Here again, the number of choristers' practices and full practices per week and their duration varied between cathedrals as a matter of tradition. The amount of work undertaken was dependent upon the position of the cathedral musician; whether organist, choirmaster or the combined post. The *Agreement* ensured that he was responsible to the precentor, whose musical expectations and standards were long known to cause friction.

In March 1864, the organist of Winchester Cathedral, Wesley, received a directive from the precentor (via the Dean and Chapter), recorded in the *Chapter Book* stating:

that the organist be requested to play a Voluntary before every service, on Xmas Day Ascension Day Whit Sunday and Trinity Sunday. The organ to commence playing, when the clock strikes and to continue until the clergy have taken their places in the Choir. (117)

Wesley, known for his moody and unpredictable behaviour, as well as his concern for the welfare of organists, may well have thought, even argued, that there was nothing in the *Statutes* to state that a voluntary should be played before the service. Wesley showed much concern throughout his life for the state of music in our cathedrals and for organists' working conditions. His thoughts regarding these problems were set out in the preface to his *Service in E* (1849), and in his Pamphlet *A Few Words on Cathedral Music and a Plan of Reform*. (1849)

It is worth noting here that Dr Chard, (Wesley's predecessor) had to be reminded on several occasions of his duties to rehearse the choir regularly. (118) Winchester's *Statutes*, thoroughly drafted, covered his duties, his relationship with the cathedral clergy and members of the Choir, and what was expected of him in terms of behaviour and musical standards.

*Gloucester Cathedral Statutes*, quoted on page 12 of the *Cathedral Establishment Commission Report of 1879*, state the organist's duties:-

"For the instruction of boys and for the training them up as well in modest behaviour as in skilfulness of singing. We will that a person shall be chosen by the Dean and Chapter, who is of good life and reputation, skilful both in singing and in playing upon the organ. He shall also be bound by declaration faithfully to discharge his duty. (119)

The last sentence refers to the signing of a legal *Agreement*. Further details are given in information communicated by the Dean and Chapter in the *Secretaries Circular* of 1st September 1879. The master of the choristers and organist was to:-

instruct and train up the choristers in good behaviour and in singing. To play on the organ and join in singing the services. The present organist and master of the choristers [C.H.Lloyd]

on his appointment agreed that his office could be determined by six month's notice from the Dean and Chapter (120)

Most cathedral statutes outlined the Agreement and Duties of individual organists and choirmasters. At York Minster this particular Officer of the Church received no mention until the *Report of the Chapter on the Statutes and Customs of the Cathedral Church of York* appeared in 1881. Despite mention of the organ in *Injunctions* by Archbishops Holgate, Frewen and Dolben (121,122,123), it seems that no details are given as to the organist's duties but for a brief description in *Questions Submitted To Cathedral Officers* issued by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England to all cathedrals in 1864. In this 15 page document dealing with all aspects of a cathedral's work for the years 1864, 1865 and 1866, page 7 contains questions specifically related to the organist's work. To the question "What are his duties?" York's reply was "Attendance at the Cathedral twice every day and the Musical Instruction and Management of the Choir". (124)

Hereford's first appointment of the 19th century went to Charles James Dare in 1805. He and other applicants were sent, by the Chapter Clerk, details of the organist's duties:

The Organist to play on Sundays, State Holidays, visitations, when the Bishop, Dean or Residentiary are entering the Choir. To play between the Third Collect and the Litany (short, whilst the vicars are going down to the Desk.) To teach the choristers Three times in the week.(125)

At some cathedrals, the duty of playing for services and all aspects of choir training was the responsibility of one person. At others the duties were divided, as at Lincoln, until Wilson Young went there as organist and "instructor of the boys" in 1850 (126) John Christmas Beckwith (1750-1809) carried out his duties as Master of the Choristers at Norwich for several years before combining this work with that of organist. (127) When Bridge went to Manchester Cathedral in 1869, he found that the Precentor (supposedly in charge of training the choir) had employed a double bass player to do his work. (128)

*Agreements and Contracts* were usually specific with regard to the teaching of organ pupils (both articulated and private); the work was often considered a chore, but



nevertheless provided additional income. Many pupils became professional and amateur musicians for the Church of England and other denominations. Further consideration in the *Agreement* was given to the position of assistant organist, either officially recognised and paid from cathedral funds, or an unofficial acting assistant, usually the senior articulated pupil. (129) Bridge worked for 28 years at Westminster Abbey without the help of an official assistant. (130)

It would seem that the organist's *Agreement* or "job description" was clarified within the Cathedral Statutes, whilst the church organist had at that time no such contract to support and protect him. In each situation, throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, either the Dean and Chapter, or the incumbent and Vestry were able to dictate conditions of employment.

#### Payment and Sources of Church Organists' Salaries

"....as poor as the church organist." (131)

From the time the position of organist became a civil one following the Reformation, the musician usually received payment on a quarterly or half-yearly basis. The amount paid, depending on what the church authorities believed they could afford, was set by the incumbent and his churchwardens, sometimes with the active participation of the Vestry. The sum was usually referred to as a "salary", or occasionally a "stipend". As for sources of money available, there existed several possibilities, depending on the church and its history. Certain aspects of salaries have already been mentioned in Chapter 2 (Payment of Church Organists and Blowers), where reference is made to a small group of rural parishes. Although this chapter deals with wider issues, inevitably some common factors emerge. When the *Municipal Corporations Act* of 1835 forced corporations to sell their church patronage, other sources of money had to be found for salaries. Some churches, though few in number, paid their organists with monies from endowments bequeathed for this purpose, as happened in the case of Edward Ascough of Wyntonhorpe

(now Winthorpe) in Lincolnshire. In his will dated 4th July 1520 he left all his land to his wife, and on her death, 10 acres of the property were to pass into the possession of Magdalen College, Oxford, as lords of the manor, to pay the organist of the church. (132) St. John's College, Oxford benefited from the generosity of a distinguished physician Sir William Paddy (1554-1634) who bequeathed £3000 to be invested to provide the college with a "skilful organist, and eight singing men and four choristers". (133) Both Macclesfield and Wanstead parish churches paid their organists £30 per annum from endowments. (134) The problem with such methods was that the accrued interest on the sums invested did not keep pace with inflation.

The organist's salary (and part of the incumbent's stipend) might come from "pewage" money received by renting pews which brought in much needed income. *Vestry Minutes* of 1711 for Holy Trinity, Hull show that its first organist received a salary of £20 per annum, but to do this the Vestry agreed to double the quarterly payments for pew rents.

There were other ways of paying salaries. Tewkesbury's Vestry meeting of 5th April 1737 empowered the church wardens to pay their abbey organist £20 per annum "out of the profits arising to the church from the graves, the seats, and the bell".(135) To do this:

....a tax of two shillings and sixpence should be laid on the great bell whenever it was rung for a funeral in the afternoon, and a further charge of two shillings and sixpence when it was rung in the morning; that an additional charge of three shillings and fourpence should be put upon every grave opened in the church; and the seats be raised two shillings and sixpence in the pound.(136)

Part of the salary for Gainsborough Parish Church's first organist in 1793 was raised from an annual sermon.(137) But surely the most unusual source of income was that of Eckington in Derbyshire, where Haydn Keeton's father once played. Here the fees for the breeding services of a "bear" pig went to pay the organist. (138) When, in 1820, St. Mary's, Beverley found itself in financial difficulties, the Vestry agreed to sell church properties to purchase freehold land, from which the dividends and rents were used to pay

a "lecturer" to preach at evening services, pay the organist, and establish a fund for the future repair of the church. (139)

In many cases, organists' salaries had been funded from church rates, whose purpose was to maintain the fabric, pay the clerk's salary, repair walls, gates and fences, pay for materials - bread and wine, and prayer books. Rates could be raised to provide heating and lighting, and to purchase an organ. Nonconformists and other religious groups objected paying taxes to a church to which they did not belong, paying for the upkeep of a building in which they did not worship, and paying the organist. To the Establishment, a church rate was justifiable, and refusal to pay would not be tolerated. Stoke Newington parish church is an example where strong feelings were evident over this issue during the 1830s with dissension between the High Church and Low Church factions in the parish.(140). Between 1833 and 1851 there were 632 serious attempts to rid parishes of the rate, of which 484 were successful and 148 unsuccessful.(141)

Sir Robert Peel (Prime Minister between 1834 and 1835) showed willingness to "institute reforms, review ecclesiastical institutions and rid Dissenters of one of their disabilities, namely the church rate". But it was Gladstone's bill of 1868 which finally abolished compulsory church rates, thereby placing responsibility for the upkeep of parish churches in the hands of the worshippers. Even so they were under no obligation to pay. Once the bill was passed, organists' pay became an additional item in a church's finances that had to be addressed. Annual subscriptions, to be supplemented by weekly collections at services where necessary, provided one way of raising funds. Tiverton in north Devon is an example of how a small town avoided paying its organist out of church rates by advertising that his salary (averaging from between £35 and £40 per annum) would come from voluntary subscriptions.(142) Advertisements seldom indicated sources of income. However, in the Dorsetshire town of Beaminster, things were different. Mr Moore, organist of the local church between 1839 and 1845, kept a small red leather bound notebook bearing the title *Organist Subscriptions*, in which he recorded the names of regular worshippers and the amount of money each agreed to subscribe annually. (143) The number of subscribers varied from year to year, with 109 names in 1839. Sir William

Oglander, the church's benefactor and local squire, headed the list of subscribers, agreeing to donate one guinea each year. Other donations ranged from smaller amounts down to the humble shilling. Only a small number of worshippers did not contribute. This organist's average salary between 1839 and 1844 amounted to £19. 5. 3. to which, in 1845 a further two guineas were added, following a collection taken during an evensong that year.

Salaries were occasionally supplemented with a collection at one particular Sunday service. At one of London's wealthiest parish churches, St George's, Hanover Square, the vicar prefaced one Sunday morning sermon with the statement that the offertory would be used to supplement the organist's salary "in recognition of his great and valued services." He was £40 better off! (144) Funding an organist's remuneration by voluntary subscriptions was unsatisfactory. He frequently found himself at the mercy of parishioners, of whom only a few might subscribe towards his pay. (145) We know that organists from the 1860s wished to improve their professional status; they considered financial rewards as their measure against other professions. Furthermore, their position was being undermined by amateurs who, with their enthusiasm and ability to draw upon other sources of income, were only too willing to work for less pay. From the 1870s columns advertising church posts in music periodicals and elsewhere would sometimes close with "Salary by arrangement", or "State salary required", the first suggesting the prospect of a haggle, the second that tenders may be submitted but the lowest would probably be accepted. There were, undeniably, amateur musicians more able and accomplished than some professionals; some amateurs had gained respectability by acquiring music degrees and diplomas, but for the professional, such advertisements were provocative. Larger parish churches were usually staffed by professional musicians, whilst many of the smaller town and village churches were grateful for musical contributions from amateurs.

It was the German musician and editor of *The Quarterly Musical Register*, August Friedrich Christoph Kollmann (c.1756-1829) who pointed out as early as 1812 how much less organists' salaries were in England than abroad.(146) It was a useful observation

coming from a foreigner, chapel-keeper and schoolmaster at the German Chapel Royal, St. James, London. This view was shared more than half a century later by English organist Charles Edward Horsley and an American Eugene Thayer, (147) who highlighted the differences between pay in this country and the U.S.A. During the mid 18th century, salaries of between £20 and £30 p.a. were general in the City of London, with the wealthier churches paying £40. By 1816, a salary of £40 in some London city churches was unexceptional. All Hallows, Bread Street *was* exceptional in paying £60. In contrast, other city churches, for example, St. Ethelburger paid £15 in 1815, St. James Duke's Place, £8 in 1839, St. Mary Somerset £5 in 1847, and Holy Trinity Gough Square £15 in 1850. Dawe points to low salaries as being the reason for few and poor applicants at these city churches. (148) Such churches could, however, on occasion attract very capable musicians. When Henry John Gauntlett went to Christ Church, Newgate Street in 1836 at the age of 31, he received just two guineas a year. (149)

In 1892 Gustav Holst became organist of St Lawrence's Church, Wych Rissington near Cheltenham, for an annual salary of £4. (150) For this reward, it is not known exactly what was required of him, but Edwin Evans believed that Holst's appointment gave him experience in the handling of choral groups, which suggests that he had a choir there. (151) The same year, St. James' Muswell Hill, London, offered £50 per annum for undertaking two choral services on a Sunday, one choir rehearsal, and for teaching and training the voluntary surpliced choir. (152) Few church authorities at this time paid £100 annually for an organist and choirmaster, but surprisingly the vicar and churchwardens of All Saints' Parish Church, Babbacombe, a village outside Torquay, did so in 1893; the considerably larger church of St Paul's, Brighton, noted for its "ritual" services offered the same salary the following year. (153) Salary levels could hardly have been lower than that paid by Bridport Parish Church to its organist from 1909. Duties consisted of three services on Sundays; Wednesday evening service; boys' practice at 7 pm on Wednesdays and Fridays; full choir practice on Fridays at 8 pm and services during Holy Week. For this Mrs Stones received £15 per annum, or 30 old pence per week. (154)

In many instances, salaries bore little relationship to the amount of work or skill involved, with some parish churches paying less than village churches. At St. Andrew's, Wells Street, one of the centres of the Choral Revival and Tractarian worship in London, the organist's post became vacant early in 1857 at a salary of £100 per annum, the duties being to officiate at three Sunday and two daily services, to instruct the choristers in music daily for one hour, and to practise the whole choir once a week.(155) However, an analysis of this church's requirements (22 attendances per week) indicates a payment of approximately one shilling and nine-pence per attendance. The demands of this post in terms of work and time equalled those of some cathedral organists. Wesley's salary when he came to Leeds Parish Church fifteen years earlier, without choir duties, was £200, the sum chosen by the vicar, Dr Hook, to entice him to the post.

At times, a church (and cathedral) organist might receive a small annual payment for tuning the organ. Lawton of Leeds Parish Church, according to the *Parish Church Accounts* for 14th May 1800, received two guineas for this work in addition to his half year salary of £15. Fulford Parish Church (York) allowed its organist £2 .2 .4 for tuning expenses in 1876.(156) Some organists were expected to pay the organ blower out of their salary, as did Prendergast, a professional musician of Wem parish church, in 1912. From his quarterly £18 he paid the blower ten shillings.(157) A few churches gave an annual collection as a mark of appreciation. Malton (in North Yorkshire) *Parish Accounts* for 1874-1876 show that the authorities gave a "Present to Organist" of £2.0s 0d in addition to his annual salary of £7.17.s.6.d. Generosity of this sort was exceptional.

Collective bargaining, first adopted by the medical profession and used by other professional groups during the 19th century, was not possible for church organists. Examining bodies such as the R.C.O., the Guild of Organists, and the Incorporated Guild of Church Musicians, although concerned with raising standards of performance and musicianship, were not persuaded to enter the pay bargaining world. Gaining a diploma through study added prestige in the eyes of the clergy and the general public, but it did not give organists the right to bargain for a salary. Years later the Royal School of Church Music set forth its recommendations for salaries dependent upon the size of the church

and individual responsibilities.(158) During the period of this study, the vicar, his churchwardens - and Vestry (from 1921 the Parochial Church Council) - decided what level of salary to pay their church musician. In economic terms, market forces were at work. A church could not pay money it did not have.

The higher the standards organists achieved as the 19<sup>th</sup> century proceeded, the greater the tendency to compare their situation with that of other professional groups. With the growth in the number of periodicals during this time came not only opportunities for the dissemination of musical knowledge, but opportunities for organists to bring their grievances to public attention. Demands on a church musician's skill, time and energy had become greater from the 1870s, but salaries had not risen accordingly.(159) The reasons for this will be examined.

That many churches could not pay adequately remained an economic factor from which neither party could escape. Some priests received poor stipends due to inadequate endowments; curates were also poorly paid. The average value of livings in York in 1840 was only £131 a year. Eight of them fell below £100.(160) Only through the help of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, did the average mean value of £131 in 1840 rise to £146 in 1865.(161) The parish church of Lady St. Mary, Wareham provides an example where financial affairs were such that "It was proposed that the usual gratuity should be given to the Organist as soon as the next payments of Pew Rents come in".(162) In 1800 Tadcaster parish church paid its organist £2.10. 0. a year, and it remained so for thirteen years. Fifty years were to elapse before St. Michael-le-Belfrey, York increased its £10.0.0. per annum salary in 1800 to £11.0.0. The first recorded organist's salary for Pocklington parish church was in 1838 for £5.0.0., but it was not until 1864 that a first increase of £5.0.0.was granted.(163)

The level of prices throughout this period was subject to fluctuations which economists describe as "trade cycles," consisting of sequences of boom, recession, and revival, five years being the average length of each cycle. A recession and the aftermath of foreign wars, (for example, the Crimean War 1854-6) created feelings of insecurity for many sections of society; this in turn affected demand for labour, the price of goods and,

of course, earnings.(164) Organists were affected as much as any by financial turbulence, and even where an organist's salary comprised only a part of his total income, the pegging down of income over a number of years was bound to create hardship.

The church musician's remuneration rested in many instances with the parish. To those who made "illiberal" payments must be attributed the blame for attracting those of poor calibre to vacant situations. *Musical Opinion* echoed the view of many when it stated that:

however much our organists may desire a more liberal scale of payment, it is no use shutting one's eyes to the fact that the inexorable laws of supply and demand rule at the organ bench as much as they do in the pulpit, at the bar, or on the mart.(165)

Be that as it may, the clergy as a body "would give their influence on the side of the organist".(166) When the organist of Carlisle Cathedral said at the 1906 Church Congress in Barrow -in- Furness that the salaries of organists were "a standing disgrace" he went out of his way to make it clear that clergy were not included in his condemnation.(167) Nevertheless, clergy could be deeply critical of organists and choirmasters, and if reports were true, they had good cause. One clergyman ("Clericus") writing at length in *The Musical Times*, (168) took to task those professionals who expected to receive from their church appointments salaries that would relieve them from all other work. If they were paid by the church according to the time given to their duties, and at the same rate they charged for giving lessons, he felt they had no grounds for complaint.

In his Preface to *A Treatise on Training Boys' Voices* (1903) George T. Fleming suggests that one cause of the inferiority of church choir singing was:

the smallness of the stipends paid to organists and choirmasters, which necessitates their devoting time to private teaching, or other means of making an income, instead of [the] training of their choirs.

With regard to salaries, two conflicting ideas became evident by the end of the 1880s. The increased musical and educational power in the hands of professional organists had a tendency to create a number of larger salaries (from the cathedrals, Oxbridge colleges and larger parish churches), whilst the overcrowding of an attractive profession, together with an ever increasing number of nonprofessional church organists and choirmasters,



exercised an adverse effect by increasing the number of small salaries. Discussing church organists' salaries during an R.C.O. lecture in Manchester, May 11th 1912, Allen thought that in those churches dependent upon the offerings of the congregation to pay working expenses, music should be one of the first charges upon those offerings; and in no case should monies from collections go out of the parish until their musical needs had been met. (169)

### Payment and Sources of Cathedral Organists' Salaries

In many instances salaries originally laid down in the 16th century, following Henry VIII's Acts of Parliament (*Dissolution of the Monasteries 1536 and 1539*), had not been adjusted over the years to allow for inflation and increased work. As with churches, cathedrals varied in their resources and wealth. Some were genuinely unable to pay their organists a fair salary; others who could have done so chose not to. Writing in 1924, and noting the standard of excellence for which the musical services of our cathedrals were renowned throughout Europe, Bishop Headlam of Gloucester acknowledged that the payment of the organist was still not sufficient. (170) Little had changed in half a century.

From where did the money to pay a cathedral organist's salary emanate? An examination of several cathedral records reveals a number of funds from which salaries were paid. There was no general pattern, and sources varied between cathedrals. At York Minster, there were several funds: Fabric, St. Peter's, Library, Pensions, Fabric Restoration, and The Minster Services Fund. From the Fabric Fund came the chapter clerk's salary, fees for the architect, and the payment of bell ringers, mason and bricklayer, the sub-chanters and vicars choral. From the The Minster Services Fund covered the organist's salary and fees for tuning the organ. This income was sourced from rents, offertories, donations, sundry fees, the proceeds from the sale of land in the Yorkshire village of Melbourne in 1909 (£800), and investments of proceeds from the sale of property. (171)

The salary of Smith, Hereford Cathedral's organist between 1843 and 1877, came from more than one source. His payment for 1847 is recorded as being £70, drawn from the *Clavingers Accounts*, an endowment whose records survive from the 15th century.

(172) In addition he received £22. 0. 0. for tuning the organ, drawn on the Fabric Fund.(173) Ten years later Smith's salary was further augmented when he claimed for copying music, work which had to be done when there was a limited amount of printed music available:

By Bills paid Mr G.T.Smith, Organist, for Copying Music 2. 4. 6. (174)

By 1851 Smith's salary had increased significantly, as the Account of the Payment of the Clavigers for the year ending Michaelmas shows:-

The Organists Salary due Michas [sic] 1851	95 . 0 . 0.
do do in the Fabric a/c	22 . 0 . 0.
do do from the College	8 . 0 . 0.
	125 . 0 . 0.

Smith's successor, Langdon Colborne, served Hereford between 1877 and 1889. His salary of £215 p.a. came about as follows, and clearly shows that sources funding the organist's salary had changed in the meantime (175):-

From the Dean and Chapter ... ..	£187. 0. 0.
From the Custos and Vicars ... ..	8. 0. 0.
From the Dean and Chapter for teaching the Eight Choristers and Four Probationary Choristers Instrumental Music ... ..	20. 0. 0.
Per Annum	£215. 0. 0.

At Worcester Cathedral, the *Statutes* laid down that there should be an Organist and that he should be a member of the Cathedral College. The cathedral possessed two funds: a General Fund and a Fabric Fund, monies for which came from various endowments. However, from the 1840s these were removed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners who replaced them with a fixed grant. Payments to organists were generally referred to in the *Treasurers' Books* as "stipends", and Thomas Pitt, organist from 1793 until 1806, was paid as a lay clerk. A house normally went with the post, as indeed it did at Hereford. Pitt's stipend, like Smith's, and for organists at other cathedrals, comprised several parts:

Mr Pitt.	£16. 0. 0.
Additional Salary.	£ 6. 0. 0.
As Master of the Choristers.	£ 8. 0. 0.
As a Lay Clerk.	£20. 0. 0.
Yearly allowance for a house.	£8. 0. 0.
Yearly allowance for a house as a Lay Clerk.	£2. 0. 0.

His stipend was therefore £58. 0. 0., that which successive organists Jeremiah Clarke, William Kenge, Charles Clarke continued to receive for undertaking duties. Clarke's successor, William Done, received the same scale of payment for the first 16 of his long service of 51 years, but in 1860 his stipend was substantially increased, the various allowances which went to make up the final amount being different from his predecessors':

Master of the Choristers.	£8. 0. 0.
Organist.	£22. 0. 0.
For House.	£8. 0. 0.
Extra Stipend.	£50. 0. 0.
Compensation for fees.	£5. 0. 0.

Corn Rents and Woods Money.	£16. 0. 0.
Charge of Choristers now in College School	£16. 0. 0.
	£125. 0. 0.

From the above entry, it should be noted that payment to the cathedral organist as a lay clerk ceased from 1860, signalling the removal of an old practice which had existed in some cathedrals. (176) At St. Paul's a vicar-choral's stall ceased to exist in 1872, whilst at Lichfield payment as a lay clerk ended as late as 1959.

Some cathedrals provided houses for their organists, as at Winchester where Dr Arnold and his successor Prendergast lived rent free. (177) A house and garden came with the organist's appointment at Salisbury.(178) Gloucester Cathedral provided a house for its organist, (179) as did Exeter, but in his submission to *H.M.Commissioners for inquiring into the Condition of Cathedral Churches in England and Wales* (1855), Daniel Wood complained that as he performed the duties of organist, master of the choristers (which meant in effect being headmaster of the choir school), and succentor, his house proved too small in which to do his work and he had to rent the adjoining property.(180) When a house came with an appointment, the salary offered was invariably lower. At Peterborough, where until 1870 the post of organist and assistant organist were separate appointments, a house was available for both posts, were the assistant a married man.(181)

There were cathedral posts which did not include a house with the appointment; Chester was one of these, and its organist Joseph Bridge had much to grumble about. He thought his salary of £200 per annum quite inadequate since he played over 700 services in the course of a year, trained all the boys and was generally responsible for the singing. Moreover, he had no paid assistant.(182) Chester Cathedral, with statutes dating from 1544, had been richly endowed, but during Queen Elizabeth's reign had lost much of its property and consequently an important part of its wealth. (183) A quarter of a century after his appointment, Joseph Bridge was living at Christ Church Vicarage in the city.(184) For John Naylor of York Minster there was no official residence, and until his

death in 1897 he lived in Burton Lane in the city. For the first year or so of his appointment, Tertius Noble occupied a house in The Avenue, Clifton, York until the Minster authorities in 1900 set aside No.1 Minster Court for its organist.(185)

At Durham Cathedral, money for stipends came from a central fund whose income was derived from the leasing out of lands owned by the Dean and Chapter. First and final stipends paid to those five organists who served the cathedral during the 19th century and the early years of the 20th are shown in the *Treasurer's Accounts* books. Thomas Ebdon, appointed in 1763, received £100 as his final stipend up until his death in 1811. His successor Charles Erlin Jackson Clarke also received £100 per annum during his short stay of a little over two years before moving to Worcester Cathedral in 1813. William Henshaw's annual stipend when he took over is recorded as also being £100, but had risen to £151 when he retired in 1862. Philip Armes began at £151, his final stipend being £210 by the time he retired. (186) His successor was the Revd. Arnold Culley, a former student at the R.C.M. and organ scholar of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. He became a minor canon at the cathedral and later Precentor, drawing stipends of £250 and £100 respectively. When appointed organist in 1907 with a stipend of £109. 4s. 0d. Cully's clerical duties took precedence, leaving William Ellis, a former pupil of Armes and the officially appointed assistant on a stipend of £200 per annum to play many services and train the choir. (187)

In time, the system of paying cathedral organists was rationalised, with an annual salary offered for undertaking designated duties as set out in an *Agreement*, in which consideration was given to the assistant organist's position. He was either officially recognised and paid from cathedral funds, or was an unofficial assistant, usually a senior articulated pupil.

These examples give a taste of the circumstances existing for organists, highlighted in the reports of the Royal Commissions looking into the state and condition of cathedrals and collegiate churches in England and Wales. They revealed an unevenness in wealth and resources from which to provide acceptable salaries and reasonable conditions of work.

## Summary

The paucity of laws relating to employment practices in the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries led to a haphazard array of different methods by which church and cathedral musicians might be appointed, and treated during their term of appointment.

In the early period to which the study relates, church organists were appointed by competition, judged by members of the community. This system could easily be abused, and it was deemed by many to be better to have the applicants play, unseen, to a competent adjudicator. Certainly the test might be quite stringent when judged by a musician, but problems and potential unfairness could occur if the candidates were unfamiliar with the organ used for the competition. An additional problem was that members of the vestry would sometimes overrule the musician's choice, thereby devaluing the whole system. Testimonials might be used to aid the selection process, a practice that was also open to unfairness and which gradually fell into disrepute. It was not uncommon, however, for appointments to occur as a result of an approach being made to the preferred musician, without any other selection process occurring. It was suggested by some that the College of Organists should set a standard test, and by others that the Church Choir Guild or the local cathedral organist should have the right of selection.

The historical background of cathedrals led to a complicated situation in these institutions too. Monastic cathedrals had had new statutes imposed on them by Henry VIII, and in these, provision was made for the office of organist. Secular cathedrals, however, whose statutes had remained unchanged since mediaeval times, held no such provision. Victorian and Edwardian cathedral musicians generally found their way into a post having been cathedral choristers and thence undertaking an articulated pupilship, which offered useful connections. As with church organists' posts, cathedral appointments were subject to the idiosyncrasies of each dean and chapter, and many different methods of appointment existed: advertising, competitions, private enquiry and personal application being the most common. Occasionally an assistant organist would step into the organist's

shoes, but more commonly already existing cathedral organists, or organists from larger parish churches would be appointed. As public schools began to gain an increasingly good reputation for music, collegiate and cathedral appointments were often made from within their ranks.

The personal qualities of the prospective church or cathedral organist were increasingly judged to be important. In his liaison skills with both clergy and choir it was felt that he needed to have a conciliatory and personable character and qualities of self-discipline.

Church organists' appointments were usually held for one year, the vestry having considerable power to control the organist's activities, and indeed to rid themselves of him if they thought fit. Statements of duties were often quite explicit and show that the organist's duties were often quite heavy and not necessarily related to his financial reward. Little protection existed for organists, and regrettably it was not until 1917 that the R.C.O took action on this issue. Even its petition to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York was not successful and it was considerably later in the century before agreement was reached on this issue.

In cathedrals, a legal agreement was often drawn up to stipulate the organist's duties. In some Agreements, the organist was responsible for playing services and for choir training; in others the posts were split. Specific directives were often given in the Agreement regarding the teaching of organ pupils and the position of assistant organist.

The pay of a church organist was dependant on the financial means of the church. Funds for this purpose might be drawn from bequests, "pewage", church rates or other minor sources of income. The abolition of church rates further undermined the security of the Church's finances, and from then on worshippers were asked to make annual subscriptions, often toward the organist's pay. The frequent appointment of amateur organists, together with market forces, frequently kept salaries low, and often unrelated to the amount of work expected of the musician. Organists had little leverage to change this.

In cathedrals organists might also be subject to variations in pay, depending on the finances of each institution and on the importance it placed on music in worship. Again,

their income came from various sources. Some posts came with accommodation, but where this was the case, the salary was frequently lower than where accommodation was not included. Over the years the payment of cathedral organists was, fortunately, rationalised.

### Evaluation

Whilst the methods of appointment of cathedral organists have been documented in recent literature, little study has previously been made of that relating to church organists. Much information on this subject was found in the journals of the day, in the form of advertisements, correspondence, and the reporting of appointments. The detail contained in these periodicals adds to our knowledge of church appointments. Lively debate occurred regarding the pros and cons of various means of selection.

The methods of appointment of cathedral organists have in the past been more widely researched, so much of the background information in this section was drawn from recent literature on the subject. However, study of advertisements appearing in the journals does add to the detail of our knowledge. Church documents also give us insights into the degree to which personal recommendation was important in this sphere.

Whilst frequent reference is made in the journals of the day, and in transcripts of public addresses, to the personal characteristics most sought after in an organist, this has not hitherto been discussed in the histories written on church music. It is not of course surprising that a “Christian character” should have been expected of the Victorian church or cathedral organist, but it is noteworthy that some of the most eminent and respected organists of the day – such as S.S. Wesley – are not reported to have possessed the good temper and tact that were felt by many to be necessary in such a post!

Much of the information regarding the duties of church and cathedral organists was found in church documents. It is clear from these papers that the Vestry held much power over the church organist and kept him in a subservient and vulnerable position. Duties as



laid down in such documents were quite explicit; this was corroborated by reference to other sources in the recent literature. Debate in the journals of the time made clear the prevailing view regarding the Royal College of Organists' failure to protect the church organist from poor employment practices. It was in the journals that reports were found relating to the petition to the Archbishops, and to its subsequent failure.

Although the cathedral organist might have had higher status than his church colleague, cathedral documents indicate that he was not immune to the pressures placed upon him by the precentor. Again, his duties were explicitly stated in the Agreement by which he was bound. Information relating to their details was entirely from primary sources, and since these Agreements were legally binding documents they are likely to be accurate.

Evidence regarding the payment of church and cathedral organists was drawn from a variety of sources. Whilst music historians have written a limited amount on this subject, it was necessary to peruse church and library documents, Parliamentary proceedings, and journals of the day in order to glean the majority of information in these sections. For example, the interesting and very detailed material indicating the source and amount of monies paid to organists were found in journals of the period and in church documents. These, together, give a sense of how precarious was the income of the church, and hence, that of the organist.

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER FIVE

### THE APPOINTING OF CHURCH AND CATHEDRAL ORGANISTS

1. *Vestry*, the body of parishioners; also the actual meeting place of parishioners.
2. *The Post Boy*, 5<sup>th</sup> December, 1717.
3. *The Lincolnshire Herald*, 31st April 1869.
4. *Bedford Corporation Minutes*, 1st March 1714.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Obituary notice in *The Musical Times*, March 1904, p.173.
7. Letter from Dr. John Stainer to the Vicar of Holy Sepulchre without Newgate, dated 3rd March 1880.
8. Webb, Sidney and Beatrice, *English Local Government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act*, vol.1: *The Parish and the County*, London, Longmans and Green, 1906, pp.109-110.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *The Musical Times*, January 1900, p.14.
11. *The Musical Times*, November 1905, p.718.
12. *Ibid.*
13. An Address given before the Musical Association on 2nd December 1889 by Sir John Stainer on "The Character and Influence of the late Sir Frederick Gore Ouseley", in *Proceedings of the Musical Association*.
14. Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, pp. 397-398, Birmingham, Stratton, 1897.
15. Bridge, Frederick, *A Westminster Pilgrim*, London, Novello/Hutchinson, 1918, p. 43.
16. Pearce, C.W., "Competitions for Organ Appointments", in *The Organ*, October 1925, p.100.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. *The Musical World*, August 9<sup>th</sup>, 1838, pp. 247.
20. Bridge, Frederick, *A Westminster Pilgrim*, p.42.
21. *The Musical Standard*, 27th January 1877, advertisement.
22. *The Musical Standard*, 17th April 1880, p.254.
23. Pearce, C.W., "Competitions for Organ Appointments", in *The Organ*, October 1925, p.101.
24. Shaw, Bernard, *Music in London 1890-94*, vol.2, pp. 6-7, London, Constable,

1932. Shaw no doubt knew of the goings-on at vestry meetings when organists were up for appointments, for he was later to become a St Pancras vestryman following the Local Government Act of 1894 when vestries of the Church of England lost all their powers except those concerned with church administration and church charities. See Michael Holroyd's *Bernard Shaw*, vol.1, p.399.
25. Advertisement in *The Musical Standard*, 29th April 1876, p.284.
  26. Correspondence to the editor of *The Musical Standard*, 5th May 1877, regarding the appointment at St. George's, Hanover Square.
  27. *Ibid.*
  28. "A Looker On", in *The Musical Standard*, 15th May 1880, p.318.
  29. *Ibid.*
  30. *The Musical Standard*, 13th April 1864.
  31. *Ibid.*
  32. Pearce, C.W., "Competitions for Organ Appointments", in *The Organ*, October 1925, p.102.
  33. Letters to *The Musical Standard*, 10th August 1872, p.82. and *The Church Musician*, August 1891, p.130.
  34. M.Watson Dawe, in a letter to *The Musical Standard*, dated 23rd November 1878.
  35. *The Musical Standard*, 23rd March 1872, p. 145.
  36. *Ibid.*
  37. *Musical Opinion*, 1<sup>st</sup> December, 1881, p. 105.
  38. Stainer speaking at the R.C.O.'s Annual Dinner on 10th May 1894, reported in *The Organist and Choirmaster*, 15th June 1894, p.24.
  39. Pigou, Revd. Francis *Odds and Ends*, p.237, London, Arnold, 1909.
  40. *Ibid.*
  41. Shaw, W. *The Succession of Organists*, inside flap of book jacket, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991.
  42. *Ibid.* p. xviii.
  43. Maddison, Rev. A.R. *A Short Account of the Vicars Choral, Poor Clerks, Organists, and Choristers of Lincoln Cathedral.*(1878)
  44. *Ibid.*
  45. Goodman, A.W. and Hutton, W.H., *The Statutes Governing the Cathedral Church of Winchester Given by Charles I*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1925.
  46. Walcott, Mackenzie, *Early Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Chichester*, quoted in West, J.E., p.16.

47. John Redford, the earliest known organist at St. Paul's Cathedral from 1530 to 1540 was also almoner, an appointment which included being master of the choristers.
48. Goodman, A.W., and Hutton, W.H., *The Statutes Governing the Cathedral Church of Winchester Given by Charles I.*
49. *Ibid.*, p.55.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *The Musical Standard*, 6th November 1886..
52. Lady Elvey, *Life and Reminiscences of Sir G.J. Elvey*, p. 24, London, Sampson Low, Marston, 1894.
53. West, J.E., *Cathedral Organists*, p.15, London, Novello, 1899.
54. Letter from Wesley to Winchester Cathedral Chapter, *Cathedral Papers*, Winchester Cathedral Library. See Appendix 15.
55. Letter from Tenbury dated October 1st 1889. *Truro Cathedral Papers MSS 385 / 5*
56. *Ibid.*
57. Four page letter from C.H.Lloyd dated 7th October 1881, *MSS 385 / 2*, presumably written to the Dean. Grove (1954) inaccurately gives the date of appointment as 1880; West gives it correctly as 1881 according to the *Agreement* drawn up between the cathedral's Dean and Chapter and Sinclair. *Truro Cathedral MSS 385 / 2*, Cornwall Record Office.
58. *Ibid.*
59. *The Musical Standard*, 5th April 1870, p.123.
60. *Ibid.*
61. Bates, Frank, *Reminiscences of a Musician*, p.30, Norwich, Jarnold, 1930.
62. *Ibid.*
63. Letter from Stanford to Noble, dated 1st June 1890. *Noble Papers*, York Minster Archives.
64. *Ibid.*
65. Testimonial written from The Cloisters, Windsor Castle, 17th June 1890. *Tertius Noble Papers*
66. *Tertius Noble Papers*. See Appendix 16 for agreement.
67. *Ibid.*
68. *Ibid.*
69. Editorial in *The Musical Standard*, 6th January 1872, p.2 in which the editor congratulated the Dean and Chapter on their choice and the way in which the appointment was made.
70. *The Musical Standard*, 24th May 1873, p.327 and 31st May, p.338.
71. Bridge, Frederick, *A Westminster Pilgrim*, p.25.

72. Letter to *The Musical Standard*, 14<sup>th</sup> June 1890, signed: "R.P."
73. *The Musical Standard*, 9<sup>th</sup> December, 1876.
74. Shaw, W. *The Succession of Organists*, p. 238.
75. Stanford, C.V., *Pages from an Unwritten Diary*, pp.106-107, London, Arnold, 1914. *Grove* (1954), p45; Stanford went up to Queen's as a choral scholar.
76. Reference to copies of *The Public Schools Year Book* covering years of this period show that large numbers of music staff were organists.
77. Bridge, F., *A Westminster Pilgrim*, pp. 66.
78. Pigou, Revd. Francis, *Odds and Ends*, p. 239
79. Bridge, Sir Frederick, at the distribution of Fellowship diplomas, R.C.O., 1901
80. *Musical Opinion*, July 1884, p.453.
81. *The Musical Standard*, 29<sup>th</sup> May, 1886.
82. *The Musical Standard*, 11<sup>th</sup> March 1871, p105
83. Lecture: "The Scope of an Organist's Work" in R.C.O. *Calendar* 1912-1913, pp. 268, 275.
84. *The Musical Standard*, 15<sup>th</sup> January, 1881
85. Comments made by Westlake Morgan during the course of the discussion following a paper read to the Incorporated Guild of Church Musicians, London, by George A. Stanton on 19<sup>th</sup> October 1911, and reprinted in *The Musical Standard*, 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1912
86. Lake, Ernest, "The Duties and Responsibilities of Church Organists", a lecture given before the R.C.O. on 4<sup>th</sup> June 1889, reprinted in *Musical Opinion*, 1<sup>st</sup> September 1889, pp574-576.
87. Letter from Grove in Vienna to the Dean of Ely, dated 17<sup>th</sup> August.
88. Letter dated August 8th 1892, written from 4 Amen Court, St. Paul's, E.C. The *Noble Papers*, York Minster Archives.
89. Purey-Cust, "The Dean on Organists. A Few Words...." (1883) in Knowles, *Records of the Musical Services in York Minster*, vol. 2, pp.359-359b. Add.MS. 157/2. Statutes for each cathedral state, in general terms, the duties and responsibilities of each member of staff. At Peterborough, according to the *Report of H.M. Commissioners for Inquiring into the Condition of Cathedral Churches in England and Wales* (1884-5) "an Organist.....who may also be master of the choristers if to the Dean and Chapter shall so seem convenient.....shall be of good fame and upright conversation, skilful both in the knowledge of singing and in instrumental music, and who shall diligently play the organ, and therewith accompany the voices whenever required for the performance of Divine Service..." (Chapter XXI, p.11, "Of the Organist".) The Organist of Carlisle Cathedral who held the position of Music Master of the Choristers, had to be "a

- man of irreproachable character and a good musician, skilled in playing the Organ and well capable of giving instruction in singing and chanting.(Statute XVI.)
90. Dorset County Archives PE / SH VE 1, *Sherborne Church Book of Orders*. p.247.
  91. *Ibid*.
  92. *Ibid*.
  93. *Ibid*.
  94. St Mary's Parish Church, Hull, *Miscellaneous Papers*, letter dated 1st March 1831.
  95. *The Musical Standard*, 1st June 1867.
  96. *The Musical Standard*, 29th June 1872.
  97. Colles, H.C., *Walford Davies: A Biography*, p.44, London, O.U.P., 1942.
  98. *Ibid*.
  99. Legally, the incumbent has as a general rule the right to appoint the organist on such terms as he thinks fit. In particular cases the Vestry may by custom have acquired the right of making an appointment.(Dale, W.L., *The Law of the Parish Church*, p.55.)
  100. *Bridport Account and Vestry Book 1874 -1924*. Dorchester County Archives, Ref. PE / BT: VE 2.
  101. Dale, W.L. *The Law of the Parish Church*, p.55, London, Butterworth, 1946.
  102. *Ibid*.
  103. *Market Weighton Church Wardens' Accounts, 1835-1903*, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York.
  104. *The Musical Standard*, 18th August 1877, pp.104-105. It is significant that in the parish records (vestry minutes, parish accounts and other church papers) examined in several county archives, not a single example of a written contract of the sort suggested by Jori has been discovered. Letters from organists, as well as from their blowers, to the authorities requesting an increase in salary following many years of service were, in almost all cases turned down - often without reason. See [Appendix 17a](#) for an example of an Organist's Agreement.
  105. *Ibid*
  106. *Ibid*.
  107. *Ibid*
  108. *Quarterly Musical Review*, 1887, vols.iii and iv, p19.
  109. *The Musical Times*, December 1905, p.797.
  110. Text of the petition appeared in *The Musical Times*, August 1917.
  111. R.C.O. *Calendar*, 1918-1919, pp. 46.
  112. *Ibid*.
  113. *Ibid*.

114. Shaw, W., *The Succession of Organists*, p. 143.
115. *Peterborough Cathedral Statutes*, Chapter XXI, p.11, "Of the Organist".
116. Shaw, W., *The Succession of Organists*, pp. 77-79.
117. *Winchester Cathedral Chapter Book*, 29th June 1869, p.308.
118. *Winchester Cathedral Chapter Book of the Dean and Chapter*, 29<sup>th</sup> September 1841.
119. Information communicated by the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester Cathedral to the Cathedral Establishment Commission, 1879.
120. *Ibid.*
121. *The Statutes etc. of the Cathedral Church of York*, Section 25.
122. *Archbishop Frewen's Injunctions*, Section 14 (1662).
123. *Archbishop Dolben's Injunctions*, Section 4 (1685).
124. Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England, *Questions Submitted To Cathedral Officers* in York Minster Archives, D10 / OF.
125. Hereford Cathedral MS 4905 (iii) (b).
126. Shaw, W., *The Succession of Organists*, *Lincoln Chapter Acts 12*, p. 154, 1850.
127. *Ibid.*, pp. 204-205
128. Bridge, F. *A Westminster Pilgrim*, p.55.
129. *Ibid.* p. 810.
130. *Ibid.*
131. Lord Denning, *The Family Story*, p.10, London, Butterworths, 1981
132. Quoted in *The Musical Times*, March, 1904.
133. *The Musical Times*, May 1906.
134. *The Musical Times*, 1<sup>st</sup> December 1872; *The Musical Times*, June 1903.
135. *The Musical Times*, March 1904.
136. *Ibid.*
137. Veale, Jane, *All Saints' Parish Church, Gainsborough: a guide and short history*, p. 17. Gainsborough, 1981.
138. "J.S." in *The Organist and Choirmaster*, 15<sup>th</sup> June, 1902, p. 40.
139. St Mary's, Beverley *Minutes of the Annual Vestry Meetings 1818 - 1959*, 20th December 1820, ref. P E 1/ 128.
140. Stoke Newington Parish Church, *Vestry Minutes 1838-1862*, 3-4, 11, 64.
141. *Parliamentary Papers, 1851, X*, pp.465-466.
142. *The Musical Times*, September 1861. Private subscriptions to help finance salaries, were in use in the 18th century when, for instance, Dr Burney accepted the post at St.Margaret's, King's Lynn in 1752. His official salary was £30 p.a., augmented by private subscription to £100 or £120. Three years later the

subscription expired, Burney unsuccessfully applied for an increase, and in 1759 returned to London.

143. *Mr Moore`s Organist Subscriptions*, Dorset Record Office: ref. BECW6 / 11839.

1839	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	£20	.	3	.	0
1840..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18	.	19	.	0
1841..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	.	17	.	6
1842..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18	.	6	.	0
1843..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	24	.	9	.	0
1844..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18	.	17	.	0

144. Letter to *Musical Opinion*, 1st November 1888, p.81.
145. *The Musical Standard Supplement*, 2<sup>nd</sup> November, 1889, p. 381.
146. *The Musical Times*, October 1907, pp. 647.
147. Edward Horsley, (1822 - 1876) having emigrated first to Australia and then towards the later part of his life to the United States, became organist of St John, N.Y. with a salary of \$2000 (£500) for playing twice on Sundays and instructing the singers. (*The Musical Standard*, 23rd November 1872). Thayer, in a paper on "Reform in Church Music" (quoted in *The Musical World*, 5th November 1887) mentions \$150 to \$200 p.a. for a fair organist in the 1850s.
148. Dawe, Donovan, *Organists of the City of London, 1660-1850*, p. 2, Padstowe-Dawe, 1983.
149. *Grove`s Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. iii, p. 580, 1954
150. Holst Birthplace Museum, Cheltenham.
151. Article in *Grove`s Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 4, 2nd ed. 1954.
152. *The Musical Standard*, 16th July, 1892.
153. *The Musical Standard*, 20th May 1893; and 3rd March 1894.
154. *Church Account and Vestry Book, 1874-1924*, Bridport Parish Church, Dorset.
155. *The Musical Remembrancer*, March 1857.
156. *Fulford Parish Church Accounts*, 14th July 1876.
157. *Churchwardens` Accounts* for 1912, Wem Parish Church.
158. In 1938 the Royal College of Organists issued a *Form of Agreement between the Vicar - or Rector - and the Parochial Church Council of the Parish of ..... and Organist and Choirmaster ..... issued under the authority of the Council of the Royal College of Organists*. As for the *Ashfield Scale (1964)* Dr Ashfield and his committee of the Royal School of Church Music felt that an attempt should be made to suggest a scale of fees which would fit, however imperfectly, five general categories. Salaries and fees are regularly reviewed.



159. A.D.D.Windus, in *The Musical Standard*, 16th April 1870, p.193; the Revd.Henry Greeves, curate of Selby and District Secretary to the York Diocesan Choral Association expressed the same opinion in *The Musical Times*, June 1872, p.510. *The Musical Times*, September 1871, p.212; a quotation from St. Luke, 10, v. 7.
160. Lawton, George, *Collections relative to Churches and Chapels within the Diocese of York, vol. i, (1840) pp.7 - 44.*
161. *Ibid.*
162. *Wareham Parish Accounts*, as reported at the Vestry Meeting, Easter Monday, 9th April 1860.
163. *Tadcaster Parish Church Accounts*, 5th November 1800; 2nd January 1813.  
*St.Michael-le-Belfrey Parish Accounts, 1850 - 1851.*  
*Pocklington Parish Church Accounts* for January 1838 and October 1st 1864.
164. Burnett, John, *A History of the Cost of Living*, pp.124-125, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1969.
165. *The Musical Opinion*, 1st April 1889, p.320.
166. Correspondence in Supplement to *The Musical Standard*, 2nd November 1889, p.381.
167. Reported in *The Musical Times*, November 1906, p.746.
168. *The Musical Times*, November 1871, p.282.
169. Hugh Allen 1912 R.C.O. lecture, *R.C.O. Calendar, 1912-13*, p. 274.
170. Headlam, Rt. Rev. A.C., *The Church of England*, p.227. The situation regarding cathedral organists' salaries and pensions has much improved in recent years, whilst church organists' pay and conditions remain, in most cases, deplorable.
171. *The Accounts of the Dean and Chapter of York. 1910-18.*
172. *Hereford Cathedral Audit Accounts, 1847. Clavingers Accounts* show that the organ blower's fees and pension, too, were paid from this fund.
173. *Ibid.* At cathedrals and churches where organ tuners' visits were few and far between, due to distances travelled, organists were paid by the Chapter to do their own tuning.
174. Hereford Cathedral's *Tomson's Charity*, 7<sup>th</sup> November 1857.
175. Hereford Cathedral's, *Audit Accounts*.
176. Shaw, Watkins, *The Succession of Organists*, p.311.
177. *Winchester Cathedral Chapter Book*, 29<sup>th</sup> June, 1869, p. 308.
178. *The Musical Standard*, 31<sup>st</sup> March 1883.
179. Gloucester Cathedral Dean and Chapter submission, Chapter 21, p12 in Commission Report.
180. Daniel Wood's submission to Commission Report re. Housing at Exeter.

181. *The Musical Times* for 1<sup>st</sup> July 1867.
182. Bridge's reply to the Cathedral Commissioners, p. 18, v.
183. Chadwick, O., *The Victorian Church*, Part II, pp. 367-368, London, A & C. Black, 1970.
184. Bridge's reply to the Cathedral Commissioners, p. 18, v.
185. *Directory of the City of York*, 1896-1897; 1898-1899.
186. *Durham Cathedral Treasurer's Accounts Book*, 1907.
187. *Ibid.*

## CHAPTER SIX

### THE WORK OF CHURCH AND CATHEDRAL ORGANISTS IN SOCIETY

#### Introduction

The following chapter will consider not only the work of organists in cathedrals and churches, but their increasing forays into secular activities in order to provide further income to their meagre salaries. New opportunities and responsibilities were to develop from this expansion of work; the combination of a greater interest in the arts and an appreciation of status through learning, meant the second half of the century could offer the organist greater choice in his field, with positions of seniority and influence for a few exceptional men. This would not necessarily mean security in his old age.

#### Pluralism Amongst Church Organists

It is acknowledged that pluralism amongst the clergy of the Church of England was rife between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries. Holding more than one living with all its attendant abuses had been the subject of an act of Parliament during Henry VIII's reign (1509-1547), but since many exceptions were allowed, abuses continued. Priests who were "pluralists," drawing stipends from two or more livings were sometimes accused of greed, and of neglect of pastoral duties, with disastrous results for the spiritual life of the Church. (1) Organists' duties, however, were such that it was often possible, indeed necessary from a financial point of view, to hold more than one post at a time. Occasionally the organist was a pluralist because he was the only person available in the parish able and willing to play for services. In the one square mile of the city of London with its many churches in close proximity, pluralism was a straightforward

arrangement, where services were held at agreed times, allowing the organist to travel to the next place of worship.

Pluralism remained evident during the 18<sup>th</sup> century; some examples are given here. Thomas Attwood's predecessor at St. Paul's Cathedral, John Jones (1728-96) occupied the position of organist at Middle Temple and Charterhouse (2), whilst Mary Hudson (?-1801) occupied posts at St. Olave, Hart Street and St. Gregory, Old Fish Street, London from 1790 until her death. (3) Richard Samuel Stevens (1757-1837) had already been organist of St Michael's, Cornhill for five years at £40 per annum when elected to the post at the Temple Church in 1786. Ten years later he took on yet another position: that of the Charterhouse. (4)

The organist at St. John's, Waterloo Road demanded an assistant because he had also accepted the post of vicar choral at Westminster Abbey. The Vestry of St. John's found this unacceptable, and as a consequence, passed a unanimous resolution in April 1830 thanking Mr Brownsmith for "the exemplary and efficient manner" in which he had hitherto discharged his duties as organist, but regretting that his recent appointment at the Abbey had rendered him incapable of fulfilling his duties at the church by personal attendance. (5) Perhaps the finest player of his day, Thomas Adams (1785-1858), was compared with the world famous virtuoso pianist Sigismond Thalberg (1812-1871) because of his remarkable technique. The "Thalberg of the organ", as he was known, held posts at St. George's, Camberwell from 1824 jointly with St. Dunstan-in-the-West, Fleet Street from 1833 until his death. (6)

*The Musical Standard* announced on 29th June, 1872, that:

Mr. A.M. Colchester, who has been organist of St. Mark's Old Street, for the past four years, has been appointed organist of St. Luke's Hospital (Chelsea). The two appointments will be held together.

Well into the 19th century it was still possible to find one person officiating at three churches; on 24th May, 1884, *The Musical Standard* reported:

Mr G.F. Grover to be Organist to combined parishes of St. Peter-le-Parr and St. Benet Fink, Broad Street, E.C., whilst

retaining his position as Organist and Choir Director to Parish Church, Wapping.

John Warriner, stated that as:

Organist of the Parish and Priory Churches, Assembly Rooms, Dunster; St. Michael's and St. Andrew's Churches, Minehead, he is open to ENGAGEMENTS for Recitals or Concerts, as solo Organist. (7)

How Warriner travelled the hilly three-mile route from Dunster to Minehead we do not know.

As a young man setting out on his career, Samuel Sebastian Wesley certainly held more than one post at a time. In his own words:

.....I held Camberwell and Hampton Church, Middlesex, together for some time, having resigned St. John's Waterloo Road, and the Hampstead Road Chapel, there being a fuss about my holding three posts together. (8)

Wesley's move to Winchester Cathedral in 1849 possessed a certain attraction for him since his sons could attend Wykeham's College. The cathedral appointment carried with it the organistship of Winchester (Wykeham's) College, and more money. In order to play cathedral Evensong first and then walk to College Chapel and play for its service, the sermon there was given before Evening Prayer. Solemn moments of silence ensued whilst worshippers waited for Wesley to arrive and make his way (accompanied by his articled pupil, Kendrick Pyne) up the whole length of the centre aisle to the organ. (9)

Pluralism existed at Cambridge University well into the 19th century. William Tireman, chapel organist of St. John's College, also held Trinity College. This arrangement of having one person for two positions continued until 1857 with George Garrett's appointment to St. John's in that year. Another pluralist at the university was Thomas Attwood Walmisley. Elected to the posts at Trinity and St. John's College in 1833 (when he took his bachelor of music degree), he also succeeded John Pratt at King's College and St. Mary's Church without remuneration. This was a punishing schedule and one which may well have shortened his life. (10)

John White, born in York in 1779, was appointed organist of St. Paul's, Leeds in 1807; he then accepted the post at Wakefield Parish Church in 1821, taking on the responsibility for music at both places of worship. (11) George Havelock was organist of six country churches round about Doncaster at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. No wonder he advertised in the June, 1901 issue of *The Musical Times* for a lad who could play a service, in return for which he would receive lessons in four subjects: preparation for the College of Organists' diplomas or degrees and the promise of an independent post when qualified! As for Alfred Kenningham, he held the post at St Dionis' Parish Church, Parsons Green, Fulham for twenty-four years, at the same time being a vicar-choral at St Paul's Cathedral. (12)

Up to the outbreak of the first World War, there were fewer examples of pluralism amongst organists and choirmasters, in spite of the fact that a developing private and public transport system made travel easier and quicker. Increasing demands on the time of organists made it impossible for one person to undertake double duties. There were exceptions; at the turn of the century, a Mr. Hole held the posts of organist and choirmaster of Sneinton church (now part of Nottingham) and director of the choir at St. Catherine's, in the same town. (13) Ambrose Porter went to St. Matthias, Richmond, Surrey, in 1913 as organist and choirmaster, and was also choirmaster of the Parish Church in the same town, just a few minutes walk down the hill. (14)

Such pluralism was actively discouraged by some church authorities because it led to clashes of interests. And as *The Musical Standard* cumbersomely put it:

.....several men holding important positions, who, whether specially fitted, or able adequately to fill other vacant offices that arise or not, eagerly undertake them, and, without scruple or protest from anyone, calmly depute the work to others who, it may be, are really more capable of doing the real work of the office for probably very small fees, they themselves gaining the emoluments, and also the kudos of their deputies' work. (15)

From the 1870s there were occasional movements between denominations by church musicians. Edmund Turpin, secretary of the College of Organists, for many years gave regular professional assistance at the Catholic Apostolic Church in Gordon Square,

London, whilst remaining organist of St. George's, Bloomsbury. Times of the Sunday services at the two churches were such that he played three times at St. George's and twice at Gordon Square. (16) During the latter part of the 1880s, there was an increase in Anglican church musicians solely in the employ of other denominations, as well be seen in the next section.

### Mobility Amongst Church Organists

During the early Victorian period relations between Anglicans and Nonconformists were uncomfortable; the Church of England reluctantly became more tolerant of other denominations. However, music began to hold an increasingly important place in Nonconformist worship, and thereby helped heal the rift between the churches. The complexity of music used in some chapels outdid that of some churches, and there were instances where a chapel organ was more imposing than that in the parish church - a significant factor in supporting changing attitudes to music. Capable organists and choirmasters were needed to fulfil the musical aspirations of chapel worshippers. It mattered little to them that the church musician was an Anglican. Much the same could be said regarding organists of some Roman Catholic churches. A small minority ranged freely from one denominational employment to another, especially as Anglican posts became increasingly difficult to find towards the end of the century. The salary offered, together with working conditions and quality of the instrument, was undoubtedly an attraction for many musicians. As advertisements in musical periodicals show, some chapels offered higher salaries than those paid by Anglican churches.

A few interdenominational movements are listed: George Edwards, editor of *The Musical Times* from 1897 until his death in 1909, organist of two London churches, Christ Church, Westminster Bridge Road (between 1876 and 1881), and St. John's Wood Presbyterian Church (between 1881 and 1905), at a time when increasing numbers of Scottish Presbyterians were moving south. (17) Stuart Archer (1866 -?) gained a wealth

of experience serving various denominations. From the parish church, Buckhurst Hill, Essex (1897 -1906) he worked in Wimbledon for the next four years before being appointed to The Third Church of Christ Scientist, Mayfair, at the same time acting as assistant organist and choirmaster of the West London Synagogue between 1909 and 1920. His next move was to St. Luke's, Chelsea. (18) John Elliott Richardson, a pupil of Arthur Corfe at Salisbury cathedral, became his assistant and in 1863 succeeded him as organist. Owing to ill health Richardson resigned in 1881 and moved to Bognor Roman Catholic Church. (19) Dr. Francis Gladstone, nephew of the Prime Minister, held a number of consecutive posts in the Anglican Church, before becoming a convert to Roman Catholicism. In 1879 he took up the appointment of choirmaster at St. Mary of the Angels, Bayswater. (20) Devonshire-born Melbourne Holman, from 1906 until 1911 organist of Bovey Tracey Parish Church in south Devon, departed for London to become sub-organist of Westminster Cathedral, a post he occupied for two years before moving on to the organistship of the Church of Our Lady of Ransome, Eastbourne. (21)

Joseph Naylor Hardy's appointments in Wakefield must have been unique for the way in which they traversed different denominations in one town. Having studied the organ with J.Emmerson at Wakefield Parish Church, and then William Spark at Leeds, Hardy took up the appointment at the town's Roman Catholic Chapel in 1875 for three years before becoming organist at West Parade Chapel where he stayed until his re-appointment at the parish church in 1886. (22)

Mobility amongst church musicians, and the desire for freedom to move from one denomination to another in order to obtain suitable employment, was found at all levels in the organists' profession, especially from the 1880s, when more highly competent players were chasing ever fewer vacancies. Finer points of theological argument left little mark on men eager to earn a living whilst attempting to pursue the art they loved. Two of the nation's finest organists, Frederick Archer (1838-1902) and Harold Darke (1888-1976), sought suitable posts outside the Anglican communion for reasons not given. Archer held a number of church and secular appointments in this country before setting sail for the United States on a recital tour in 1881. (23) As a young man he was organist



of Merton College, Oxford and St. Clement's Church in the city, followed by appointments at the Nonconformist Westminster Chapel, Farm Street Roman Catholic Church, St. Joseph's Retreat (R.C.) Highgate, Christ Church (C.of E) Lancaster Gate, and the Church of the Jesuit Fathers, before becoming organist at the new Alexandra Palace in 1875. He later settled in the United States. (24) As a young man, Darke was appointed to Stoke Newington Presbyterian Church in 1904, thereafter holding several posts in the Church of England including Emanuel Church, West Hampstead (between 1906 and 1911), St. James', Paddington (between 1911 and 1916). (25)

Pluralism amongst the Anglican clergy had been legislated for by a number of Acts of Parliament (1838, 1850, 1885, 1930 *et al*). (26) The position for the church musician was different. No Act of Parliament existed forbidding him in theory from being a pluralist. In practice, however, the growing demands of choral services precluded most organists from taking two appointments. Moreover, as times of services tended to become standardised alongside the strict Victorian and eventually Edwardian household routines, there was less likelihood of this happening.

### The Teaching Connection

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, most cathedral, and many church organists who were professional musicians, had what was known as a "teaching connection", in which a number of organ and piano pupils were taught on a weekly basis. Organ pupils, "articled" if they intended becoming professional musicians, ordinary fee-paying pupils if taking lessons simply for pleasure, usually received organ tuition on the instrument over which the teacher presided each Sunday, whilst piano lessons usually took place in either the pupil's or teacher's home. Some organists, notably Zechariah Buck at Norwich and Edward Bairstow at Leeds Parish Church and later at York, also offered instruction in singing; a few were able to offer a piano-tuning service. Organists found it necessary to undertake private work to supplement their salaries, and some were able to build up

lucrative practices in urban areas. (27) Others, notably Wesley when at Hereford, and Joseph Bridge at Chester, complained bitterly about the "drudgery of teaching" and the need to accept so many pupils. In a letter, dated 8<sup>th</sup> January 1880, the Revd. Edward Vine Hall, the Precentor of Worcester Cathedral pointed out to Tait, the Archbishop of Canterbury and chairman of the Cathedral Commission, that "nearly all cathedral organists..... are badly paid" and "have to slave at private teaching.....in order to make a living". (28)

In large cities eminent musicians usually taught one speciality; this was thought to be to the pupil's advantage, but in the provinces a "professor" (29) was obliged to teach more than one branch of music - a view stated by William Cummings in a paper given before the Incorporated Society of Musicians in 1896 on *Musical Ethics*. (30)

Teaching connections frequently extended beyond the city or town boundaries, depending on the teacher's need for work. Some "professors" travelled considerable distances to give tuition. George Chard (1765-1849), when lay-clerk and assistant organist of Winchester Cathedral from 1787 before becoming organist in 1802, made the 14 mile journey on horseback from the city to Jane Austen's home in Steventon to give her piano lessons. (31) Robert Janes (1806-66), organist of Ely Cathedral had a teaching connection which extended over a wide area of Norfolk and Suffolk which he also covered on horseback. He reputedly made an income running into four figures. (32) Whilst private organist to Lord Dudley at Witley Court, Gloucestershire, young Walter Parratt (1841-1924) would walk miles in all weathers to give a single piano lesson. (33) Louis Hamond, on going to Malvern Priory in 1910, inherited his predecessor's extensive teaching connection and walked long distances in order to fulfil his commitments. (34) He taught mainly singing in six or more boarding schools in the vicinity, had many private piano and singing pupils and coached teachers for L.R.A.M. and A.R.C.M. diplomas. (35)

Given the geographically extensive nature of teaching connections, the idea that a professional practice could be set up in competition with an established teacher in the surrounding limits of a town or city would have been unacceptable. It has been noted

elsewhere how the Dean and Chapter of Ripon Cathedral made it clear to Dr Edwin Crow on leaving his post that he was not to continue work as a teacher of music within ten miles of the city's market place. (36) The reason for the ban was to protect the new appointee from "poaching" by Crow. Protection of an established teacher was thought to be necessary as long as the radius and area covered in the agreement were reasonable.

If the restriction is wider than is reasonably necessary for such protection it is bad as being in restraint of trade. (37)

An interesting case occurred at York regarding duties supplemented with teaching, when Edwin Monk went there in January 1859, having accepted the Minster post at a salary of £200 per annum. There was an expectation of finding adequate private teaching, and when this did not materialise, he received an additional £60 the following year. He decided to petition the Dean and Chapter for a further increase in salary early in 1861:

in consequence of his expectations of obtaining remuneration from teaching not having been realized. (38)

A further increase of £40 was granted in response to his request. This episode highlighted the feeling of frustration which growing numbers of professional church musicians experienced as the century wore on: that of being encouraged to come to a parish church or cathedral with the promise of "a good opening" or "a lucrative teaching practice", only to find this not to be the case.

How was a "teaching connection" obtained? There were three ways an organist might find this type of work. He could advertise in a musical periodical his wish to purchase a "connection"; he might answer an advertisement offering one for sale; or sometimes a teaching connection went with a church musician's post. An advertisement appearing in *The Musical Standard* on 5th December 1903 is typical of many :

TO ORGANISTS -- Sound Teaching connection for immediate Sale. Suit Gentleman with degree. Established 43 years. The post of Organist at the Parish Church will be vacant and may be had by purchaser if a competent man. Large Church. Fine Organ. Opportunity seldom met with. Average income £300. Price £200.

About to move from Beverley Minster to his new post at Holy Trinity, Hull in 1787, George Lambert Jnr. wasted no time in informing:

the Ladies and Gentlemen of Hull that.....he intends to commence teaching the harpsichord, pianoforte, etc., on the usual terms of one guinea and a half per quarter, and half-a-guinea entrance. (39)

It was important that the purchase of a "connection" involving a financial transaction between two people was made legally binding. When Wesley sold his lucrative teaching connection at Leeds Parish Church to his successor Robert Burton he brought an action to court to recover the balance of £158 . 1s . 9d owed by Burton for the business sold to him in 1849 when Wesley took up his post at Winchester Cathedral. Burton had consented to the purchase price of £500 three years earlier, of which £250 was to be paid on his departure, and the remaining sum twelve months later. The court heard from Wesley that Burton had paid only £350, and following documentary evidence, Wesley was awarded the sum of £100. (40)

There was always the possibility of exchanging a private practice, as one organist advertised in *The Musical Times* for July 1870:

TO THE PROFESSION. An Organist and Choirmaster at a Parish Church, and Conductor of a Choral Society in a thriving town, wishes either to DISPOSE of his PRIVATE PRACTICE or make an Exchange.

The purchaser of this excellent opening had to be a "Gentleman" of good address, and a good performer and teacher of the pianoforte. In order to avoid legal complications when purchasing a teaching practice, it was thought advisable to seek professional advice such as that made available by Frederick Lucas, who described himself as a "public accountant". He was "happy and willing to be a medium for introducing suitable parties to each other for making equitable arrangements". (41)

Complaints concerning the difficulties experienced by private teachers and organists in an already overcrowded market continued. One player complained that the organist profession "is so deplorably overcrowded that many very able and in all ways excellent men have the greatest difficulty in making ends meet..... this gets worse... (42)

Another organist stated: "piano teaching is rapidly being wrested from me by the swarms of well-trained pianists and teachers issuing in their thousands from music schools in this country and abroad". (43) Organists depended on their congregations offering good openings for tuition in addition to a church salary. One organist in a letter to *The Musical Standard* for 6th April 1872 considered that his "brethren ought to receive (as a right) first consideration from every member of a congregation should a musical instructor be required". In the 1890s there were many good musicians relying on little more than an organist's salary of £70 or £80, at a time of an increasing national love of music. (44) From various branches of the music profession came calls for the registration of music teachers with the idea of allowing only the competent and qualified into its ranks. "There are so many uneducated, incompetent persons in the musical profession who ought not to be there". (45)

Turpin's suggestion made in 1884 to help remedy the plight of young musicians entering the profession was for them to join "the only tangible shelter the musical profession has yet raised for its less fortunate members", the Royal Society of Musicians, founded in the 18th century for the distribution of funds to relieve distress. (46) The society should, he believed, undertake the delicate task of trying to weed insufficiently equipped labour from a profession, "which suffers in consequence of its widely opened doors offering a too easy entrance". (47) With a high membership fee, his wish was far from becoming a reality. In 1876, *The Musical Standard* had established its own "Register of Musical Professors," the first of several instalments appearing on 28th October 1876. Care was taken not to discourage those who did not possess a degree or diploma, but to include experienced musicians who were well qualified practically.

Following the hope of the Incorporated Society of Musicians (I.S.M.) in bringing together and uniting members of the profession, Bonavia Hunt of Trinity College, London, sought to introduce legal registration of recognised music teachers through Act of Parliament in 1891, but the attempt failed. It became clear amidst claims and counter claims regarding the bill that many of the country's leading musicians and teachers were by no means in favour of it. Alexander Mackenzie of the R.A.M., Charles Stanford and

George Grove at the R.C.M. were critical of such legislation. Eventually, after several futile attempts at registering music teachers, the idea was abandoned.

However, the old restrictive practices associated with the "teaching connection" were weakened once and for all. The considerable influence exercised in the local community by the church or cathedral organist continued. Any idea of the organist as the one and only teacher of the keyboard entitled to operate in the area was no longer acceptable. At last he faced competition, and that was no bad thing.

### Opportunities and Status in Society

Throughout the time of this study, the cathedral organist's position socially and musically, in the city, the diocese and in the country at large, was increasingly respected, markedly in the second half of the century. He was, in many instances the most able, and academically the best qualified musician in the community, a person commanding public esteem. In addition to his cathedral duties and training articled pupils, he frequently held the conductorship of the local choral society, and sometimes the city orchestra, as well as adjudicating at festivals and giving recitals.

The professional church musician similarly considered his appointment as providing his main source of income, to be supplemented by other work such as teaching, adjudicating, examining and performing. Organists in towns and cities had opportunities to establish choral and instrumental groups, and were often invited to be their conductor.

There are many examples of the extra-curricular work carried out by these musicians, but for ease of following their lines of musical activity in society, the cathedral and church organists are considered separately. In an increasingly status-conscious nation, the respect earned by cathedral organists created a positive effect on the position of their church colleagues.

### *Cathedral Organists*

It was important for the cathedral organist to work outside the confines of his usual surroundings, and an extra income, however small, was welcome. In most instances the principal reason for his involvement within the community was to share his experience with groups who would ultimately benefit from the prestige and musicianship of his presence, even though detailed knowledge of the activity might be limited. For example, George Elvey (St. George's Chapel, Windsor), acted as umpire at a military band competition held in Brighton Pavillion in 1880, (48) and William Hanforth, a former York Minster chorister and assistant organist, went to Sheffield Cathedral as its first organist in 1892, and became the city Artillery Brigade's bandmaster. (49) Tertius Noble had not been at York very long before he became immersed in directing his own group of instrumentalists, which later became the York Symphony Orchestra; he also conducted the Hovingham festivals. Bairstow, his successor, had a short association with the Symphony Orchestra but remained conductor of York Musical Society. (50) William Done at Worcester Cathedral established a Voluntary Choir to provide help with the singing of services, for which there was an extra payment of £37. 10. 0. (51) Organists at Gloucester, Hereford and Worcester cathedrals became involved in the musical direction of the Three Choirs Festivals.

The diocesan choral festival came into existence during the second half of the 19th century; its influence and popularity spread across this country and abroad to stimulate interest in church music and raise standards in choral singing. It originated in the diocese of Lichfield in about 1856 when the Lichfield Choral Association was formed and the first festival held in the Cathedral on 14th October that year; 26 church choirs came together from parishes in Staffordshire. From here the movement spread rapidly to other dioceses in this country, to the British colonies and to America. These festivals created a stimulating meeting ground for cathedral organists to exchange musical ideas, direct and conduct.

Making music in the form of chamber music as well as giving recitals in his own cathedral and by invitation elsewhere formed an important life-line for the organist; such

opportunities prevented him from becoming immersed in church music and perhaps little else. Writing on the value to the organist of having opportunities to give recitals, Walter Alcock suggested that “the teaching received and his own private study require an outlet too seldom found in the services of the Church”. (52)

Besides giving recitals in York Minster in aid of the organ fund, Noble was involved with Miss Edith Knocker and friends in a series of musical evenings in the Music Room of the York School for the Blind in 1911. Herbert Brewer of Gloucester founded the Gloucestershire Orchestral Society in 1905, and gave recitals in the cathedral for elementary school children.

The opening of a new or rebuilt instrument, be it for a cathedral, church, civic hall, or private residence, could frequently fall to a cathedral organist as one most likely to attract a large and appreciative audience. Elvey, during his 47 years at Windsor, opened a number of new instruments, ranging from one in the village church at Martock, Somersetshire, to a number in parish churches in the Home Counties, Eton College and Royal Holloway College. (53) An organist might be asked to draw up the specification for a new instrument, or oversee a rebuild. Evidence suggests that where this happened, the organist received some financial recompense or a "backhander" from an organ builder for helping to secure a contract. (54) Receiving money for such transactions seemed to be fairly common during the early part of the century, but was disapproved of by some builders. (55) When J.W. Walker was given the contract for rebuilding York Minster's organ in 1903, one correspondent, writing in *The York Herald*, imputed that commission had been offered by the organ builder should the firm receive the contract. Noble, understandably hurt by the suggestion, had steadfastly refused an offer of a 25% commission from one builder. He wanted an organ, not money. (56) As Richard Hird has suggested, payment for services rendered, - as for example when Gore Ouseley "ordered and approved" the new Bishop, Starr and Richardson organ for St. Oswald's, Durham in 1859 - probably took place, and justifiably so. (57) Hird refers to two instances in 1905 when Harrison and Harrison of Durham offered to pay commission to organ consultants or agents for professional work undertaken in connection with the firm; one letter



mentions "..... the usual professional discount of 5%", the other stating "..... the usual discount of 10% which we shall be happy to hand over to you....". (58) (See Appendix 17)

A limited amount of paid work for organists became available to those who examined for the R.C.O. They set and marked papers for diplomas, and examined the practical and written sections of choir training examinations. From 1889 when the R.C.M. and the R.A.M. together set up a scheme to hold local examinations in cities and towns, organists were appointed as examiners for the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music. For 1890, the Board appointed 33 examiners, 12 of whom (36%) were organists. During the years 1889 to 1918 a total of 71 examiners joined the team, of whom 40 were organists, representing 56% of the total number. (59) Examining for the Board and for Trinity College of Music provided useful work and additional income. Lectures on various aspects of organists' work were given by distinguished members of the R.C.O. and published in the annual *Calendar of the Royal College of Organists*. A few cathedral and collegiate organists were associated with the Guild of Church Musicians in its early days, but the loss of documents through enemy action during the second World War prevents an assessment of the extent to which the Guild benefited from the influence of Armes of Durham, Bridge of Chester, Elvey of St. George's Windsor, Garrett and Mann of Cambridge, Longhurst of Canterbury, and Sinclair of Truro.

The 19th century saw the development and growth of theological education, with cathedrals seeing their role as participators in teaching and research. Chichester Theological College, founded in 1838, was the first such centre for the training of Anglican clergy. Others followed at Wells (1840), Lichfield (1857), Salisbury and Exeter (1861), Gloucester (1868), Lincoln (1874) and Ely (1876). At Wells the cathedral organist, Charles Lavington, held the position of organist of the theological college for several years, giving weekly lessons in elementary theory, as well as routine practices for chapel services. (60) Lavington's successor, Percy Buck, played for services at the college, and gave lectures, adding plainsong and choir training, as well as promoting knowledge of music amongst the students. (61) Noble taught singing at Ely Theological

College whilst cathedral organist. (62) From 1873 to 1885, William Henry Longhurst of Canterbury Cathedral acted as "Singing Master" at St Augustine's, a missionary college.

(63) The concerns of Ouseley regarding the musical training of clergy at theological colleges were mostly addressed by the end of the century.

Some cathedral organists occupied positions in teacher-training colleges as part-time instructors or lecturers in music. Frederick Crowe of Chichester Cathedral (between 1902 and 1921) became instructor in Music at Bishop Otter Training College for Teachers, and music master at Chichester Girls' High School and Chichester School. Cathedral organist at Ripon (between 1874 and 1902), Edwin Crow was Music Master at Ripon Grammar School. His successor at the cathedral, Charles Moody, lectured on music at Ripon Diocesan Training College. (64)

A number of cathedral organists occupied positions of academic distinction. The chair of music at Oxford founded in 1626 had been solely occupied by organists (but for one) prior to the 19th century. They include William and Philip Hayes, and William Crotch. Ouseley's time there proved to be a reforming one, and through his considerable organisational skills, patience and ability, music became worthy of study at the university. Chapel organists James Taylor of New College, William Allchin of St. John's, Walter Parratt of Magdalen (later university professor of music), Charles Corfe, Charles Lloyd and Basil Harwood of Christ Church Cathedral, John Roberts of Magdalen, Hugh Allen of New College, and John Stainer as professor; all made significant contributions to the musical life of Oxford and its university.

Music at Cambridge in many ways reflected the influence of its collegiate organists and those professors of music who were also organists. Mann, organist of King's (between 1876 and 1929), and a Handel scholar, became an outstanding choir trainer. Other organists were Walmisley of Trinity and St John's colleges between 1833 and 1856, and university professor of music from 1836, and Garrett, organist of St. John's College between 1857 and 1873 and university organist between 1873 and 1897, who lectured on harmony and counterpoint. Stanford was one of the most outstanding musicians and teachers of his age. During his time as organist of Trinity College Cambridge between

1873 and 1892 he conducted the university's Music Society. He was a colourful personality, a voracious worker, and on the opening of the Royal College of Music in 1883, he became professor of composition. In 1887 he was elected Cambridge Professor of Music, both positions held until his death in 1924.

Durham University (charter granted 1836) instituted degrees in music from 1890, with Philip Armes, the cathedral organist, as examiner. In 1897 the university appointed him their first professor of music; Joseph Bridge succeeded Armes in 1908. The new red-brick universities were to have chairs of music, many of whose holders and supporting staff were organists.

Soon after resigning Oxford for his post at St. Paul's in 1872, Stainer discussed with Sir William Pole, an organist and professor of civil engineering at University College, London, the possibility of establishing a learned society for musicians. Two years later the Musical Association was founded (65) "for the investigation and discussion of subjects connected with the art and science of music", its first president being Ouseley. The influence of church musicians throughout its early years is reflected in the Association's choice of presidents: Frederick Bridge, Allen, Charles Wood, and Joseph Bridge. In England, high administrative positions in music frequently went to organists. Stainer, the first Oxbridge college organist to be given an honorary fellowship, succeeded Sullivan as Principal of the National Training School for Music in 1881. (66) The following year Stainer succeeded John Hullah as music inspector in elementary schools for the Privy Council. In 1882 he published *The Music of the Bible*, and aided by his son and daughter, he edited *Dufay and his Contemporaries* (1898). Other writings include *Harmony*, *The Organ*, and, with William Barrett, *A Dictionary of Musical Terms*.

Bridge also followed a distinguished career in the academic field. He taught harmony and composition at the National Training School for Music, and at the Royal College of Music. He became Gresham Professor of Music in 1890, and in 1903 the first King Edward Professor of Music in the University of London. To his credit must be added several literary and musicological works: *Counterpoint*, *Double Counterpoint*, *Organ Accompaniment*, and, with his pupil Frank Sawyer, *A Course of Harmony*. There

followed *Samuel Pepys, Lover of Music, A Westminster Pilgrim, and Twelve Good Musicians*. His brother Joseph Bridge was closely involved in the musical life of Chester. He revived the Chester Music Festival, and founded and conducted the Chester Musical Society. An active member of the Chester Archaeological Society and a contributor to its transactions, Bridge was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1905.

The craft of musical composition had long occupied cathedral and church organists. As a creative outlet for individuals (and perhaps an opportunity to earn additional money), the Anglican service provided the necessary incentive: settings of the canticles, communion services, anthems for special occasions as well as for general use, chants and hymn tunes, compositions and arrangements for the organ. In 1811 Vincent Novello (1781-1861), himself an excellent organist, founded the publishing firm of Novello and Co. He produced cheap octavo editions of choral music, providing a stimulus for choral singing, and published quantities of new works for the organ. The sheer scale of the production of this music by cathedral and church organists is illustrated by Maggie Humphreys and Robert Evans in *A Dictionary of Composers for the Church in Great Britain and Ireland* (1997). Besides being a musician, “a professor of the highest ability”, the cathedral organist should in Wesley’s view, be “a master in the most elevated departments of composition”. (67) Harvey Goodwin, bishop of Carlisle, former dean of Ely and a keen supporter of music in worship, saw cathedrals as schools of sacred music in which the Dean and Chapter should always be willing to make trial of works and put them on their permanent list. (68)

Some cathedral organists were also municipal organists. James Kendrick Pyne III (1852-1938) held the post at Manchester Cathedral between 1875 and 1908, later becoming city organist in 1877, and in 1903 university organist. Edward Bunnett (1834-1923), for 22 years Zechariah Buck's assistant at Norwich Cathedral, undertook much of the organist's work there; from 1880 he was Corporation organist for which he played not fewer than 20 times a year for a salary of £50 per annum. (69)

A few cathedral organists held responsible positions in civic society. Chard of Winchester became the city's mayor in September 1832. He was also a J.P. and a

freeman of the city. William Perkins, Wells Cathedral organist between 1820 and 1859, became the city's mayor during his time there. (70) Brewer returned to Gloucester in 1897 (having been a chorister there between 1877 and 1880), to become cathedral organist and one of the city's most honoured citizens. He served as City High Sheriff from 1922 to 1923. (71) Bristol Cathedral's George Riseley contributed much for the city's musical life during the last thirty years of the century; from 1909 to 1911 he served as sheriff of the City of Bristol. (72)

Recognition of personal merit for services rendered to crown and country came through knighthoods and other honours conferred by the Sovereign. As far as musicians were concerned, such honours were looked upon as enhancing the status of the profession. Of those born between 1800 and 1910 who received knighthoods, organists (usually from the cathedrals) were well represented, as the list in Appendix 18 shows. But when compared with many other professions, the number of musicians honoured was small.

Dr. Elvey became the first organist in the 19th century to be knighted (1871), and he was followed almost a year later by the Irish organist Robert Prescott Stewart and by John Goss. There followed Herbert Oakeley, Arthur Sullivan, Stainer, Joseph Barnby, Parratt, Frederick Bridge, George Martin and Stanford, all within a relatively short space of time. Of the 30 musicians honoured between 1803 and 1910, 13 were organists, with the greatest concentration of titled organists occurring during the latter part of Victoria's reign. Barely a year before Elvey was knighted, concern had been expressed by one correspondent about the indiscriminate way in which the honour had been lavished - even upon musicians.

The honour is supposed to be reserved for those who have in some way or other benefited their country, and there are particular reasons why those who have distinguished themselves in music should also be honoured after this manner; but by all means let there be substantial reasons. (73)

A little over a month following Elvey's knighthood, the editor of *The Musical Standard* rejoiced in the fact that the year 1872:

promises well to recommend itself to future history as the period in which gentlemen whose entire lives have been devoted to the advancement of music begin to feel their services fairly recognised by the state.....It is only now.....that musical status may be considered as asserting for itself that claim to respect and esteem which protects all other learned professions. (74)

Goss's knighthood in 1872, the year in which he retired, came in recognition of his responsibility for organising the music at the Service of Thanksgiving in St Paul's Cathedral following the recovery of the Prince of Wales, and for which he wrote the anthem "The Lord is my strength" and a *Te Deum*. (75) Stainer received his knighthood the year he resigned from St Paul's (1888). Ten years before, he had been a juror at the Paris Exhibition, for which he received the Chavalier de Légion d'Honneur de France. Made a Knight Bachelor in 1892, Parratt went on to receive a further prestigious award in 1901 for services to his art as Master of the Musick to the Queen: that of Commander of the Royal Victorian Order (C.V.O.).

Having been knighted on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897 on the recommendation of the Marquess of Salisbury, (76) Frederick Bridge became a Member of the Royal Victorian Order, 4th class (M.V.O.) following the 1902 Coronation of Edward VII, and C.V.O. on the occasion of the 1911 Coronation of King George V and Queen Mary. Again *The Musical Standard* questioned the value of the M.V.O., stating that the Order had been almost indiscriminately given to "all sorts and conditions of men .... Indeed we are in danger of becoming almost as decorated as our neighbours across the channel?" Nevertheless the editor thought there should be some special distinction for artists, musicians and literary men who gained eminence in the arts. (77) Such an award was to come later in the form of the Order of Merit (O.M.), founded in 1902 by Edward VII.

A distinction reserved for members of the musical establishment was the honorary degree, bestowed by a university or by the Archbishop of Canterbury. These degrees ranged from doctorates in music, to the Master of Arts which Sir Frederick Bridge received from the University of Durham in 1905 (having examined for music degrees at

Durham University over a number of years). (78) The University of Oxford, encouraged by Ouseley, began awarding honorary degrees in music in 1879. Oakeley, appointed to the Chair of Music at Edinburgh in 1865, George Macfarren, professor at Cambridge from 1875, and Sullivan, first Director of the N.T.S.M., London, received the Hon.D.Mus.. Stanford was awarded a number of honorary doctorates from Cambridge, Oxford and Dublin between 1883 and 1921.

The musical world recognised in the late 1800s that there was a small coterie of musicians in high academic positions who received honorary doctorates from other universities in which their colleagues held professorships. The whole set-up appeared to some as clannish, especially when it was suggested there were numbers of distinguished musicians to whom such recognition remained elusive. Complaints appeared in the musical press concerning those who deserved an honorary degree but had not received one. A case in point was Henry Smart, for whom William Spark unsuccessfully campaigned to have an honorary degree conferred upon him before he died. (79) Lesser men were being honoured.

If honorary doctorates from the universities had their critics, doctorates given by the Archbishop of Canterbury carried even less favour. The Archbishop's right to grant degrees in Divinity, Arts, Medicine and Music was in accordance with *Statute 25 Henry VIII, c.21.(1533)*. Between 1800 and 1918, 38 doctors of music had been created out of a total of 574 "Lambeth" degrees, in the above subjects. (80) A leading article in *The Times* for 16th April 1888 described the Archbishop's right to confer degrees as "part of the scattered wreckage of the overthrown Papal sovereignty over the kingdom," whilst pointing out that in more recent times greater care had been taken in the scrutiny of claims. (81) The conferring of the Lambeth D.Mus. on Brewer on 20th May 1905 brought a letter of congratulation from Sir Hubert Parry:-

It is a good thing to keep up the standard of that particular degree by conferring it upon people who are likely to enhance its prestige, and your record so far has not only thoroughly justified the conferment but begets confidence that you will make the honour more honourable by the way you wear it. (82)

The greatest number of Lambeth doctorates in music given between 21st January 1843 (the first one awarded in the 19th century) and 25th February 1913 went to cathedral organists. The small number given to church musicians will be considered later in this chapter.

Holding a cathedral appointment and, in many cases, a doctorate, created for its holder an aura of professional and social respectability within contemporary society. These musicians undoubtedly influenced the musical life of this country, and in so doing enhanced their own status in that society.

### *Church Organists*

Changing lifestyles within the propertied classes allowed more time for developing interests in the arts and education. Church musicians became aware of the wide-ranging opportunities and new roles, some outside parish boundaries.

To teach by invitation at one of the leading London schools of music would have been a distinction achieved by few church organists. Those appointed taught organ, harmony and counterpoint, ear training, and choir training. Charles Steggall of Christ Church Chapel, Maida Hill from 1848 became professor of the organ at the R.A.M. in 1851. His son Reginald was later professor of organ there from 1895, having served St. Anne's, Soho, for a number of years. William Stevenson Hoyte of All Saints', Margaret Street, London, was on the teaching staff of the R.A.M., the R.C.M., and the Guildhall School of Music (G.S.M.). He made a significant contribution to the training of choirs and also to the understanding and performance of plain chant. Henry Richards, author of *The Organ Accompaniment of the Church Services* (1911) and *Choir Training* (1921), was professor of organ and choir training at the R.A.M., and served for 35 years from 1886 as organist of Christ Church, Lancaster Gate. Alcock joined the staff of the R.C.M. as professor of organ in 1893 when assistant to Bridge at the Abbey and before accepting Holy Trinity, Sloane Street. Whilst at Christ Church, Hampstead, Walford Davies taught harmony and counterpoint at the R.C.M.



In *The Musical Times* for October 1871, Hoyte (organist and director of the choir at All Saints, Margaret Street, London), advertised his availability to form and train church choirs. In 1896 F.J. Marchmont, organist to the Finsbury Choral Association, late of St Andrews', Thornhill Square, offered to take vacation duties, special services and occasional Sunday work. (83) An F.R.C.O., "experienced in every kind of church service", offered to deputise and carry out occasional duties. (84) Walter Haslum (1869-1956), organist and choirmaster of Winchcombe Parish Church, Gloucestershire from the age of 15, founded the Winchcombe choral society in 1893 and the Town Band four years later. (85)

As prosperity grew for the middle classes a number of organs were installed in private homes at a time when the instrument had become popular amongst members of the aristocracy and others of new-found wealth and influence. There were already organs in houses of land-owning families dating back to the 17th century. Where there was an instrument the owner would need someone to play for special occasions, or for amusement. "Table Talk" in *The Musical Standard* for 15th January 1870 noted that "Mr Stewart, organist of St John's, Middlesborough, performed at Alnwick Castle, before the Duke and Duchess of Northumberland and a select party on the evening of New Year's Day". An announcement in *The Musical Times* for September, 1866 told its readers, "Appointments. Mr Worsley Stainforth to the Parish Church; and also to the Rt. Hon. Lord Wharncliffe". Charles Macpherson (1870- 1927) was for a time organist at Madame de Falbe's private chapel at Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire and then private organist to Sir Robert Menzies at Ween, Perthshire before becoming sub-organist of St Paul's Cathedral in 1895. (86) Having held the position at St George's Chapel, Windsor since 1882, Parratt became organist of the Queen's Private Chapel and Master of the Queen's Music from 1893. (87) For some players this work provided fees and a further dimension to their activities. Wesley travelled from Gloucester in 1869 to open the new organ in the residence of Mr T.S. Kennedy in Meanwood, Leeds. (88) A three manual instrument of 23 speaking stops was constructed in 1871 for the home of William Grayson Esq. of Simonswood, under the supervision of the organist of Ormskirk Parish Church who also

supervised the building of a chamber organ for a resident of that town. (89) Social, economic and cultural changes leading up to the first World War saw a decline in the number of private organists. The possession of an organ was no longer a symbol of prestige, and the cost of maintenance caused many instruments to be silenced, sold, or even destroyed.

Many organists were appointed to public schools, and headmasters of several of these establishments were themselves musical; they supported the musically talented and encouraged an appreciation of music in their schools. T. L. Southgate of *The Musical Standard* writing in the editorial for 28th July 1883 suggested that:

the serious attention devoted to music at Eton, Harrow, Marlborough and other great public schools of the country, must eventually work a great change in public taste. (90)

Perusal of various editions of the *Public Schools' Year Book* (first published in 1889) reveal an awareness of music's importance in the curriculum.

Framlingham College, Suffolk advertised in *The Musical Standard* at the beginning of January 1896 for an Organist and Music master to teach piano, organ and the choir, resident salary £75. Applications were invited by Messrs. Truman and Knightly, the education agents, through *The Musical Standard* of 23rd May 1908 for "a music master for an important public school to act as Organist, train the choir, conduct the orchestra, and take piano pupils". In addition to musical qualifications candidates must hold an Oxford or Cambridge degree. A salary of £200 per annum increasing to £300 was offered, with board and rooms. Staff lists of leading public schools employing music teachers reveal that a substantial proportion of them were organists. The school chapel with its choir and organ which led corporate Christian worship formed an important part of public school life.

From the early years of the 20th century when music became an accepted activity and a subject of academic study in public, grammar and secondary modern schools, numbers of music masters were organists of the local parish churches. In Bedford, for example, a former student at the R.A.M., Philip Diemer (1839-1910) was organist of

Holy Trinity Church for 30 years and held the Directorship of Music at the town's Grammar School. (91) William S. Bambridge, organist of Marlborough College between 1864 and 1913, and Grand Organist of the United Grand Lodge of England, 1911, served as a member of Marlborough Town Council for 40 years and held mayoral office twice.

(92)

The decision by many city and borough councils to install organs in civic halls gave employment to professional players in an official capacity. Their duties included providing music for specific occasions and giving recitals for educational and entertainment purposes. There were many town halls, from Newcastle to Plymouth, Sunderland to Dover that took possession of organs between 1850 and 1920. Birmingham City Hall had its instrument installed soon after the building was completed in 1834. James Stimpson, the City organist from 1842 took up his appointment in combination with that of St. Paul's Church, Birmingham. (93) St. George's Hall, Liverpool, with William Best as its organist, proved to be a major influence nationally for setting up organs in town halls. He received a salary of £300 per annum. (94) Spark became not only Leeds' Borough Organist in 1859 but also held successive church appointments in the city as well as founding the Leeds Madrigal and Motet Society, the Peoples' Concerts, lecturing, and publishing the *Organists' Quarterly Journal*. (95)

Organists of smaller boroughs frequently held local parish appointments. John Hele, member of a well-known west of England firm of organ builders, served as Plymouth's municipal organist for 16 years and was a local church musician until his death in 1899. (96) Arthur Pearson became Huddersfield's borough organist in 1891 in addition to serving St. Paul's Church in the town. Henry Harding of Bedford, sometime Honorary Secretary of the R.C.O., likewise held positions with the corporation and the parish church. A well-known recitalist Alfred Eyre, was organist of the Crystal Palace between 1880 and 1894, and of St. John the Evangelist, Upper Norwood for 40 years from 1879. (97) Following his resignation from Worcester Cathedral in 1897, Hugh Blair became director of music and organist to the Borough of Battersea where, in 1904 he supervised the building of the town hall organ; he also held the position of organist of

Holy Trinity, Marylebone. (98) The posts of borough organists involved varied managerial duties, suggesting these men were capable administrators. They were in a unique position to promote the organ as a recital instrument, in addition to influencing wider aspects of musical appreciation by providing diverse concert programmes (see Chapter 7).

The editor of *The Musical Standard* saw the installation of organs in town halls as “an interesting, instructive recreation, a stepping-stone to the higher study of the art of music”. (99) He predicted that in a few years no large town would be without its organ provided by the municipal authority; he was correct. (100) Hull, for instance, had five public halls during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, each of which had an organ built by the local firm of Forster and Andrews. (101) *The Musical Standard*’s editor believed that “municipal or borough organists were taking pains to bring before the public music of a high class and to provide carefully annotated programmes”. He suggested they contributed much to the cultural life of this country by bringing to the general public “a varied selection of good music, much of it arrangements from different genres”. (102)

Borough and city organists usually went through a selection process not dissimilar to that of their church and cathedral colleagues. In the competition for a successor to Best at Liverpool, in 1896, (with Frederick Bridge and Stanford as adjudicators), Albert Peace of Glasgow was the winner. (103) There were six tests, ranging from extemporisation, sight reading, choice of organ piece, playing from a vocal score, pre-prepared arrangement from full score, and an operatic overture.

A further significant contribution made by church musicians concerns the education of the blind. The first school was set up in Liverpool in 1791 by Edward Rushton, himself blinded by malignant ophthalmia contracted on a slave ship. The 19<sup>th</sup> century saw an increase in the number of these specialist schools in which training in a variety of musical skills, including instruction in organ playing, produced numbers of good organists. Amongst those which attracted national recognition were the Royal Normal College and Academy of Music for the Blind, Upper Norwood; the College for Blind Sons of Gentlemen, Worcester; the Wilberforce School for the Blind in York, later

renamed the Yorkshire School for the Blind. The Upper Norwood institution, by far the largest, possessed fifty practice pianos and three organs. These included a large three manual instrument in the Hall and two one manual instruments with full pedal boards, one for women and the other for men. (104) For a number of years E.J.Hopkins of the Temple Church taught organ at the school; Alfred Hollins, at the age of 13, was one of his pupils. (105) In 1888 Hollins (a leading recitalist in his day) returned to teach organ and piano at the institution. Having examined the students, Stainer recorded his pleasure on the soundness and excellence of the training they received. (106) At the Yorkshire School for the Blind (founded in 1833) a wide number of subjects were taught, including music. (107) Vocal and instrumental music received special attention, and one boy was competent to play the organ on Sundays in some of the York churches. The first music master to be appointed at the school was William Barnby, who served the school well from 1835 for 53 years. He was succeeded in 1889 by Thomas Hanforth who combined teaching duties there with those of organist of St. Martin-le-Grand, York, until he accepted the post at St. Peter and St. Paul, Sheffield, three years later. (108)

A pupil of the Worcester College for Blind Sons of Gentlemen, William Wolstenholme (1865-1931), organist and composer, received instruction from Edward Elgar who also acted as his amanuensis when he took the Oxford Mus.Bac. degree. His organ teacher was the cathedral organist Done. Dr. Arthur Pollitt, assistant organist of Manchester Cathedral, was also music master at St. Mary's School for the Blind, Liverpool in the early nineteen hundreds. (109)

Following the 1870 *Education Act*, numbers of music inspectors were appointed. They included organist and singing teacher Hullah, widely known for his popular instruction in vocal music. In 1870 he became Inspector of Training Schools for the United Kingdom, a post he held until his death in 1884. Whilst organist of St. Paul's Cathedral, Stainer was also the inspector of music in training colleges and elementary schools. He rejected the continental *fixed doh* system of reading music adopted by his predecessor Hullah, in favour of John Curwen's *moveable doh* method. Horton Allison, who followed Hullah as schools inspector in 1884, had previously studied at the R.A.M.

and in Leipzig, and had held several church appointments. (110) It is significant that, at this important time in the history of English education, organists took up positions of influence.

Training colleges, responsible since the 1840s for producing teachers for state schools, frequently employed church musicians as music lecturers. Almost without exception the senior music lecturer and head of department in denominational colleges was an organist, a tradition that generally held good until recent times. The first music instructor at one of the oldest teacher training institutions in the country, St. John's Diocesan Training College, York, founded in 1841, was John Young from Durham Cathedral where he had been articled to Dr. Henshaw. In 1850 Young went on to become organist and "instructor of the boys" at Lincoln Cathedral. (111) Born in 1891, Harold Aubie Bennett, was a pupil of Bairstow and eventually his assistant at York. In 1915 he became a lecturer in music at St. John's College, York and organist of Holy Trinity in the city. (112) Dr William Ellis combined his teaching duties as lecturer in music at St. Hilda's Training College, Durham with that of organist and choirmaster of Richmond Grammar School, and music master at two girls' schools in the county. From there he moved to Newcastle to become cathedral organist. A local Manchester musician, author, and organist of several Anglican churches in the area, Thomas Keighley, taught history of music at the Day Training College, Victoria University of Manchester. (113) Another church musician, Frederick Harvey (1877-?) graduated in music at Cambridge, went on to the R.C.M. and lectured in music at Cambridge University Training College for Schoolmistresses, work he combined with that of music master, at Cambridge County School for Boys. (114)

It was from the diocesan training colleges that numbers of "schoolmaster organists" emerged: teachers who were also church organists and choirmasters. Ouseley singled out such colleges for praise, especially St. Mark's, Chelsea, for thorough work in improving church choirs:

It became a common thing for National schoolmasters to be also choir-trainers and organists, and the schoolmistresses

also were able and willing to help in the good work. (115)

Novelist Thomas Hardy's sister Mary began her teacher training at Salisbury Diocesan Training College in 1860, and throughout her life did duty as organist at several village churches. (116) In his novel *Tono-Bungay* of 1909 H.G. Wells refers to "that down-trodden, organ-playing creature, the Church of England village schoolmaster". (117) The Revd. R.B. Daniel, thought that "in remote country places, where an organist of skill and knowledge could not be found, the parish schoolmaster would seem quite the best person to discharge the duties of choirmaster". (118)

He is always highly respectable, often possesses some little knowledge of music, and is always necessarily a good disciplinarian. (119)

Allen also expressed his admiration for men in these combined posts. He felt they had shown "remarkable ability" in training choirs in areas of the country where the services of a professional organist would have been out of the question. (120)

Advertisements for suitably qualified men occasionally appeared in the musical press, as in *The Musical Times*, for September 1861:-

Frome Ladies' School.  
Married music master required, fees £100 p.a. with house rent and coals cheap, with possibility of appointment as parish church organist, with other teaching available.

And in the same periodical for November 1862:-

Wanted, an Organist and Schoolmaster for Berkswich, near Stafford. Salary £75. Lodgings to be obtained in the Parish.

Because transportation was often unreliable at this time, a condition of residence was sometimes imposed.

Although there were numbers of schoolmaster organists in country areas, the two following examples show how their work varied. Edward Cuzner, born in 1832, sang in Frome parish church under Edward Monk. At the age of 14 Cuzner entered St. Mark's Training College, Chelsea, and qualified as a schoolmaster. Three years later he became organist of the College of Civil Engineers in London. His next move was to Chester where he became a schoolmaster and sang bass in the cathedral choir. A house and a

salary of £100 per annum came with the appointment. (121) The Parish Church of Church Stretton, Shropshire, had as its organist Frederick James Butler between 1893 and 1948; he was headmaster of the town's school for 33 years. (122)

Opportunities occurred for those with specialised knowledge of organ design and construction to advise church authorities on the purchase of a new instrument. The advice offered was likely to be unbiased and therefore in the best interests of the church. Henry Gauntlett (1805-76), described by Thistlethwaite as the "father" of the Victorian organ, (123) acted as advisor to the organ committee of St Peter-upon-Cornhill; Gauntlett's financial reward from the Special General Vestry was a gratuity of 25 guineas. (124) Where a gratuity was paid, there was less likelihood of the advisor accepting a commission from the organ builder.

*The Musical Times* for December 1864 carried an advertisement for a "travelling" choirmaster and organist required in the Middlesborough area, for which a salary of £70 was offered, with travelling expenses. In December 1861 the same periodical advertised for a choirmaster for the Hertfordshire Church Choral Association. He would give instruction in church music and singing for a salary of £70 per annum. In December 1870 *The Musical Times* announced that the Organist and Choirmaster of St Barnabas, Pimlico, undertook the training and conducting of country choirs and associations, and prepared specifications for building and renovating church organs. (125) John Maunder, best known for his *Olivet to Calvary*, served several churches in Kent and Surrey from the latter years of the 19th century. He also took on responsibilities for training the choir at the Lyceum Theatre in London and as conductor of the Civil Service Choral Union. (126) Charles Hall (1845-1895) of St. Paul's, Camden Square and Christ Church, Brondesbury became employed by music publishers Chappell and Co. as a reader. (127) In *Musical Opinion* of 1st September 1889, a Fellow of the College of Organists announced that for three to five guineas he prepared candidates for diplomas of the College of Organists and Guild of Organists "until they passed".

A revision of requirements for music degrees and the imposition of the "arts" test sometimes necessitated special tuition in those areas examined for Mus.Bac., Mus.Doc.



and other relevant qualifications. As a result, a number of correspondence colleges came into existence, offering tuition in a variety of subjects. Some musicians offered a similar service. An advertisement, for example, appeared in *The Musical Times* for April and May, 1877 :

MUSICAL DEGREES and EXAMINATIONS  
J.W.Hinton, Mus. Doc., M.A., 40, Albany Street, N.W.  
prepares candidates for Mus. B. and Mus. D. of Oxford,  
Cambridge, and Dublin, in all branches they may require.

The Lambeth doctorate discussed earlier in the chapter, was conferred upon a small number of church organists. From our knowledge of their contribution to religious music, few would disagree that they deserved some form of recognition. These men included Henry John Gauntlett of St. Olave's, Southwark, and Christ Church, Newgate Street, London (1843); Charles Verrinder (1873); Charles Warwick Jordan (1886); Benjamin Agutter (1891); Hoyte (1905); and Edward Thorne (1913). Thorne, although cathedral organist at Chichester for a short time, spent much of his professional working life at five parish churches and as conductor of choral societies. Turpin, Honorary Secretary of the College of Organists also received the degree. (128)

Those who possessed a breadth of skills and musicianship which allowed them to extend their work beyond the usual expectations of a church organist certainly enhanced public opinion in their favour. The extra work undertaken was, however, usually necessary to enhance his income, but its variety and content could provide the stimulation required to counteract many years of unremitting routine. For some organists, further opportunities looked more attractive abroad.

## Organists and Emigration

During this period, the emigration of Europeans, mostly to America and Canada, was greater than at any other time. Professional people were amongst those who, for a variety of motives - economic, social, personal, and religious - left their homeland to make a new life abroad. Numbers of Anglican organists hoped for greater opportunities in America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. A smaller number went to South Africa and India. Some Anglican organists found employment in Episcopalian churches in the country in which they settled, whilst others served churches of different denominations.

As we have seen, there was little prospect of improvement in England regarding pay and working conditions from the 1880s. The market in this country was saturated with well-qualified musicians, with the result that church and cathedral posts became increasingly competitive. The rich variety of religious life and worship in America and Canada brought about a significant growth in church building which, in turn, stimulated the demand for organs. Competent organists were needed and welcomed.

Some of the outstanding players who left for America and Canada were from English cathedrals. Records show that the first organist to hold such a position was Aaron Upjohn Hayter (1799-1873). Appointed to Hereford in 1818 Hayter was dismissed two years later for unacceptable behaviour. After 15 years at the collegiate church of Brecon he set sail for New York to become organist of Grace Church before moving on to Holy Trinity, Boston where he was offered the post of organist and conductor of the Handel Society.(129) After one year at Chichester Cathedral, Kendrick Pyne III resigned and became organist of St. Mark's, Philadelphia in 1873, only to return to this country and Manchester Cathedral a year later. Henry Crane Perrin (1865-1953), after 16 years at Canterbury Cathedral, resigned in 1908 to take up residence in Montreal as the first Professor of Music at McGill University and Director of the McGill Conservatorium of Music. Both positions he held with distinction. (130)

After 14 years at York Minster, Noble felt both restricted musically and financially frustrated. The offer of the organistship of St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, New

York, with its exciting challenges and a salary of \$5000 p.a. (several times greater than his Minster salary), proved too tempting to refuse. (131)

Southwark Cathedral's financial problems prompted Madeley Richardson (1868-1949) to resign in 1908. The following year he took up the organist's post at St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, and three years later became teacher of theory at the Institute of Musical Art, New York, followed by 27 years as professor of organ at the Julliard School of Music. (132)

Parish church organists also left this country in considerable numbers. One organist who earned a reputation as a fine player, besides having an original mind, was Edward Hodges (1796 - 1867), who held appointments at St James's (1819) and St Nicholas', both in Bristol (1821). He will be remembered for initiating a number of reforms in organ design, the most important being the adoption of the C compass on all divisions, the provision of at least two octaves of pedals with one or more stops of pedal pipes, upperwork that would provide brilliance, and mixtures whose ranks could be drawn independently. In addition he wanted the organ to give "expression", to be achieved by having more colourful stops and an effective Swell box. Unsuccessful in obtaining the Exeter Cathedral appointment, Hodges emigrated in 1838 to Canada where he served as organist of St James' Cathedral, Toronto. His next move was to Trinity Church, New York, where he found scope for, and appreciation of, his abilities. Ill health forced him to retire in 1859, and he returned to Bristol in 1863. He died four years later. (133)

Frederick Archer, the official organist of the Alexander Palace until its closure in 1880, left England to join Henry Ward Beecher's Plymouth Congregational Church in Brooklyn, New York as organist, moving on to Pittsburg's Carnegie Institute. (134) Archer's successor at Carnegie in 1902 was Edwin Lemare who left St. Margaret's, Westminster, following a disagreement with canon Lesléy Henson over musical policy. Making his reputation in Britain as one of the leading players of his day, Lemare was "one of those claimed from us by the United States of America, where talent is better rewarded than in the Old Country". (135)

The last four decades of the 19th century saw the establishment of music schools and university departments of music throughout America and Canada at a time when the intellectual and social status of musical art there grew significantly. Several English organists were appointed to high academic posts. Albert Ham (1858-1940) combined work as organist of St. James' Cathedral, Montreal between 1897 and 1935 with teaching duties at the city's university and conservatory. A founder member of the Canadian College of Organists, Ham became its president. (136) After two years at Ludlow Parish Church, Joseph Anger (1862-1913) set sail for Canada in 1893 to become instructor (the Canadian equivalent of a lecturer) in harmony and theory at the Toronto Conservatory of Music and examiner to the University of Toronto. He later received honours from the university for contributions to music education in Canada. (137) Charles Henry Mills (b. 1873) Aberdeen city organist, later Salford borough organist, left in 1907 to join the staff of Syracuse University as teacher of theory. From 1908 to 1914 he became head of the music department at the University of Illinois, and afterwards held a similar position at the University of Wisconsin. (138)

*The Australian Dictionary of Biography* (14 volumes, 1966) shows that numbers of English church musicians emigrated to Australia between mid 19th century and the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In 1852 Frederick Packer and his family arrived in Hobart Town where he became organist of St. David's Cathedral and made a substantial contribution to the life of the community. His son Frederick succeeded him, becoming the city's town hall organist and building up a reputation as a fine teacher. (139) As a young man of 22, Joseph Summers left for Australia in 1865 to become Government Inspector of Schools in the state of Victoria. He held various church posts. (140) Edward Davies (1867-1947) was another musician who went to Australia and rose to the top of the music profession. He was the elder brother of Walford, pioneer broadcaster and organist of the Temple Church, London. Before emigrating in 1887, Edward studied under Bridge at Chester Cathedral. He later graduated B.Mus. and D.Mus. from the University of Adelaide. In 1919 as professor of music there and Director of the Elder Conservatory,

Davies conducted orchestras and choral societies and undertook research into aboriginal music. (141)

Of the English organists emigrating to New Zealand, George Tendall, a pupil of Stainer, held several church appointments before leaving the country to become organist of the cathedral in Christchurch.(142) After gaining the F.R.C.O. diploma, Neville Barnett (b.1854) left for Auckland and St. Matthew's Church, but later moved to Sydney, Australia to become organist of St. Mary's Cathedral, teach at a school for the blind, and to be music critic for *The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Sydney Daily Telegraph*. (143)

Of the organists emigrating to India, two deserve mention. Having served his articulated pupilship under Wesley at Winchester and having been his assistant there, Garrett went to Madras Cathedral between 1854 and 1856, before returning to England and St. John's College, Cambridge as organist. (144) In 1885 Dr. Ernest Slater (b.1860-?), former assistant at Exeter Cathedral and from 1883 organist of Lampeter parish church, took up his duties at Calcutta Cathedral as well as those of professor of music at La Martiniere College. (145)

In 1897 Joseph Proudman of St. Michael's Stoke Newington emigrated to South Africa for health reasons and settled for a time in Maritzburg, moving to the Presbyterian Church in Kimberley, and later as organist of the town hall, Durban. (146) Others sought and obtained posts on the continent. The English Church in Geneva, the American Embassy Church in Paris, and the English Church in Lausanne all advertised for organists in music periodicals.

What emerges from the examination of organists' work during the greater part of Victoria's reign and that of Edward VII, is the burgeoning influence of the organist in society. Outside his duties at church or cathedral, most professional organists were involved in teaching. Church musicians became engaged in a variety of other musical pursuits to which they brought knowledge and skills. Their influence on the musical life of the country was considerable, but not always to the liking of some musicians and commentators on the cultural scene. Their associates saw organists in senior positions as

wielding too much power, receiving too many honours and, when responding as a coterie, were conformist in their outlook.

### Organists and Retirement

Self-advancement and social ambition were two important forces motivating both the middle classes and the organists profession in the 1860s; to succeed had become respectable.

It was the bounden duty of every citizen to better his social status; to ignore those beneath him, and to aim steadily at the top rung of the social ladder. Only by this persistent pursuit by each individual of his own and his family's interest would the highest general level of civilization be attained.....(147)

The passion of the middle classes was for wealth and respectability; they were, suggested Herbert Spencer, "two sides of the same thing". (148) But when the individual fell on hard times, self-respect and respectability were lost. For Dr Johnson, poverty was the great enemy to human kindness. (149) In the 18th century and before, poverty had been pitied, perhaps relieved or even ignored, but by the second half of the 19th century it became a source of shame. Tom Brown at Oxford soon discovered that poverty "is a disgrace to a Briton", just as his friend Hardy became ashamed of being poor. (150) The American poet and essayist Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-82) wrote in *English Traits* that the disgraces in this country were disloyalty to Church and State, and to be born poor, or to come to poverty. (151) In Froude's words,

To push on, to climb vigorously on the slippery steps of the social ladder, to raise ourselves one step or more out of the rank of life in which we were born, is now converted into a duty. (152)

The view of contemporary capitalism was that the individual must be responsible for making his own provision for old age, and whoever was indolent or improvident must

suffer the consequences. But were organists and choirmasters who relied on small church salaries and fees from teaching, able to save on a regular basis? It would appear not.

One way to be spared the disgrace of spending the last part of life in the workhouse could be through the timely intervention of a friend or colleague writing to a musical periodical inviting financial help. Such was a case when "Presbyter Anglicanus" drew attention in *The Musical Standard* (April 1872) to the plight of James Terry, for many years organist of Hackney Church, London, "now reduced to absolute indigence ..... and on the verge of the Union Workhouse," and his wife already in an asylum. (153) Contributions of money would assist "a gentleman and artist" in his distress, provide a small annuity and make him comfortable for the short remainder of his life. James Elliot was another parish church organist, broken in health in his middle years and forced to resign his position. He had been the organist of several well-known London churches, including St. Mary the Boltons, Kensington, All Saints', St. Johns Wood and St Mark's, Hamilton Terrace.

The most practical form of demonstrating our gratitude would be to assist Mr Elliot in the sad circumstances that have overtaken him in the loss of his work. Mr Elliot's means are now very considerably straightened in consequence. Some kind friends have already pledged themselves by donations and annual subscriptions to help him in his old age. (154)

Successful in popularising good music, an organist and highly regarded teacher, George William Martin (1828-81), one time chorister at St Paul's Cathedral, taught at the Normal College for Army Schoolmasters, then at St John's Training College, Battersea. He was also organist at nearby Christ Church. He died in poverty in Bolingbrook House Hospital.(155) Sadly, no other help was forthcoming. A different approach to helping a professional colleague was adopted by Walter Spinney of Royal Leamington Spa Parish Church in 1891. He obtained permission from his vicar to devote a portion of the offertory following his Easter Monday recital to a fund to help the family of a colleague, E.A.Sydenham. Other members of his profession were asked to do the same, though the outcome of this request is not known. (156)

Some families were left unprovided for and faced hardship and disgrace. Henry Gaunlett, organist and composer trained as a solicitor in the City of London; he later gave up his profession to work full-time as organist and advisor on organ matters. On his death his friends gave notice of their intention to establish a fund for his widow and family, for whom he had left no provision. (157) The Revd. John Bacchus Dykes (1823-76), minor canon and precentor of Durham Cathedral and later vicar of St Oswald in that city was a distressing case in point. He died in an asylum near Tunbridge Wells, leaving his widow and five of his six children "in very straightened circumstances," their entire income not exceeding £40 a year. Unable to obtain the necessary medical certificates, he could not insure his life and provide for his family on his death. (158) The sum eventually raised for his widow and children was £10,250, with £300 of it coming from Australia. (159) Smart (1813-79) was given a Civil List pension by Queen Victoria of £100 p.a., but died within a few days of receiving the award, leaving his widow in poverty. Letters to the music press expressed strong feelings that the pension should go to Smart's widow, but these representations made to the prime minister, Disraeli, were rejected. Instead, Mrs Smart received a donation of £200 from the Royal Bounty Fund, and ways and means were found of providing her with an annuity. (160)

William Cummings commented that musicians were frequently bad businessmen, and neglectful of their responsibility to provide for dependants. By paying a small annual sum to the Royal Society of Musicians, destitution could be avoided. But Cummings, it would seem, overlooked the fact that high membership fees deterred many professional musicians from joining the Society. (161)

"What provision *were* organists making for old age and sickness?" asked Ernest Lake in a lecture on "The Duties and Responsibilities of Church Organists" at the R.C.O. in September 1889. In his opinion, little thought had been given to this problem and the consequences were well-known. (162) Several life assurance companies existed to look after the interests of professional people: British Equitable, Norwich Union, Hand in Hand, and Scottish Union and National; these were the names of some of the larger companies. (163) The Liverpool and Provincial Musicians' Friendly Society began



business in 1864 with musicians particularly in mind, allowing one guinea (£1.05) per week to each sick member entitled to benefit.(164) Benevolent funds had been established by the Incorporated Society of Musicians which, in 1897 took over and administered the Orphanage for the Children of Musicians. (165) The nineteenth century witnessed a remarkable increase in numbers of charities, the result of growing fears about social discontent, revolution, and the demands to improve the conditions of the poor. Relief was also needed for people who had unexpectedly fallen on hard times, including the middle classes. Sampson Low's summary of London charities (1862) showed there to be 640 institutions in existence, some dating from the 17th and 18th centuries, with many more founded in Victoria's and Edward's reign. (166)

Because retirement could mean little money and perhaps ill health, many organists remained in post as long as they were able to work to the satisfaction of their employers (and sometimes beyond). Retirement for males during the period had no set age and so did not necessarily begin at the age of 65. The retiring ages (in some cases where death occurred in post) of some 35 eminent English cathedral and collegiate organists during the 19th century are shown in Appendix 20. (167)

As church organists were in attendance for only a limited time each week, parishes were not usually able to make provision for retirement. However, two thriving London churches gave consideration to their organists when the time came for them to retire. At St Pancras' Church, the 80 year old organist Mr Henshaw resigned in 1864 with a life annuity equivalent to his salary; this was purchased for him by subscription from amongst his parishioners. (168) Hoyte, of All Saints', Margaret Street, received a pension of £100 per annum when he retired in 1907. (169)

Cathedral organistship in the early decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century did not always provide a pension, though most deans and chapters recognised the importance of financial assistance during retirement. William Walond II, deputy organist and later organist of Chichester Cathedral for seven years up until his retirement in 1801, was forced to live in Chichester in extreme poverty, as this cathedral made no provision for a

pension. (170) However, in recognition of the 44 years service given to Ripon Cathedral by George Bates in 1873, it was resolved and ordered by the authorities that :

an annuity of £30 should be paid to Mr Bates for his life  
from the date of his retirement from the office of organist. (171)

In January 1876, Beverley Minster voted a pension of £70 per annum to their former organist and choirmaster Lambert. Two years earlier he had been forced to resign due to ill health after 56 years service. (172) Durham's organist, Henshaw (1792-1877), appointed in 1814, remained there for 48 years, at the end of which time the Dean and Chapter granted him a retiring pension of £260 for life:

in testimony of the conduct, zeal and ability with  
which he.....discharged his duties.... (173)

Again, the cathedral authorities here showed an unusual degree of generosity when granting Henshaw's successor Armes a pension of £250 per annum on his retirement in 1907, his final working salary having been £840. (174) Both salary and pension at Durham (a wealthy diocese) were good when compared with those of York. Monk's annual pension on retirement from the Minster in 1883 was £150, his salary up until retirement having been £300 per annum.(175) Buck, after 70 years of service as a chorister, Master of the Choristers and Organist of Norwich Cathedral, retired at the age of 79. At a meeting of the General Chapter on 5th June 1877 when Buck's letter of resignation was read, thanks for his services were recorded, and it was agreed:

that one hundred and twenty-five pounds per annum  
be given to him as a retiring pension.

W.T.Bensly, LL.D., Chapter Clerk (176)

A cathedral authority might, under mitigating circumstances, help an organist who had fallen on difficult times due to illness. John Camidge (1790-1859) succeeded his father Matthew as organist of York Minster in 1842 only to be struck down with a form of paralysis six years later. The Dean and Chapter,

.....recognising the long and valuable services of Dr  
Camidge.... that in consequence of Dr Camidge's continued  
illness, a Pension of One Hundred Pounds per annum be  
granted him for the rest of his life commencing from the  
first day of May next.(1859) (177)

Under different circumstances Riseley of Bristol Cathedral received a pension at 53, following disagreements with the authorities. His work there he found "irksome" and he was pleased to leave to take up conducting appointments in London whilst retaining his teaching connection in Bristol. (178)

Employees' pensions at this time were decided by the employer, not the state. As we have seen, only some cathedral organists were in receipt of one. By the last quarter of the century cathedral authorities were seriously beginning to address the question of pensions for their staff, the final amount being dependent upon the cathedral's finances. The Revd. Vine Hall, in his submission to *Her Majesty's Commission for inquiring into the Condition of Cathedral Churches in England and Wales (1884)* thought that, were a member of the cathedral staff at Worcester Cathedral to become incapacitated by age or ill-health, then one third to one half of his income should be given him. However, should the organist become disabled after fifteen years of service, he would only receive a pension "if the income of our cathedral church be sufficient for the purpose". (179) The position regarding pensions for organists remained unresolved well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. (180)

There were, however, special pensions given by the state to those it considered had given outstanding service to society. These were known as Civil List pensions, and were awarded to a number of musicians. To be considered for one, it was usual for a person known to the applicant to petition a member of the government. (181) From time to time the Queen made recommendations, as did Gladstone. Some examples of Civil List pensions were: £100 to Wesley in 1873 upon the recommendation of Gladstone, continued to Mrs Wesley after her husband's death from the Royal Bounty Fund "in consideration of his service to musical art" (182); Best, Liverpool's St. George's Hall organist between 1855 and 1894, received a pension of £100 in 1880 (183); Spark was placed on the Civil List by the Queen for a pension of £50 per annum for his services to music, especially in the north of England. These fortunate members of the profession seemed comfortably placed for financial security in old age, but the consequences for the majority of church musicians was far different.

One organist in 1876 suggested in a letter to *The Musical Standard* that an Organists' Benevolent Fund be set up. As he pointed out, other professions and callings had organisations to take care of sick and injured members, widows and orphans; even railway guards had their own friendly society. (184) Not long after, Richard Limpus, founder of the College of Organists and its first secretary, opened the suggested Organists' Benevolent Fund, only to abandon the idea through lack of support. (185) Cathedral organists in particular became the butt of criticism for not supporting the scheme and setting an example to their "humbler brethren". (186) Sir Frederick Bridge felt strongly about the welfare of his fellow organists "whose pay is never at all commensurate with their responsibilities". (187) In 1909 Bridge founded the Organists' Benevolent League. He suggested there should be no regular subscription, but members should undertake to give a yearly organ recital, the proceeds of which would go to the fund to help destitute organists and their dependants. By 1918 over £1000 had been invested, financial help disbursed to numbers of people, and a few small pensions given. (188) A caring man much concerned with the welfare of church musicians of all denominations, and holding a position of considerable musical importance, Bridge put his scheme effectively into operation, and the excellent work of the Organists' Benevolent League continues to this day.

As has been described, deans and chapters acted individually as employers when granting pensions to their organists, there being no nationally agreed pension scheme. The whole arrangement was arbitrary and far from satisfactory, and remained so, far beyond the time span of this study. (189) Church musicians at all levels were variously affected by the threat of poverty. As Harold Perkin has pointed out:

most middle-class families knew how precarious that society was, and many lived in fear of bankruptcy or loss of a salaried position, of sickness of either partner or the children, or of death of the breadwinner, any of which could plunge the family into debt or actual poverty.....Middle class families saved little and were often under-insured, with the result that there were large numbers of unemployed or widowed families becoming poverty-stricken in various professions. (190)

## Summary

This chapter has shown that during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the struggle towards professionalism brought with it some exciting aspects for the organist and choirmaster's work. Opportunities to expand the use of their skills into a more appreciative society was perhaps a turning point, as this brought recognition and influence, particularly to organists in senior positions. There was a growing perception of music as an accomplishment and an art, and the respect which this engendered helped remove some of the drudgery previously associated with certain aspects of the organist's work.

There remained some challenges for the Victorian and Edwardian church musicians. Their low salaries led them to seek additional employment, both in and outside the Church. Whilst their penury may have encouraged pluralism, the system was frequently abused and gave rise to some organists holding a number of appointments, none of which could adequately be fulfilled. Not surprisingly the church authorities expressed their displeasure at these abuses. Many organists also sought to boost their income by practising their art outside of the Anglican communion, and in other places of worship. Whilst no legislation existed to control pluralism among church musicians, the increasing demands of their work, and the gradual standardisation of times of services, led to these practices dying out.

A further source of additional income was through the teaching of organ, piano or singing. This was an occupation not always enjoyed, but frequently found necessary financially. A "teaching connection" could be purchased, sometimes it went with a church appointment and often covered a large geographical area. Restrictive clauses were sometimes included in contracts to prevent the departing organist from setting up teaching practices in competition. As music training became more widely available, the market was flooded with those wishing to teach, and the relative monopoly held by church musicians was to cease.

Cathedral organists, highly respected within their local community, were afforded opportunities to conduct local choral societies and orchestras, adjudicate at festivals, and

give recitals. They might be asked to advise on the installation of new organs, sometimes prompting criticism that they might be corrupted by “backhanders” from organ builders. Theological colleges frequently wished for the services of a cathedral organist, in order to improve the clergy’s musical education; some gained positions in teacher-training colleges or as professors at Oxbridge and other colleges. They also examined for diplomas and other music examinations; composition was a further outlet for their considerable skills, with the creation of Novello and Co. providing the means of publication of their work.

A number of eminent organists also held responsible posts in civic society. It was, however, mainly for services to music that a small number of musicians were awarded knighthoods or other honours. The conferring of such honours could seem idiosyncratic; there were suggestions that powerful colleagues might be influential in the awards.

Fewer openings were available to the church organist. These resourceful musicians, however, used their talents to best advantage, holding posts as teachers in schools of music, in teacher-training colleges, and as musical directors of bands and choral societies. They were called upon to play organs in private homes, for their owners’ entertainment, and later, to play the organ in civic halls. Increasingly as the study of music, and its use in worship, became an integral part of public school life, church organists took up posts in these institutions. At the turn of the century grammar and secondary modern schools also had openings for music masters. Church organists were heavily involved in various institutions for the blind; their endeavours in this area were successful.

Church organists also had opportunities to advise institutions on the installation of new organs, but unlike their cathedral colleagues were likely to be paid by the institution rather than on commission. “Travelling” choirmaster and organist posts could also be found, and some church musicians set themselves up to offer tuition for degrees.

With widespread emigration during the 19<sup>th</sup> century to America and Canada, church musicians, faced with ever increasing competition for work, sought new opportunities in other countries. As well as in the American continent they found new

lives in Australia, New Zealand and occasionally India. Not only did they achieve success in church and cathedral posts, but also rose to eminence in various teaching establishments.

The Victorian view of retirement was that each individual should be responsible for planning his own financial future, but this could prove difficult for the organist whose pitiful salary made it impossible for him to save, or who was forced to leave his job prematurely through ill health. Petitions were frequently made in the musical press regarding collections for impoverished church musicians; another route was to request money from the offertory for a colleague in straitened circumstances. Such requests left organists at the mercy of the generosity of others, and would not necessarily meet with a philanthropic response. High membership fees prevented the establishment by the Royal Society of Musicians of a retirement fund, but a large number of life assurance companies and benevolent funds (such as the very successful Organists' Benevolent League) sprang up to cater for professional people. Parishes were seldom able to provide an annuity for their organist, though notable exceptions are to be found. Some eminent musicians were granted Civil List pensions in recognition of a lifetime's work. It is ironic that so many musicians ended their lives in the same conditions as the organists in the early part of this period had begun their careers – with little recognition, lowly status and poor financial reward. It was many years before this situation was to be rectified.

### Evaluation

Grove and other writers have cited many instances of pluralism amongst organists; further examples were found by the current author amongst Victorian journals, corroborating other authors' observations.

Whilst "teaching connections" were frequently mentioned in the biographies of eminent musicians of the period, this may be, to the author's knowledge, the first time that information from these secondary sources has been drawn together into an historical

account of the subject. The evidence compiled from these biographies is further supported by reference to advertisements and journal commentaries of the day. Repeated concerns were expressed in Victorian and Edwardian periodicals regarding the rapid reduction in openings afforded the church musician, and it seems clear, from the quantity of such correspondence, that this was a matter of great concern at the time.

Information relating to the supplementary work of both cathedral and church organists has been drawn from recent and contemporaneous literature (much of which was biographical), church documents, Victorian journals and transcripts of public addresses. The author's correspondence with Dr. Richard Hird, adds useful insights into the custom of cathedral organists being offered commission when giving advice on organ installation. Perusal of church documents corroborated secondary sources in various aspects of supplementary work. Church documents also showed the numbers of Lambeth degrees awarded to both cathedral and church musicians. Again, the study of Victorian journals supplied useful information regarding details of advertisements and relating to some of the issues that caused concern to their readership; for example, the public sense of inappropriate influence being exercised, particularly in the conferring of honours and degrees.

The sources of information regarding the emigration of organists was mainly from *Grove's Dictionary*, biographies and obituaries. The drawing together of this information, likely in most cases to be factually accurate, provides an interesting picture of the movements of musicians, and of the factors that encouraged them to seek employment abroad.

To the author's knowledge only minimal mention has been made in the literature regarding organists in retirement. Almost all the information for this section is drawn from contemporaneous journals, church documents and Parliamentary papers. The frequent references in the periodicals to funds being set up for impoverished colleagues suggests that this was clearly a real and pressing issue of the day, a view corroborated by an address given by Ernest Lake to the R.C.O. and further supported by correspondence suggesting that a benevolent fund be set up for organists. The rare instances of pensions



having been bestowed upon organists were found in church documents, and are likely to be an accurate representation, since they would be records to which both parties might refer in the event of a disagreement.

Of the few secondary sources used in this chapter, references to Sir Frederick Bridges' Organists Benevolent League are drawn from his own book, *A Westminster Pilgrim*. His claims regarding its success might be considered the result of his own bias, were it not for the fact that the League continues to flourish even to the present day.

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER SIX

### THE WORK OF CHURCH AND CATHEDRAL ORGANISTS IN SOCIETY

1. Overton, J.H., *The English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 6-8, London, Longmans, 1894. Chadwick, Owen, *The Victorian Church*, part 2, pp. 213-14, London, A and C Black, 1970.
2. Shaw, Watkins, *The Succession of Organists*, p. 177, Oxford, Clarendon Press 1991.
3. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1954), vol. IV, p.397, London, Macmillan Press.
4. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1954), vol. VIII, p. 84.
5. Vestry Minutes noted in *The Musical World*, May 1830, p.4.
6. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, (1954) vol. I, p. 52, vol VIII, p.405.
7. *The Musical Times*, 1<sup>st</sup> February, 1886.
8. Spink, G.W. "Samuel Sebastian Wesley": A Biography. *The Musical Times*, 1<sup>st</sup> January 1937, p.45.
9. Pyne, James Kendrick "Personal Reflections of S.S.Wesley" in *English Church Music*, vol. V, May 1935. These were written some sixty years later by the aged author.
10. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1954), vol. IX, p. 150. Walmisley died at the age of 41.
11. *Ibid.* p. 275.
12. Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, p. 229, Birmingham, Stratton, 1897.
13. *The Organist and Choirmaster*, 15<sup>th</sup> May, 1902, p. (ii).
14. Shaw, Watkins, *The Succession of Organists*, p. 153.
15. *The Musical Standard*, 23rd August 1902, p. 116.
16. Curwen, J., *Studies in Worship Music*, 1<sup>st</sup> Series, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, p.339, London, Curwen, 1880.
17. Membership of the Presbyterian Church in England had grown from 40,440 in 1875 to 58,423 in 1885, an increase of 44%. These figures must be taken as a rough guide. Quoted in Chadwick: *The Victorian Church*, part ii, p.227, London, Adam and Charles Black, 1970.
18. Westerby, Herbert, (ed.) *The Complete Organ Recitalist*, p.209, London, Musical Opinion, n.d.
19. Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, p. 343.

20. *Ibid.* p.163.
21. Thornsby, F.W. *Dictionary of Organs and Organists*, p. 290, Bournemouth, Logan, 1912.
22. Shaw, Watkins, *The Succession of Organists*, p. 281.
23. Westerby, *The Complete Organ Recitalist*, p.201, London, Godfrey, 1927.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1954), vol. II, pp. 597-598.
26. *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, p.1085, London, O.U.P., 1957  
Chadwick, O., *The Victorian Church*, part I, pp. 136-137.
27. Cox, J.E., *Musical Recollections of the Last Half Century*, vol.2, p. 262.  
London, Tinsley Bros., 1872.
28. *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners for enquiring into the Condition of Cathedral Churches in England and Wales, 1884*, p.14. Vine Hall was of the strong opinion that the cathedral system needed some overhaul.
29. The term "professor" was, during the period of this study, much abused and frequently used by all manner of music teachers, competent and incompetent, as a means of describing a much sought-after status within the music profession. The title properly used indicates the holder of a university Chair in a particular field of study.
30. 12th Annual Conference of the I.S.M. held in Cardiff, reported in *The Musical Standard*, 2nd January 1897, p.6.
31. Honan, Park , *Jane Austen: Her Life*, p.98, London, Weidenfield, 1987.
32. Dickson, W.E., *Fifty Years of Church Music*, quoted in West's *Cathedral Organists*. Janes is credited with having produced the first pointed psalter in 1837.  
Scholes, P., *The Mirror of Music, 1844-1944* p.551, London, Novello and O.U.P., 1947: Rainbow, B., *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church 1839-1872*, p.83, London, Barrie and Jenkins, 1970.
33. Tovey and Parratt, *Walter Parratt, Master of the Music*, p.41, London, O.U.P. 1941.
34. Hamond, Louis, *An Organist Remembers*, p.75, St. Albans, Campfield Press, 1949.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Archives of the Dean and Chapter of Ripon Cathedral*, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.
37. Fisher, Henry, *The Musical Profession*, pp.191 – 192, London, Curwen, 1888.
38. *York Minster Chapter Act Book*, 1st January 1861.
39. Smith, G.H., *The History of Hull Organs and Organists*, pp. 14-15, London, Brown, 1910.

40. *Leeds Intelligencer*, 17th July, 1882, p.7.
41. *The Musical Times*, July 1870.
42. *The Musical Standard*, 5th October 1889, p.287.
43. *Ibid.*
44. Article on "Music Teaching" in *The Musical Standard*, 15th September 1894, p.207.
45. Letter to Mrs Wodehouse dated 24th May 1891, quoted in Graves, C.L., *The Life and Letters of Sir George Grove*, pp. 369-370, London, Macmillan, 1903. The R.C.M., R.A.M. and the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music reported their objections to the Parliamentary Select Committee.
46. Editorial in *The Musical Standard*, 12th January 1884.
47. *Ibid.*
48. Lady Elvey, *Life and Reminiscences of George Job Elvey*, p.256, London, Sampson Low, Marston, 1894.
49. Shaw, Watkins, *The Succession of Organists*, p. 270.
50. Jackson, Francis, 'Bairstow's reminiscences in *Blessed City: The Life and Works of Edward C. Bairstow*, p. 87, York, William Sessions, 1996.
51. *Worcester Cathedral Treasurers' Books*, 1885 *et al.*
52. "The Musical Value of Church Organ Recitals" in *The Musical Times*, February 1912, p.85.
53. Lady Elvey, *Life and Reminiscences of George Job Elvey*, p.290.
54. Correspondence with Dr. Richard D. Hird of Durham, 28<sup>th</sup> September, 1997.
55. Correspondence between Mark Venning, Chairman and Managing Director of Harrison and Harrison, Durham, and the author, 17th September 1997. The researches of Dr. Richard Hird into the history and work of this firm have been made available to me in correspondence.
56. Letter from Dean Purey-Cust to Mr Thomson, editor of *The York Herald*, dated 26th April 1905. In the opinion of York solicitors Gray and Dodsworth, though "impertinent and annoying", the imputation did not appear to refer sufficiently to any individual to make it a case for libel. (Letter of 19th April 1905.)
57. Letter from Dr. Richard Hird to the author, 28th September, 1997. (See Appendix 18)
58. *Ibid.*
59. *The Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music*, 1889-1948, pp. 24-35.
60. Elwes, E.L., *The History of Wells Theological College*, pp. 23- 24, London, S.P.C.K., 1923.
61. *Ibid.*
62. Testimonial from Revd. B.W.Randolph, Hon. Canon of Ely Cathedral and

Principal of Ely Theological College to Dean and Chapter, York Minster, dated 4th July, 1895.

63. *Occasional Papers*, St Augustine's College, Canterbury. List of staff.
64. West, J.E. *Cathedral Organists*. London, Novello, 1899. McGregor, G.P., *A Church College for the 21st. Century? 150 years of Ripon and York St. John.*, p.107, York, Wm. Sessions, 1991.
65. The Musical Association received its Royal Charter in 1944.
66. Charlton, P., *John Stainer and the Musical Life of Victorian England*. p.113. Newton Abbot, David and Charles, 1984.
67. Wesley, S.S., *A Few Words on Cathedral Music* (1849) pp.58-59, London, Hinrichson, 1965.
68. *Essays on Cathedrals*, (ed. Howson), "Recollections of a Dean", Essay I, p.19, London, John Murray, 1872.
69. "Municipal Munificence" in *The Musical Standard*, 9th October 1880, p. 228.
70. Colchester, L.S., Bowers, R., and Crossland, A., *The Organs and Organists of Wells Cathedral*, pp.22 –23, Wells, 1974.
71. Brewer's obituary by "H.D", a former chorister, in *The Musical Times*, April 1928. p.315.
72. *The Musical Standard*, 16th October 1909, p.25
73. *The Musical Standard*, 9th April 1870, p.177.
74. Why the editor chose 1872 is not known, for in 1871 three distinguished musicians received knighthoods: Julius Benedict, Sterndale Bennett, and George Elvey. There were two the following year.
75. Gladstone, W.E. *The Gladstone Diaries 1871-1874*, vol.vii., ed. Matthew, H. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1982. Entry for Friday 8th March 1872: "Wrote to Mr Goss".
76. Bridge, F., *A Westminster Pilgrim*, p.168, London, Novello/Hutchinson, 1918.
77. *The Musical Standard*, 30th August 1902, p.127.
78. Bridge, F., *A Westminster Pilgrim*, p. 159.
79. Cummings, W.H., "Music During the Queen's Reign," in *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, p.148.
80. *Lambeth Degrees*, Archbishopal Library, Lambeth Palace, MS 1715.  
The documents in Lambeth Palace for this particular degree contain no supporting letters from the Master of the Temple of eminent musicians. They must be presumed lost.
81. *The Times*, 16th April 1888, p.9, column 3.
82. Brewer, Herbert, *Memories of Choirs and Cloisters*, p. 128, London, Bodley Head, 1931.

83. *The Organist and Choirmaster*, July 1896, p. 51.
84. *The Musical Times*, August 1896, pp. 535-536.
85. Brass plate in memory of Walter Haslum, the organist.
86. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1954), vol. v, p. 484.
87. Tovey and Parratt, *Walter Parratt, Master of the Music*, pp. 90, 98.
88. S.S. Wesley's letter to R. Phipps, Gloucestershire Collection S23.17: City Library.
89. *The Musical Standard*, June 1871.
90. *The Musical Standard*, 28<sup>th</sup> July, 1883.
91. Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, p. 125.
92. *Ibid.* p.23.
93. *Ibid.* p. 396.
94. *Ibid.* p. 44.
95. *Ibid.* pp. 385-6.
96. Obituary in *The Organist and Choirmaster*, 15<sup>th</sup> October 1899.
97. Thornsby, F.W., *Dictionary of Organs and Organists*, p. 273.
98. Shaw, Watkins, *The Succession of Organists*, p. 311.
99. *The Musical Standard*, 9<sup>th</sup> March, 1912, p. 157.
100. *Ibid.*
101. See Elvin, L. *Forster and Andrews, Organ Builders, 1843-1956*, p. 73, Lincoln, L.Elvin, 1968.
102. *The Musical Standard*, 9<sup>th</sup> March, 1912, p. 157.
103. Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, p. 314.
104. Hollins, A. *A Blind Organist Looks Back*, p55, Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1936.
105. Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, p. 206.
106. *The Monthly Musical Record*, 1<sup>st</sup> Sept. 1877, p112
107. Norwood, A. B. *A Short History of the Yorkshire School for the Blind*.
108. *Ibid.*
109. Thornsby, F.W., *Dictionary of Organs and Organists*, p. 319.
110. Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, p. 7.
111. *Ibid.*, pp. 461-62.
112. Shaw, Watkins, *The Succession of Organists*, p. 239.
113. Thornsby, F.W., *Dictionary of Organs and Organists*, pp. 296-297.
114. Thornsby, F.W., *Dictionary of Organs and Organists*, p. 285.
115. Ouseley, F.A.G., *The Management and Training of Parochial Choirs; and the Organisation of Diocesan Choral Festivals*. A lecture given at the Brighton Church Congress, 6<sup>th</sup> October, 1874.
116. Seymour-Smith, M., *Hardy*. p. 817, London, Bloombury, 1994.
117. Wells, H.G. *Tono-Bungay*, Vol.7, Essex Edition, p. 18, London, Benn, 1926.

118. Daniel, Revd. R. B. *Chapters on Church Music*, London, Elliot Stock, 1894.
119. *Ibid.*
120. Hugh Allen lecture, "The Scope of an Organist's Work," given for R.C.O., 11<sup>th</sup> May, 1912.
121. *The Organist and Choirmaster*, 15<sup>th</sup> August 1900, p. 95.
122. Brass Plaque on interior wall of the church.
123. Thistlethwaite, N., *The Making of the Victorian Organ*. p.195, Cambridge, C.U.P., 1990.
124. *Ibid.* p. 191.
125. *The Musical Times*, December 1870.
126. Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, p. 276.
127. Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, p. 179.
128. *Lambeth Degrees*, Archiepiscopal Library, Lambeth Palace; MS.1715.
129. Shaw, Watkins, *The Succession of Organists*, p. 140.
130. *Ibid*, p. 50.
131. Jackson, F., *Blessed City: The Life and Works of Edward C. Bairstow*, p. 87, York, William Sessions, 1996.
132. Shaw, Watkins, *The Succession of Organists*, p. 271.
133. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, (1954), vol. IV, p. 310.
134. Westerby, H., (ed.) *The Complete Organ Recitalist*, pp. 201-202.
135. *Ibid.* p.367.
136. *Musical Times*, March 1940. Obituary.
137. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, (American Supplement), New York, Macmillan, 1920.
138. *Ibid.*
139. *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol.V.
140. *Ibid.* vol. XI.
141. *The Musical Times*, August 1941. Obituary.
142. *The Musical Times*, Jan. 1902, p. 52.
143. *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol.III, *The Musical Times*, Dec. 1895, p. 836.
144. Shaw, Watkins, *The Succession of Organists*, p. 363.
145. Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, p.376.
146. Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, p. 329.
147. Webb, Beatrice, *My Apprenticeship*, p.13, London, 1926.
148. Spencer, Herbert, "The Morals of Trade", in *Essays: Scientific, Political, and Speculative*, 1858-63, vol.2, p.1413, London, 1868.

149. Letter dated 7th December 1782 from Dr Johnson to Boswell in *Life of Dr Johnson*, vol.4, p.157.
150. Hughes, Thomas, *Tom Brown at Oxford*, ch. 5, p.48, London, Nelson, 1861, in which he refers to the early 1840s.
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152. Froude, J.A., *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, vol.2, "On Progress" pp.386-7, London, 1888.
153. *The Musical Standard*, 27<sup>th</sup> April, 1872, p.224.
154. *St Mark's Hamilton Terrace Parish Magazine*, July 1909.
155. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1954) vol.V., pp. 594-595.
156. A letter from Spinney in *The Musical Times*, April 1891, pp. 236-237.
157. *The Musical Times*, 1st April 1876.
158. Notice of the Dykes Memorial Fund appeared in *The Musical Times*, March 1876, p.385.
159. *The Musical Times*, February 1900, p.35. Dr Philip Armes, professor of music at Durham University, was largely responsible for initiating the fund.
160. Spark, William, *Life of Henry Smart*, p.352, London, Reeves, 1881.
161. Letter to *The Musical Standard*, 12th January 1889, p.29.
162. *Musical Opinion*, 1st September 1889, p.574.
163. *The Musical Standard*, 12th January 1889, p.29.
164. Dr Charles Vincent, in *Musical Opinion*, 1st November 1887, pp.67-8.
165. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1929), vol.II, p.702.
166. Low, Sampson, *London Charities*, London, Sampson Low, 1862.
167. West, J.E., *Cathedral Organists*; Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*; *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 1929, 1954, and 1980 editions. The 35 organists noted in this sample were taken as being some of the most eminent cathedral and collegiate musicians working between c.1800 and 1910. Their names and dates of retirement or death in post are given in alphabetical order in Appendix 20.
168. *The Musical Standard*, 22nd February 1890, p.183.
169. *The Musical Standard*, 12th October 1907, p.235.
170. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1954) vol. IX. pp. 151-152.
171. Brotherton Library, Leeds University, *Ripon Cathedral Reg. H.*, 8th July 1873.
172. *Beverley Minster Minutes, 1876*; *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1954), vol. V. p. 32.
173. *Durham Cathedral Chapter Accounts 14, 1862*.
174. *Durham Cathedral Chapter Accounts*, May 1907.



175. *York Minster Chapter Accounts*, 28, 1883.
176. Kitton, F.G., *Zechariah Buck, (1798-1879) Centenary Mamoir*, p.22, London, Jarrold, 1899.
177. *York Minster Dean and Chapter Act Book*, 1842 - 73, entry for 10<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1858.
178. Riseley's letter to F.G.Edwards, (editor of *The Musical Times* 1897-1909), dated 13th December 1898, in *Edwards Papers vol.v, Misc.Letters, B.M.Add MS 41,574*. No mention is made in the letter of court cases involving Riseley and the Dean and Chapter regarding Riseley's attitudes and behaviour in his cathedral duties, but an account of what actually happened is recalled by Rev. E.H.Fellowes in *Memoirs of an Amateur Musician*, pp.75-77, London, Methuen, 1946. *I.S.M Journal*, July 1895, and gives details of the court case.
179. Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Christ and the Blessed Mary the Virgin, Worcester, in *The Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners*, Ch.XXI, p.16.
180. A pension scheme for the staff of York Minster in association with London Life Assurance Ltd. was discussed by the Dean and canons residentiary on 16th March 1928. The organist and his assistant, the chapter clerk and the chamberlain were not included in the scheme. (*York Minster Act Book*).
181. In the case of a certain Dr Lloyd Fowle, of Broadstairs, "author on numerous musical matters, and composer", nearly two thousand persons had petitioned the Premier (Disraeli) for a civil pension as a reward for services rendered to the cause of Church Music for twenty years. Reported in *The Musical Times*, October 1876. Nothing more was heard of this action. Disraeli showed little interest in musical art, unlike his political opponent, Gladstone.
182. *The Daily News*, Tuesday, 23rd May, 1876. Wesley, offered a knighthood or a Civil List pension, chose the latter, saying that it "would be a nice little nest egg."
183. Best did very well from pensions. Already receiving one from the government by the time he came to retire from his civic post in 1894, Liverpool City Council gave him a pension, too. When he died, his wife was reportedly indigent, having an invalid son unable to work, and a daughter. *The Musical Standard* (18th December, p.388) pointed out that widows of some other organists continued to receive their late husbands' pensions, but this was not so for Mrs Best.
184. Letter from "Country Organist" in *The Musical Standard*, 16<sup>th</sup> September 1876.
185. *The Musical World Supplement*, 15th June 1889, p.23. This particular scheme failed, according to Ernest Lake in a lecture to the College of Organists on

4th June 1889, "through the indifference of those to whom it was intended to benefit."

186. *The Musical Standard*, 23rd March, 1878, p.182.
187. Bridge, Frederick, *A Westminster Pilgrim*, p.339.
188. *Ibid.*
189. "Proposed Pension Scheme for Cathedral Staff (1927)" in *York Minster Chapter Act Book*, 16th March 1928.
190. Perkin, H., *The Rise of Professional Society*, p.95, London, Routledge, 1989.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### CONCLUSIONS

In this study about organists and choirmasters of the Anglican Church in the Victorian and Edwardian eras, a number of important themes have been analysed. These include an introduction to the musical and religious life of the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries which provided the background to the development of the organist's profession. The gradual transition from church bands to keyboard instruments that occurred within most Anglican churches has been a further theme, as has the fundamental changes in the education, training and professionalisation of organists which took place in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The remainder of the thesis has concentrated on the activities of the Anglican organist as his role has matured and developed; how he was appointed, his conditions of service and pay, and his work in cathedrals, churches and the wider community. In this final chapter, consideration will be given to the position of the organist at the end of the Edwardian period, after a century of significant change. Thought will be given to the influences that shaped his professional life during the time of this study.

This broad study, together with that of a localised area, has offered some new insights and understanding of the background from which the Anglican organist emerged. However, due to inadequate and sometimes incomplete records of the period, it has proven difficult, on occasions, to ascertain particular details of events such as organ and choir developments, and information about Victorian and Edwardian organists. A further area of research exploration, and one which is likely to have more complete records, is the progression of the Anglican organist during the ensuing period of the early and mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. Little research has been conducted about the organist's profession during this more recent era.

In the author's study of 20 rural churches cited in chapter 2, we follow the demise of the gallery musicians prior to the installation of an organ in most of these churches. Initially, in all country parishes genuine regret was expressed by those who recognised the inevitable consequences of this change, and of course by the "musicianers" themselves. An East Yorkshire historian, G.H Smith, wrote in reflective mood in 1910 about his local area: "It is a moot point whether our progress since then has been on the best possible lines, and whether it would have been better to improve the constitution of the bands and performance of the individual players, rather than to introduce organs indiscriminately." (1) Conversely, the church records of St. Mary's, Birdsall (one of the study churches) revealed at their Easter Vestry Meeting in 1875 that members expressed their "deep satisfaction" with their new organ, noting an improvement in the singing. (2)

By 1910, the articulated pupil system was in serious decline, and was giving way to a freer, more flexible arrangement. The heyday of this form of music education was probably during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the demand for church organists was at its height and indentures contained clauses that were strict in what was required in the relationship between articulated pupil and his master. The final two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century have seen a revival of a modified form of the articulated pupil system. It involves the working together of the city university and the cathedral to provide an organ scholarship. The elected scholar attends his lectures at university, and is involved in the cathedral's music. He receives organ lessons, participates in the cathedral's music, and in return receives a small salary. The advantage of a cathedral organ scholarship is that the scholar receives instruction in particular branches of music from a specialist, whilst gaining valuable experience in different aspects of church music.

By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the organist was generally considered by society as the most accomplished musician of any instrumentalist for the number and variety of skills he uses and breadth of his knowledge. Members of the music profession were well aware of the costs involved in training the organist. In the "learned" professions of medicine and law, training began when schooling ended, depending on the legal school leaving age as determined by Parliament. Learning an instrument usually began early,

usually at six or seven years of age. For the organist, training began with instruction on the piano, followed at an appropriate time with organ lessons. By the time a musician had taken his degree, he would have been practising and preparing for fifteen years or more. Over several years the costs involved were considerable; and in the end the financial reward for the church musician was poor.

Despite the organist within the Church of England not being recognised in Law, the profession remained remarkably boyant and alive. Such a stigma did not inhibit the devotion and enthusiasm for the work. Attempts were made to introduce some form of Agreement (or Contract) to protect the organist from unfair dismissal or the whims of a difficult incumbent, but this remained unresolved. In July 1917, the RCO attempted to negotiate a standardised legal contract for organists with the Archbishop of Canterbury, but without resolution.

As the century progressed into its last two decades and beyond, organists and choirmasters were expected to be well-educated, "cultured" people. Sir George Grove, as the Royal College of Music's first Director, understood the requirement that musicians should be men of learning; he encouraged students to read widely, to travel, and cultivate intellectual pursuits. John Stainer was of like mind and suggested professional studies should include aspects of poetry, philosophy and science. By the end of the 19th century there seemed to be broad agreement amongst church musicians that there had been an overall improvement in standards of musicianship and "general culture". Leading composers, teachers and organists were expected to set the standards which those outside the music profession saw as necessary. Men such as Frederick Ouseley, Hu bert Parry, Charles Villiers Stanford, Walter Parratt and Madeley Richardson, as well as Grove and Stainer were all erudite musicians who enjoyed the company of intellectual society. Their Victorian high ideals led them to believe that a person of education in possession of the qualities of "a gentleman" had a direct bearing on musical performance.

The music profession was unique in that those who did not earn their living solely as musicians could nevertheless gain the qualifications of the (Royal) College of Organists and other music examining bodies on passing the requisite examinations. Many

amateur church musicians were both competent and keen; it was only at a time when the “market” was flooded with newly qualified organists and pianists that tension arose. The diplomas available from any recognised examining body were open for all to take, amateur and professional alike, allowing the Victorian working classes greater access to this occupation; many talented young people saw this as an opportunity to change their work and lifestyles. The R.C.O., from its inception encouraged women to become members, participate in its activities, and acquire its diplomas. Moreover, senior figures of the college gave praise and encouragement to women musicians, at a time when English society was not prepared to recognise their abilities.

As the organist became established within the late Victorian era there was a parallel movement in society’s interest in the organ as a concert instrument. There were few professional orchestras in this country at this time, and both church and concert organs helped satisfy the growing demand for a greater variety of music. Organ recitals became an important outlet for the organist, whether professional or amateur. They gave him the means by which to satisfy his performing needs, gave him an incentive to practise and learn new repertoire, and to keep up and improve his manual and pedal technique. The number of municipal halls grew considerably as the nation became wealthy through industrialisation. Many were to install organs which were played during civic occasions and for regular recitals given by officially appointed organists or visiting players. Attendances at these recitals were high and came from all sections of society. Recital programmes from the 1880s attest to the popularity of “arrangements” for the organ. (see Appendix 21 for a selection of these programmes). Increasing numbers of organs in prosperous middle class homes, as well as those of the aristocracy is clear evidence of the organ’s popularity.

By the 1890s there were members of the profession who believed that the rate of musical progress in this country was very dependent on the exertions of organists; they were more in touch with large sections of the public than almost any other group of musicians, through a place of worship, an education institution or a civic hall. Their

responsibilities spread wide, helping to bring a variety of music to a large number of people.

There are unmistakable signs that an interest in choral singing is returning in this country, (as shown by amateur choral competition numbers when over 600 choirs entered for the BBC Choir of the Year competition in the year 2000), but whether such a revival will take place in our churches at a time of a decline in religious belief and church-going is not at all clear. Fortunately, both fine singing and organ playing continues to be heard in our cathedrals, Oxbridge colleges and some of our churches, whilst at numbers of small urban and rural churches, the standards of organ playing and choral singing has become abysmally low.

By the end of the Edwardian era, organ playing had reached its zenith with young players such as Walter Alcock (1861-1947), Edward Bairstow (1874-1946), Stanley Roper (1878-1976), Stanley Marchant (1883-1949), Harold Darke (1888-1976) and Ernest Bullock (1890-1976). At a later date, some of these musicians made recordings and gave BBC broadcast recitals. These performances are now available on four CDs and can be thought of as representing some of the finest organ playing of their time. When considering the legendary playing of Thomas Adams (1785-1858), John Stainer (1840-1901) and William Thomas Best (1826-1897), believed to be the three leading Victorian players, it is not possible to make an informed judgement concerning this group's standard of performance, as no auditory evidence exists. However, it is probable that with improved teaching, collective experience, and greater ease at the console, standards of playing had advanced for this second generation of performers.

When comparing Edwardian organ performances with those of today's generation of organists, the former players created a sound which was heavy and muddy in tone, lacking the transparency of rebuilt or modern instruments. Another old tradition which the author was taught by his Victorian teachers was the "downward" release of a loud final chord. This technique was used by Harold Darke in his Royal Festival Hall recital which the author heard in the 1950s. The effect of this when used in a dry acoustic of the Hall was disturbingly untidy. Another comparison between the two schools of

performance concerned “articulation”, that is the attack and release of notes. Victorian and Edwardian organists using Stainer’s and Alcock’s organ tutors (in Novello’s Primer series) were taught that legato touch is the basis of all good organ playing and that the organist “phrased” his music. “Articulation” was not, however, in the vocabulary.

The results when listening to performances of the Edwardian group of organists is often one of disappointment, with some of the playing unrhythmic, heavy and unsteady in tempo. The current generation of players possess a superior technique without loss of musicality. Today’s music students attend courses in the history of music that reflect the work of musicologists, leading to a greater historical awareness of performance practices.

Many of the country’s finest players are to be found in cathedrals and larger parish churches. This is not so in many smaller rural and urban churches where it is almost impossible to find enough professional or amateur organists of any standard to fill advertised posts. Numbers of parishes have been forced to abandon the traditional pipe organ, in part because of maintenance costs, but mainly due to the dearth of organists. Young keyboard players, interested in learning the organ have little encouragement, with no local enthusiastic example to follow and no adequate organ on which to practice. This stands in contrast to the process that evolved during the Victorian era of exposure to organ music within Anglican worship, and subsequent apprenticeship to a local organist.

Nevertheless, there is mounting optimism within the organ world. The pipe organ building companies, both large and small, have undergone a revival, not only in this country, but in many parts of Europe and North America. Impressive instruments are being built for new concert halls and churches of various denominations. Extensive refurbishments of organs in both sacred and secular buildings are filling organ builders’ order books. Increasing numbers of well attended recitals are given in new and established concert halls (Symphony Hall, Birmingham, the Royal Festival Hall and the Royal Albert Hall in London), attracting British and foreign recitalists of international repute. The author heard recently that Birmingham Symphony Hall had experienced larger attendances for their organ performances than their orchestral concerts.



The organ is losing its association with places of worship; attitudes to the instrument are changing, as the regular reader of *The Choir and Organ* will attest. As was stated in the earlier chapters of this thesis, when discussing the changing world of the Anglican musician in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this was an exciting era for the organist. At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the Anglican organist is also entering a challenging time: that of recitalist, both in the church and concert hall.

During the unfolding of more than a century, we have seen how the church musician passed from being treated as a menial, an ignorant, uneducated individual, to a well-trained, confident, sensitive artist upon whom depends the training of the choir and support on the organ for Christian worship. By the end of the period of the study (1910), musicians of ability received recognition from the state, in the form of knighthoods and other awards. Their status had never been higher. Musicians of ability could rise to the top, regardless of their social background and, through scholarships they could receive a comprehensive musical education.

Nevertheless, during the Victorian era, the Anglican church musician had seen a significant change in the quality and form of his educational opportunities, the professional bodies set up to support him, and in the form and variety of the work available for him to do. He had indeed entered the realm of the professional.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

### CONCLUSIONS

1. Smith, G.H. *History of Hall Organs and the Organists*, p. 2, London, Brown, 1910.
2. *St. Mary's, Birdsall Parish Accounts*, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York.

## APPENDIX 1

### ILLUSTRATIONS OF ANGLICAN CHURCH GALLERY MUSICIANS

- a) Plan of the Band and Singers of Liversedge Church Gallery, 1750.
- b) Plan of Old West Gallery of Stinsford Church, c. 1835.
- c) Sketch of Old West Gallery of Stinsford Church by Thomas Hardy.
- d) Painting by Sir Thomas Webster of the Choir of Bow Bricknall, c. 1840.
- e) Sketch of Yetminster Church Choir, 1835.
- f) Document Showing Details of the Band and Singers of Yetminster Church.

Appendix 1a

Band and Singers of Liversedge Church Gallery, 1750

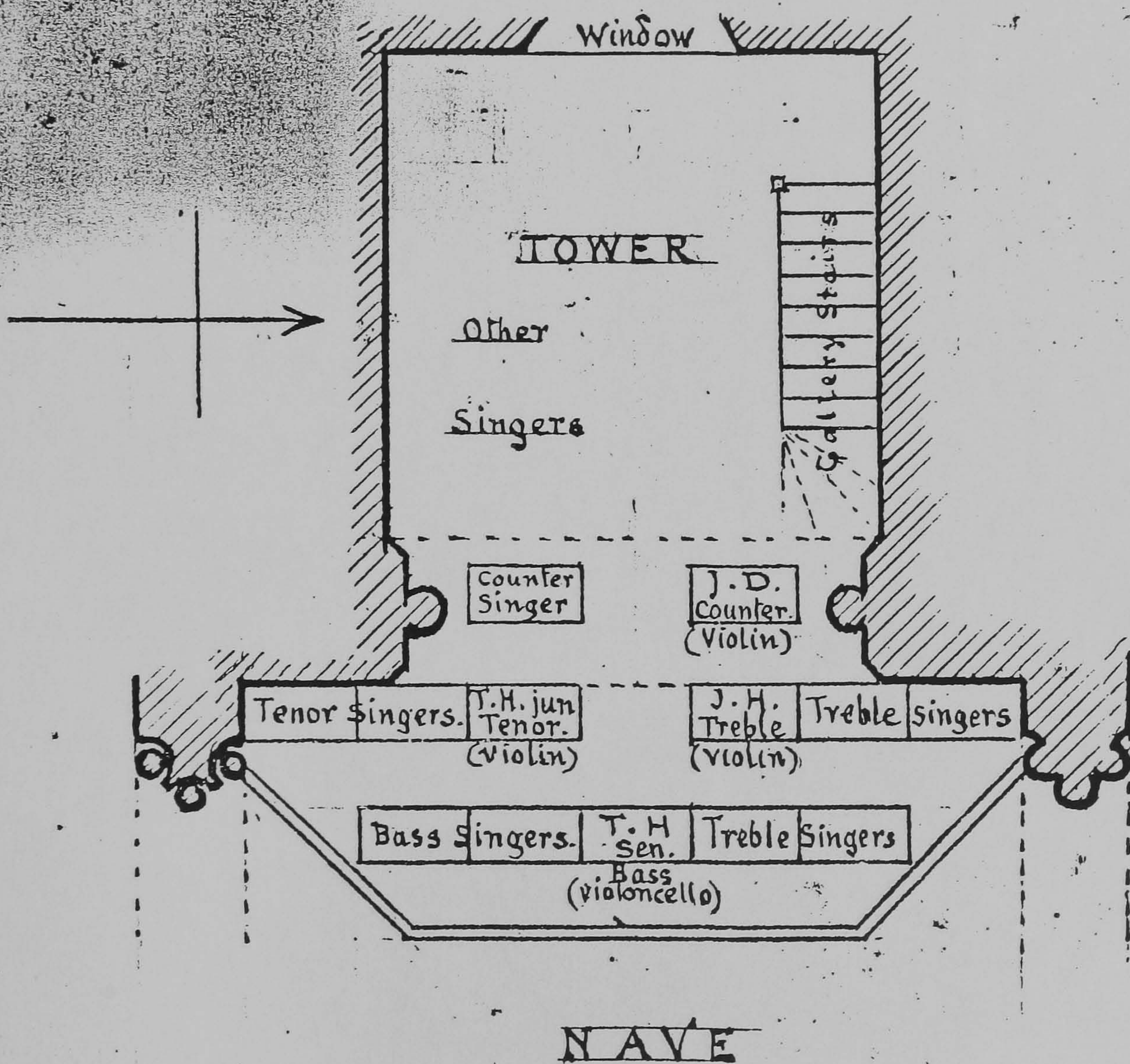
# STINSFORD CHURCH.

Plan of West Gallery - circa 1835.

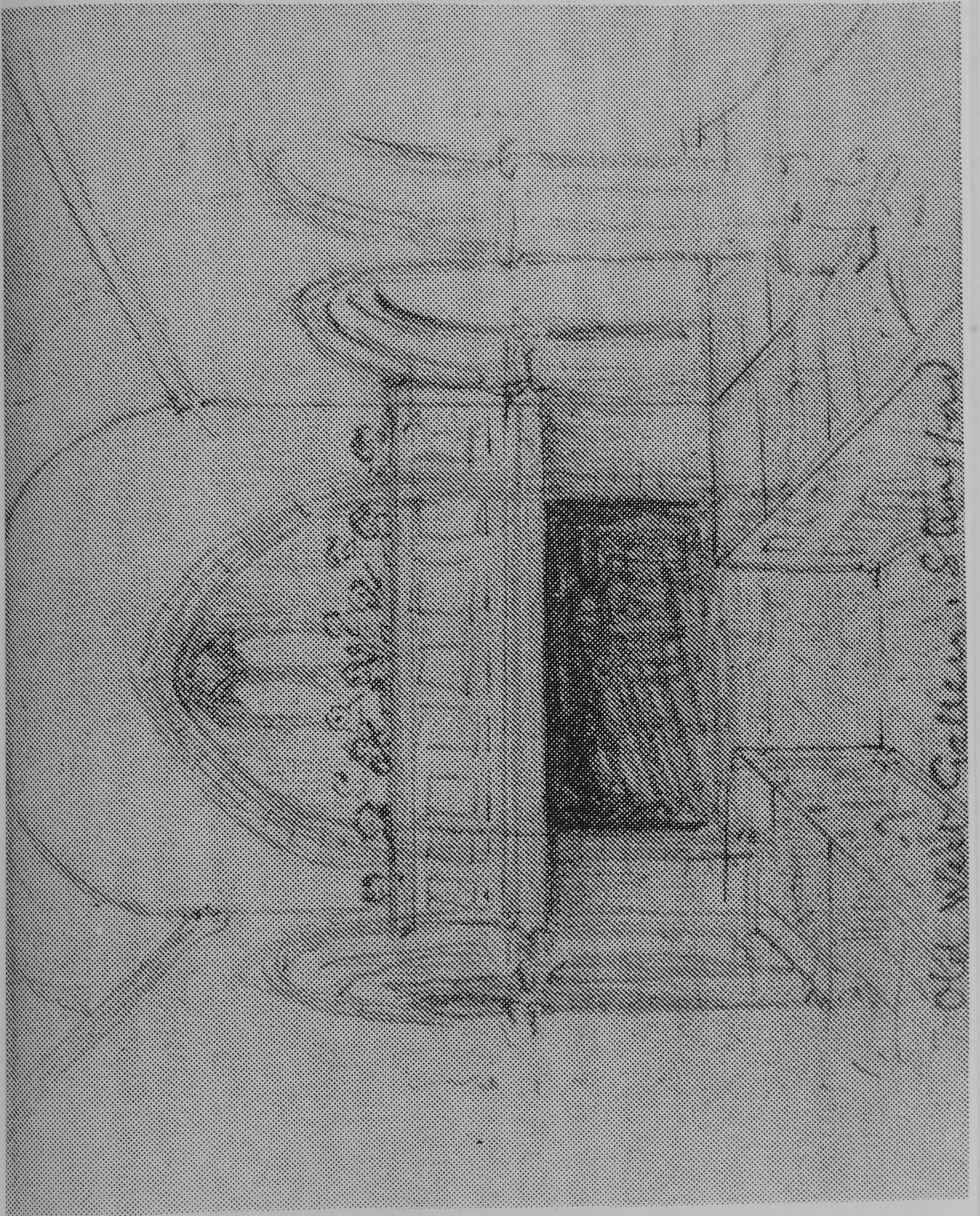
Showing positions of Choir.

## Explanation

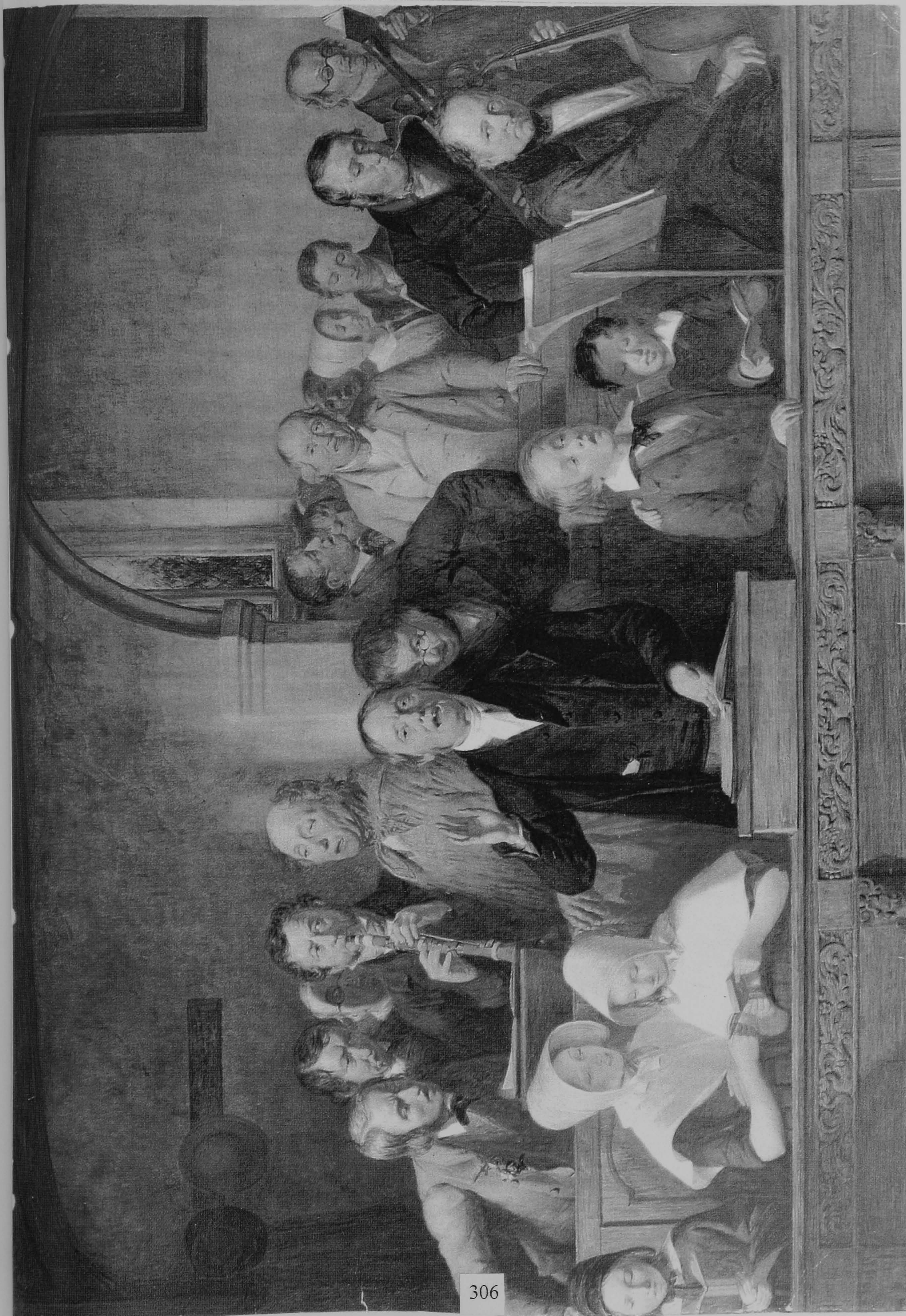
T. H. sen.	Tho. Hardy	b. 1778.	d. 1837.
T. H. jun.	Tho. Hardy	b. 1811.	d. 1892.
J. H.	Jas. Hardy	b. 1805.	d. 188-
J. D.	Jas. Dart	b. 181-	d. 187-



Thomas Hardy.



Painting by Sir Thomas Webster of the Choir of Bow Bicknall, c. 1840.



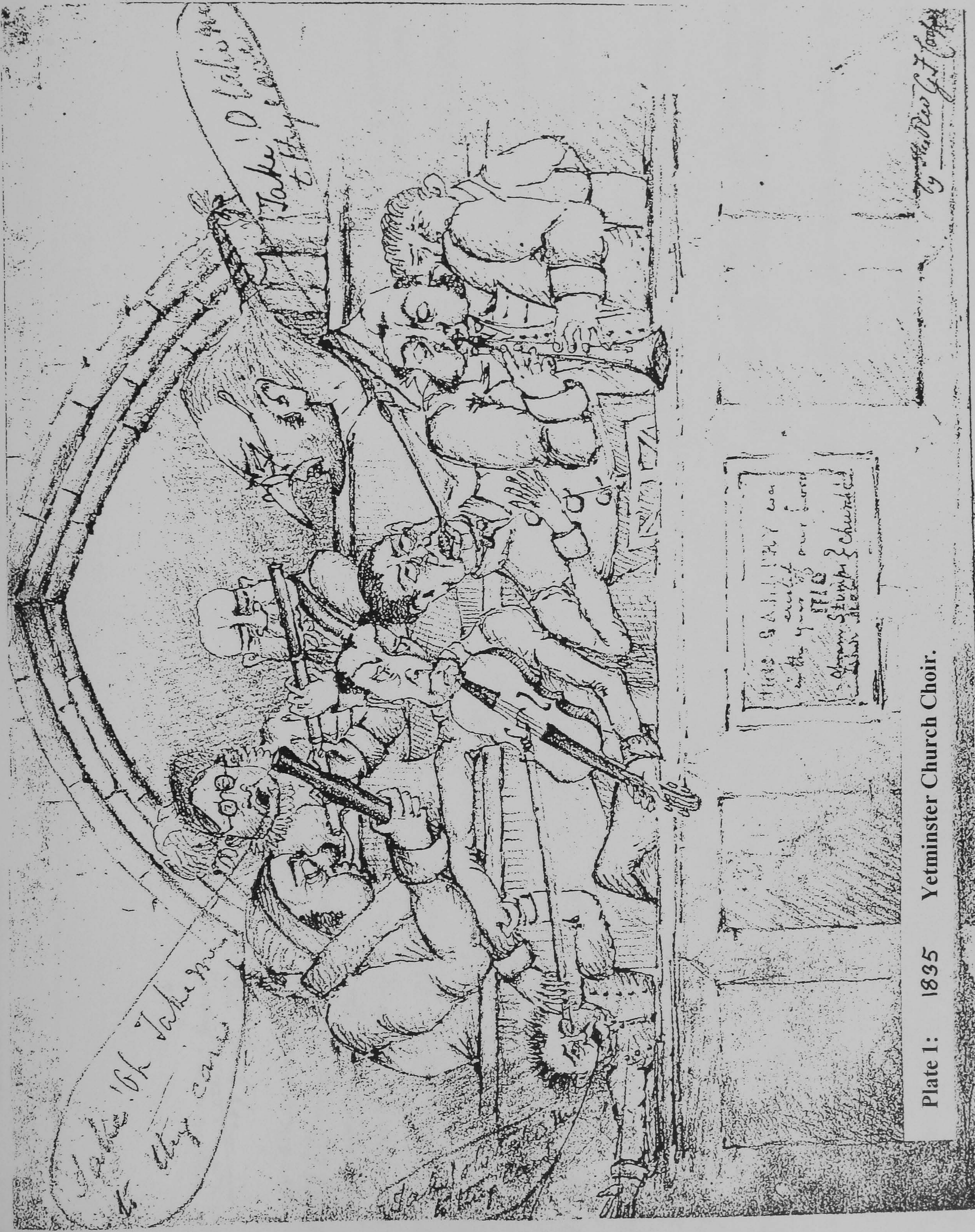


Plate 1: 1835 Yetminster Church Choir.



Rev. Robert M. L. Lee, Vicar 1902-12

Rev. G. Fort Cooper died 1842, aged 35.

William Cooper died 1861, aged 78, age here 52.

Samuel Granger died 1849, aged 63, age here 51.  
" 22 years Clerk of this Parish " .

William Bright Richardson died 1867, aged 87.  
Age here 55.

No record of Charles Brake's death in Register.

William Patten died 1864 aged 72, age here 43.

James Langden died 1868 aged 71. age here 38.

Boy on left probably William, son of Charles Brake, Baptized in 1826.

William Cooper - Barron - has miller and

lives in the old mill.

Samuel Granger - flute - lived in Church

Street (next to library) - was parish clerk,  
and used to go up to Galley when any

special music was on.

William Richardson - Viol - plasterer and tiler,

lived in home on right of Church Gate.

Charles Brake - charcoal - thatcher, lived  
in Pevier End.

Jattin - male singer - Shoemaker. lived

in Back Lane. " was a most wonderful

" singer, got excited and showed his hands

" about when he played it all out."

Mr. Langden - hair in eye. Master of Boyles'

'school - had a case of arthen stick for  
boys - the right Sunday school.

Boy on left - probably son of Charles Brake.

Norman - also Boy on right. he could not recollect.

The above information was given me  
by John Miller of Chertwell, Mr. Andrews'  
grandson in 1908. "He was then 77 years  
old, and declared the facts were all  
womanly like."

Robert M. L. Lee  
revising Vicarminster

## APPENDIX 2

### A SELECTION OF VICTORIAN ANTHEMS

- a) W.H. Gill, How dear are Thy counsels, (n.d.).
- b) George J. Elvey, Arise, shine, for thy light is come, (n.d.).
- c) John Stainer, What are these that are arrayed in white robes, (n.d.).

SECOND EDITION.

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# Easy Anthems

FOR

VILLAGE CHOIRS,

BY

W. G. Gill.

---

- No. 1.—“ Christ being raised from the dead.”  
No. 2.—“ Set up Thyself, O God.”  
No. 3.—“ How dear are Thy counsels.”  
No. 4. “ Like as the hart.”  
No. 5. “ Behold, I bring you good tidings.”  
No. 6.—“ I will lay me down in peace.”

No. 3.

Price Twopence.

---

LONDON SACRED MUSIC WAREHOUSE:  
NOVELLO, EWER AND CO.,  
1, BERNERS STREET (W.), AND 35, POULTRY (E.C.).

“How dear are Thy counsels.”

Psalm cxxxix 17, 18.

*Slow, and with expression.*

TREBLE.  
How dear are Thy counsels un - to me, . . . O

ALTO.  
How dear are Thy counsels un - to me, . . . O

TENOR  
(3ve. lower).  
How dear are Thy counsels un - to me, . . . O

BASS,  
How dear are Thy counsels un - to me, . . . O

ACCOMP.  
♩ = 60.  
*p*

God! How great is the sum of them! How great is the sum of them!

God! How great is the sum of them! How great is the sum of them!

God! How great is the sum of them! How great is the sum of them!

God! How great is the sum of them! How great is the sum of them!

If I tell them, they are more in num-ber than the sand, If I tell them, they are

If I tell them, they are more in num-ber than the sand, If I tell them, they are

If I tell them, they are more in num-ber than the sand, If I tell them, they are

If I tell them, they are more in num-ber than the sand, If I tell them, they are

more in num-ber than the sand. How dear are Thy coun-sels un-to

more in num-ber than the sand. How dear are Thy coun-sels un-to

more in num-ber than the sand. How dear are Thy coun-sels un-to

more in num-ber than the sand. How dear are Thy coun-sels un-to

me, O God, How great is the sum of them! How great is the

me, O God, How great is the sum of them! How great is the

me, O God, How great is the sum of them! How great is the

me, O God, How great is the sum of them! How great is the

sum of them! How dear are Thy coun-sels un-to me, O God!

sum of them! How dear are Thy coun-sels un-to me, O God!

sum of them! How dear are Thy coun-sels un-to me, O God!

sum of them! How dear are Thy coun-sels un-to me, O God!

# Arise, shine, for thy light is come.

## FULL ANTHEM FOR CHRISTMAS,

Composed by GEORGE J. ELVEY, Mus. Doc., Oxon., Organist to Her Majesty, and Organist of St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

London: NOVELLO, EWER AND CO., 1, Berners Street (W.), and 85, Poultry (E.C.).

MEASURES 1, 2, 3

TREBLE. A - rise, a - rise, shine, for thy light is come,

ALTO. A - rise, a - rise, shine, for thy light is come, shine,

TENOR, (vs. lower.) A - rise, a - rise, shine, for thy light is come,

BASS. A - rise, a - rise, shine, for thy light is come,

ACCOMP.

shine, for thy light is come, and the glo - ry of the Lord is ri - sen up - on thee is

for thy light is come, and the glo - ry of the Lord is ri - sen up - on thee is

shine, for thy light is come, and the glo - ry of the Lord is ri - sen up - on thee is

shine, for thy light is come, and the glo - ry of the Lord is ri - sen up - on thee is

ri - sen up - on thee. For be hold

ri - sen, is ri - sen up - on thee. For be hold

ri - sen, is ri - sen up - on... thee. For be hold

ri - sen, is ri - sen up - on thee. For be hold

ARISE, SHINE, FOR THY LIGHT IS COME.

darkness shall co - ver the earth, and gross dark-ness, and gross dark-ness,  
darkness shall co - ver the earth, and gross dark-ness, and gross dark-ness,  
darkness shall co - ver the earth, and gross dark-ness, and gross dark-ness,  
darkness shall co - ver the earth, and gross dark-ness, and gross dark-ness,

gross dark - ness the peo - ple, gross dark - ness the  
gross dark - ness the peo - ple, gross dark - ness the  
gross dark - ness the peo - ple, gross dark - ness the  
gross dark - ness the peo - ple, gross dark - ness the

*f*  
peo - ple; but the Lord shall a - rise, the Lord shall a - rise, the  
peo - ple; but the Lord shall a - rise, the Lord shall a - rise, the  
peo - ple; but the Lord shall a - rise, the Lord shall a - rise, the  
peo - ple; but the Lord shall a - rise, the Lord shall a - rise, the





ARISE, SHINE, FOR THY LIGHT IS COME

- - ness of thy ri - sing, and kings to the bright - ness, the  
bright - ness of thy ri - sing, and kings to the bright - ness,  
bright - ness of thy ri - sing, and kings to the bright - ness,  
bright - ness of thy ri - sing, and kings to the bright - ness,

bright - - ness of thy ri - sing. A - rise, a - rise,  
the bright - ness of thy ri - sing. A - rise, a - rise,  
the bright - ness of thy ri - sing. A - rise, a - rise, shine, . .  
the bright - ness of thy ri - sing. A - rise, a - rise,

shine, for thy light is come, shine, for thy light is come, thy light is come.  
shine, for thy light is come, shine, for thy light is come, thy light is come.  
for thy light is come, shine, for thy light is come, thy light is come.  
shine, for thy light is come, shine, for thy light is come, thy light is come.

# WHAT ARE THESE THAT ARE ARRAYED IN WHITE ROBES?

A SHORT ANTHEM.

COMPOSED BY

J. STAINER.

Revelation vii. 13-17.

Price 3d.

London: NOVELLO, EWER AND CO., 1, Berners Street (W.), and 25, Poultry (E.C.).

*Quick.*

**TREBLE.**  
Hal - le - lu - jah, Hal - le - lu - jah, Hal - le - lu - jah. What are

**ALTO.**  
Hal - le - lu - jah, Hal - le - lu - jah, Hal - le - lu - jah. What are

**TENOR**  
(Svs. lower).  
Hal - le - lu - jah, Hal - le - lu - jah, Hal - le - lu - jah. What are

**BASS.**  
Hal - le - lu - jah, Hal - le - lu - jah, Hal - le - lu - jah. What are

*Quick.*

**ACCOMP.**  
♩ = 108.

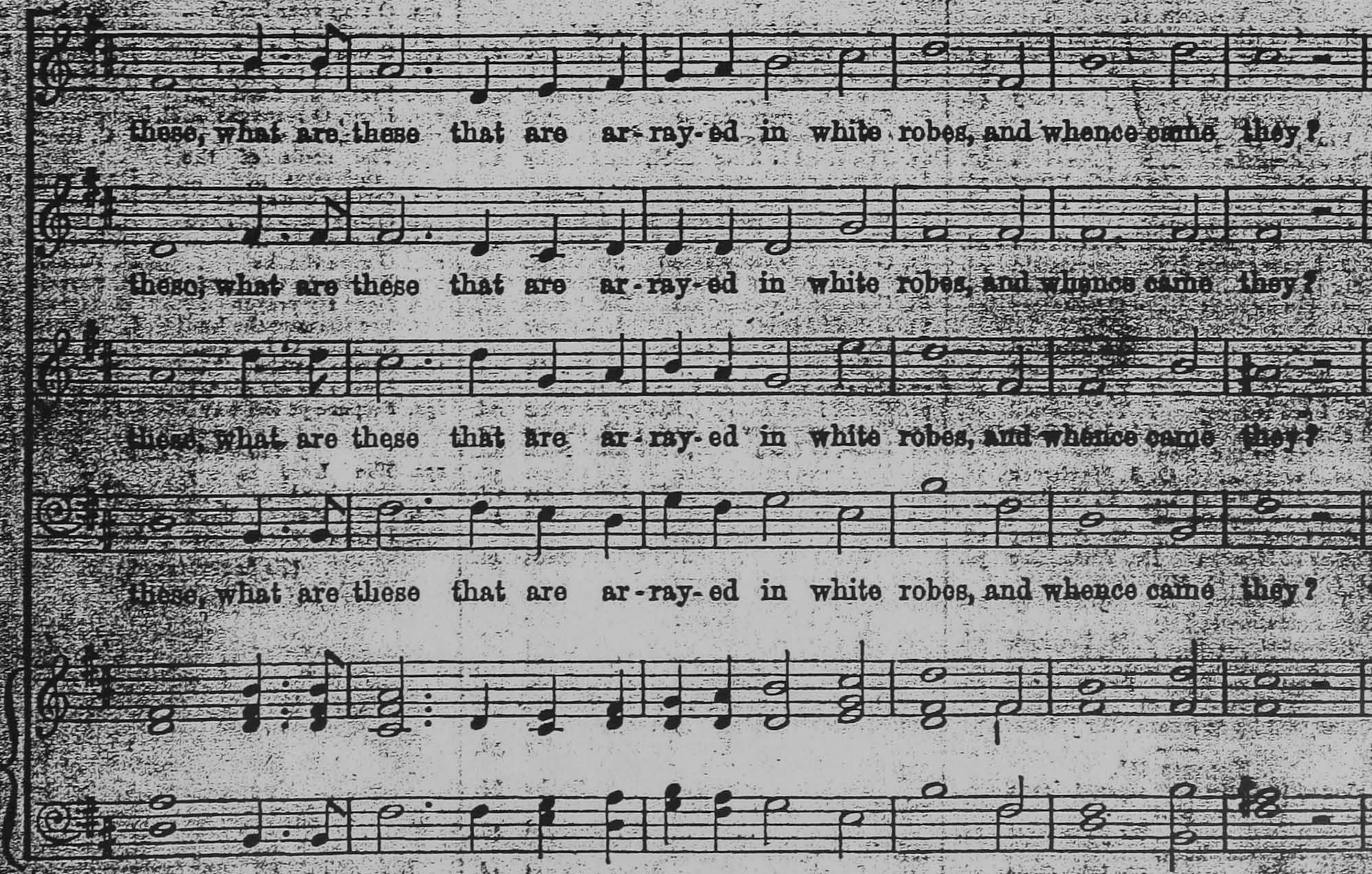


these, what are these that are ar-ray-ed in white robes, and whence came they?

these, what are these that are ar-ray-ed in white robes, and whence came they?

these, what are these that are ar-ray-ed in white robes, and whence came they?

these, what are these that are ar-ray-ed in white robes, and whence came they?



This Anthem was composed for the Choir of "All Saints," Lathbury.

WHAT ARE THESE THAT ARE ARRAYED IN WHITE ROBES?

*Silent. A little slower, and with expression. ♩ = 80.*

whence came they? These are they which came out of great tri-bu-la-tion, and have

*Silent.*

whence came they? These are they which came out of great tri-bu-la-tion, and have

*Silent.*

whence came they? These are they which came out of great tri-bu-la-tion, and have

*Silent.*

whence came they? These are they which came out of great tri-bu-la-tion, and have

*Silent. A little slower, and with expression.*

wash-ed their robes and made them white in the blood of the

wash-ed their robes and made them white in the blood of the

wash-ed their robes and made them white in the blood of the

wash-ed their robes and made them white in the blood of the

Lamb, the blood of the Lamb, *pp* These are they which came out of great tri-bu

Lamb, the blood of the Lamb, *pp* These are they which came out of great tri-bu

Lamb, the blood of the Lamb, *pp* These are they which came out of great tri-bu

Lamb, the blood of the Lamb, *pp* These are they which came out of great tri-bu

WHAT ARE THESE THAT ARE ARRAYED IN WHITE ROBES?

*cres.* *f*  
la - tion, and have wash - ed their robes, and made them white in the  
*cres.*  
la - tion, and have wash - ed their robes, and made them white in the  
*cres.*  
la - tion, and have wash - ed their robes, and made them white in the  
la - tion, and have wash - ed their robes, and made them white in the  
*cres.* *cres.* *f*

*dim.*  
blood of the Lamb, and have made them white in the blood of the Lamb.  
*dim.*  
blood of the Lamb, and have made them white in the blood of the Lamb.  
*dim.*  
blood of the Lamb, and have made them white in the blood of the Lamb.  
*dim.*  
blood of the Lamb, and have made them white in the blood of the Lamb.  
*dim.*  
blood of the Lamb, and have made them white in the blood of the Lamb.  
*dim.* *p*

*Quick.*  
Hal - le - lu - jah, Hal - le - lu - jah, Hal - le - lu - jah. There - fore are  
Hal - le - lu - jah, Hal - le - lu - jah, Hal - le - lu - jah. There - fore are  
Hal - le - lu - jah, Hal - le - lu - jah, Hal - le - lu - jah. There - fore are  
Hal - le - lu - jah, Hal - le - lu - jah, Hal - le - lu - jah. There - fore are  
*Quick.*

WHAT ARE THESE THAT ARE ARRAYED IN WHITE ROBES?

they, are they be - fore the throne of God, and serve Him day and night, day and  
they, are they be - fore the throne of God, and serve Him day and night, day and  
they, are they be - fore the throne of God, and serve Him day and night, day and  
they, are they be - fore the throne of God, and serve Him day and night, day and

(a little slower.)

night in His tem - ple. They shall hun - ger no more, nei - ther thirst a - ny more;  
night in His tem - ple. They shall hun - ger no more, nei - ther thirst a - ny more;  
night in His tem - ple. They shall hun - ger no more, nei - ther thirst a - ny more;  
night in His tem - ple. They shall hun - ger no more, nei - ther thirst a - ny more;

*p* (a little slower.)

nei - ther shall the sun light on them, nor a - ny heat. They shall hun - ger no  
nei - ther shall the sun light on them, nor a - ny heat. They shall hun - ger, shall  
nei - ther shall the sun light on them, nor a - ny heat. They shall hun - ger, shall  
nei - ther shall the sun light on them, nor a - ny heat. They shall hun

WHAT ARE THESE THAT ARE ARRAYED IN WHITE ROBES?

more, nei-ther thirst a - ny more. For the Lamb which is in the  
hun-ger no more, no more. For the Lamb which is in . . the  
hun-ger no more, no more. For the Lamb which is in . . the  
ger no more. For the Lamb which is in the

midst of the throne shall feed . . them, shall feed . . them, and shall  
midst of the throne shall feed them, shall feed . . them, and shall  
midst of the throne shall feed, shall feed . . them, and lead them  
midst of the throne shall feed, shall feed . . them, and lead them

*cres.* *ff* *pp*  
lead them un-to liv - ing foun-tains of wa - ters: and God shall wipe a -  
*cres.* *ff*  
lead them un-to liv - ing foun-tains of wa - ters:  
*cres.* *ff*  
un - to liv - ing foun-tains of wa - ters:  
*cres.* *ff* *pp*  
un - to liv - ing foun-tains of wa - ters:

way all tears, all tears from their eyes, . . . and God shall  
and God shall  
and God shall  
and God shall

wipe a - way all tears, all tears from their eyes, all  
wipe a - way all tears, all tears from their eyes, all  
wipe a - way all tears, all tears from their eyes, all  
wipe a - way all tears, all tears from their eyes, all

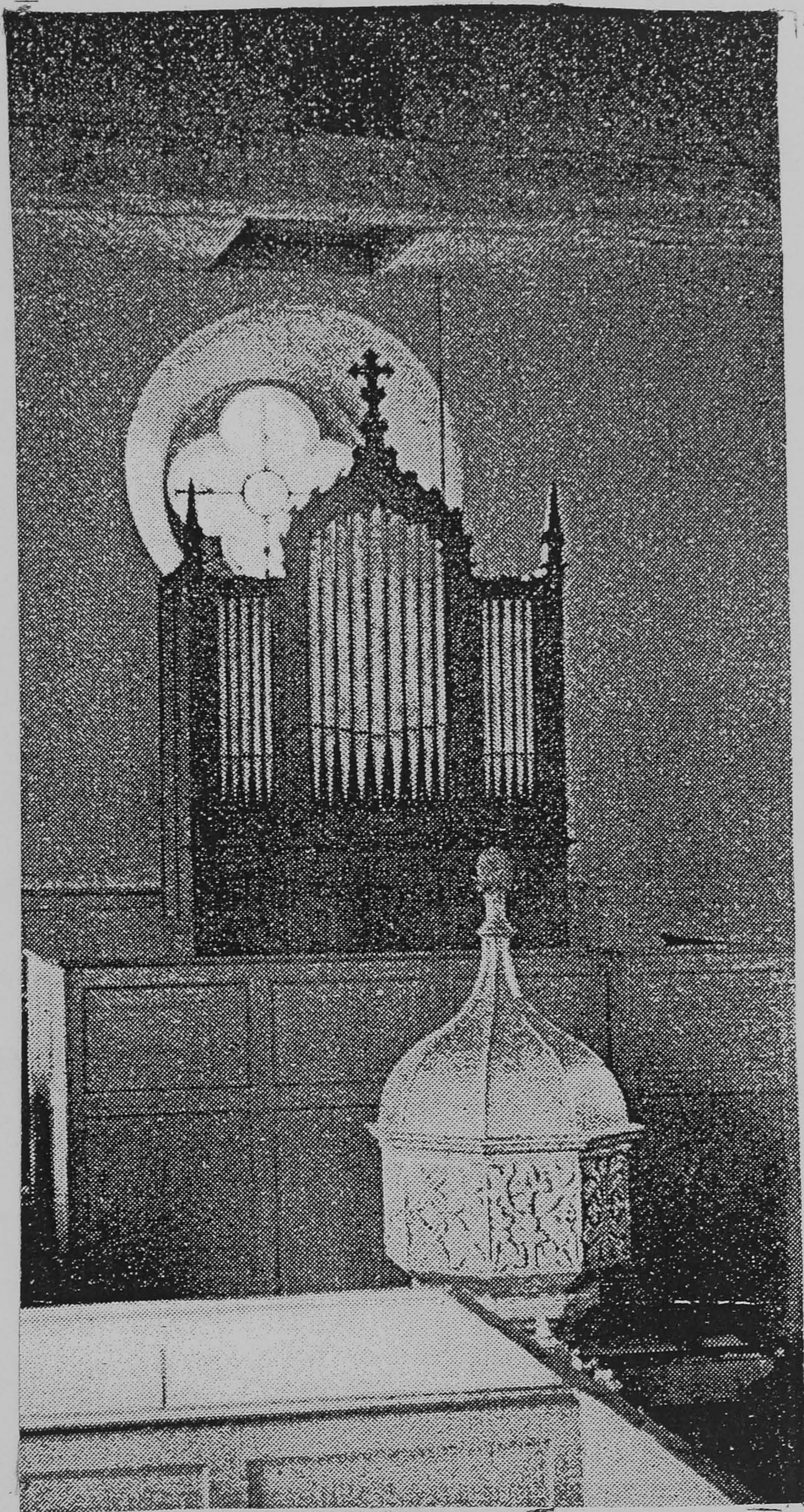
tears from their eyes, all tears from their eyes. . . .  
tears from their eyes, all tears from their eyes. . . .  
tears from their eyes, all tears from their eyes. . . .  
tears from their eyes, all tears from their eyes. . . .

*ppp rall.*

APPENDIX 3

ILLUSTRATION OF THE BARREL ORGAN IN SHELLAND CHURCH  
INSTALLED IN 1810





Shelland Church Barrel Organ, Suffolk

1810

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## APPENDIX 4

### RESULTS FROM THE AUTHOR'S STUDY OF TWENTY CHURCHES IN THE NORTH AND EAST RIDINGS OF YORKSHIRE

- a) Table One: Churches used in the Study.
- b) Table Two: Evidence of Instruments used in the Study.
- c) Table Three: Evidence of Singers used in the Study.
- d) Table Four: Dates of Keyboard Installation in the Study.

## TABLE ONE

### Churches Used in the Study

<u>Name of Church</u>	<u>Area of Yorkshire (*)</u>
1. Aughton, All Saints’.	East Riding.
2. Barmby Moor, St. Catherine’s.	East Riding.
3. Birdsall, St Mary’s.	North Riding.
4. Bishop Wilton, St.Edith’s.	East Riding.
5. Bossall, St. Botolph’s.	North Riding.
6. Burton Agnes, St. Martin’s.	North Riding.
7. Coxwold, St. Michael’s.	North Riding.
8. Easingwold, St. John the Baptist and All Saints.	North Riding.
9. Etton, St. Mary’s.	East Riding.
10. Harpham, St. John of Beverley.	East Riding.
11. Hollym, St. Nicholas’.	East Riding.
12. Holme-on-Spalding Moor, All Saints’.	East Riding.
13. Holme-on-the-Wolds, St Peter’s.	North Riding.
14. Huntington, All Saints’.	City of York.
15. Kilnwick, All Saints’.	North Riding.
16. Lund, All Saints’.	North Riding.
17. Market Weighton, All Saints’.	East Riding.
18. Northallerton, All Saints’.	North Riding.
19. Pocklington, All Saints’.	East Riding.
20. Wheldrake, St. Helen’s.	East Riding

\* Area of Yorkshire using Victorian Riding’s boundaries.

## KEY TO TABLE TWO

### Evidence of Instruments Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Instruments</u>		<u>Details</u>
	<u>Bass</u>	<u>Treble</u>	<u>Organ</u>

	*	*	*?
--	---	---	----

Name of Church and Parish.

(Details of church source and dates)

Bass/Treble refers to pitch of instrument.

Organ includes examples of any keyboard instrument.

\* = confirmed by records.

\*? = suggested evidence.

Details: Examples of instrument purchases and repairs, listing dates and amounts.

**TABLE TWO (part 1)**

**Evidence of Instruments Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.**

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Instruments</u>		<u>Details</u>
	<u>Bass</u>	<u>Treble</u> <u>Organ</u>	
All Saints' <b>Aughton</b>  (Parish Accounts 1807-50)	*	*?    Mending organ 1807 and 1809	1812 "Fiddle Stick and Candles etc 9s.8d."  1817 "Candles and Strings for Base 9s.0d." Further mention of replacement strings:1823, 1824, 1831, 1845, 1846, 1850.
(Faculty Book and architect's drawings)		Harmonium	1890

**TABLE TWO (part 2)**

**Evidence of Instruments Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.**

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Instruments</u>			<u>Details</u>
	<u>Bass</u>	<u>Treble</u>	<u>Organ</u>	
St. Catherine's		*		1828 "A Base Violine £2.2s.
<b>Barmby Moor</b>		*		1829 "Paid for Rosen for Fiddle, 2d."
(Church Accounts 1823-1906)		*		1831 "Paid for Repairing for Fiddle. 3s.6d."
		*		1832 "paid for violin strings 2s.9d."
		*	Organ installed by Postill 1866	1839 "Strings for fiddle 4s." 1848 Decision taken to rebuild church.
			2 manuals with pedals; allowance for old organ, (not previously recorded).	1875 "Organ tuning 10s." 1881 "Binding Music 2s.6d."

TABLE TWO (part 3)

Evidence of Instruments Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Instruments</u>			<u>Details</u>
	<u>Bass</u>	<u>Treble</u>	<u>Organ</u>	
St. Mary's Birdsall.	*			1754 Loft and Organ erected
	*			1801 "To a String for Do [bass violin] 2s.6d."
(Parish Accounts 1754-1867)	*		Barrel Organ from 1830s	1817 "Strings for the Violincello 8s.6d."
	*			1820 "Willm Dobson for Bas. Violin Strings 5s.0d."
Vestry Book (1869-1917)			*	1824 New church building on Lord Middleton's estate.
			*	1838 "To Organ Tuning £1.0s.0d."
Diocesan Faculty Book			*	1850 "John Clerk Hayes Organ Playing £5.0s.0d."
			*	1853 "To Robert Postill Repairing Organ Barrel £1.15s.0d."
			*	1875 Donations to new organ "from every single house in the parish"
				1878 "alterations and additions to church"

**TABLE TWO (part 4)**

**Evidence of Instruments Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.**

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Instruments</u>			<u>Details</u>
	<u>Bass</u>	<u>Treble</u>	<u>Organ</u>	
St. Botolph's <b>Bossall.</b>	*			1811 "Repairs to Base Fiddle 1s.8d."
(Account Book 1738-1833).	*?	*?		1830/1831 "Violin strings purchased 12s.2d."
			1 manual Harrison	1906 Brass Plate on Organ "The gift of Revd. G.D. Trotter"



**TABLE TWO (part 5)**

Evidence of Instruments Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Instruments</u>			<u>Details</u>
	<u>Bass</u>	<u>Treble</u>	<u>Organ</u>	
St. Edith's	*			1787 "for a Bass string 1s.6d."
<b>Bishop Wilton.</b>	*			1789 "Pd. To Robert Wilkinson for For 5 Bass Vile Strings 6s.6d."
(Churchwarden's	*			1789 "Pd.to Thos Sanderson for glewing the Bass Vile 5s.0d."
Book 1772-1825)	*			1792 "Set of Strings for Bass Viol 4s.0d."
Later records	*			1792 "Mending Bass Viol 3s.0d."
Missing, probably	*	*		1795 "Bewley for Clarionet and Base Fiddle £2.15s.6d."
Lost during church				1800 "Thomas Sanderson for the Repairs of Violincello 11s.0d."
Restoration in 1859.	*			1800 "Strings for Violincello 2s.6d."
	*			1807 "2 Strings for Violincello a first and third 1s.11d."
	*			1808 "Mend Bass Viol 8s.0d."
	*			1814 "Bass String 5s.0d."
			J.W. Walker	
			Organ	
			c.1866.	

## TABLE TWO (part 6)

### Evidence of Instruments Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Instruments</u>		<u>Details</u>
	<u>Bass</u>	<u>Treble</u>	
St Martin's <b>Burton Agnes.</b>	*		1809 "Pd. Mr Brown for Strings 3s.6d.".
	*		1820 "Pd. Fiddle Strings and Flannel 4s.5d.".
(Parish Accounts 1804-77)	*		1823 "Pd. Journey to Bridlington Quay for Fiddle String 5s.6d.".
	*		1825 "Ribbon for Church Book and Violin String £1.10s.".
			1840 Church restored.
		*	1877 "Messrs Forster and Andrews Hull To Tuning Organ £1.0s.0d.".

**TABLE TWO (part 7)**

**Evidence of Instruments Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.**

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Instruments</u>		<u>Details</u>
	<u>Bass</u>	<u>Treble</u>	
St. Michael's Coxwold.  (Churchwardens' Accounts 1718-1913)			1791 "To repair of musical instruments 16s.0d." * 1792 "To repairing the Bassviol 5s.0d." * 1792 "To Wm. Lief for repairing the Bass viol 7s.6d." *? *? 1792 "To strings for Do 5 Reads and repairing the other Instruments 5s.0d." 1796 "To repairing the musical instruments 18s.1d." * 1798 Decision to purchase organ by subscription was changed as instrument given as gift by Lord Fauconberg. 1806 First recorded payment to an organist, usually 3 guineas per annum. * 1807-08 "to Mr Donaldson to repairing the organ." * 1810 Bill for £16.16s.0d. paid to an Organ Builder. * 1826 "To Mr Ward for Repair of Organ £12.15s.0d." * 1835 "To tuning the organ 11s.0d." * 1836 "Tuning the Organ £1.6s.0d." * 1837 "Tuning the organ £1.1s.0d." * 1838 "Tuning the organ £1.1s.0d." * 1859 First mention of organ blower Mr Salmon. * 1861 "Mr Bell for repairing the Organ as per bill £1.10s.0d."

**TABLE TWO (part 8)**

Evidence of Instruments Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Instruments</u>		<u>Details</u>
	<u>Bass</u>	<u>Treble</u> <u>Organ</u>	
St John the Baptist and All Saints' Easingwold  (Parish Register 1804-28)	*		1805 "2 Base Strings for Fiddle cello 2s.4d."  Organ in place by 1809 1809 "Tho Sanderson and David for playing the Organ £1.1s.0d." * 1810 "Thomas Jackson and David Barker for half year playing the organ £1.1s.0d." * 1811 "Thomas Pryton for Cleaning the Organ 2s.6d." * 1812 "Organ player is paid £2.2s.0d." * 1820 "The Jackson for the organ £1.1s." * 1827 "Thomas Jackson for playing the organ £1.1s.0d." * 1827 "Thomas Jackson for playing the organ and Bell Ringing £2.11s.0d."
(Church Wardens' Accounts 1867-99)		*	* 1867 "For playing the Organ £5.0s.0d." * 1874 "Organist Mr Bensley half year Salary £6.0s.0d." * 1879 "Organist's salary £12.0s.0d." * 1879 "Organ blower £2.0s.0d." * 1886 "Organist £12.0s.0d." * 1886 "Organ blower £2.0s.0d." * 1898 "Organist £12.0s.0d." * 1898 "Organ Blower £2.0s.0d."
(Churchwardens' Accounts 1867-99)		1903 New Abbott and Smith Organ	1903 "The gift of Mrs Love" (Brass plate on Organ)

TABLE TWO (part 9)

Evidence of Instruments Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Instruments</u>			<u>Details</u>
	<u>Bass</u>	<u>Treble</u>	<u>Organ</u>	
St Mary's <b>Etton.</b>  (Church Accounts 1834-present)	*			1837 "Strings for the Bass for 4 years 3s.0d."
	*			1838 "Strings for the Bass 5s.0d."
	*			1842 "to strings for the Bass Fiddle 5s.0d."
	*			1843 "Bass Fiddle Bow 5s.6d. Strings 2s.6d."
	*			1844 "Strings for the Bass Fiddle 4s.0d."
	*			1849 "Strings for the Bass £1.10s.0d."
	*			1850 "Strings for the Bass 1s.3d."
	*			1850 "Fiddle Bow 8s.0d."
	*			1850 "Strings for the Bass Fiddle 3s.3d."
			*	1870 "Paid Mr Bartle as Per Bill for Harmonium 13s.0d."
Diocesan Faculty Book		*	c.1891 New organ and organ chamber; faculty granted 1891.	

**TABLE TWO (part 10)**

**Evidence of Instruments Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.**

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Instruments</u>		<u>Details</u>	
	<u>Bass</u>	<u>Treble</u>		<u>Organ</u>
St. John of Beverley, <b>Harpham</b>  (Parish Account 1789-1869)  (Faculties' Book 1886-present)		*	1839 "Paid Notice Papers and Violin Strings 5s.4d."	
			*	1843 "Paid Carriage for Organ Fetching 15s.0d."
			*	1843 "Paid Organ setting up £5.5s.0d."
			*	1846 "Paid Key for Organ 6d." (probably a barrel organ).
			*	1860 "Paid Repairing the Organ £6.6s.0d."
			*	1869 "Paid Blowing the Organ 12s."
			*	1897 "Move Squire's pew; rebuild organ, in gallery"  1910 Forster and Andrews organ.

**TABLE TWO (part 11)**

**Evidence of Instruments Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.**

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Instruments</u>		<u>Details</u>
	<u>Bass</u>	<u>Treble</u>	
St. Nicholas' <b>Hollym.</b>			*
(Church Accounts 1786-1922)			*
			*

**TABLE TWO (part 12)**

**Evidence of Instruments Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.**

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Instruments</u>		<u>Details</u>
	<u>Bass</u>	<u>Treble</u>	
All Saint's	*		1817 "Paid Carriage for a Bafs 3d,"
Holme-on-	*		1817 "Paid for a Bafs 9s.4d."
Spalding Moor	*?	*?	1824 "Paid Singers for Reeds and Things".
			* 1862 "Organ repairing and tuning £2.2s.0d."
			* 1866-67 "Mr Law. Repairing and tuning organ £1.10s.0d."
(Vestry Meetings Minute Book 1869-1917).			* 1875 Organist announced with salary of 5 guineas. Organ tuned by Forster and Andrews early that year
			* 1880-81 "Mr Amos [organist] and Harmonium £5.10s.0d." (Also mentioned annually over next five consecutive years.)
(Minute Book, Easter 1897)			* The present organ bought from Methodist Chapel in Manchester in 1897.
			* 1897 "John Walker Ibbotson appointed Organist and Choirmaster at a salary of five guineas."
			* 1901-02 "Mr Metcalfe. Repairs to Harmonium £6.6s.0d."



**TABLE TWO (part 13)**

Evidence of Instruments Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Instruments</u>		<u>Details</u>
	<u>Bass</u>	<u>Treble</u>	<u>Organ</u>
St. Peter's <b>Holme-on-</b> <b>the Wolds.</b> (Parish Accounts 1748-1861)		*	1789 "spent on Pitch Pipe 5s."

**TABLE TWO (part 14)**

**Evidence of Instruments Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.**

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Instruments</u>		<u>Details</u>
	<u>Bass</u>	<u>Treble</u>	
All Saints' <b>Huntington</b> (Parish Church Accounts 1827-92)			* 1865, 1866, 1869 various sums paid to George Richardson for repairing Harmonium.
			* 1872 New harmonium purchased at a cost of £24.0s.0d. when church was rebuilt.
(Parish Church Accounts 1893-present)			* 1892 "Tuning Harmonium £1. 1s.0d."
			* 1897 "Organ installed by Forster and Andrews, the gift of Mrs Driffield".

**TABLE TWO (part 15)**

**Evidence of Instruments Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.**

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Instruments</u>		<u>Details</u>
	<u>Bass</u>	<u>Treble</u>	
All Saints' <b>Kilnwick</b> (Parish Accounts 1835-78 Pre 1835 accounts lost)			* 1832 One manual Organ donated by Patron (Grimston family).
			* 1856 Robert Dalton receives first payment of £1.5s.0d. as organist.
			* 1857 Repairs to organ by Buycesons [sic]. [London builders Bryceson]
			* 1863 Kirby Dalton succeeds as organist
			* 1873 Introduction of the organ blower "Boy blowing organ bellows" who receives annual payment of 10s.0d.
			* 1873-1905 29 separate entries regarding "Blowing Organ Bellows"
			* 1894-95 "Forster and Andrews for tuning Organ 15s.0d."
			* 1889-90 "Paid to Mrs Ford for Books to Organ 6s.6d."
			* 1891 "As per Bill Music Book for Organ 4s.2d."
			* 1900 "To Forster and Andrews Bill Organ £1.5s.0d."

**TABLE TWO (part 16)**

Evidence of Instruments Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Instruments</u>		<u>Details</u>
	<u>Bass</u>	<u>Treble</u>	
All Saints' <b>Lund</b>		*	1811 "for a violin bow 7s.6d."
	*		1812 "Pd. Strings for Base Violin 9s.0d."
(Parish Accounts 1808-67)		*	1812-13 "Pd. For violin strings 5s.9d."
		*	1816-17 "Pd. For fiddle neck mending 4s.0d."
		*	1817 "Pd. For Violin Strings and violin mending 4s.0d. each"
	*		1825 "Bass Violin Repairing 7s.6d."
		*	1829 "Paid for Violin Strings and D: Bow mending 6s.6d."
		*	c.1830 "Clarinet purchased, and conditions imposed on its use"
		*	1835 "Pd. For a new Bow for violin as per Bill 7s.0d."
	*		1836 "Violincello Strings 2s.6d."
	*		1840 "To a Set of Strings for Bass Viol 4s.0d."
	*		1862 "Pd. A New Bow for Violincello as per Bill 2s.6d."
(Parish Accounts 1868-1914)		*	1881 "Vary's bill for organ"
		*	1882 "Pd. Denman for Organ tuning £1.1s.0d."
		*	1882 Payment to "Robson for blowing the organ £1.0s.0d."
(Diocesan Faculty Book 1886)		*	1891 "Building of vestry and organ chamber."

**TABLE TWO (part 17)**

Evidence of Instruments Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Instruments</u>		<u>Details</u>
	<u>Bass</u>	<u>Treble</u>	
All Saints' <b>Market Weighton</b>	*		1784 "Bassoon by Parish Order £1.12s.0d."
(Church	*		1784 "For Reeds by Do 10s.6d."
Wardens'	*		1786 "Pd. For reeds for musical instruments in ye Church 10s.6d."
Accounts	*		1787 "for mending the bassoon and Carriage to York 2s.6d."
1784-1835)	*	*?	1790 "Pd. Singers for Reeds and Strings 10s.6d." (January + March)
		*	1796 First mention of an organ gallery Cost given as £13.6s.3d."
		*	1797-98 First mention of an organist, Mr P.M. Hudson, "due for the organ £5.2s.0d."
		*	1797-98 "Paid at York for Ornamenting the Organ £2.5s.0d."
		*	1800 Hudson paid £2.12s.6d. as his salary at irregular intervals.
		*	1812-13 Organist receives £11.0s.0d. "for playing organ for 55 weeks at 4 shillings per Week"

(continued over)

**TABLE TWO (part 18)**

**Evidence of Instruments Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.**

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Instruments</u>		<u>Details</u>
	<u>Bass</u>	<u>Treble</u>	
All Saints' <b>Market Weighton</b> (continued)			* 1845 "Pd. Mr Ward for repairs at the Organ 15.10s."
			* 1845 "Pd. Mr Ward 2 <sup>nd</sup> cheque for Organ £1.0s.0d."
(Church Wardens' Accounts 1835-1903)			* 1850 "Robinson for Blowing the organ 10s.0d."
			* 1856 "Robt. Postill's Bill for tuning the Organ £2.16.0d"
No details of Faculty for 1859.			* 1859 "Postill's £1.7s.0d."
			1859 Re-pewing and re-fitting interior
			* 1860 "B. Law's Bill for tuning Harmonium 5s.0d."
			* 1860 "Postill's Bill York £1.7.0d."
			* 1863 "Postill's Bill £1.8s.0d."
			* 1863 "Stub Tuning fork 2s.0d."
			* 1869 A drawing showing position of organ on left side of altar, which is its present position.
			* 1871 "Law repairing and setting up organ, £11 9s.od."
			* 1872 New organist appointed at a salary of £10 per annum.
		1897 retiling of chancel floor.	

**TABLE TWO (part 19)**

**Evidence of Instruments Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.**

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Instruments</u>		<u>Details</u>
	<u>Bass</u>	<u>Treble</u>	
All Saints' <b>Northallerton.</b>  (Churchwardens' Accounts 1831-57; 1857-69; 1890-1903  Churchwardens' Vouchers 1780; 1820-60; 1881-82.			* 1819-20 Barrel Organ is installed
			* c.1844 Pipe Organ
			* 1844-45 R. Whildon pd. £1.10s. for "Blowing Billows".
			* 1847-48 Miss Bates, organist, pd. £10.0s.0d.".
			* 1859-65 George Pritchard, Mr Whitehead and Thomas Hopkinson all received salaries for playing the organ
			* 1886 Organ installed by Wordsworth of Leeds.
		* 1898 J.H. Stevenson quarter due for organ blowing £1.5.0d.".	
		* 1905 Restoration of organ by Wordsworth, estimated at cost of £200.	

**TABLE TWO (part 20)**

Evidence of Instruments Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Instruments</u>		<u>Details</u>
	<u>Bass</u>	<u>Treble</u> <u>Organ</u>	
All Saints' <b>Pocklington</b>  (The Accounts of the Church Wardens 1816-71.)  (Faculties 1620-1885)	*		1831 "To Bass Viol £1.15s.0d."
		*	1838 "Organist £5,0s.0d."
		*	1864 "Organ Blower 5s.0d."
			1864 "Organist £10.0s.0d."
		*	1867 Contract for new organ entered into between Forster and Andrews of Hull and All Saints' Organ Committee on May 8 <sup>th</sup> 1867.
		*	1868 "alterations to interior of church", these included space for new organ
		*	1870 Organist continues to receive annual salary of £10, and the blower £1.0s.0d.



**TABLE TWO (part 21)**

Evidence of Instruments Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Instruments</u>		<u>Details</u>
	<u>Bass</u>	<u>Treble</u>	
St Helen's <b>Wheldrake.</b>  (Church Accounts 1740-1881).		*	1773 "To singers for a Book for the Hoboy and Reeds 7s.4d."
		*	1774 "Paid to Schoolmaster for Reeds for the Hoyboy 2s.6d."
		*	1776 "paid for reeds for the church 3s.0d."
		*	1782 "To 4 Reeds for the Singers 4s.4d."
		*	1789-90 "Pd. For two Reeds for the Bassoon 3s.0d."
		*	1802 "pd. 2 Reeds for Basoune 3s.0d"
		*	1819 "Paid for 2 Reeds for Bassoons 2s.6d."
			* 1854 Indication of first organ (subscription sheet).
			* 1873-75 Church restored, with choir stalls and organ placed at east end.
			* 1873 Piano hired from Waddingtons.
			* 1874 Harmonium hired for £6.0s.0d.
			* 1874 New Organ by Postill of York at a cost of £140. Money raised by subscription.
			* 1876 Trumpet stop added at cost of £18.0s.0d.
		* 1876 Organist's salaries at this time: £10 per annum, paid quaterly.	

**TABLE THREE (part 1)**

**Evidence of Singers Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.**

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Year</u>	<u>Details</u>
All Saints' Aughton.	1807	"Paid for singing expenses £2.15s.6d.."
	1810	"To Singers 10s.0d."
(Parish Accounts 1807-50)	1814	"Bubwith Singers 5s.0d."
	1832	"Bubwith Singers 5s0d"
St. Catherine's Barmby Moor. (Church Accounts) 1823-1906)	1824	"Pocklington Singers Paid 5s.0d."
	1899	"The thanks of the Vestry were unanimously carried to the church workers and choir"
St Mary's Birdsall. (Parish Accounts 1801-68)	1814	"Burrythorpe Singers 5s.0s."
	1816	"Acklam Singers 10s.0s."
	1817	"Grimston Singers 5s.6d."
	1822	"Huby Underdale Singers 10s.6d."
	1844	"Given to the Singers £1.0s.0d."

**TABLE THREE (part 2)**

Evidence of Singers Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Year</u>	<u>Details</u>
St. Botolph's <b>Bossall.</b> (Account Book 1738-1833).	1800	"Given to Buttercrambe Singers 7s.6d."
	1800	"Given to Thorby under Dale Singers 10s.6d."
	1800	"Given to Scrayingham Singers 5s.0d."
	1804	"Given to Flaxton Singers 10s.6d."
	1806	"Paid to Crambe Singers 10s.6d."
	1807	"Paid to Flaxton Singers 10s. 6d."
	1809	"Paid to Buttercrambe Singers 10s. 6d."
	1817	"Paid to Catton Singers 7s. 0s."
	1818	"Paid to Serengam [?] Singers 5s.0d."
	1822	"Paid Scrayinham Singers 5s.0d."
	1823	"Skirpenbeck Singers 14s.0d."
	1824	"Pay to Skirpenbeck Singers 7s.0d."
	St. Edith's <b>Bishop Wilton</b> (Churchwardens' Book 1772-1825)	1772 onwards
1802		"Thirby Singers [sic] 7s.6d."
1805		"Kirby's Singers 13s.0d."
1807		"given to Yapham Singers 10s.0d."
1807		"Robt. Wilkinson half year Sallery {clerk} £1.1s.0d. + for his Larning [sic] the Singers £2.2s.0d."
1808		"Book to prick Psalms into 6s.0d."
1816	"Gave to Wilberfoss Singers £1.0s.0d."	

**TABLE THREE (part 3)**

**Evidence of Singers Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.**

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Year</u>	<u>Details</u>
St. Martin's <b>Burton Agnes</b> (Parish Accounts 1804-77)	1804	“Paid to Mr Copeland for teaching to sing psalms £5.19s.0d.”
	1809	“Pd. Rudston Psalm Singers £1.12s.0d.”
St. Michael's <b>Coxwold.</b> (Churchwardens' Accounts 1778-1913)	1791	“the Singers should have a treat yearly at Christmas, at the expence of the Parish, to the value of a Guinea and half”
	1791	“Ringers and Singers received monies at some Christmases”
	1799	“To the Singers as usual as added to the Organ Acct. £2.2s.0d.”
	1800	“To Accounts giving in and added to the Organ Acct. as usual £3.0s.0d.”
	1802	“Ditto £3.0s.0d.”
	1806	“To the Singers as usual and put to Organ Acc. £2.6s.0d.”
	1808	“To expended on the Singers £2.3s.6d.”
	1816	“To the Singing Boys £3.0s.0d.”
	1817	“To the Singing Boys and Girls £3.2s.0d.”
	1819	“To cash to the Singing Boys and Girls £3.3s.0d.”
1827	“Singing Boys £2.14s.4d.”	
Up Until 1839		Singing boys and girls continued to be paid.

**TABLE THREE (part 4)**

Evidence of Singers Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Year</u>	<u>Details</u>
St John the Baptist and All Saints' <b>Easingwold.</b>  (Parish Registers 1804-28)  (Churchwardens' Accounts 1867-1899)	1805	"Ringers and Singers on that day 17s2d."
	1805	"Singers Supper on Easter Tuesday £1.1s.0d."
	1807	"Ringers and Singers Supper £1.9s.6d."
	1807	"Allowance given to Alne Singers £1.1s.0d."
	1809	"Singers Christmas Box £6s.0d."
	1809	"Given to 10 boys and girls for Singing 10s.0d."
	1810	"Given Singers on Easter day for ale 5s.0d."
	1810	"Ian Nash (?) and Bowling for half year conducting Boys and Girls in Singing £1.1s.1d."
	1827	"14 boys and girls Singers and Christmas box 3s.0d."
	1828	"Given to Singing Boys 3s.0d."
	1898	"Music for Choir 16s.0d."
	1898	"Choir expenses to Scarborough £7.6s.2d."
	1898	"Choir Librarian 7s.6d."
St Mary's <b>Etton</b> (Accounts 1833 to current)	1833 (Christmas day)	"Gave Singers £1.0s.0d."
	1834 (Christmas day)	"Singers £1.0s.0d."
	1837	"1lb. Of candles for Singers 6d."
	1839	"Singing Supper £1.10s.0d."
	1840-46	Singing Supper ditto.

**TABLE THREE (part 5)**

Evidence of Singers Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Year</u>	<u>Details</u>
St. John of Beverley, <b>Harpham.</b> (Parish Accounts 1799-1869)	1819	"Pd. To Burton Agnes Singers Allowance 7s.6d."
St Nicholas, <b>Hollym.</b> (Church Accounts) 1786-1922)	1806	"Gave To patrington [sic.] Singers 10s.6d."
	1815	"To Patrington Singers 18s.6d."
	1815	"Paid Singers £1.1s.0d."
	1906	"Rev.C. Day, for Choir Trip £1.0s.0s."
	1907	"Rev.C. Day, for Choir Trip 7s.0d."
	1909	"Rev.C. Day, for Choir Trip £1.0s.0d."
	1909	"3 Choir boys 15s.0d."
	1910	"Rev. J.F. Tomlinson for Choir trip 10s.0d."
	1910	"4 Choir Boys £1.0s.0d."
All Saints' <b>Holme-on- Spalding Moor</b> (Church Wardens' Accounts 1789-present)	1815	"Paid the Singers on account of the late church wardens £1.1s.0d."
	1821	"Paid Wm. Stainton for Singing, due Midsummer 1820 £1.1s.0d."
	1822-39	William Stainton, approx. £2.0s.0d. p.a. "for singing".
	1824	"Paid Singing Master £5.8s.0d."
	1831	"Paid Singers 10s.0d."

**TABLE THREE (part 6)**

**Evidence of Singers Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.**

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Year</u>	<u>Details</u>
St. Peters' <b>Holme on the Wolds.</b> (Parish Accounts 1748-1861)	1789	"spent on Pitch Pipe 5s.0d."
	1808	"to S. Dalton singers 7s.0d."
	1820	"To Robt. Wardel for Psalm Singing 5s.0d."
All Saints' <b>Huntington.</b>  Parish Accounts (1827-92)	1828 + 1835	"Paid to Haxby Singers 5s.0d."
	1830 + 1836	"To Heslington Singers 10s.0d."
	1833	"To Haxby Singers 5s.0d."
	1835-71	Thos. Boggot received annual salary "for singing £2.0s.0d."
(Parish Accounts 1892-present)	1836	"To Heslington Singers 5s.0d."
	1872-77	Boggit continues to receive payment "for singing" £2.0s.0d."
	1894	At annual Easter Vestry "The Choir were thanked for their services..."
	1896	"Collecting Xmas for Choir Boys £1.0s.0d"
	1896	"Choir excursion Acc. £3.3s.0d."
	1897	"Collection in aid of the School and Choir trip £1.6s.9d."
	1897	"Paid to Choir Boys 13s.9d."
	1897	"Paid to School and Choir Fund £1.6s.9d."
1899	"Pd. To Choir £2.7s.10d."	
1900	"Choir Fund £1.9s.0d."	

**TABLE THREE (part 7)**

**Evidence of Singers Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.**

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Year</u>	<u>Details</u>
All Saints' <b>Kilnwick.</b>  (Parish Accounts 1835-78 1879-1905)	1900	"Bill for Anthems paid 4s.6d."
	1901	"Collections made for Choir Fund 8s.4d."
	1901	"To Receipt Chor Treat 8s.4d."
	1901	"To Receipt for Anthems 2s.6d."
	1902	"Choir Fund collection £1.6s.1d."
	1903	"To Mr Ford for Anthems 1s.5d."
All Saints' <b>Lund.</b>  (Parish Accounts 1808-67)	1812	"To Locking [sic.] Singers 10s.0d."
	1812	"for instruction to singing Psalms £3.0s.0d."
	1814	"Pd. for Instructions to psalm singing £2.17s.0d."
	1816	"Pd. for Instructions for Paslms [sic.] Singing £2.17.0d."
	1817	"Pd. to John Hardbattle and George Waller for teaching Psalm Singing £2.2s.0d."
	1818	"For teaching Psalm singing £2.2s.0d."
	1819	"Paid for teaching psalm singing £2.2s.0d."
	1821	"for Teaching psalm singing £2.2s.0d."
	1827	"Paid to Psalm singers £2.2s.0d."
	1859	"Psalm Singers.....£1.0s.0d."
	1863	"Singers £1.0s.0d."
	1864	"Singers £1 among them £1.0s.0d."
	1865, 1866, 1867	ditto
	1890	"Anthems for Harvest Thanksgiving 3s.0d."
1890	"Hymn Books 3s.9d."	



**TABLE THREE (part 8)**

**Evidence of Singers Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.**

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Year</u>	<u>Details</u>
All Saints'	1836	"Pd. Singers for one Year £1.0s.0d."
<b>Market Weighton</b>	1837	"Paid Singers at Confirmation 10s.0d."
(Church Wardens'	1838	"Paid to the Singers £1.0s.0d."
Accounts 1784-1835 1835-1903)		
All Saints'	1831	"Singers Salary £5.5s.0d."
<b>Northallerton</b>	1843	"3 male Singers of whom 2 received £2, 1 £1"
(Churchwardens'	1844	"Holmes and Walker Singing £4.4s.0d."
Accounts	1848	"Holmes and Parker [singers] paid £4.4s.0d."
1831-57; 1857-69	1853	"Singers paid £5.1s.0d."
1890-1903)	1854	"Singers paid £5.1s.0d."
(Churchwardens' Vouchers 1780s 1820-60; 1881-82)		
All Saints'	1834	"Church Singers 10s.0d."
<b>Pocklington.</b>	1835	"J. Thompson Singers Supper £5.0s.0d."
(The Accounts of	1836	"Singers £5.0s.0d."
the Church Wardens	1838	"Singers £5.0s.0d."
1816-71)		

**TABLE THREE (part 9)**

Evidence of Singers Used in some East and North Riding's Churches.

<u>Parish</u> (Source)	<u>Year</u>	<u>Details</u>
St. Helen's	1811	"To 1 Musick Paper 1 Quire 3s.0d."
<b>Wheldrake.</b>	1813	"Two Dozen of Singing Books £1.1s.0d."
(Church Accounts	1815	"Paid for one Dozen of singing Books 10s.6d."
1740-1881)	1819	"Paid to the Singers £2.2s.0d."
	1819	"Paid for Candles for the Singers 2s.10d."
	1822	"Paid Choir Hopps for singing £2.0s.0d."
	1824	"Paid Chr. Hopps for singing £1.0s.0d."
	1825	"Paid Chris Hopps for Singing £1.0s.0d."
	1826	"Paid Chrid Hopps for Singing £1.0s.0d."
	1831	"Pd. Singers £1.1s.0d."
	1833	"Pd. Singers £1.1s.0d."
	1835	"Paid the singers £1.0s.0d."
	1837	"Paid the singers £1.0s.0d."
	to 1869	Regular annual payments to the singers and to to John Hopps.

## TABLE FOUR

### Dates of Keyboard Installation in some East and North Riding Churches.

<u>General Period</u>	<u>Exact Date</u>	<u>Church</u>	<u>Keyboard Instrument</u>
1790-99	1797	Market Weighton	Organ
	1798	Coxwold	Decision made to buy organ
1800-09	1806	Coxwold	First recorded payment to organist
	1807	Aughton	Mending organ (Prob. Barrel)
	1809	Easingwold	Organist paid
1810-19	1810	Wheldrake	Organist paid
1820-29			
1830-39	1830s	Birdsall	Barrel Organ
	1832	Kilnwick	Organ donated by patron
	1838	Pocklington	Organ (barrel?)
1840-49	1843	Harpham	Organ "set up" (barrel organ)
	1844	Northallerton	Organ blower paid
1850-59	1854	Wheldrake	First organ
1860-69	1860	Market Weighton	Harmonium
	1862	Holme-on-Spalding Moor	Organ in place by this date
	1865	Huntington	New Harmonium
	1866	Barmby Moor	Organs installed by Postill
	1866	Bishop Wilton	Organ by J.W. Walker
	1867	Pocklington	Contract for new organ signed

**TABLE FOUR (continued)**

Dates of Keyboard Installation in some East and North Riding Churches.

<u>General Period</u>	<u>Exact Date</u>	<u>Church</u>	<u>Keyboard Instrument</u>
1870-79	1870	Etton	Bill for Harmonium
	1874	Wheldrake	Harmonium hired. New organ (Postill)
	1875	Birdsall	Donations to new organ from parishioners
	1877	Burton Agnes	Forster and Andrews tuning organ
1880-89	1880	Market Weighton	Pipe organ installed by Henry James
	1881	Lund	First mention of organ
	1886	Northallerton	Organ installed by Wordsworth of Leeds
	1889	Hollym	Organ built for £92.10s.
1890-99	1890	Aughton	Harmonium
	1891	Etton	New Organ and Organ Chamber
	1897	Holme-on-Spalding Moor	Organ brought from Manchester
	1897	Huntington	New organ (Forster and Andrews)
1900-09	1903	Easingwold	New organ (Abbott and Smith)
	1905	Northallerton	Organ restored (Wordsworth of Leeds)
	1906	Bossall	Harrison organ
	1910	Harpham	New Organ (Forster and Andrews)

APPENDIX 5

ORGAN SUBSCRIPTIONS AND SPECIFICATION OF  
WHELDRAKE CHURCH IN EAST YORKSHIRE

- a) Parishioner's Organ Subscription List of Wheldrake Church (1854)
- b) Organ Specification of Wheldrake Church (1874)

Parishioner's Organ Subscription List of Wheldrake Church.

1854

Messrs Raimond & Co, Edinburgh, having generously offered to give a handsome sum, towards providing an Organ for the Church at Wheldrake, the Parishioners are anxious to avail themselves of their liberality, and a Subscription having been opened for that purpose, the donations of those who may be pleased to contribute towards this desirable object, will be most thankfully received, -

	L.	S.	D.		L.	S.	D.
Wenlock	20	-	-	Mr Francis Pottage	77	11	
Lady Wenlock	5	-	-	Mr Rich <sup>d</sup> . Wray	x	10	
Dowager Lady Wenlock	5	-	-	Robert Green	x	3	
Messrs Raimond & Co	x	25	-	Prof. Jernam	x	5	
R. B. Cooke	x	5	-	Mr. Quentin Acomb		5	
Rev. Jas Grayling	x	1	1	Mr. Edw. Raimond Stratley		10	
William Pitch	x	5	-	Mr. Oliver Turner	x	1	
Thos. Lumley Dickerworth	x	5	0 0	Mr. Oliver Turner	x	1	
Edm. Stephenson	x	1	-	Capt. Anthony Case	x	1	
Mrs Raimond	x	1	-	Genl. George W. Wray	x	10	
James Green	x	1	-	J. S. Jefferson	x	5	
Mr. Milandlish	x	-	10	Mr. Matthew Brown		5	
Mr. Rich <sup>d</sup> . Bolton	x	-	10	Mr. Isaac Brown	x	-	10
Mr. Tho <sup>s</sup> . Bolton	x	-	10	Mr. J. W. Pottage	x	-	5
John Carrage	x	1	-	Mr. Wm. Nicholson	x	-	2 6
Mr. Benj <sup>m</sup> . Myers	x	-	10	Mr. Mark Myers	x	-	5
Mr. Benj <sup>m</sup> . Lacy	x	-	10	Miss Gray	x	-	3
	27	11			89	14	6

Parishioner's Organ Subscription List of Wheldrake Church

	L	S	D
	19	4	6
Mr William Herbert x	10	-	-
Mr John Etherton x	10	-	-
John Dukin x	1	-	-
Mr Geo. Hughes x	1	"	0
George Dodsworth x	5	"	"
The Rev. & Rev. S. W. Sawley x	1	"	"
Mr J. Burdett x	10	-	-
Mr Geo. Mich x	10	-	-
Mr John Wells x	5	-	-
Mr Walter Melrose x	1	1	-
Mr Geo. Harrison x	5	-	-
Mr Benj. Dodsworth x	1	1	-
	102	6	6

1874

**YORK ORGAN FACTORY.**

Established 1832.

Blenheim Place, Monkgate.

Specification of a New Organ for Wheldrake Ch.  
Church to be enclosed in a <sup>plain</sup> deal case with speaking  
pipes in front.

The sound board tables and sliders to be of Mahogany.  
Foot boards of mahogany not less than  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch thick; levers  
and draw stops to be of oak or mahogany or hard wood.

The Organ to have large horizontal bellows, double  
action; double leathred; inverted folds for even pressure & inward  
waste valve to secure silence. The action to be on an improved  
principle avoiding a large portion of friction caused in the old  
system.

The swell box to be not less than 2 inch thick on  
the improved venetian plan, and lined with thick brown paper.  
The sound boards to have concussion <sup>boards</sup> for steadying the wind, one to  
swell and one to Great-Organ.

The keyboards and keys to be in the best style and  
finish; the keys with Ivory fronts.

All backfalls, squares, and principal action work to be made  
of the best well seasoned hardwoods so as to be durable and work silent,  
and all centres for rollers &c. to be cloth bushed.

The scale of the pipes <sup>Small Scale</sup> ~~to be of the best~~ and all the  
metal pipes to be of the best metal of approved substance.

The whole of the work throughout to be made of the best  
well seasoned materials, finished in a good and workmanlike manner  
to the satisfaction of the purchasers. J. W. Johnson (signed)



## Organ Specification of Wheldrake Church.

Pedal Organ  
 From C<sup>6</sup> to F 30 notes  
 Bourdon ————— 16 ft tone

Couplers  
 Solo to Great  
 Great to Pedals

Two Octaves and a Third of German Pedals for the feet—  
 three Composition Pedals for changing the Stops  
 One Clavier for Pedals

Summary

<u>No of Registers</u>		<u>No of Pipes</u>
Great Organ	7	Great Organ 280
Solo do	7	Solo do 332
Pedal Organ	1	Pedal do 30
Couplers	2	
<u>Total of Registers</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>Total of pipes 642</u>

I agree to build and erect the above Specified Organ  
 in Wheldrake Church with the exception of Carriage  
 for the sum of One Hundred and Forty pounds  
 £140-0-0.

1874  
 Signed

Robt Postill

## Organ Specification of Wheldrake Church.

## Great Organ.

Compass  $C_6$  to  $C_7$  in alt 5b notes.

No	Names of Stops.	Material.	Compass.	Feet Tone.	Notes
1	Open Diapason	Metal	$C_6$ to $C_7$	8	56
2	Stop Diapason Bass	Wood	$C_6$ to $B_5$	8	12 24
3	Clarabella Treble	Wood	Mid $C_6$ to $C_7$	8	44 32
4	Principal	Metal	$C_6$ to $C_7$	14	56
5	Slide Harmonica	Wood	$C_6$ to $C_7$	14	56
6	Fifteenth	Metal	$C_6$ to $C_7$	2	56
7	Blank R Slide for Clarinet				
In Great Organ Total of pipes					280

## Swell Organ.

Compass  $C_6$  to  $C_7$  in alt 5b notes.

1	Open Diapason	Metal	$C_6$ to $C_7$	8	114
2	Gedact	Wood	$C_6$ to $B_5$	8	12
3	Treble ditto	Wood	$C_6$ to $C_7$	8	114
4	Viol de Gamba	Metal	$C_6$ to $C_7$	8	114
5	Gemshorn	Metal	$C_6$ to $C_7$	14	56
6	Mixture, two Ranks	Metal	$C_6$ to $C_7$		88
7	Oboe	Metal	$C_6$ to $C_7$	8	114
In Swell Organ Total of pipes					332

## APPENDIX 6

### EXAMPLES OF ARTICLED PUPIL'S INDENTURES

- a) Stevens' Indenture.
- b) Render's Indenture.

## – Stevens' Indenture

Articles of Agreement indented had [*sic.*] made concluded and agreed upon the fifteenth day of December in the Ninth year of the Reign of his Majesty King George the Third And in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty eight Between William Savage of St Pauls Bakehouse Court in the Parish of Saint George by Saint Pauls in the City of London Esquire of the one part, and John Stevens of Saint Michael Bassishan<sup>1</sup> Basinghall Street London Cloth-Drawer and Richard John Samuel Stevens son of the said John Stevens of the other Part.

Imprints the said William Savage as well for and in consideration of the several sums of Money agreed to be paid to him as hereinafter mentioned as for and in consideration of the Covenant and Agreements hereinafter contained on the part and behalf of the said John Stevens his Executors and Administrators to be kept and performed Doth hereby Covenant Promise and Agree with the said John Stevens his Executors and Administrators That he the said William Savage shall and will according to the best and utmost of his skill and knowledge teach and instruct the said Richard Stevens in the Science of Musick in general and particularly in the several Arts and Methods of singing playing or performing on the Harpsichord and in all things incidental thereto for and during the Term of space of seven years from the Day of the Date hereof if the said William Savage and Richard Stevens shall so long live And that for and during the Continuance of su[ch t]erm the said William Savage shall and will find and provide unto and for the said Richard Stevens good and sufficient Meat Drink and Lodging. (except in case of sickness or accidents happening to the said Richard Stevens during the continuance of the said term.[]]

Item the said John Stevens (at the request of the said Richard Stevens in consideration of the Premises) Doth hereby for himself his Executors and Administrators covenant promise and agree to and with the said William Savage his Executors and Administrators that he the said Richard Stevens shall well and faithfully serve the said William Savage during the said Term of seven years and that during the term the said Richard Stevens shall well and diligently perform and execute all his lawful and reasonable commands and orders and behave himself towards the said William Savage in all things faithfully and diligently and shall not nor will at any time or times during the said Term absent himself or depart from the Business of the said William Savage nor shall imbezzel purloin waste spoil make away with loose or unlawfully keep or detain or cause or willingly suffer to be imbezzeled purloined wasted spoiled made away with lost or unlawfully kept or detained any of the Money Books Manuscripts Papers Musical Instruments Goods Effects or Things of or belonging to the said William Savage or publish or give or deliver out any Copy or Copies of any such Books Papers or Manuscripts to any Person or Persons whomsoever without the Consent of he said William Savage And Further that the said John Stevens his Ex[ecutors] or Administrators shall and will yearly and every year for and during the continuance of the said Term well and truly pay or cause to be paid to the said William Savage his Executors or Administrators the Sum of Ten pounds by equal half yearly payments and likewise shall and will at his and their own proper Costs and Charges provide for and allow to the said Richard Stevens competent and sufficient Cloathing Apparel and Washing and also necessary and proper Physick Remedies Medicines and advice of Physical Surg[eo]n and Apothecary and other Extraordinaries in case of sickness or accidents happening to the said Richard Stevens and also during the time of such sickness or his recovery from accidents good and sufficient meat drink and Lodging.

Item for the more sure and punctual performance of the several Covenants and Agreements hereinbefore contained each of them the said William Savage and John Stevens doth hereby bind himself his Heirs Executors and Administrators to the other of them his Executors and Administrators in the penal sum of one hundred pounds of lawful Money of Great Britain to be paid in case of any default or failure therein In Witness whereof the said parties to these Presents have hereunto set there Hands and Seals the Day and year first above written.

Sealed and Delivered in the Presence of

Sarah Plumb  
Richard Clark

W<sup>m</sup> Savage  
Jn Stevens  
R<sup>d</sup> Stevens

<sup>1</sup>Presumably St Michael Bassishaw



This Indenture made this twenty sixth day of June  
 in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty two  
 Between John William Render a minor  
 of the age of sixteen years of the first part Richard  
 Render of the City of Ripon Saddler of the second part and  
 Edwin John Crow Doctor of Music in the University  
 of Cambridge Fellow of the College of Organists and Organist  
 and Choirmaster of Ripon Cathedral of the third part  
 Witnesseth That the said John William Render of his own  
 free will and with the consent and approbation of the said  
 Richard Render his father Doth put and bind himself  
 Apprentice to the said Edwin John Crow to be instructed in the  
 Profession of an Organist Choirmaster and Teacher of the Pianoforte  
 including the science of Harmony Counterpoint and Fugue as now  
 exercised by the said Edwin John Crow for the term of three  
 years to be computed from the date hereof during all which time  
 the said John William Render shall and will faithfully and  
 diligently serve the said Edwin John Crow as an Apprentice in  
 his said Profession obey his lawful commands as well on Sundays  
 as on all other days keep his secrets and render an account of all  
 sums of money papers music and effects which he the said John  
 William Render shall receive or with which he shall be entrusted  
 by the said Edwin John Crow or any of his employers And shall  
 and will at all times during the said term devote himself to the  
 service of the said Edwin John Crow and shall not at any time  
 absent himself from the service of the said Edwin John Crow  
 And also that he the said John William Render shall  
 not will not at any time during the said term give any Lessons  
 Music on his own account or exercise or carry on the said  
 Profession of an Organist Pianist or Teacher of Music in any of  
 its branches on his own account And also that he the  
 said John William Render shall not during the said term  
 marry smoke cigars or tobacco play at billiards cards or other  
 games of chance or do any act or thing whatsoever which may be

in anywise prejudicial to the said Edwin John Crow or his employers  
or knowingly suffer the same to be done by others if in his power  
to prevent it but shall and will immediately inform the said  
Edwin John Crow thereof And also that he the said John  
William Render shall and will apply himself diligently and -  
attentively to acquire a competent knowledge of the matters and  
things imparted to him by the said Edwin John Crow touching  
the said Profession and use his utmost exertions to assist the said  
Edwin John Crow in the execution thereof and at all times and  
in every respect behave and demean himself toward the said -  
Edwin John Crow and his family and employers as a good and  
faithful Apprentice And in consideration of such service to be  
rendered by the said John William Render to the said Edwin John  
Crow He the said Edwin John Crow doth hereby covenant and agree  
with and to the said Richard Render his executors and -  
administrators that he the said Edwin John Crow shall and will  
during the said term of three years use his best endeavours to -  
instruct the said John William Render in the said Profession  
of an Organist Choirmaster Pianist and Teacher of Music as  
now exercised by the said Edwin John Crow And for the  
consideration aforesaid the said Richard Render Doth hereby for  
himself his executors and administrators covenant promise and  
agree with and to the said Edwin John Crow that he the said  
Richard Render his executors and administrators shall and will  
during all the said term of three years find and provide for the  
said John William Render good and sufficient Board Lodging  
Wearing apparel Washing Medical attendance Medicine and  
Nurses in case of sickness an Organ Blower Music Books  
and all other necessaries Provided always and it is -  
hereby agreed by and between the said parties hereto that in case  
any dispute or difference shall arise during the said term touching  
any of the matters and things herein contained the same dispute  
or difference shall be referred to the arbitration of two indifferent  
persons one to be chosen by the said Edwin John Crow and the  
other by the said Richard Render his executors or administrators  
and in the event of such two persons disagreeing by an umpire  
to be chosen by such two persons Provided also and it is

hereby agreed between the parties hereto that should the said John  
 William Render obtain a Musical Scholarship from the Dean and  
 Chapter of Ripon or other local source during the said term of  
 three years the amount of such Scholarship shall be paid by  
 the said Richard Render to the said Edwin John Crow by way  
 of premium *ATU* in case of the death or removal from  
 Ripon of the said Edwin John Crow or of the death of the said  
 John William Render at any time during the said term then  
 these presents shall from the day of such respective decease  
 cease determine and be absolutely void to all intents and  
 purposes whatsoever *Provided* lastly that should the  
 said Edwin John Crow require the services of the said John  
 William Render beyond the said term of three years then these  
 presents shall remain in force for such longer term not exceeding  
 five years from the date hereof as the said Edwin John Crow  
 shall require - *All WITNESSED* whereof the said parties  
 hereto have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year  
 above written -

Signed Sealed and delivered by the  
 said John William Render Richard Render  
 and Edwin John Crow in the presence  
 of William Fosson.  
 13. Park Street.  
 Ripon.

John William Render.

Richard Render

Edwin John Crow  
*Mus Doc Cantab*



APPENDIX 7

EXTRACTS FROM THE WILL OF MISS AGNES EMMA DONE



E X T R A C T S from the

Will of Miss Agnes Emma Done.

- - - - -

Livingstone Wood & Sons  
Manchester

- - - - -  
THIS IS THE LAST WILL and TESTAMENT of me AGNES EMMA DONE  
of Number 2 College Green in the City of Worcester Spinster made  
the third day of November One thousand nine hundred and twenty six

\* \* \* \* \*

I BEQUEATH to the Dean and Chapter of Worcester the sum of Two  
thousand pounds to be paid to them out of my personal estate AND I  
DECLARE that the said Dean and Chapter shall stand possessed thereof  
UPON TRUST to invest the same on any securities on which trust  
moneys may from time to time be legally invested with full power to  
vary the same at their discretion for others of the like nature  
AND UPON TRUST to apply the annual income arising therefrom or such  
part or parts thereof as they in their uncontrolled discretion shall  
think desirable from time to time for or towards the training of a  
boy or boys who are or have been Worcester Cathedral Choristers (and  
who have borne a good character and whose parents are of not suffic-  
ient means in the opinion of the Dean and Chapter to enable them to  
properly bring them up in the Musical Profession) by articling such  
boys to the Worcester Cathedral Organist for the time being for such  
period as the Dean and Chapter and the said Organist for the time  
being shall think desirable and paying the premiums or other expenses  
in connection therewith or otherwise assisting the said boys in  
connection with their musical training AND I DECLARE that in the  
selection of the boy or boys preference shall be given to boys who  
have passed through the Cathedral Choir School and that the Cathedra  
Organist for the time being shall be consulted by the said Dean and  
Chapter before any definite arrangement is made for the selection of  
any boy to be articulated to him under the provision hereinbefore con-  
tained AND I ALSO DECLARE that it is my wish as it was also the wish

known as "The Done Scholarships" AND I

DECLARE that if in any year the said Dean and Chapter shall be of opinion that there are not any boy or boys suitable as recipients of the benefits hereinbefore contained or if for any reason the said Dean and Chapter shall at any time be unable lawfully to apply the said income for any of the purposes aforesaid then I direct that they shall apply the same for the benefit of poor Worcester Cathedral Choristers (whether past or present) or their families in such manner and to such extent as the said Dean and Chapter shall think most desirable.

APPENDIX 8

NOTES FROM AUTHOR'S INTERVIEW WITH HERBERT HOWELLS

AT THE R.C.M. ON 29<sup>TH</sup> MARCH 1969.

## Background to Interview with Herbert Howells

On 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1969, I had the opportunity to talk with Herbert Howells at the R.C.M. during a working day, to discuss his experiences as an articulated pupil of Herbert Brewer at Gloucester Cathedral.

I asked him questions about this particular form of music education, the results of which have helped me to appreciate why he and other leading church musicians of the day spoke and wrote with warmth and affection of their days as articulated pupils. It is clear that the articulated pupil type of training had its good points and its weaknesses. But then faults can be found with institutional training from the organisational side, or with having a particular professor who may be a brilliant performer but a poor communicator.

The points raised in the interview with Dr Howells (which he willingly answered) have been included in part two of Chapter Three.

### Brief Notes from Interview:

Howells was not absolutely sure about the sum of money paid to Brewer for taking him on as an articulated pupil. Any financial transaction would have been a private arrangement between father and teacher.

Howells suggested that cathedral organists received “miserable” stipends and took articulated pupils to supplement their main source of income.

Through his own experience as an articulated pupil, Howells suggested that Brewer’s pupils were able to work at their own pace. However, he was reticent about discussing any detail of his relationship with Brewer, and I felt that this may have been a reflection that Howell felt some unease in Brewer’s company.

Howells talked about a fellow articulated pupil of his Ivor Novello, who studied with Brewer at the same time. Novello was dismissed by Brewer, with the comment that he had no career in music.

Howell's final remarks neatly sum up the situation regarding financing a student's studies when he (Howells) entered the R.C.M. and that of a student entering the college following the second World War:

“Articled pupils were taken at a time when the cathedral organist was the leader in music in the community....when many (perhaps the majority) of young organists received such a training instead of coming to the college of music, either because there were fewer opportunities and before there were grants and scholarships as there have been in more recent times.”

APPENDIX 9.

TRANSCRIPT OF AUTHOR'S INTERVIEW WITH SIR THOMAS

ARMSTRONG AT HIS HOME ON 26<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 1988

**INTERVIEW BY DAVID LANG WITH**  
**SIR THOMAS ARMSTRONG**  
**AT HIS HOME IN OLNEY ON 26<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 1988**

Q. I read, Sir Thomas, that you were an articled pupil to Dr Haydn Keeton?

Sir Thomas. Yes. From 1913? About then, yes.

Q. And you sang in the choir at Peterborough Cathedral?

Sir Thomas. No, I didn't sing in that choir. It was the Chapel Royal Choir. I sang in the choir of the Chapel Royal, St James' Palace. I was the assistant organist at Peterborough Cathedral.

Q. From the age of?

Sir Thomas. About 15.

Q. During which time you became an articled pupil?

Sir Thomas. Yes.

Q. For two years?

Sir Thomas. Yes. Two or three years.



Q. Because I had a letter from Dr Sumsion, who, some time ago, a few years ago, he thought that the length of pupilage was varied from two, three, four years, five years?

Sir Thomas. I think it was quite indefinite. It depended, you see, on whether the boy was very young or whether he was after school age.

Q. And your schooling went on until 15?

Sir Thomas. Well, I think it went on after that. I think it went on to - I think my schooling went on until about 1915 when I was 17 at the King's School, Peterborough. I had been at the Chapel Royal, St James, and then I went to the King's School, Peterborough and was articled to Keeton at the same time. My father had been articled to him before me and Malcolm Sergeant was also articled to him at the same time. Malcolm was about four years older than me, but we were pupils at the same time.

Q. When you became articled to Dr Keeton, what part did your parents play in the process?

Sir Thomas. My father signed a document, allotting my musical training to Dr Keeton.

Q. That was a legal document?

Sir Thomas. I'm not sure that it was a legal document, but it was a personal agreement between two musicians.

Q. And was any premium paid?

Sir Thomas. I imagine a premium was paid, but I don't know what it was. Yes, Dr Keeton was certainly paid.

Q. And you said Dr Keeton had another articed pupil?

Sir Thomas. Yes, he had various articed pupils. He had a man called Philip Taylor, who became organist at Magdalen College and Malcolm Sergeant and myself, and one or two others whom I can't remember now.

Q. And so he had several that he taught at the same time?

Sir Thomas. Yes.

Q. Some articed pupils, I understand, actually lived in the house of the Master and his wife?

Sir Thomas. I believe that was so. In the law in older times, they were adopted almost as sons and they were expected to marry the daughter in some cases, as you know. In the 18<sup>th</sup> Century it was a much more formal arrangement. It was almost like adoption, but by the time that I was an articed pupil, it wasn't so formal as that, but it was

understood that Dr Keeton would train you and would look after your welfare and would, when the time came, help you to get a job. He did this for Malcolm Sergeant and for me.

Q. Can you describe a typical week in the life of an articulated pupil?

Sir Thomas. Well, I can describe exactly the typical day. You would go to the choir – at Peterborough this was, it may have varied at other Cathedrals – you went to the choir practice at 9 o'clock in the morning and in Peterborough there was a small organ and you played the organ while the Master conducted the rehearsal or practice and then at 10 o'clock we went over to the Cathedral and Matins was sung. When Matins was over, during Matins one's counterpoint and harmony exercises would be corrected during the Lessons and during the times when the organ was not being played. After that, Dr Keeton would go home and you would go to his house and have your lesson on the piano or go to the practice organ and have your lesson on the organ and then at about 12 o'clock you would go home. You would spend the afternoon either doing your work or practising or going to , uh, doing what you wanted to do. And then at 4 or 5 o'clock you would go to Evensong and then you were playing Evensong or part of it and after Evensong or at about 6 o'clock, there might be a rehearsal of the local music society or you would get on with your private practice, and that was how the day was passed.

Q. And when did you do your harmony counterpoint?

Sir Thomas. Well, you did that in the afternoon or the evening. Whenever you had time to yourself you did these exercises.

Q. Did you use any particular text book?

Sir Thomas. No, the Master, Dr Keeton, wrote out all the exercises and corrected them himself and they were figured basses, counterpoint in the species in the style of Fux and Cherubini and little compositions. If you decided to publish something, I could let you have one or two sheets of exercises corrected by him in his handwriting.

Q. That would be very helpful. Thank you very much indeed. What sort of man was Dr Keeton?

Sir Thomas. Dr Keeton was a rather irascible man. He was a very fine, completely competent musician in the style of his time. He wrote a number of compositions which are of considerable interest. He was not by any means a mere journeyman, he was quite an artist. He had been a fine player in the Mendelssohnian style. He had the reputation of being a rather severe and, I would say, hard man, but he was always a very good friend to me and he had a very big reputation as a teacher.

Q. What was his background?

Sir Thomas. I'm afraid I really don't know that, but I think you might find it in one of the early editions of Grove's Dictionary, but he had been a chorister at St George's, Windsor, and he had been articled to Elvey and Elvey had been articled to Attwood

and Attwood had been articled to Mozart in Vienna and so I can look back as an articled pupil of a fourth generation back to Mozart.

Q. And he was a good teacher?

Sir Thomas. Yes. He was a severe, but thorough teacher.

Q. In the years before the first World War, was Dr Keeton, as a Cathedral organist, comfortably off financially? I know for instance that by today's standards the salaries were low. I saw Dr Noble's private papers given by his son from America in the library at York Minster and the salary which Dr Noble received at the Minster in the early years of this century was £300 per year.

Sir Thomas. I don't think that Keeton was very highly paid but he had a lot of pupils and other activities; he was an examiner for Durham University and other universities, and I think his position as Cathedral organist gave him, apart from his personal eminence as a musician, a local reputation and a local field of activity. He would be referred to in all matters concerning church appointments for organists. I don't think he would have been at all well off if he had lived entirely off his Cathedral salary, but I think with his other work he was probably comfortably off, but not wealthy.

Q. You mentioned he was called upon when appointments were to be made for church organists. What happened during those tests or interviews for a church organist appointment?

Sir Thomas. Well, I think that a clergyman in the diocese, as happened in the case of Malcolm Sergeant, would write to Dr Keeton, saying have you a person whom you could recommend to me to be organist at this church? And you see in those days, the organist of a church like Market Harborough or Drabstone or Northampton, would have a considerable local position and his position as the church organist would give him a field in which he could earn a decent living.

Q. Do you remember how much an organ lesson would have been in, say, 1913?

Sir Thomas. I'm afraid I couldn't really say that. I don't remember that. But, I think you would be able to get those details from the papers of Dr Noble that you mention and I think you would find that when I was appointed organist at St Peter's, Eaton Square, in 1923 or 4, in London, I was paid £300 per year. £300 a year was then quite a good salary.

Q. And that was a fashionable church?

Sir Thomas. That was a very fashionable church and, of course, I had a good deal of, I earned a certain amount beyond that because we had a lot of fashionable weddings for which I had a fee.

Q. I was for 17 years the organist of St Mary's the Boltons in Kensington, and we had lots of weddings there and Douglas Fairbanks Jnr lived in ...

Sir Thomas. Yes.

Q. What would you say were the good points of the articulated pupil system?

Sir Thomas. Well, I think the good qualities were that if the man you were articulated to was a good musician and took his responsibilities seriously, as Dr Keeton certainly did, you had high standards of technical equipment, so far as these were of a rather, perhaps, old-fashioned kind, because when I went later on to be a student at the Royal College, I had a good deal to learn and unlearn. But it was very thorough, very stringent and it was entirely practical. You see, all the students were known as an undergraduate at Oxford were taught to learn continuo playing as a sort of special subject, but an articulated pupil learned to play continuo by being put on the organ stool to play Boyce in C from the Boyce score and there he had the figured base and the voice parts with their clefs and he had to do the job just as it was done in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, not as a theoretical study but as a practical job. That was the strength of it.

Q. And what were the possible weak points in the system?

Sir Thomas. The possible weak points were that it was limited largely to Cathedral music and the repertoire of the local orchestra and choral society, so that many promising musicians decided to go to Leipzig or to go to Germany to study in order to get into the mainstream of classical European music and, of course, we didn't do that, I didn't do that until I went later on to be a pupil of Vaughan Williams at the Royal College and this was another world. But by the time I went to Vaughan Williams, I could already do many things which my colleagues as "a.p.s" couldn't do because

they had come from school or they had come from some place where they had been taught the piano, but they hadn't had practical music experience.

Q. So would you say the articulated pupil system went out of favour with the coming of the 1944 Education Act?

Sir Thomas. Well, I don't know about the 1944 Education Act. I think it went out of favour because young musicians who had ambitions and aspirations were much more inclined to get a scholarship to the Royal College or the Royal Academy or to go the University. You see, a boy who came from a good grammar school or a public school who was 17, would probably be told, well try and get an organ scholarship or try and get a scholarship to go and study with Walter Parratt or with Trevor at the Royal Academy, so that there were more, as it were, up-to-date avenues of training than there had been in the previous century. You see, if you can imagine that a boy who was a good musician, whose father, let us say, was a clergyman in Devonshire, well, if that boy wanted to be a musician, his father might say, well the best thing I can do is to send you to Dr Wesley at Exeter or, send you to the organist of Exeter Cathedral, and he will give you the necessary qualifications. Then that boy might become organist to one of the local towns and if a good musician might be a very valuable and enterprising practical musician in those areas Alternatively he might say, well, I've got a bit of money, I can go and study music in Leipzig or I can go to Paris, and so you see, you get a generation of talented young men like the Frankfurt group, Balfour Gardner and Cyril Scott and Norman O'Neil, who all went to study in Germany and one of Haydn Keeton's pupils called Arthur Clayton, after being articulated to Keeton,



he went to study in Germany, but that worked out badly for him, because he got entrapped in the 1940 war and spent the rest of the war in a concentration camp.

Q. Your training was unique in that you were an articled pupil after which you went to ..

Sir Thomas. Well, after I was an articled pupil, I got a scholarship in Oxford and when I went from Oxford I went to the Royal College and got a scholarship for extemporisation and so I had a further training there. Sir Malcolm, who was in the same position as me, but a bit older, he took the different view. When he left Keeton, Keeton recommended him to be organist of Melton Mowbray and from Melton Mowbray he got financial assistance and established himself as a promising young conductor in Leicester and then he went to London and became a great conductor. But he did that, you see, having started as a church organist at Melton Mowbray.

Q. When did the organ scholarships at Oxford begin?

Sir Thomas. I believe Keble was about the first: somewhere about 1875. Very soon after the College was founded [1868, two years after the death of John Keble] they established an organ scholarship on money given them by Vickery Gibbs. But the organ scholar was not responsible for the music because they appointed the organist of the Cathedral (Christ Church) as what was called Precentor, and the organ scholar was just employed to play the regular services. But afterwards the Keble Organ Scholarship became a very valuable and much sought-after scholarship which was afterwards occupied by some people who became very well-known: Archie Wilson,

who became the organist of Christ Church, Douglas Fox who became world famous as a solo left-handed organist, Joseph Cooper and myself.

Q. Did the organ scholar read music or did he read another subject?

Sir Thomas. Well, in those days, when I was organ scholar, you couldn't read music. The Mus. Bac. Degree was an external degree you took after taking a general degree; and the organ scholar had to take either a Pass degree or an Honours School in some other subject. And after that when you were already a graduate you took the B. Mus. I read History and after that I spent another year doing a Bachelor of Music degree. But that was a postgraduate degree.

Q. Then you proceeded to D. Mus.?

Sir Thomas. Yes, but that was postgraduate.

Q. Was there a prescribed course of study with set works?

Sir Thomas. The D. Mus. was quite different in those days from what it is now. It was a very severe examination: composition, difficult counterpoint and harmony, orchestration, and a very searching viva; and you had to submit a very considerable

composition for chorus and orchestra. And very few people took the degree by examination.

Q. And few people take it today?

Sir Thomas. Very few people take it today. They nearly all take a D. Phil. In some musicological subject. But if you ask them to play a piano concerto or to give a piano recital or to give an organ recital of classical works or to conduct a symphony orchestra, they would often be very hard put to do it because their musicianship is historical and not practical.

Q. Well, Sir Thomas, I think that answers all my questions, unless you have any more comments to make about the article pupil?

Sir Thomas. Well, the comment that I would make is that this system goes back to the very foundations of European music. The relationship between master and apprentice is a very marvellous relationship. If your master was a great man, a really good man, the relationship was something even more remarkable than a good father-son relationship. For as you know father-son relationships are all bedevilled by all sorts of psychological problems; the relationships between master and pupil are often free from these troubles and are often disciplined by very rigorous professional standards. Really distinguished musicians are often great characters as well, and any person who's had the good fortune to be a pupil of a person like Charles Stanford or

Harold Craxton or Hamilton Harty or Henry Wood or Vaughan Williams or Holst would know that the relationship is something that goes far beyond just music; and the articulated system brought you into daily contact with a master engaged in the pursuit of music which was quite different from that of a student in an academy or an undergraduate in a university, because it had a very strong practical application. You had to play Evensong tomorrow; you had got to play Stanford in A; you had got to accompany the psalms; you had to play a voluntary before and afterwards; you had to extemporize; it had to be done. If it was not done well there was immediate criticism and immediate trouble. And this was a discipline in the real life of music: the same as you had if you worked with Henry Wood as a conductor. If you were a pupil of Henry Wood you had to be prepared to present a performance, to rehearse it, to see that the copies were there, that they were properly marked, that the work was rehearsed and that the performance was adequate. It was the practical basis; it was not a matter of listening to a lecture or writing an essay on Bach or something of that sort. It was a question of doing a job of music in a presentable and efficient way. It was a combination of theoretical and practical experiences which seems to me to be the right basis for training in the arts. And I think if you went into the matter of the painter, you'd find a similar set of – I won't call them rules, but of practices prevailing. The man was taught to handle paint, to mix the paint, to prepare the canvas, not merely to talk about art; not talk about Michelangelo, but to prepare a piece of paint and make a picture.

## APPENDIX 10

### CORRESPONDENCE TO AUTHOR FROM ORGANISTS CONCERNING ARTICLED PUPILAGE

- a) Letter from Dr Sumsion to author dated 29<sup>th</sup> July 1973.
- b) Letter from Gordon Slater to author dated 8<sup>th</sup> April 1974.
- c) Letter from William Ross to author dated 9<sup>th</sup> October 1976.
- d) Letter from Ernest Bullock to author dated 29<sup>th</sup> August 1974.
- e) Letter from Arthur J. Pritchard to author dated 6<sup>th</sup> April 1978.
- f) Letter from Arthur J. Pritchard to author dated 21<sup>st</sup> April 1978.
- g) Letter from Thomas Armstrong to author dated 7<sup>th</sup> October 1988.
- h) Letter from James Blades to author dated 31<sup>st</sup> October 1988.
- i) Letter from Dr Donald Hunt to author dated 19<sup>th</sup> August 1989.

a) Letter from Dr Sumsion to author dated 29<sup>th</sup> July 1973

Hartley, Private Road,  
Rodborough Common,  
Stroud, Glos.  
Telephone Amberley 3528  
29 July 73

Dear Mr Lang,

From 1908-1914 I was a Chorister at Gloucester Cathedral, and then I became an articled pupil of Sir Herbert Brewer, the Cath. Org. This was common practice in those days – almost every Cath. Org. had A.P.'s, and at Gl. There were 6 or 7 or more at a time. We attended all services, in the organ loft, chorister rehearsals in the Song School, and we had one piano and one organ lesson each week, and shewed our paperwork for correction more or less when we had some ready.\* If you didn't become an A.P. you probably tried for a Univ. Organ Scholarship. John Dykes-Bower did this, Herbert Howells did 2 years as A.P. at Gloucester, and then won a Composition Scholarship at the R.C.M. When I became Cath. Org. in 1928 (Dr) Arthur Pritchard was Ass. Org. (unpaid), having been an A.P. I continued with his B. Mus. Dunelm work. My first chorister A.P. was Melville Cook, aged 16 – later on Donald Hunt, and various others whom you would not know. We gave up having A.P.'s when the Ed. Authorities would not recognise the Cath. Organ Loft as a Teaching Institution. Eventually I got a paid Ass. Organist, with a joint appointment as Director of Music at the King's School (Cath.), and A.P.'s gradually faded out, and because of the Ed. Auth. Attitude I am sure they have gone for good. You could I am sure get further information, if you need it, from:-

Dr Heathcote Statham C.B.E., 11 The Close, Norwich  
Dr G.A.Slater, 3 Pottergate, Lincoln.

With best wishes,

Yrs. Sincerely,

H.W. Sumsion.

\*Fees, about £30 a year! We automatically studied for A.R.C.O. and F.R.C.O. and then B. Mus. (External) if good enough.

b) Letter from Gordon Slater to author dated 8<sup>th</sup> April 1974.

3, Pottergate,  
Lincoln.  
LN2 1PH  
8. iv. 1974

Dear Mr Lang,

Thank you for your letter. I have only just returned from a Festival hence slight delay in my reply. Although I am retired from the Cathedral because of A.D. yet I am still very fully booked in teaching, lecturing and most especially at this time of year adjudicating.

I am not at all sure that I can be of much help, as I do not know about articulated pupils. You see when my father arranged for me to study with Sir Edward Bairstow. E.C.B. just said that being an articulated pupil was a thing of the past. The training was I went over to York each day from Harrogate [sic.], I sat through all rehearsals and at times he turned me on to play, and sat with him in the organ loft. We all helped in all sorts of ways. For lessons he taught me piano, organ all sorts of paperwork for my B. Mus. and free composition. I owe him everything in the wonderful way in which he trained me. His choir training, his organ playing, control and colour and wonderful extemporisation. Now I have tried to hand on as much as possible the same sort of training. I was at Boston Parish Church for 8 [and a half] years, Leicester Cathedral 3 [and a half] years and over 36 at Lincoln Cathedral. During these times I have had a number of pupils whom I have trained along the lines indicated. Though I believe that in the past financial arrangements were made between the pupils parents and teacher. In my case Bairstow sent the account to my father each term and I have done the same. Whether this is what you wish to know, or should there be more just let me know.

Yours sincerely,  
Gordon Slater.

c) Letter from William Ross to author dated 9<sup>th</sup> Oct 1976

2 College Place  
Derby DE1 3DY  
Telephone 41201  
9/10/76

Dear Mr Lang,

Pray accept my apologies for being so long in replying to yours of [?] which got mislaid during a particularly hectic period just after the new term started. I well remember the performance of "Sleepers Wake" in Nov 1950, 3 weeks before I more or less got the sack from the school job. Actually I'd done it in Nov 1948 as my 1<sup>st</sup>-ever venture with the old organ which was to be taken out the next week. In that week I directed it one Sunday with Johnny Long playing the organ, played voila in it for Francis Jackson at York Minster the next week (or the last 2 "choruses") in Beverley Minster where I acted as unofficial assistant for [?] 2 years. (What a glorious place!)

I cannot, alas, give you much information on the line requested as "Articled Pupil" was more or less a figure of speech. On leaving Balliol College (where I followed Edward Heath as organ scholar) I spent a year at Chichester Cathedral, commuting daily from my then home of Worthing, learning the ropes under "Daddy" Hawkins, who was far removed from the traditional concept of a Cathedral organist in that he'd studied under Widor in Paris and had spent some time at [?] studying plainsong which featured in the Mon. Tues. Wed. evensongs. Much of the music was A CAPELLA and Brass instruments were added on special occasions. He retired in Aug. '58, just when I came to Derby and most of his activities were promptly scrubbed but they were kindled afresh at Derby where we do plainsong in Advent and Lent and use Brass and Tymps I (and occasional full orchestra) whenever an excuse presents itself though as at Cic[hester] A CAPELLA singing forms the bulk of our "diet". We can, alas, only do one midweek evensong 9on Thursdays 6 [?]) and even that's a problem to keep going. We've had a mixed choir of boys and girls since 1970 – not that there aren't any boys ready to try for a choristership but parents won't let 'em. But we keep going somehow. I don't enquire too closely what makes us go on ticking! I took up my "pupilage" from Sept '47 to July '48; paying a quartely premium though not under any specific contract. The main reason for using the title was to confound Cripps, Dalton, Bevan of infamous memory who had decided that folk other than "organised workers" were spies and drones who must be directed into the sort of job nobody wanted to take. But students and pupils could claim exemption. So I'm afraid that's all there is to it!

I can't recall the name of Anderson as one had very little contact with townsfolk, there having been some ludicrous town-v-school feud of many years previously. I did what I could to establish friendly relations and did in fact have some good friends [?] before I left, but poor old Canon Richardson was always in a major flap about offending some parishioner or other and I couldn't do as much as I'd have liked. Anyhow I went to Leicester (Alderman Newton) in January '57, then to Gloucester Cathedral as No. 2 in Sept. '54, coming here 4 years later.

It was very nice to here from someone at "Pock" – one of my Bach Choir tenors Frank Wilkinson was the son of the school groundsmen who sang tenor for me in Barmby Moor Church where I was part-time organist for £5 a year (not being allowed to have anything to do with Pock Church!). I was also a member of Pock RFC (Doug Beale was skipper, I think) though as a non-player ( I hold a 3-Counties RFC Coach's "ticket" now) and supped many a pint with J. Stanley Brown, Clerk to



the Council and Mr Bairstow of Meynell's. I also took part in the "Crazy Shows" of '49 and '50 organized by Frank Bowlam the LNER agent. That was great fun!

One day I shall have to take a race up and have a look at Pock – now minus its railway (I spent many happy hours with Tom Hunter the signalman at West Green). Apart from passing though it 2ce [sic.] en route to Beverley (once by rail, once by road) I've never been back since Jan '51.

Must shut off now or I'll never stop! Sorry I couldn't help more about the vital question which prompted your letter.

All good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

William Ross

One last memory – in my 1<sup>st</sup> year the principal bass in the School Choir was the Bursar, Lt. Col. E.B. Robinson; I well remember how he revelled in the 1<sup>st</sup> Bass' opening of Weelkes' "Hosanna", which we rehearsed but never performed. The Bursarial "Ho" was something one never forgets!

And the "demon tenor" in the parish choir, Fred Barker who after a hymn he enjoyed used to clear his throat as if to say "By, that were champion – let's have an encore!"

d) Letter from Ernest Bullock to author dated 29<sup>th</sup> Aug. 1974

Welby Cottage,  
Long Crendon,  
Aylesbury,  
Bucks. HP18 9BU  
Tel. Long Crendon 208957  
Aug 29<sup>th</sup> 1974

Dear Mr Lang,

Thank you for your letter. I did not realise that you were at St. John's College in York, and indeed I did not know that you were in that city until we saw you in the Minster. I hope you are happy there and the work is to your liking.

I do not really know a great deal of the "articled pupil" vogue, but I was articled to Sir Edward C. Bairstow in 1906. The reason was that I had been in his choir at Wigon Parish Church and he had been giving me lessons from an early age of being a choirboy. When he was appointed as organist of Leeds Parish Church, he arranged with my mother (my father died when I was quite young) to take me with him to Leeds. There was a legal document drawn up I understand, but I do not remember ever having seen it, and as I was still young to leave school or home, it was arranged that I should have a private tutor in Leeds to live in the house with ECB and Lady Bairstow. Not only did he give me lessons, but also I was asked to do work for him in any way he wished. From my point of view it was an admirable arrangement; I gained much benefit in all sorts of ways, helping at the Parish Church, taking probationers, choirboys' rehearsals, [?] including [?] in the town, friends of ECB's such as Wilfred Sanderson and James Dear, who had been pupils with ECB at the Abbey under Sir Frederick Bridge. Whether ECB had any other articled pupils I do not know, but you could enquire from Dr Gordon Slater of 3, Pottergate, Lincoln or H.A. Bennett who was at Rochester Cathedral and is now retired. When the articled pupil business died out, I do not know but you can make enquiries from Dr. Herbert Howells for example, who was first a pupil at Gloucester with Sir Herbert Brewer.

In any case the arrangement was admirable for I was able to have a private tutor to help me with my matriculation – necessary in those days – and working with ECB at music, I was able to take the B. Mus. At 18, and also FRCO about 8 months after. I never took the ARCO, for if a candidate had a B. Mus. Degree, he or she could take the FRCO playing with extra tests at the organ and was excused the paper work.

If there is anything else I can tell you, I will do so as far as I am able, but I cannot think of anything more about the 'articled pupil' period.

Perhaps this centenary year will help to spread his church music more, at least I hope so. However people soon forget and fashions change – not always for the good of [?] progress of the art as a whole. Please excuse my mistakes, but my sight's not good.

All good wishes,  
Yours sincerely,  
Ernest Bullock

e) Letter from Arthur J. Pritchard to author dated 6<sup>th</sup> April 1978

22 Corringham Road  
Golder's Green,  
London, NW11 7BT  
Tel. 01-455 8689

Dear Mr. Lang,

Thank you for your letter. I have been unable to reply before as I have been heavily committed to examination work.

I became an articled pupil of Sir Herbert Brewer in 1924 for 3 years. There was no legal contract, a mere exchange of letters. I was his only pupil at that time, and he generously offered to take me at a very reduced fee. The lessons consisted of one hour piano, one hour organ, about two hours harmony and counterpoint – and I was expected to attend the Choral Services, choir practices, rehearsals of the local choral and orchestral societies. During these years I was expected to gain the ARCO and FRCO diplomas and begin to prepare for a University degree (external). Gloucester was one of the Three Choirs Festival - an added and valuable experience.

It was a very full life and I cannot speak too highly of the tuition and general musical experience gained from a distinguished musician under these conditions.

Articled pupils are not recognised by the 'Educational powers that be' in this country, so, unfortunately there are very few now.

I hope this information is helpful. If you wish to know more, please do not hesitate to ask again.

Yours sincerely,  
Arthur J. Pritchard

f) Letter from Arthur J. Pritchard to author dated 21st April 1978

22 Corringham Road,  
Golders Green,  
London, NW11 7BT  
01 –455 8689  
21 April 1978

Dear Mr. Lang,

Thank you for your letter. To answer your questions:-

I am not prepared to state the fees paid to Dr. Brewer – this is irrelevant.

I was a chorister at Gloucester 1918-1923 and an articulated pupil 1924-1927, and could not have been held together.

I knew Dr. Reginald Tustin Baker very well – also Dr. Herbert Sumsion was a chorister, articulated pupil and assistant organist at Gloucester.

Brewer was a fine all-round musician – a brilliant organist, a good choirtrainer and conductor of the Three Choirs Festival. He gave first performances of works by contemporary composers.

As a teacher, he had very high standards and did everything possible to draw out the best from his pupils and choirs.

Whilst he was a strict disciplinarian, he was kind and went out of his way to help his choristers and pupils. In fact, I should not have become a professional musician, if he had not convinced my parents that I should become successful.

You must remember that there were no grants in those days and we had a hard time, but it was well worth it!

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Arthur J. Pritchard.

g) Letter from Thomas Armstrong to author dated 7th October 1988

1 East Street  
Olney,  
Bucks, MK46 4AP  
7 October '88

Dear Mr Lang,

I suppose it's true that I'm the last representative of the articulated pupil system, and I should be happy to tell you what I can about it, as it operated under Dr Haydn Keeton at Peterborough before the war of 1914. If you are able to come to Olney I could see you at any time convenient to you on Wednesday October 26 or Wednesday Nov 9.

Yours sincerely,  
Thomas Armstrong.

h) Letter from James Blades to author dated 31<sup>st</sup> October 1988

191 Sandy Lane,  
Cheam,  
Sutton,  
Surrey  
Tel : 01 –642-3316

Dear Mr. Lang,

I am in receipt of your letter – and s.a.e. (the latter a rarity I assure you). In answer to your queries:-

(i) Yes. I knew Mr. A.E. Armstrong, particularly through my father, a lay reader in the parish of St. Mary's where I was in the choir. My contacts with Mr. Armstrong (a fine all-round musician) were brief, but important – to me at least for he was the first conductor with whom I had experience. My knowledge of drum music [sic.] was next to nothing, and I, trembling, made a rumbling on an old-fashioned pair of timps when the music was loud. The work was I am sure Elgar's The Apostles, and I was deputizing for the local timpanist who was playing at the Theatre Royal, and who graciously gave me a lesson or two.

At the performance in the cathedral I nervously shook a tambourine where it said tambour petite (Elgar used French terms a lot as you know). I am sure Mr. Armstrong smilingly accepted my effort. (side (snare) drum of course)

Regarding Dr. Keeton – one of my boyhood heroes – it was my late brothers, Tom and Chris who were cathedral choristers, though from the enclosed snippets from my autobiography Drum Roll (now out of print though in many libraries), you may agree I qualified, as Keeton said 'you can always say you got in the Minster choir.'

Back to A.E. Armstrong, I once said to Sir Thomas 'what wonderful conversations your father and Dr. Keeton must have had on music matters,' and he replied: 'not on your life, they would be discussing London Brick Company shares!'

Trust you do well with your Ph.D. and keep well. I am slowly recovering (at 87) from three major operations.

When next you are in touch with Sir Thomas, please give him my regards and those of my wife, Joan.

Yours sincerely,  
J. Blades

i) Letter from Dr. Donald Hunt to author dated 19<sup>th</sup> August 1989

13 College Green,  
Worcester, WR1 2LH  
Telephone (0905) 23555  
19 August 1989

Dear Mr Lang,

Thank you so much for your letter and for your generous comments on the recent televised programme from Worcester; it is always encouraging to receive approval from 'professionals', and I am grateful to you for writing.

Regarding the articulated pupil project, it is almost too much to write in a letter form, I feel. Perhaps we should arrange to meet some time when I am in Yorkshire visiting my daughter (she lives in Leeds). But I will answer your specific questions, as far as I am able.

I was articulated to Herbert Sumsion for seven years (less two for national service – although he continued to teach me on leaves), during which time he taught me organ, piano, harmony and counterpoint, composition, and conducting, plus much more about the profession in general.

I was awarded the Parry Scholarship while still in the Cathedral Choir, which paid for some of my tuition fees; my parents paid the rest, although the Cathedral also handed over some money to Dr Sumsion when I became his assistant at the age of 17. I was never quite sure how much my parents paid, but I cannot believe it was very much, and in any event Dr Sumsion was very generous with his time.

In addition to the lessons I was expected to attend rehearsals of the Cathedral Choir, Choral Society, Orchestral Society, etc., (education needs permitting) and general was in attendance for concerts, organ recitals and the like – quite often turning the pages for H.S. In the course of time I spent a lot of time with the Sumsions; they were almost like second parents to me, as my own parents really failed to understand what was happening to me!

In my case I think the system worked well. Fortunately I was quite disciplined and worked hard, also sharing time with my other interests, especially sport. My fellow articulated pupils – there were three at one time – fell by the wayside; lack of commitment was their failing I suspect. At this time in my life I favoured all things practical, so the training was just right for me. I have come to regret the lack of academic background inherent in the articulated pupil system and certainly in the early days I regretted not being able to accept a University place because my parents could not really afford it. Yet I was able to achieve professional status at a very tender age, which would not have been possible if I had undertaken a university course; so I suppose all has worked out well for me in the event, and I have been able to pursue academic interests later in my career.

I know of no one who followed the articulated pupil system after the late 50s – certainly Sumsion had one in 56/57, who eventually went into industry and is now in jail! I believe I am the only example in Britain still working and, hopefully I shall continue to do so for several more years!

I hope the above will keep you going for a while, but I will be very happy to talk to you some time if it will be of any help.

And now to Gloucester for Three Choirs.

With best wishes and many thanks for writing.

Yours sincerely,

Donald.

APPENDIX 11

LIST OF ARTICLED AND PROFESSIONAL PUPILS FROM AUTHOR'S STUDY



Table showing the Articled and Professional Pupil's Masters  
and their Dates of Apprenticeship

<u>Articled Pupils</u>	<u>Master</u>	<u>Period of Pupilship</u>
Herbert Howells (1892-1983)	Brewer at Gloucester Cathedral	1905-1907 (2 years)
Ernest Bullock (1890-1979)	Bairstow at Leeds Parish Church	1907-1912 (5 years)
Herbert Sumsion (1899-1994)	Brewer at Gloucester Cathedral	1914-?
Arthur Pritchard (?-?)	Brewer at Gloucester Cathedral	1924-1927 (3 years)
Donald Hunt (1930- )	Sumsion at Gloucester Cathedral	1947-1954 (7 years)
Thomas Armstrong (1898-1991)	Keeton at Peterborough Cathedral	1913-1916 (3 years)
 <u>Professional Pupils</u>		
Gordon Slater (1896-1979)	Bairstow at Leeds Parish Church	c. 1912
William Ross	Hawkins at Chichester Cathedral	1947-1948 (1 year)

## APPENDIX 12

### SAMPLE SYLLABI AND EXAMINATION PAPERS

- a) Mus.D., Trinity College, Dublin
- b) Certificate of Royal College of Music
- c) Diplomas of (Royal) College of Organists
- d) Diplomas of the Guild of Organists
- e) Associate and Fellow of the Church Choir Guild

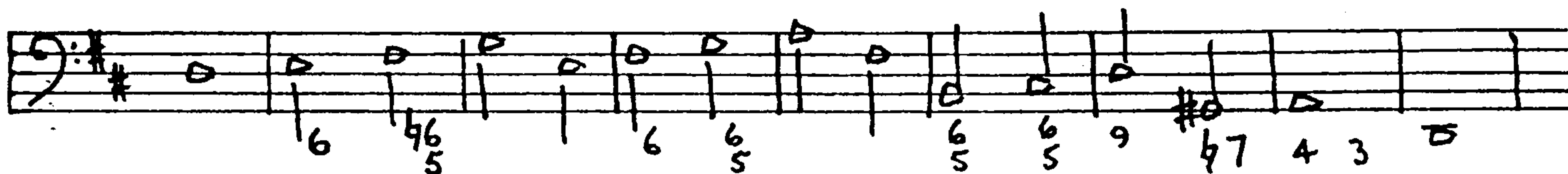
APPENDIX

University of Dublin  
Trinity College

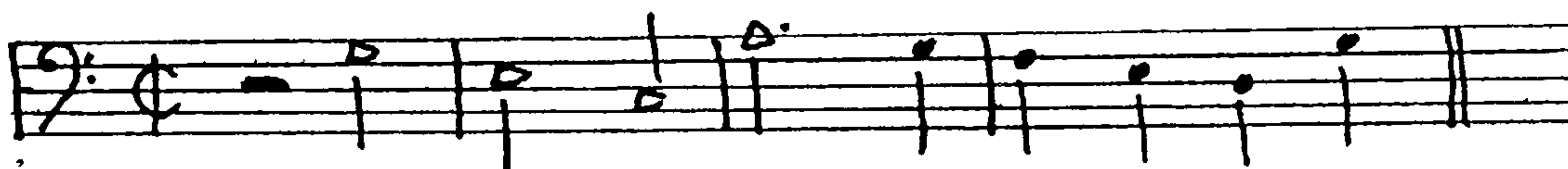
Examination for Mus. D.  
1874

Sir Robert Stewart

- 1) What are the chords of the added ninth; diminished 7<sup>th</sup>; added sixth; Neapolitan, French and German sixths; eleventh; and thirteenth?
- 2) Modulate from C through, F sharp major, E flat, D flat G minor, F major, G to C.
- 3) Add a bass and inner part to the melody of a chromatic scale descending from C sharp to C sharp, on octave.
- 4) Express the following figured harmonies by chords



- 5) What are (briefly) the laws of Fugue? May the pedal be ever introduced on any note save the Dominant? Is it ever found in any part except the bass?
- 6) Write a short four part fugue on the following subject



- 7) What is the usual arrangement of a score of instruments? Is this ever departed from?
- 8) Mention an early example of a grand orchestra with four horns, etc.
- 9) Give an instance of the employment of the Contra Fagotto, or Cor Anglais, or Basset Horn in well-known works.
- 10) Can you call to mind any peculiar effects produced by Beethoven's use of the Drum, and Weber's use of the Clarinet.



# ROYAL COLLEGE OF MUSIC.

INCORPORATED BY ROYAL CHARTER, 1883.

## EXAMINATION FOR CERTIFICATE OF PROFICIENCY, BEARING WITH IT THE TITLE OF ASSOCIATE OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF MUSIC.

### REGULATIONS.

Extract from Resolutions of the Council, May 28th, 1884.

**CERTIFICATE OF PROFICIENCY.**—That Certificates of Proficiency be given for excellence in particular branches of music; but the Certificate may, in addition, state that the Candidate has a competent knowledge of other branches.

Such Certificate to be given under the Seal of the Corporation, and to be signed by the President, or one of the Vice-Presidents, in terms of the provisions of the Charter.

The holder of a Certificate of Proficiency shall bear the title of *Associate of the Royal College of Music*.

**EXAMINATION.** That the Certificate Examination take place annually.

**FEE.** That a fee of five guineas be charged in respect of the examination for Associateship, except in the case of Scholars of the College who have completed their course.

In accordance with the foregoing, the following Regulations were determined upon at a meeting of the Executive Committee, July 24th, 1884:

The Examiners will issue, twelve weeks before each Examination, a list of pieces in which the Candidates will be examined during the ensuing Examination.

#### (1). PIANOFORTE AND STRING INSTRUMENTS.

*Each Candidate will be required—*

1. To play a piece selected by the Examiners from their published list.
2. To play a piece, selected by himself, either from the published list or otherwise.
3. To read at sight in a concerted piece.
4. To answer questions on the grammar of music, and the construction and treatment of the instrument.
5. To harmonize a given figured bass in four parts, with figured bass, to modulate, and to transpose; also to improvise on the given melody. (In the case of string instruments, a list of pieces to be given).

A Candidate may, at his option, play from memory a piece chosen from a list of three pieces submitted by the Candidate.

*Each candidate will be required—*

1. To play a piece, selected by the Examiners, from their published list.
2. To play a piece, selected by himself, either from the published list or otherwise.
3. To read at sight.
4. To answer questions on the grammar of music and the construction and use of the organ.
5. To harmonize a given melody in writing and at the instrument, and to play from a figured bass; also to play from four-part vocal score. To transpose, to modulate, and to transpose.

A Candidate may, at his option, undergo examination as to his power of conducting a choir.

#### PLAYING INSTRUMENTS.

*Each candidate will be required—*

1. To play a piece, selected by the Examiners, from their published list.
2. To play a piece, selected by himself, either from the published list or otherwise.
3. To read at sight in a concerted piece.
4. To harmonize a figured bass in four parts. To transpose.
5. To answer questions on the grammar of music.

#### SINGING.

*Each candidate will be required—*

1. To sing a piece, selected by the Examiners, from their published list.
2. To sing a piece, selected by himself, either from the published list or otherwise.
3. To read at sight.
4. To sustain his part at sight in a concerted piece.
5. To answer questions on the grammar of music.

A Candidate may, at his option, undergo examination as to his power of (1) playing a pianoforte accompaniment, or an easy piece of music on that instrument, or (2) harmonizing a figured bass in four parts—or both

#### (V.) THEORY OF MUSIC.

*Each Candidate will be required—*

1. To send in Compositions of different classes and characters one month before the date of examination.
2. To pass an examination in
  - (a) Harmony.
  - (b) Counterpoint, Canon, and Fugue.
  - (c) Instrumentation.
  - (d) Treatment of voices.
  - (e) Form.

Candidates will be required, as a test of literary proficiency, to write a short essay on some musical subject, of which previous notice has been given by the Examiners.

N.B.—Candidates intending to offer themselves for examination must signify their intention, in writing, not less than six weeks before the date fixed for examination, and must submit satisfactory testimonials of character, signed on personal knowledge by a magistrate or a minister of religion. The Examination Fee of five guineas must accompany the application.

Should the Candidate not satisfy the Examiners at his first examination, he may present himself at the next examination on payment of a further sum of two guineas and a half.

The Royal College of Organists

*Examinations for 1909*

Candidates for ASSOCIATESHIP will be required -  
(January and July, 1909.)

To play the whole or any portion (as the Examiners may desire) of *one* of the following compositions, the selection of the piece to be made *by the candidate*: -

1. FUGUE IN G MINOR, J. S. BACH (Peters, vol. 4, No. 7)  
(Novello & Co., Book 3, p. 84) (Augener & Co., Vol. 6,  
No. 26, p. 406) Breitkopf & Hartel, vol. 4, p.72).
2. FUGUE IN D MINOR, J. S. BACH (Peters, vol. 3, p. 43)  
Novello & Co., Book 9, p.151) Augener & Co., Vol. 2, p.103)  
(Breitkopf & Hartel, vol. 2, p.32).
3. SONATA No. 1 IN E FLAT, First movement, J. S. BACH (Peters,  
vol. 1, p.2) (Novello & Co., Book 4, p.88) (Augener & Co.,  
vol. 8, p.506) (Breitkopf & Hartel, vol.6, p.15).
4. INTRODUCTION AND FUGUE, from Sonata in D minor, J. F.  
BRIDGE (Novello & Co.)
5. CONCERTO IN F, No. 4, Last movement, HANDEL, W. T.  
Best's Edition *only* (Novello & Co., p.73).
6. SONATA IN C MINOR, Op. 41, First movement, J. LYON  
(Breitkopf & Hartel).
7. PRELUDE AND FUGUE IN C MINOR, MENDELSSOHN.
8. SONATA IN A MINOR, Op. 98, First movement, RHEINBERGER.

9. CON MOTO MODERATO (en forme d'Ouverture), SMART.  
(Ashdown, Ltd., No. 5).
10. FINALE ALLE MARCIA, J. STAINER. Twelve pieces for the  
Organ, Book 2, p. 87 (Novello & Co.

Candidates for FELLOWSHIP will be required -

To play the whole or any portion of the following three Organ  
compositions, the selection to be made by the Examiners :-

*(For January, 1909, only).*

SONATA No. 5 IN C, first movement *only*, J. S. BACH (Peters,  
vol. 1, p. 46) (Novello & Co., Book 5, p. 134) (Augener & Co.,  
vol. 8, p. 570) (Breitkopf & Hartel, vol. 6, p. 62).

VARIATIONS ON A THEME IN THE BASS, from Concerto in G  
MINOR, No. 4, HANDEL, W. T. Best's Edition *only* Boosey  
& Co., p. 42).

FANTASIA AND FUGUE IN D MINOR, Op. 103, C. V. STANFORD  
(Stainer & Bell's Organ Library, No. 6).

# Sample Ear Tests for Diplomas of the R.C.O.

## Associate

a)

Musical notation for Associate level test a). It consists of two staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb) and a 2/4 time signature. The melody consists of the following notes: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), Bb4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), Bb4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), F4 (quarter), E4 (quarter), D4 (quarter), C4 (half). The bottom staff is in treble clef with a 3/4 time signature. The accompaniment consists of the following notes: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), Bb4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), Bb4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), F4 (quarter), E4 (quarter), D4 (quarter), C4 (half).

b)

Musical notation for Associate level test b). It consists of two staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb) and a 3/4 time signature. The melody consists of the following notes: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), Bb4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), Bb4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), F4 (quarter), E4 (quarter), D4 (quarter), C4 (half). The bottom staff is in treble clef with a 3/4 time signature. The accompaniment consists of the following notes: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), Bb4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), Bb4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), F4 (quarter), E4 (quarter), D4 (quarter), C4 (half).

## Fellowship

a)

Musical notation for Fellowship level test a). It consists of two staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of two flats (Bb, Eb) and a 2/4 time signature. The melody consists of the following notes: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), Bb4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), Bb4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), F4 (quarter), E4 (quarter), D4 (quarter), C4 (half). The bottom staff is in bass clef with a 2/4 time signature. The accompaniment consists of the following notes: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), Bb4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), Bb4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), F4 (quarter), E4 (quarter), D4 (quarter), C4 (half).

b)

Musical notation for Fellowship level test b). It consists of two staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of two flats (Bb, Eb) and a 2/4 time signature. The melody consists of the following notes: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), Bb4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), Bb4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), F4 (quarter), E4 (quarter), D4 (quarter), C4 (half). The bottom staff is in bass clef with a 2/4 time signature. The accompaniment consists of the following notes: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), Bb4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), Bb4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), F4 (quarter), E4 (quarter), D4 (quarter), C4 (half).



# The Royal College of Organists.

KENSINGTON GORE, LONDON, S.W.

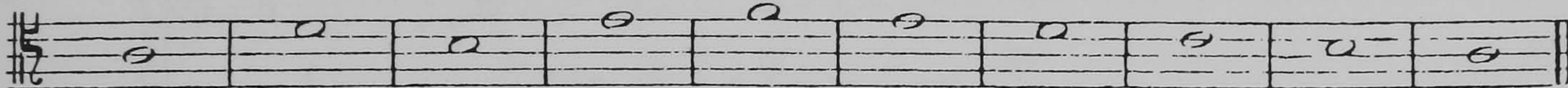
## EXAMINATION FOR FELLOWSHIP.

JANUARY, 1905.

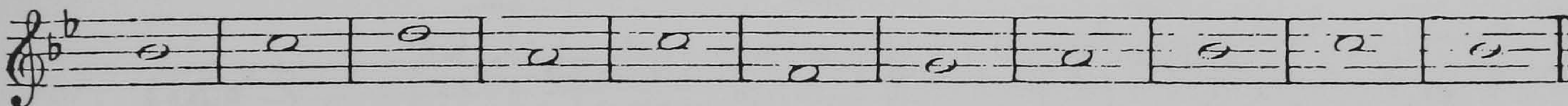
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PAPER WORK AWAY FROM ORGAN. (10 a.m. to 1.30 p.m.)

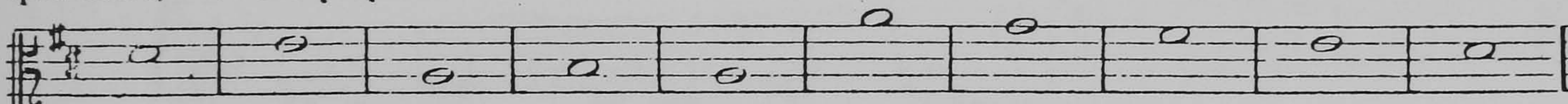
1.—To the following Canto Fermo add a Treble in the second, and a Bass in the third species. Write in open score, using the proper clefs.



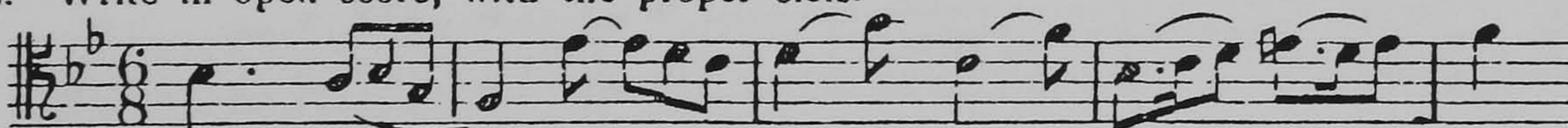
2.—To the following Canto Fermo add an Alto in the third, and a Bass in the fourth species. Write in open score, with the proper clefs.



3.—To the following Canto Fermo add Treble, Tenor, and Bass, all in the fifth species. Write in open score, with the proper clefs.



4.—Write a Fugal Exposition in four-parts on the following subject. It may be written for voices or strings. Write in open score, with the proper clefs.



CANDIDATES SHOULD ANSWER (AS BRIEFLY AS POSSIBLE) THREE OF THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS, SELECTING ONE, and one only, FROM EACH GROUP.

1.—Give a list of the instruments used in Beethoven's "First Symphony" and mention any increase or diminution in this orchestral force in the case of the remaining eight symphonies.

2.—What noted writers have written additional accompaniments to the choral works of Handel (excluding the "Messiah") and Bach? Name the works thus treated.

3.—State how you would beat time for slow  $\frac{3}{4}$  and  $\frac{6}{8}$  measures. Also describe how you would beat time when conducting the  $\frac{5}{4}$  movement in Tschaikowski's "Pathetic Symphony."

4.—Say what you know of some of the most important discoveries made by Helmholtz.

5.—In drawing up a specification for an Organ, what are the chief points to be considered?

6.—What were "Cornet Voluntaries"? At what period were they in vogue?

G

# The Royal College of Organists.

KENSINGTON GORE, LONDON, S.W.

## EXAMINATION FOR FELLOWSHIP.

JANUARY, 1905.

These Examination Papers are Copyright, and will be re-produced by the College Council in a series.

PAPER WORK AWAY FROM ORGAN. (2.30 to 6 p.m.)

Arrange the following extract from "Les Adieux," Fantaisie by C. M. Von Weber, for full orchestra, employing 2 Flutes, 2 Oboes, 2 Clarinets, 2 Bassoons, 4 Horns, 2 Trumpets, 3 Trombones, Drums, and the usual stringed instruments.

*Allegro vivace.* *Adagio.* *a tempo.*

*legato.*

*pp* *ff* *ff* *ff* *ff* *Con molto forza.*

Harmonize the following Melody in four parts (open score):—

N. 12.

# The Royal College of Organists.

KENSINGTON GORE, LONDON, S.W.

## EXAMINATION FOR ASSOCIATESHIP.

JANUARY, 1905.

*These Examination Papers are Copyright, and will be re-produced by the College Council in a series.*

PAPER WORK AWAY FROM ORGAN. (2.30 to 6 p.m.)

1.—“*Music and Musicians*,” (1st Series) by SCHUMANN.—Write an account of the “Organ Concert” (Recital) described by Schumann; giving the performer's name, the time, place, and object of the performance, mentioning the chief items of the programme, and commenting upon Schumann's critical remarks thereon. Your essay should be about 200 words in length.

N.B.—The Examiners will regard this as a test, not only of the Candidates' knowledge of this subject, but also of their possession of ordinary literary ability.

2.—Above the following Bass add three *vocal* parts (Treble, Alto, and Tenor) in accordance with the figuring. Write in open score, using C clefs for the inner parts.

(1) (2)

0 #5 6 b6 6 — #6 7 6 — 7 5 #6 #5 6 #6 6 — 6 9 3 7 8  
 4 — #3 5 b #4 4 5 4 — 4 3 b5 b4 3 b3 4 7 5 4 3  
 2 — #2 — 2 #2 b3 —

N.B.—Candidates are requested to copy the figuring below the Bass of this Exercise.

3.—Harmonize the following melody as for a String Quartett. Write in open score, and mark the bowing. Or, the melody may be treated as for voices. In either case the proper clefs must be used.

Violino 1mo.

4.—Specify any modulation which is made in Exercise 2, and explain (as if *teaching*) the harmonies numbered (1) and (2).

## Guild of Organists

Examination for Fellowship

January, 1888

### *Organ Construction, Stop Combination, and History of the Organ* (1 hour)

1. What is understood by a flue pipe? Describe the two kinds, and say of what they are constructed.
2. Describe the stop known as the "Vox Angelica" and mention its musical effect. Is this stop employed under any other name? If so state it.
3. Explain the construction of a harmonic pipe.
4. Name some of the causes of ciphering, and briefly suggest remedies.
5. If Middle C were played on the organ, what would be the required length for each pipe with the following stops consecutively drawn? - (a) Double Diapason, open 16ft.; (b) Stopped Diapason 16ft. tone; (c) Open Diapason 8ft.; (d) Stopped Diapason 8ft.; (e) Principal; (f) Twelfth; (g) Piccolo or 15th.
6. How are the pipes of an organ tuned? - (a) Reeds; (b) Flue pipes open; (c) Flue pipes stopped.
7. What is a Counterbalance, and how does it act?
8. Draw up a specification for a church organ containing 12 stops with two manuals.
9. Who introduced into this country the CC compass?
10. Who invented the present system of Composition Pedals?
11. Give the names of the generally supposed inventors of the Pedal Clavier and the Venetian Swell, with dates.
12. Who is supposed to have invented the Pneumatic Action? Give reasons for its introduction.

13. Who first constructed the Reservoir or Horizontal Bellows? Give date as near as possible.
14. How many kinds of actions do you know? Give a very brief account of each.

Guild of Organists

Examination for Fellowship

*Counterpoint*

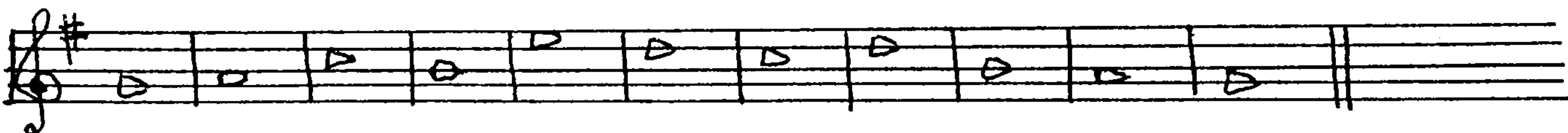
(Two hours)

(C clef to be used for Alto and Tenor)

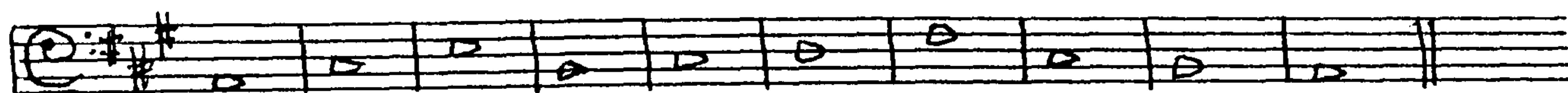
1. Add three counterpoints above this Canto Fermo in the 1st species.



2. Add two parts below this C.F., one in the 1st and the other in the 2nd species.



3. Add three counterpoints to this C.F., the tenor part to be in the 3rd species, the alto and treble to be in the 1st species.



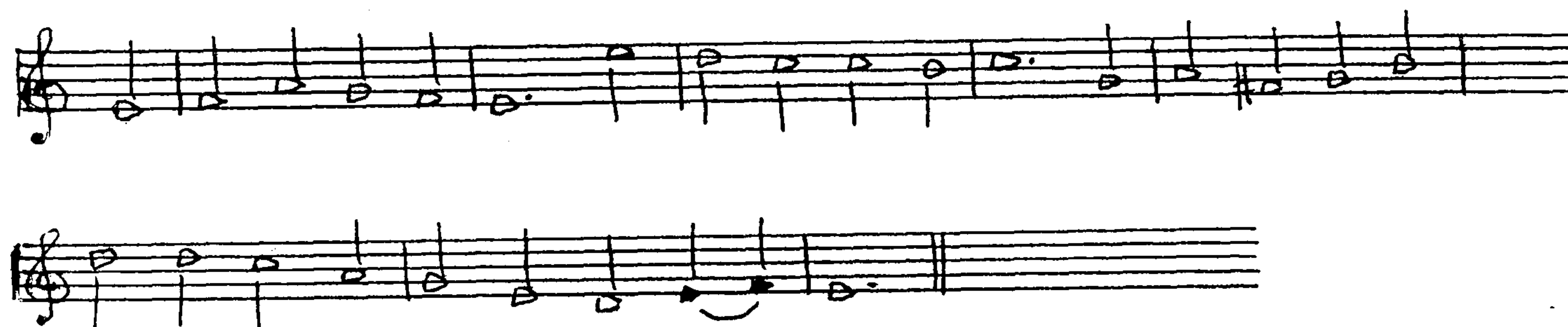
4. Add two parts below this C.F., one to be in 4th species.



5. Add three parts above this C.F., in the 1st, 3rd, and 4th species.



6. Add two parts in the 5th species, to the following C.F. (the melody of a well-known Hymn Tune).



Guild of Organists

Examination for Fellowship

January, 1888

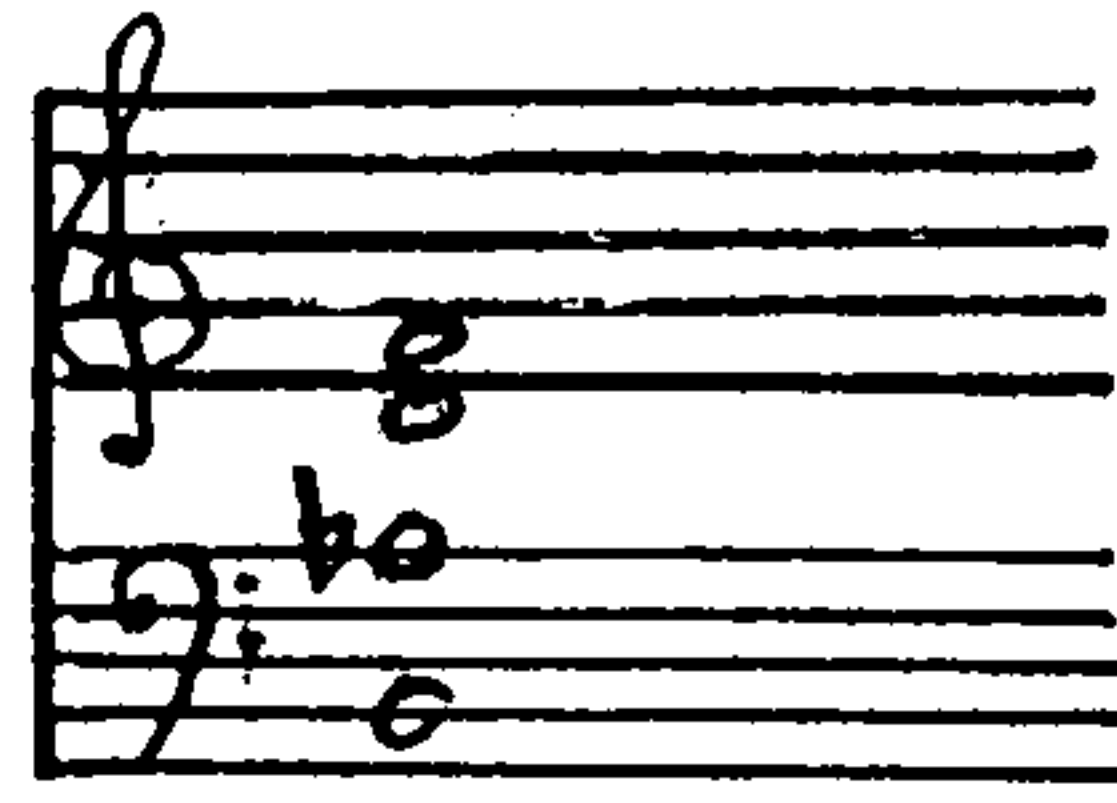
Harmony

(Two hours and a half)

1. Add three parts in short score to the following figured bass, and name the chords marked with an asterisk.

2. (a) Upon what degree of the scale is the Augmented or tritone 4th found, and give root. (b) Upon what degree of the scale is the diminished 7th found?  
(c) Upon what degree of the scale is the Neapolitan 6th found? (d) Upon what degree of the scale is the Augmented 6th found?
3. Write a few bars introducing the suspension of the 4-3 and its last inversion.- Key optional.
4. Add three parts to the following melody.

5. Modulate (using less than six chords) into the keys of D, F, A flat and B from the following chord of the diminished 7th, making any necessary enharmonic alterations.





The Church Choir Guild, London

Examination for Diploma of Fellow, C.C.G.

19th June, 1889

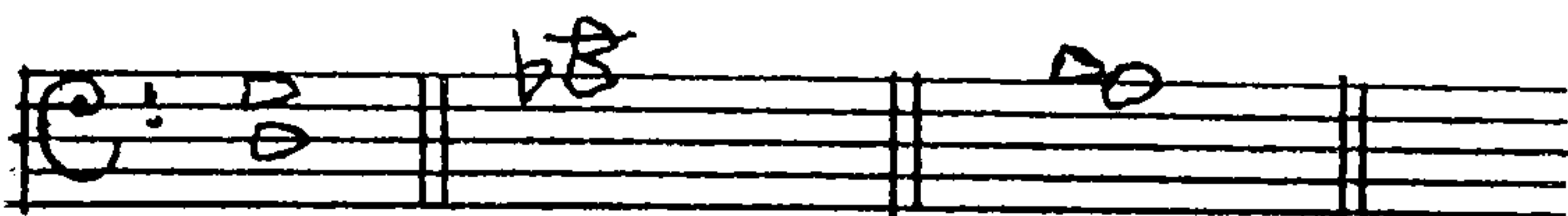
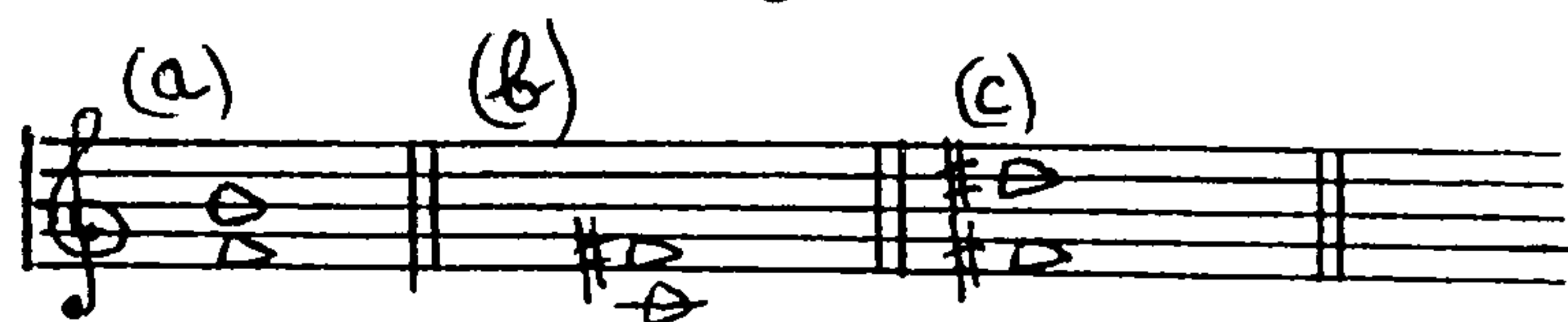
Examiners: J.H.Lewis, Mus. Doc.,  
F.J.Karn, Mus. Doc.

Candidates are required to answer not more than two questions from each section.

Time allowed: three hours.

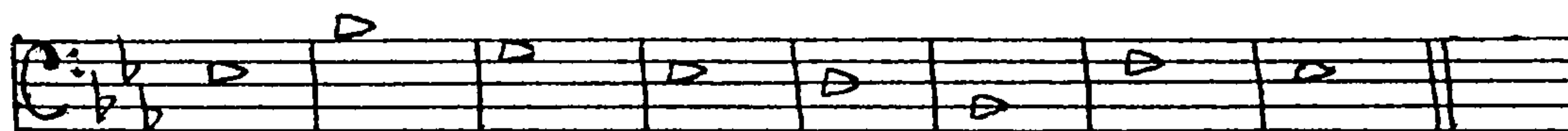
- I. (1) Where is the voice produced?  
(2) Explain (a) chest register, (b) medium register, (c) head register.  
(3) Write on a stave the compass of each voice, using the proper clefs.  
(4) What is meant by respiration?
- II. (1) In what proportions would you arrange the different voices in a choir of thirty?  
(2) What is the difference between ferial and festal responses?  
(3) Give a list of the music used in a choral communion service.  
(4) Name two anthems suitable for each of the following festivals: Christmas, Easter, Ascension, Whitsuntide, Trinity.
- III. (1) Give a few names of the composers of church music from 1520 to 1625, from 1720 to 1845, and the present time.  
(2) What form did the anthems of the church take? and what is the anthem a development of?  
(3) In what century was the Litany sung in solemn procession by the eastern church?  
(4) What is antiphonal music, and when was it first used?

IV. (1) Resolve the following chords:-



- (2) What is the usual position of the 4 chord, followed by the 3<sup>6</sup> ? Give an example.
- (3) Modulate by means of the dominant seventh; (a) from the key of C to Bflat; (b) from the key of C to A.
- (4) Write in key of A, three different cadences, and explain their use.

V. (1) Add tenor, alto, and treble (first species) to this *canto fermo*:-



- (2) What is false relation of the Tritone? Explain its bad effect, and cases where, though apparent, it has no ill effect.
- (3) Name a good succession of roots, and also a weak one.
- (4) Why should two major thirds not succeed one another by the step of a second in two - part counterpoint?

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The Church Choir Guild, London

Examination for Diploma of Fellow, C.C.G.

19th June, 1889

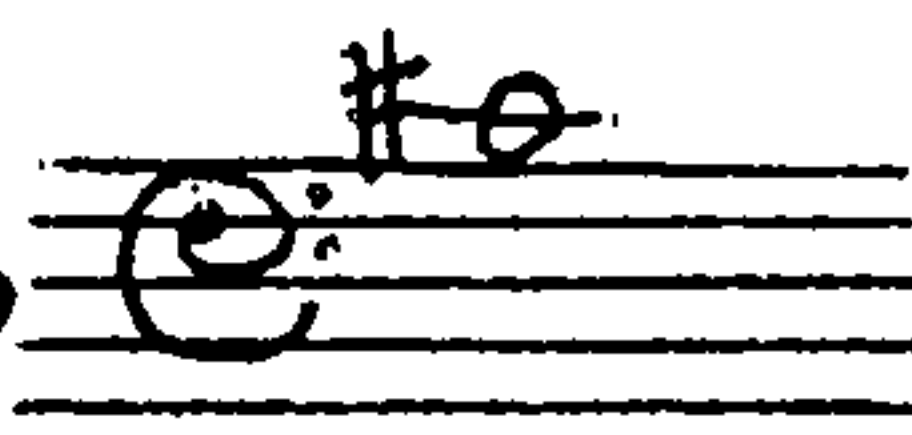
Examiners: J.H.Lewis, Mus. Doc.,  
F.J.Karn, Mus. Doc.

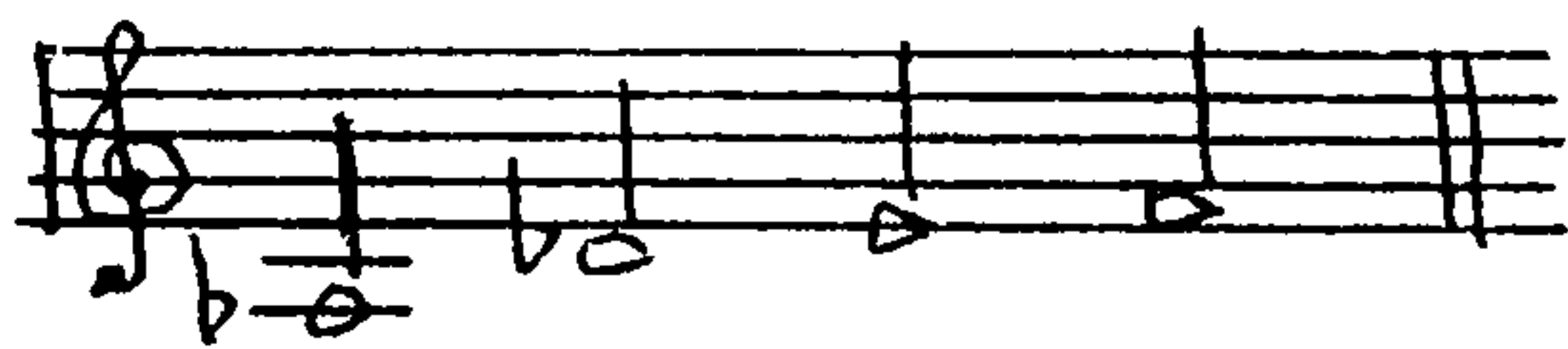
Candidates are required to answer not more than two questions from each section.

Time allowed: three hours.

- I. (1) Where is the voice produced?  
(2) Explain (a) chest register, (b) medium register, (c) head register.  
(3) Write on a stave the compass of each voice, using the proper clefs.  
(4) What is meant by respiration?
- II. (1) In what proportions would you arrange the different voices in a choir of thirty?  
(2) What is the difference between ferial and festal responses?  
(3) Give a list of the music used in a choral communion service.  
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- III. (1) Give a few names of the composers of church music from 1520 to 1625, from 1720 to 1845, and the present time.  
(2) What form did the anthems of the church take? and what is the anthem a development of?  
(3) In what century was the Litany sung in solemn procession by the eastern church?  
(4) What is antiphonal music, and when was it first used?

- IV. (1) Write and describe the construction of the Anglican and Gregorian chant.  
 (2) What is a changeable chant?  
 (3) How is the Gregorian chant generally sung?  
 (4) Quote instances of single and double Anglican chants where the reciting note is absurdly high in pitch.

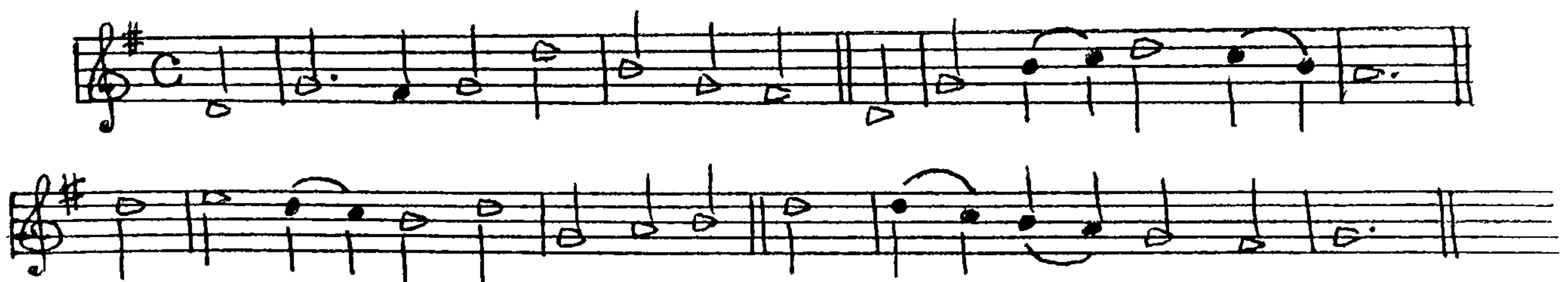
- V. (1) What is the best method of training boys' voices?  
 (2) In how many different ways may a bass voice produce this note?   
 Which is the best?  
 (3) What difference is there in production and in effect between a contralto and an alto voice, singing these notes:-



- (4) Mention the number of practices per week and the way in which you would conduct them, in order to keep a choir of men and boys in proper trim and efficient for the ordinary work of a parish church with choral services.

- VI. (1) Give your experience as to the best mode of improving choristers' pronunciation.  
 (2) What common faults are to be avoided in chanting?  
 (3) What steps would you take to ensure the vowel sounds having their due value, and the consonants being correctly uttered?  
 (4) What difficulties are there in an enumeration of the sentences of the general confession?

- VII. (1) Harmonize the following melody so as to form four part harmony:-



(2) Add three parts above this figured bass:-

The image shows two staves of musical notation in F minor. The top staff contains a figured bass line with notes and figures: 6, 6, 6 4 3, 6 5, 6, 6 4 4. The bottom staff contains a similar figured bass line with notes and figures: 6, 6, 6 4 3, 6 4 3, 6 4 5 5. Both staves end with a double bar line and repeat signs.

(3) Write chords of the Neapolitan sixth, German sixth, and added sixth, in the key of F minor. Precede and follow each by a few chords so as to make a correct four-part progression ending with a perfect cadence.

(4) What is there peculiar about the resolution of the second inversion of dominant seventh? Give examples.

-----

Trinity College, London

Higher Examinations for Diplomas

January, 1880

Section B. - *Choir Management and History*

Philip Arms, Mus.D.

*Choir Management*

1. In an Anglican Chant, give the note which should, in your judgement, be (1) the highest on which Trebles should "recite", (2) the highest to which they should go in the melody of the chant, and (3) the lowest.
2. Give instances, quoting the melodies of well-known Double Chants, in which common sense in these matters has been disregarded.
3. If in Tallis "Preces and Responses" - with organ accompaniment - the Priest is singing "sharp", say in what form the Organist should leave the last chord of each response, with a view to the correction of the fault.
4. If there were six Bass voices in a choir, what would, in your opinion, be the proper number of Tenors, Altos, 2nd Trebles, and 1st Trebles respectively, to produce a fairly well-balanced effect as a whole?.
5. In unaccompanied vocal music, would you rather have effects produced by four- part harmony, or by more than four? - not exceeding eight. Give the reasons for your preferences.
6. A composition is required to be written for seven voices; give your idea of (1) the best, and (2) the worst combination of seven for the purpose, stating your reasons concisely.

*History*

1. Say when Orlando Gibbons, Henry Purcell, William Croft, and William Boyce lived, and name some of their chief Church compositions, not more than three of each.

2. Assuming that the "Church Pitch" in England has varied greatly in the past three centuries, say when you think it was (1) at its highest, (2) at its lowest, and (3) how the present "Society of Arts" pitch stands with regard to the two former pitches.
3. What would you do with (1) "Hosanna", Gibbons, (2) the "Dettingham" Te Deum, and (3) Haydn's "First Mass", to bring them, as you think, to their Author's intentions as to pitch?
4. Give the dates of (1) Handel's first coming to England, (2) the production of "Esther", "Messiah", and "Israel in Egypt", and (3) his death.
5. Name the years of the birth and death of Mozart, Mendelssohn, and Meyerbeer, and mention the chief sacred work of each of them.
6. Name the inventors of (1) the Orchestral Clarinet and (2) the "Swell", and "Pneumatic Action" of an organ, and give, as nearly as you can, the dates of the inventions.

Section C. -

*Harmony*

Sir Herbert Oakeley, M.A., Mus.D.

1. Write out exercises (a) and (b) from the figured Bass, in four parts\* in open score, using Alto and Tenor Clefs for their respective parts, and making the several parts flow smoothly.

(a)

(b)

\* Note. Candidates for L.Mus., or for first-class certificates, are required to work exercises (a) and (b) ( No.1) in five parts instead of four.

2. Harmonize the melody (c) twice over, in close four-part harmony, with a different bass each time.

3. Harmonize in four parts and in close harmony, the scale of E minor, ascending and descending, on following bass:-

4. Write a modulation from C major to E minor, passing through D minor, A minor and G major, and finishing by a cadence to E minor.
5. Give roots and resolutions of following chords:-



APPENDIX 13

A SELECTION OF LECTURES GIVEN AT THE  
ROYAL COLLEGE OF ORGANISTS

A Selection of Lectures given at the R.C.O. during the Period of the Study

R.C.O. Lectures

- |                         |   |   |
|-------------------------|---|---|
| 1. F.J. Sawyer:         | Organists of the 19 <sup>th</sup> Century                                 | 6 <sup>th</sup> July 1880   |
| 2. Prof. E. Prout:      | Three Lectures on Orchestration   | 20 <sup>th</sup> May 1905<br>27 <sup>th</sup> May 1905<br>3 <sup>rd</sup> June 1905 |
| 3. W.H Hadow:           | The History of Instrumental Form<br>(Four weekly lectures)                | 22 <sup>nd</sup> September 19**   |
| 4. A.L. Peace:          | Organ Arrangements  | 25 <sup>th</sup> April 1907   |
| 5. F.J. Sawyer:         | An Organist's Voluntaries   | 20 <sup>th</sup> April 1907<br>Manchester   |
| 6. W. Parratt:          | Organ Arrangements  | 9 <sup>th</sup> March 1907  |
| 7. G. Gordon-Cleather:  | The Timpani, with special reference<br>to their use with the organ        | 1 <sup>st</sup> February 1908<br>8 <sup>th</sup> February 1908                      |
| 8. W.G. Alcock:         | Extemporisation   | 26 <sup>th</sup> February 1910  |
| 9. A. Hollins:          | The Modern Concert Organ and<br>Concert Organ Music                       | 3 <sup>rd</sup> March 1910  |
| 10. C.W. Pearce:        | Plainsong: its use and influence in<br>Modern Composition                 | 30 <sup>th</sup> March 1910   |
| 11. F.G. Shinn:         | The Choral-Vorspiel from Samuel<br>Scheidt, 1587-1654 to Max Reger, 1873- | 23 <sup>rd</sup> April 1910   |
| 12. A. Eaglefield Hull: | Two Modern Organ Composers;<br>Joseph Bonnet, Sigfrid Karg-Elert          | 20 <sup>th</sup> February 1913<br>Cardiff   |
| 13. H. Walford Davies:  | Rhythm in Church and Kindred Matters                                      | 14 <sup>th</sup> June 1913  |
| 14. Edward d'Every:     | Modern Scores and their<br>Interpretation on the Organ                    | 20 <sup>th</sup> February 1915  |
| 15. H. Plunket Greene:  | Songs and their Classification  | 15 <sup>th</sup> May 1915   |

Unless indicated, lectures were given at the R.C.O., London.

APPENDIX 14

INFORMATION RELATING TO ORGANISTS' PROFESSIONAL BODIES

## REGULATIONS FOR THE R.C.O. ASSOCIATESHIP AND FELLOWSHIP

### *Associateship of the Royal College of Organists*

To perform an Organ Piece of the candidate's own choosing. It must be a work composed for the organ, with a separate pedal part, of a classical type and of sufficient difficulty to display advanced technical attainments.

To transpose a Hymn Tune at sight into any key specified by the Examiners.

To harmonize a given Melody in four parts on paper, and without the aid of an instrument.

To harmonize a Figured Bass on paper, and without the aid of an instrument.

To analyze specially given chords.

To write Simple Counterpoint, in not more than four parts, and combined in not more than three.

To modulate (on paper) to or from given keys or chords.

To give correct answers to fugal subjects; or, as an alternative, the Candidate may give the correct answer to a given Fugue subject, and add a counter - subject which need not be in double counterpoint.

To write a short essay of about 200 words on a subject taken from a book the title of which will be announced beforehand, as a test not only of knowledge of the subject, but also of the possession of ordinary literary ability. (The set text for the 1905 January and July Associate examinations was the First Series of Schumann's *Music and Musicians*; the following year the subject of the essay was taken from Hubert Parry's *The Art of Music*. But topics were not always musical ones. For the 1910 January examination the set text was Ruskin's *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*.)

The candidate will be tested by questions on the general structure of the organ; on the combination and contrasting of the various registers; on the chief causes of Casual Derangements of Mechanism; on Form (or plan) in Musical Composition; on the Orchestra; on Musical History; on Harmony; Acoustics, Analysis, Choir Training, General Musical Knowledge, and also on the Art of Teaching in its application to those subjects which belong to the province of the Organist and Choirmaster.

*Fellowship of the Royal College of Organists*

To play any portion or all of three selected Organ compositions, the titles of which will be announced previously to each Examination.

To play at sight a passage of Organ Music specially prepared [composed] for that purpose.

To play a Chant (he may choose between an Anglican and a Gregorian), as if accompanying a given Canticle or Psalm.

To extemporize upon a given Musical Phrase.

To harmonize a given Melody at sight upon the key-board.

To play from a Vocal Score, written in Bass, Tenor, Alto, and Treble Clefs.

To harmonize a given Melody in four parts on paper, and without the aid of an instrument.

To harmonize an unfigured Bass (or a Ground Bass) on paper, and without the aid of an instrument.

To write counterpoint of various kinds.

To score a given passage for full Orchestra.

To write a Fugal Exposition upon a given subject in four vocal parts.

The Candidate's General Musical Knowledge will be tested by questions on the subjects required in the case of Associates; but these questions will be of a more advanced character.[for Fellowship]



# ROYAL ACADEMY OF MUSIC

MARYLEBONE ROAD, LONDON NW1 5HT

LIBRARY - Tel: 0171-873 7323 Fax: 0171-873 7322

Email: [library@ram.ac.uk](mailto:library@ram.ac.uk)

David Lang  
Stone Beck  
Back Lane,  
Allerthorpe  
York  
YO42 4RP

March 14<sup>th</sup>, 2000

Dear Mr Lang,

Thank you for your letter enquiring about the professors of organ appointed to the Academy from 1823 until 1918.

I regret that the Academy has no Archivist, nor are our Archives automated, and therefore this information will take time to gather. As you did not state the reason for your enquiry, or whether there is a date after which the information will not be of use, may I suggest that if you are needing the information urgently, and are likely to be coming to London, that you arrange to come to the Academy to look through our prospectuses and Minute books.

I can however tell you that: from 1853-58, the professor of organ at the Academy was S.S. Wesley.

(Source: *Musical Directory 1853*)

According to our 1955/56 *Scholarships and special awards* booklet, there were two Organ scholarships available at the time:

*Maud Mary Gooch* : founded by Sir Henry Cubitt Gooch, July 1902, in the name of his wife.

For candidates of either sex.

*Henry Smart Scholarship*: Founded by subscription, 1880, in memory of Henry Smart, Esq., (1813-1879), composer and organist.

For male and female candidates alternately.

I hope this information is of use.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Bridget Palmer".

Bridget Palmer  
Assistant Librarian

PS As I complete this letter, your follow-up letter has arrived, but this doesn't change the content of my letter.

APPENDIX 15

S.S. WESLEY'S LETTER OF APPLICATION TO  
WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL, JULY 1849

SS WESLEY'S LETTER OF APPLICATION TO WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL

Leeds, July 17th 1849.

Reverend Sirs.

I beg leave to subject myself to your notice as a Candidate for the office of Organist in your Cathedral, and to lay before you several Testimonials in my favor from the Clergy connected with the Churches at which I have served and from eminent musicians.

I trust these testimonials may obtain your consideration and attention, as well as go far to remove the but too unfavorable impression under which I fear my pretensions have hitherto laboured.

Should you deem it due to one to confer on me the appointment I so earnestly solicit I beg to offer my assurances that every possible opportunity shall be taken by me to merit this high honor of your esteem, and to secure for the musical offices of your Cathedral the approbation of all competent judges.

I beg to subscribe myself  
Reverend Sir

Your obedient humble servant

Samuel Sebastian Wesley.



APPENDIX 16

TERTIUS NOBLE'S AGREEMENT AS DRAWN UP BY  
THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF YORK MINSTER IN 1897

*Agreement to engage Organist*

*This Agreement* made the        day of        One thousand eight hundred and ninety  
*Between The Dean and Chapter of the*  
Metropolitical Church of St. Peter in  
the City of York (hereinafter referred to as  
"The Dean and Chapter") of the one part  
and Thomas Tertius Noble of Ely in the  
County of Cambridge Organist of the other  
part.

*Whereby* the Dean and Chapter hereby engage  
the said Thomas Tertius Noble as Organist to the  
said Metropolitical Church of Saint Peter at  
the yearly salary of Three hundred pounds to be  
increased to Four hundred pounds so soon as  
the pension at present payable to Dr Monk a  
former organist of the said Metropolitical Church  
shall cease, such salary to be payable quarterly  
on the        days of  
in every year.

1. *And* the said Thomas Tertius Noble in  
consideration of such engagement agrees that he  
will punctually and regularly attend the  
services of the said Metropolitical Church in the  
capacity of Organist and that he will teach and  
instruct to the best of his skill and ability the Choir  
of the said Metropolitical Church in such manner  
and at such times and places as the said Choir  
has heretofore been taught and instructed unless  
the Dean and Chapter shall otherwise direct and  
generally that he will perform the duties of a  
Choirmaster to the best of his ability and that he  
will not at anytime leave or absent himself  
from his duties aforesaid without first having  
obtained the permission of the Dean or  
in his absence of the Canon in Residence and  
will conduct himself devoutly faithfully and  
properly in the duties aforesaid.
2. *And it is hereby mutually agreed* that the  
said Thomas Tertius Noble may take Articled  
Pupils if the Dean shall consent and approve  
of his so doing but in case of the misconduct  
of any such Articled Pupil the Dean shall be  
entitled to revoke such consent.

3. *And further* that if the said Thomas Tertius Noble shall commit any breach of this Agreement or be guilty of misconduct his appointment shall be immediately vacated but he shall be entitled to his salary up to the time of such vacation.
4. *And also* that either party may terminate the said engagement at any time by giving unto the other of them three months previous notice in writing for that purpose.  
*As witness* the Common seal of the Dean and Chapter and the hand of the said Thomas Tertius Noble the day and year first hereinbefore written.

*The Common Seal of the Dean and Chapter was hereunto affixed in the presence of*

[Registrar]

This is a draft copy (unsigned and undated) of the *Agreement* between Thomas Tertius Noble and the Dean and Chapter of York Minster. Affixed to the document in the top left hand margin is a ten shilling stamp, this being stamp duty payable on such an Agreement at that time.

## APPENDIX 17

### SOME EXAMPLES OF ORGANIST'S CONTRACTS AND AGREEMENTS

- a) Sketch of a Church Organist's Agreement as proposed by a lawyer, J.J. Jori, in 1877.
- b) The Organist's Simple Contract Form.
- c) Model Agreement for the Clergy and Organist of the Anglican Church.



or service of which disapproval has been expressed, and such anthem or service shall be no longer sung.

5) That the Organist shall have liberty to give lessons on the Organ in the said Church, and that his pupils may have such opportunities of practising as can be conveniently granted them, but the Vicar reserves to himself the right to forbid anyone of the said pupils the privilege of such practice --- if he shall have reason to believe that such pupil has done, or is likely to do, any act of desecration or misconduct in the Church or precincts thereof.

[Or, - 5. That in consequence of increased stipend the organist shall not have liberty to give lessons on the organ. ]

6) That the Organist shall not during the time he may be giving lessons, or during the time he may himself be studying in the said Church do any act of desecration, or study or play or give instruction in any profane music.

7) That the control and conduct of the music shall be left to the "Organist" and that all questions of tempo and expression and of the details of rendering the music by the Choir shall be determined by him, and while he is acting in his official capacity his decision shall not be questioned and his directions shall be implicitly obeyed, and the Vicar and Churchwardens hereby engage themselves to uphold and maintain the authority of the Organist.

8) The Organist binds himself to act so far as he can in conformity to the expressed wishes of the Vicar, to whom alone the Organist shall be responsible for the performance of his duties.

9) That the Organist shall not send a deputy to do his duty without the sanction and approval of the Vicar, who shall not unreasonably withhold such sanction and approval.

10) That the Organist shall be allowed four weeks holiday either at one time or at different times during the year [and that during such holiday the Vicar will engage and pay a deputy ]. Such holiday to be at the convenience of the Vicar.

11) That the Vicar pay to the Organist the sum of £            per annum by four quarterly instalments on the four usual quarterly days.

12) The Churchwardens, in consideration of the appointment of the said Organist being approved by them as stated in the recital, engage to recoup from the Vicar any sum or sums paid by him to the Organist, provided such sum or sums do not exceed the yearly sum

mentioned in the last preceding clause.

13) That if either of the parties of the first and second parts desire to terminate this agreement the one shall give to the other three month`s notice of such his desire, such notice to be given on any one of the quarterly days aforesaid.

Dated the            day of            187 .

As witness





# MODEL AGREEMENT FOR CLERGY & ORGANISTS

[COPYRIGHT.]

## Model Agreement for the Clergy and Organists of the Anglican Church.

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*Prepared by*

*Herbert Westerby, Mus. Bac., Lond., F.R.C.O., L.Mus.T.C.L.*

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N.B.—It is suggested that the following Agreement Form may, in the first place, be treated by the Organist as a Guide to what may be expected of him.

[The Form may be amended to suit varying circumstances.]

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MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT made the ..... day of ....., 190..., BETWEEN ..... of, &c. (hereinafter called "the Vicar"), of the first part, ....., of, &c., and ....., of, &c. (hereinafter called "the Churchwardens")<sup>1</sup> of the second part, and ....., of, &c., of the third part, as follows :—

- (1) The said Vicar and Churchwardens on the one hand and the said ..... on the other hand DO HEREBY bind themselves to observe the following contract as set forth in the following *terms and conditions*.
- (2) The said Vicar and Churchwardens DO HEREBY agree to pay to the said ..... as *stipend* the sum of £..... (..... pounds) per annum, payable by equal ..... payments on the....., the first of such payments to be made on the ..... day of ..... next, and in consideration of such payments as aforesaid the said ..... HEREBY undertakes to perform such professional duties as Organist and Choir-master at the ..... Church of ..... aforesaid as are hereinafter mentioned.

<sup>1</sup> Substitute "Members of the Vestry" or "Members of the Select Vestry" where necessary.

- (3) The *principal duties* of the said ..... shall be to officiate at the following musical services held on Sundays, namely Morning and Evening Service,<sup>1a</sup> ("Commentary," Sec. 2) ..... likewise at the<sup>2</sup> .....
- (4) THE said ..... shall officiate also at the following<sup>3</sup> .....
- (5) THE said ..... shall preside at the following Special Services, of which reasonable notice will be given<sup>4</sup> .....
- (6) THE said ..... shall receive the following *additional fees* for Weddings—choral..... guineas, non-choral ..... guineas, in both cases payable by .....
- Baptisms ..... guineas  
Funerals ..... guineas  
also offerings on Organist's Sunday.

In case the party wishes to have the services of another Organist at Weddings, Baptisms, or Funerals, the usual fee shall be paid to the said ..... ("Commentary," Sec. 15a).

- (7) THE Vicar and Churchwardens agree to accept *approved deputies* for the following services<sup>5</sup> ..... and also in the event of the absence of the said ..... from duty owing to sickness or any other reasonable cause ("Commentary," Sec. 3).
- (8) THE Vicar and Churchwardens will also allow the said ..... weeks' *vacation* in the month of ..... in every year, and also the following *relaxation from duty* ..... after the greater Festivals of<sup>6</sup> .....

<sup>1a</sup> Sunday *afternoon* service held every ..... Sunday of, etc., and at the following seasons of the year:—Easter, Whitsuntide, Christmas Day.

<sup>2</sup> Sunday *afternoon* services held in connection with the following Festivals (Harvest, Children's Dedication, etc.), as well as on the following special occasions on Sunday (Early Choral Celebrations, etc.).

<sup>3</sup> Week-day services, namely, the evening week-night service held on ....., the special services held on Christmas Day, Christmas Eve, Ascension Day, All Saints' Day, Ash Wednesday, Holy Innocents' Day, services in Holy Week (Good Friday, morning and afternoon, three hours' service, Maundy Thursday, Easter Eve).

<sup>4</sup> Funeral services (choral) (non-choral), services held on occasions of national rejoicing or mourning, Midnight Service on New Year's Eve, Confirmation Service, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Week-night, Ascension Day, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Easter, Whitsuntide, Christmas.

# MODEL AGREEMENT FOR CLERGY & ORGANISTS

..... the deputies in each case to be duly approved The said..... shall provide all deputies at ..... expense, and on the other hand shall receive all fees earned by such *deputies* both at ordinary and extraordinary services, including Weddings, Baptisms, &c.) ("Commentary," Sec. 16).

(9) THE principal *duties* of the said ..... as *Choirmaster* shall be to train the choir of the said church "with all diligence and to the best of his ability," and to that end will hold at least ..... practice in each week, giving such time as he thinks necessary for the preparation of the services ("Commentary," Sec. 2).

(10) THE said ..... shall consult with the Vicar as to the fixing, *alteration*, omission, or absence from the principal *practice* night ("Commentary," Sec. 12).

(11) THE said ..... shall after reference to the Vicar as to general suitability have *power to elect* after due trial of voice any new *members for the choir* ("Commentary," Sec. 11a).

(12) IN the *provision* of new *members* (junior and senior) he will have the assistance of the Vicar or his deputy, and will also have powers of *dismissal of members*, but will previously refer in both cases to the Vicar for permission or confirmation respectively ("Commentary," Sec. 11a).

(13) THE Choirmaster *as deputed by the Vicar* shall be responsible for order and *discipline* at the *choir-practices* ("Commentary," Sec. 11).

(14) THE Choirmaster shall if he think fit appoint his own Secretary, Librarian, and other *minor officials* (see "Commentary," Sec. 14), and be responsible for (if requested) the distribution of the various money payments to the choir provided by the Churchwardens ("Commentary," Sec. 13).

(15) IN the event of the said ..... being called upon to perform new and *additional musical labours* in connection with the said Church, he shall receive an additional fee or stipend (according to arrangement) in consideration of such labours being carried out by him or his deputy ("Commentary," Sec. 4.)

- (16) THE said ..... will consult with the Churchwardens before incurring any expense or making any *outlay*, such as for *new music*, choir lists, etc., on behalf of the choir (" Commentary," Sec. 13a).
- (17) THE said ..... after due conference with the Vicar shall have the *choice of the music* with the exception of the hymns, bearing in mind the character of the services agreed upon and its suitability for the particular season of the Church's year or the nature of the occasion (" Commentary," Sec. 17).
- (18) THE said ..... generally speaking "will have a *free hand* within the reasonable limits mentioned in this agreement " (" Commentary," Sec. 18).
- (19) THE Vicar and Churchwardens in whose hands lies the custody of the *organ* will allow the said ..... to have *sole charge* of the same in the said Church, and the said ..... will be made responsible for its safe keeping " (Commentary," Sec. 10b), and, in order that he may have the means of attaining and maintaining efficient control of the same he shall be allowed the privilege of daily practice (" Commentary," Sec. 10a) <sup>7</sup> .....
- (19a) The Vicar and Churchwardens will also provide the usual instrument and Room for Practice with the Choir
- (20) THE said ..... shall not be held responsible in any way for the upkeep, *repair*, or tuning of the *organ* in the said Church (this falling to the Builders or Tuners according to the usual contract), but he shall report any failing in the instrument to the Vicar or Churchwardens in order that the matter may be put right (" Commentary," Sec. 10d).

The Vicar and Churchwardens will allow the said ..... to give *lessons to pupils* on the organ in the said Church without charge (except for the cost of ..... power utilized at the rate of ..... per hour

- (21) THE Vicar and Churchwardens will also allow the said ..... to give ..... (limit, if any) *Organ or Oratorio Recitals* (after due consultation with the Vicar as to proposed date and other

<sup>7</sup> Here insert limitations (if any), or any limit in the use of gas or motor power, and charge for same beyond the limit, also any restrictions as to the hours of practice.\*

MODEL AGREEMENT FOR CLERGY & ORGANISTS

preliminaries) in the aforesaid Church, and to receive the proceeds or ..... of same<sup>8</sup>..... (" Commentary," Sec. 15).

(23) THE Vicar and Churchwardens will " In every legitimate way do their best to further the professional welfare of their Organist and Choirmaster,\* on the understanding that he " makes it a point of honour to do his utmost for the Church with that limited portion at his disposal."\*\*

(24) THE Contract hereby made shall be determinable at any time on either the Vicar and Churchwardens giving to the said ..... or the said ..... giving to the said Vicar and Churchwardens ..... months' notice of termination in writing of their or his intention so to determine it.

AS WITNESS the hands of the parties hereto.

SIGNED by the said ..... }  
..... and ..... }  
in the presence of

SIGNED by the said ..... }  
..... in the presence of }

SIGNED by..... }  
in the presence of }

SIGNED by..... }  
in the presence of }

†WE the undersigned ..... being the successors to ..... the Churchwardens mentioned in the within-written agreement do hereby undertake all responsibility financial and otherwise incurred by the said ..... in respect of the within-written Agreement.

Dated this ..... day of ....., 191...

8 The said ..... shall also have the benefit of one Sunday's offertories in the course of the year on what is known as " Organist Sunday."

APPENDIX 18

HIRD'S LETTER TO THE AUTHOR RELATING TO ORGAN BUILDING  
AT HARRISON AND HARRISON

46 Hallgarth Street,  
DURHAM DH1 3AT  
Tel: 0191-386-2301  
E-mail: R.D.Hird @durham.ac.uk

28th September 1997

Dear Mr.Lang,

Harrison & Harrison have passed me copies of your correspondence with them, in case I might be of help in your research into organ-building consultancy/commissions as supplements to 19thC organists' remuneration. I notice this is only a side-line in your thesis, but probably deserves objective study in it's own right!

I'm not sure I have any readily useable information for you; this is an elusive and somewhat sensitive area, and it's difficult to know where to start, let alone where to draw a line. Perhaps if I explain my own interests you will understand, and can consider whether anything I might have gathered, or a chat sometime, would be of help.

I have to say there are other people too, who are expert on different organ-builders, periods, or cathedral organs/organists. Most of us belong to **The British Institute of Organ Studies** (check out the Webpage: <http://www.bios.org.uk>) and have published some of the fruits of our efforts in the Institute's *Journal* over 20 years, and elsewhere, which you can look up. It might be that one of these people happens to have, or know of, some explicit evidence of commissions being paid. But by their very nature at the time, such transactions were "backhanders" and not intended to be public knowledge, although there may be occasional suggestions or glimpses of the practice in records. BIOS's **British Organ Archive** at Birmingham contains originals or microfilm of many organ-builders' surviving records, but more remain with the successor companies (eg.Walker at Brandon, Conacher at Huddersfield) or are deposited at CRO's/Libraries (eg.Forster & Andrews at Hull City Library, H&H at Durham). Inevitably much has been lost! How much time can you put into looking for needles in how many haystacks?

For my own part, over the years, I have often dipped into the large quantity of H&H records, including the Letter Books, which are deposited here in the Durham CRO, in relation to particular organ investigations - not least in writing about **Durham Cathedral's organs** (H&H secured the task of rebuilding the 1876 Willis organ in 1904 - rather late for your study of the 19thC). Also I've been through the Chapter records here, and have cached away somewhere ad hoc details of Durham Cathedral organists and their salaries. I could probably dig out similar information for some other situations: eg.where I've been through parish records. For instance I did once compile a list of organists and payments at Sedgefield Parish Church . There - and at other places, including at the Cathedral here - the organ-builder attended only irregularly and (you will know from your researches) it is recorded that the organist was paid extra for tuning the organ and/or the reeds.

Undoubtedly also there are many instances where an "adviser" was involved in securing a new organ. Nationally respected organists/musicians like Ouseley, Dykes, Best and Stainer (to name but a handful encountered) and many a cathedral organist (though not that I know of those at Durham) "advised" churches (and Councils in relation to Town Hall organs) in this way and often played at the opening. As today, some were more interested (or had more time to be interested) in the technicalities of organs than others. To take one local example, Ouseley "ordered and approved" the new organ Bishop, Starr & Richardson built for St.Oswald's Durham in 1859, and I feel sure didn't do it for-free. You can see how a package

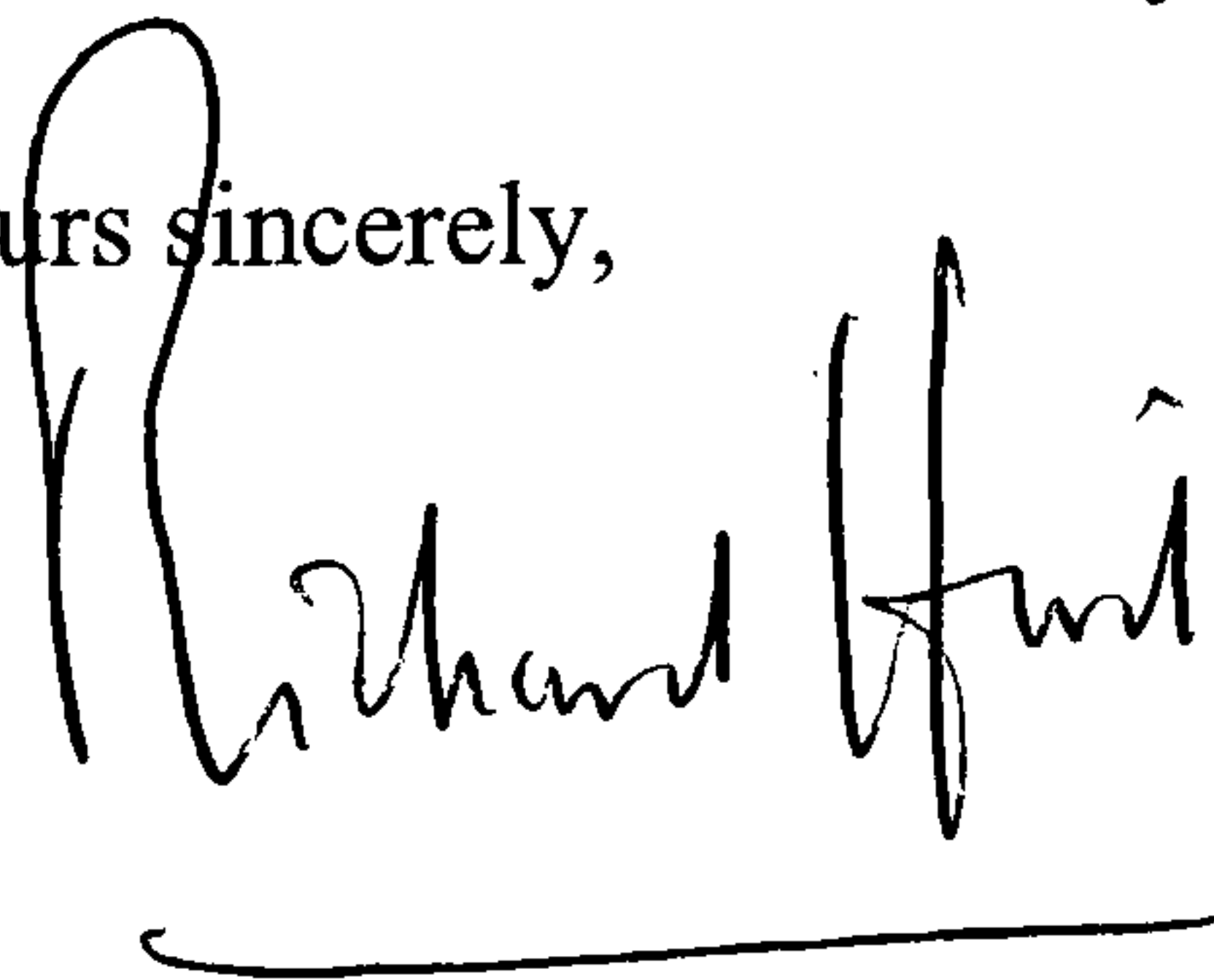
of "services rendered" justified some form of payment, though how much, what exactly for, and how accounted, is not as easy to pin down. Perhaps somebody some day will find/explore some adviser's personal papers, but until then organ-builders' records are the most likely prospect for any information about payments there might be .

It would be an enormous task reading through (just) the **H&H records** looking for any indications and suggestions of commission arrangements. Although I look into these papers not infrequently, I've not undertaken any systematic trawl, nor indeed have I been specifically looking for information about commissions that might have been paid to organists as consultants or agents to secure work for the firm. I recall and have looked out from my notes references in two letters H&H sent in 1905, the first of which refers to "...the usual professional discount of 5%...", and another which goes further, stating "...the usual discount of 10% which we shall be happy to hand over to you...". This might suggest that the organ cost the church full quoted price and the consultant had a (private?) discount as commission. I would have to go back to source however to find out who these letters were sent to and in what context - which could put an entirely different interpretation on the matter.

My recollection however is that such open indications are unusual in the H&H records (hence reason for noting down these). In the early days of the firm at Rochdale, some work seems to have arisen through the Nicholson connection, then J.B.Dykes was apparently influential in the move to Durham in 1872 and in a number of contracts around that time. Analysis I have undertaken of the firm's output up to the turn of the century shows plenty of work arising in the North and Scotland, but by repute and recommendation. My general impression is that around the turn of the century H&H used contacts, friends and well-wishers in the organ world, including selected recitalists, an agent in London, or relied on getting a foothold with the first organ in an area, to obtain work, at least until things took off c.1906 and the firm supplanted Willis as the country's leading organbuilder.

Probably all this is of marginal interest, and of no direct help in your task! The practice of paying a percentage commission was reputedly widespread, but clear evidence, as you will gather, difficult to find. Only painstaking detective work might reveal the true extent of the practice, which might well be confused with other aspects of and payment for an advisor's work. Let me know if there's anything more you would like to discuss or details you might like me to dig out and supply. On the attached sheet is a list of other people and their interests in this field. It may be that they could be of assistance in your quest.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Richard Hird". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the typed name "R.D.Hird".

R.D.Hird

David Lang Esq.,  
YO4 4RP



APPENDIX 19

LIST OF MUSICIANS BORN BETWEEN 1800-1910 WHO HAVE  
RECEIVED KNIGHTHOODS

Musicians born between 1800-1910 who have received Knighthoods

*John Andrew Stevenson	1761 - 1833	1803
*George Thomas Smart	1776 - 1867	22nd February 1811
Henry Bishop	1786 - 1855	1st June 1842
Michael Costa	1808 - 1884	14th April 1869
Julius Benedict	1804 - 1885	24th March 1871
William Sterndale Bennett	1816 - 1875	24th March 1871
*George Job Elvey	1816 - 1893	24th March 1871
*Robert Prescott Stewart	1825 - 1895	28th February 1872
*John Goss	1800 - 1880	19th March 1872
*Herbert Stanley Oakeley	1830 - 1903	17th August 1876
George Grove	1820 - 1900	22nd May 1883
George Alexander Macfarren	1813 - 1887	22nd May 1883
*Arthur Seymour Sullivan	1842 - 1900	22nd May 1883
Charles Halle	1819 - 1895	10th July 1888
*John Stainer	1840 - 1901	10th July 1888
William George Cusins	1833 - 1893	5th August 1892
*Joseph Barnby	1838 - 1896	5th August 1892
*Walter Parratt	1841 - 1924	5th August 1892
Alexander Campell Mackenzie	1847 - 1935	27th February 1895
*John Frederick Bridge	1844 - 1924	3rd August 1897
*George Clement Martin	1844 - 1916	18th August 1897
Charles Hubert Parry	1848 - 1918	13th July 1898
*Charles Villiers Stanford	1852 - 1924	24th October 1902
August Manns	1825 - 1907	18th December 1903
Edward Elgar	1857 - 1934	5th July 1904
Charles Santley	1834 - 1922	16th December 1907
Francesco Paolo Tosti	1846 - 1916	16th December 1908
*Henry Joseph Wood	1869 - 1944	2nd January 1911
Frederick Hymen Cowen	1852 - 1935	20th June 1911
George Henschel	1850 - 1934	29th June 1914

\* denotes the recipient is an organist

APPENDIX 20

RETIRING AGES OF CATHEDRAL AND COLLEGIATE ORGANISTS

Retiring Ages of Cathedral and Collegiate Organists as shown in a sample of  
35 individuals at work between c.1800 and 1910

Armes, Philip, (1836-1909)	Durham Cathedral (1863-1907)	71
Amott, John, (1799-1865)	Gloucester Cathedral (1832-65)	66
Attwood, Thomas, (1765-1838)	St Paul's Cathedral (1796-1838)	73
Bates, George, (1802-1881)	Ripon Minster / Cathedral (1829-1873)	71
Bennett, George, (1863-1930)	Lincoln Cathedral (1895-1930)	67
Bridge, Sir Frederick, (1844-1924)	Westminster Abbey (1882-1918)	74
Bridge, Joseph Cox, (1853-1929)	Chester Cathedral (1877-1925)	72
Buck, Zechariah, (1798-1879)	Norwich Cathedral (1819-1877)	79
Camidge, John, (1790-1859)	York Cathedral (1844-1859)	68
Chard, George W., (1765-1849)	Winchester Cathedral (1802-1849)	84
Corfe, J.D., (1825-1876)	Bristol Cathedral (1825-1876)	72
Done, William, (1815-1895)	Worcester Cathedral (1844-1895)	80
Elvey, George Job, (1816-1893)	St George's Chapel, Windsor (1835-1882)	66
Elvey, Stephen, (1805-1860)	New College, Oxford, (1830-1860)	55
Garratt, George M., (1834-1897)	St John's College, Cambridge, (1857-1897)	63
Goss, John, (1800-1880)	St Paul's Cathedral, (1838-1872)	72
Gray, Alan, (1855-1935)	Trinity College, Cambridge, (1892-1930)	75
Henshaw, William, (1791-1877)	Durham Cathedral, (1813-1862)	70
Hopkins, Edward J., (1818-1901)	Temple Church, London, (1843-1898)	80
Hopkins, John, (1822-1900)	Rochester Cathedral, (1856-1900)	78
Keeton, Haydn, (1847-1921)	Peterborough Cathedral, (1870-1921)	74
Lavington, Charles W., (1819-1895)	Wells Cathedral, (1860-1895)	76
Longhurst, William H., (1819-1904)	Canterbury Cathedral, (1873-1898)	79
Mann, Arthur H., (1850-1929)	King's College, Cambridge, (1876-1929)	79
Monk, Edward G., (1819-1909)	York Minster, (1859-1883)	64
Paddon, James, (c.1768-1835)	Exeter Cathedral, (1804-1835)	67
Parratt, Sir Walter, (1841-1924)	St George's Chapel, Windsor, (1882-1924)	83
Porter, Samuel, (1733-1810)	Canterbury Cathedral, (1757-1803)	70
Roberts, John Varley, (1841-1920)	Magdalen College, Oxford, (1882-1919)	78
Skeats, Highmore, (1760-1831)	Canterbury Cathedral, (1803-1831)	71
Smart, Sir George, (1776-1867)	Chapel Royal, (1822-1867)	91
Turle, James, (1802-1882)	Westminster Abbey, (1831-1882)	73
Wesley, Samuel S., (1810-1876)	Gloucester Cathedral, (1865-1876)	66
Young, John M.W., (1822-1897)	Lincoln Cathedral, (1850-1895)	73

## APPENDIX 21

### A SELECTION OF ORGAN RECITAL PROGRAMMES

- a) Organ Recital Programme given by Master Henry Wood at the Fisheries Exhibition, June 1883.
- b) Organ Recital Programme given by W. Lynnwood Farnam in Madame Tussaud's Exhibition, Baker Street, London on 16<sup>th</sup> February 1904.
- c) Organ Recital Programme given by Mr Edward Bairstow at Norfolk Square, London in May 1899.
- d) Organ Recital Programme given by Mr E. Cutler at Freemasons' Hall, London in February 1899.
- e) Organ Recital Programme given by Sir Walter Parratt at Church House, Westminster in October 1899.
- f) Organ Recital Programme given by Mr W.T. Best at St. George's Hall, Liverpool on April 26<sup>th</sup> 1888.
- g) Organ Recital Programme given by Edwin Lemare at St. Margaret's Church, Westminster on 4<sup>th</sup> May 1898.
- h) Organ Recital Programme given by Dr. G.J. Bennett at Lincoln Minster on 1<sup>st</sup> October 1901.
- i) Organ Recital Programme given by Sir Walter Parratt in St. John's College, Cambridge on 4<sup>th</sup> November 1902.
- j) Organ Recital Programme given by Hugh Percy Allen at New College, Oxford on 18<sup>th</sup> June 1902.

Organ Recital

given by  
Master Henry Wood  
at  
The Fisheries Exhibition  
June, 1883

Great Dagon ( <i>Samson</i> )	Handel
Minuet and Trio (from a symphony)	Haydn
Gavotte	Rameau
Air " The Lullaby" ( <i>The Pirates</i> )	Storace
Marcia Religioso (arr. Spark)	Gluck
Trio, Andante and Rondo	Haydn
Minuet ( <i>Samson</i> )	Handel
Pastoral Prelude (arr. Whittingham)	Gordigiani
March ( <i>Judas Maccabaeus</i> )	Handel
Movement from a Piano Sonata	Beethoven
Wedding March (arr. Westbrook)	Mendelssohn

(This was Woods' first recital at the Fisheries' Exhibition, one of several he was to give whilst the Exhibition remained open).

## Organ Recital

given by  
W. Lynnwood Farnam  
in  
Madame Tussaud's Exhibition  
Baker Street, London  
on  
16th February, 1904

### Programme

Overture No. 1	Hollins
Cantilene	Salome
Offertoire in D	Batiste
Toccata in G	Dubois
Festive March in C	Calkin
Overture in F	Faulkes
The Answer	Wolstenholme
Scherzo in B flat	Hoyte
Cornelius March	Mendelssohn
Caprice in B flat	Guilmant
Fugue à la Gigue	Bach
Grand Choeur in D	Guilmant

Farnam (1885-1930) studied at the R.C.M. on a scholarship from 1900 to 1904, afterwards returning to Montreal. He distinguished himself as a brilliant recitalist in his own country and the United States.

ORGAN RECITAL

given by

Mr. E.C. Bairstow, Mus. Bac., F.R.C.O.

at

All Saints', Norfolk Square, London

on

May 11<sup>th</sup> 1899

<i>Overture to "Tannhäuser"</i>	Wagner
<i>Reverie in 5 time</i> 4	Lemare
<i>Prelude to Act III and Banquet Dance</i> <i>From the Incidental Music to "The Tempest"</i>	Sullivan
<i>Finale from "Symphonie Pathétique"</i>	Tchaikowsky
<i>Evening Song</i>	Edward C. Bairstow
<i>Overture "Ruy Blas"</i>	Mendelssohn



ORGAN RECITAL

given by

Mr E. Cutler

at

The Annual Festival of the Emulation Lodge of Improvement  
Freemasons' Hall, London

On February 24<sup>th</sup>, 1899

*Fugue in G minor*

J.S. Bach

*Meditation*

Guise de Moncey

*Offertoire in E flat*

L. Wely

*Andante from Second Symphony*

Widor

*Minuet*

Cutler

*March: "Tannhäuser"*

Wagner

RECITAL

Given at the opening of the new organ

In

The Great Hall,  
Church House, Westminster

On

7<sup>th</sup> October 1899

by

Sir Walter Parratt

<i>Overture "Otho"</i>	Handel
<i>Improvisation</i>	Rheinberger
<i>Fantasia in G major (unpublished)</i>	C.H.H. Parry
<i>Lamentation</i>	Guilmant
<i>Chorale Prelude</i>	J.S. Bach
<i>Largo, from "New World Symphony"</i>	Dvorak
<i>Choral Vorspiel und Fuge uber "O Traurigkeit, O Herzeleid"</i>	Brahms
<i>Preludium und Fuge in F</i>	Buxtehude

St George's Hall, Liverpool

Organ Recital

given by

Mr W.T.Best

on

Thursday afternoon April 26th, 1888

Overture - " Idomeneo "	Mozart
Andante in G minor (Six Organ Pieces, No.1)	Silas
Offertorio ( E flat major )	Morandi
Andante Religioso	Francesco Berger
Prelude and Fugue	Bach
Finale to the Études Symphoniques	Schumann

---

St Margaret's Church, Westminster

Organ Recital

given by

Edwin Lemare

4th May, 1898

Akademische Festouverture

Brahms

Romance in D flat

Lemare

Meditation and Toccata in C major

d'Evry

Andante in D major

Hollins

Grand Choeur

Improvisation

Closing Scene from "Das Rheingold"

Wagner

Lincoln Minster

Organ Recital

given by

Dr G.J.Bennett

October 1st, 1901

Concert Overture in C minor	Hollins
Fantasia in E minor and major, " The Storm "	Lemmens
Fugue in E flat "St Anne`s"	Bach
Andante in D major	Thomé
Berceuse	Arensky
Air and Variations from Symphony "The Surprise"	Haydn
War March of the Priests (" Athalia ")	Mendelssohn

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Organ Recital

given by  
Sir Walter Parratt

in  
St John's College, Cambridge  
4th November, 1902

Andante Religioso

Liszt

Prelude and Fugue in C major

J.S.Bach

Musette

Dandrieu

Pastorale "Nun Danket alle Gott"

Herzogenberg

Fantasia in G major

Hubert Parry

Choral Vorspiel "O Welt, Ich muss dich lassen"  
(His last composition)

Brahms

Fantasia and Toccata

Professor Stanford

New College, Oxford

Organ Recital

by

Hugh Percy Allen

18th June, 1902

Ciacona in E minor	Buxtehude
Chorale Preludes on " Vater unser "	
(1)	Bach
(2)	Buxtehude
Chorale Preludes on:-	
(1) "Herzlich thut"	
(2) "Herzliebster Jesu"	Brahms
Prelude and Fugue in B minor	Bach
Chorale Preludes on:-	
(1) " O wei selig"	
(2) " <del>Es</del> ist ein Ros` entsprungen "	Brahms
(3) " O welt, ich muss dich lassen "	
Passacaglia in C minor	Bach

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